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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

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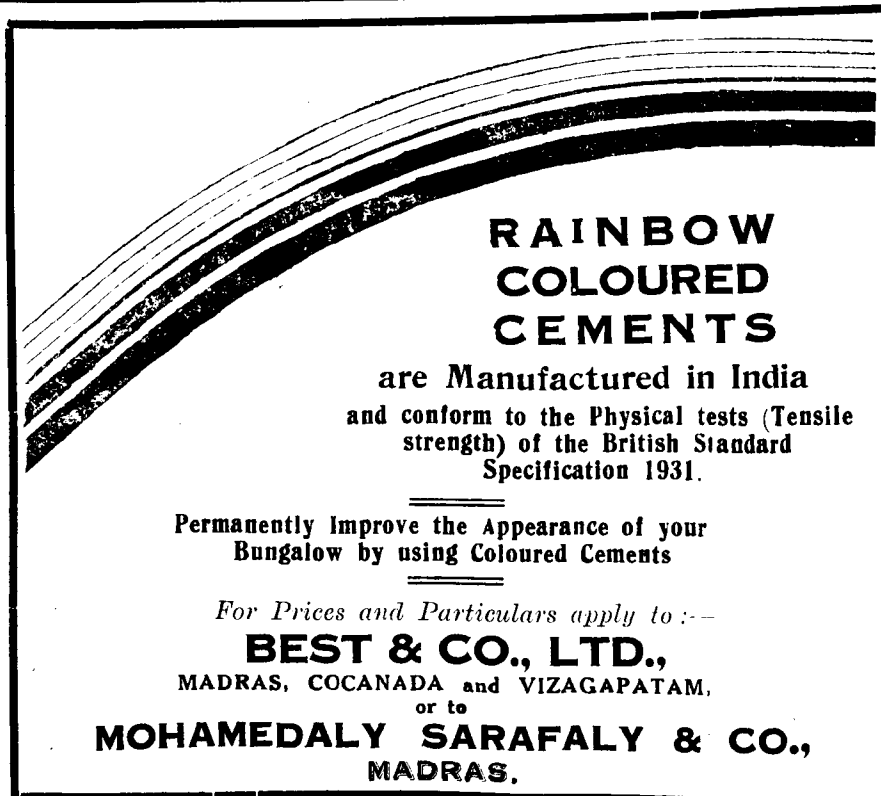
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MON.	... 3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28	... 7 14 21 28	... 4 11 18 25
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WED.	... 5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23	2 9 16 23 30	... 6 13 20 27
THU.	... 6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28
FRI.	... 7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29
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FRI.	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26
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	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
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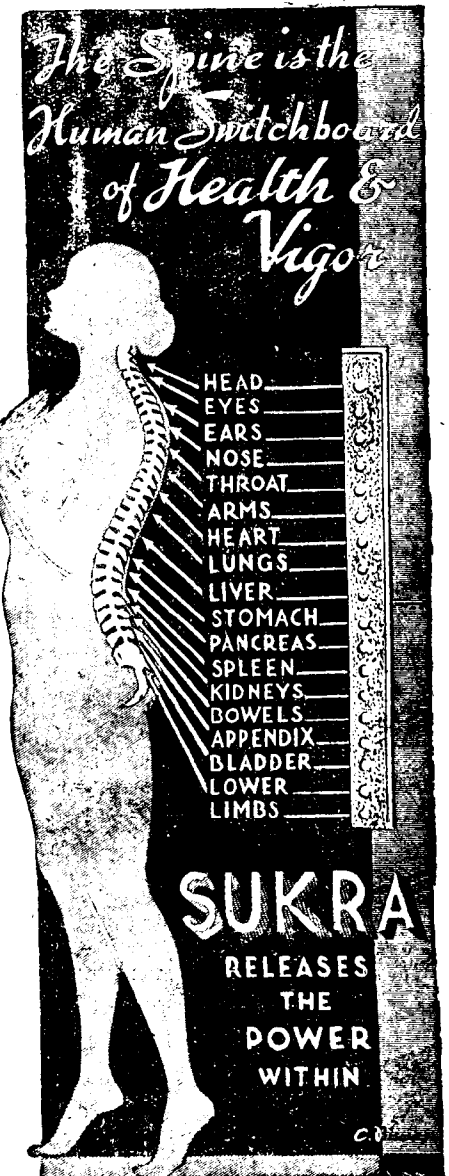
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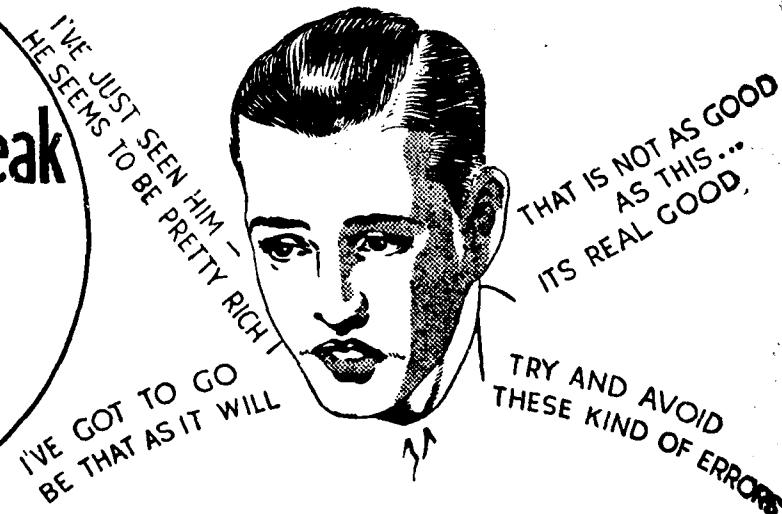
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INDIA'S FINANCES

By DR. P. S. LOKANATHAN, M.A., D. Sc. (Econ.) (Lond.)

NO one would have believed even a year ago that public interest in India's finances would have so rapidly shifted from the centre to the provinces and that provincial budgets would hold the attention of the people almost to the neglect of that of the Government of India. While this change in the public's attitude is undoubtedly a recognition of the far-reaching economic and social effects of provincial budgetary plans, it would be a serious mistake, indeed, if the importance of the finances of the Central Government is either ignored or minimized, and this for two reasons. In the first place, financial stability and credit at the centre are at the root of the success of provincial finances. The maintenance of the credit of India is of the first importance to any province that seeks to borrow for productive outlay. Secondly, the fortunes of provincial finances are intimately bound up with the solvency of the Central Government, and one at least of the most fruitful sources of revenue to the provinces, namely, the provincial share of income-tax has to depend for a considerable time yet upon the adequacy of resources at the centre. We cannot also ignore the fact that the public finances of India are, broadly, one and indivisible. Provincial Governments do not constitute a world of their own independent of the

Central Government. If, for example, customs or railways fail to yield sufficient revenue and thereby cause a deficit at the centre, it may safely be concluded that provincial budgets would also be in serious difficulties; for a diminution in customs or railway earnings can only be the result of a low purchasing power of the rural masses whose demand for imports shrinks, or of a failure of the crops resulting in diminished demand for railway transport. Hence no study of provincial finances could be complete except against the background of the financial position of the Central Government.

It is fortunate that the financial statement presented by the Finance Member of the Government of India was not only satisfactory in itself, but from the point of view of provincial needs specially gratifying. After meeting additional expenditure caused by operations in Waziristan and fully providing for defence, debt charges and administration, it was possible to initiate the distribution of a share of income-tax to the provinces unexpectedly in the current year itself, thanks to the improvement in railway earnings. How important this distribution of Rs. 138 lakhs to the provinces was, can be seen from the fact that but for it many Provincial Governments would have shown a deficit or have had to

reduce essential expenditure. The objective which the Government of India had set before themselves for the last two years was, consistently with the financial stability of the Central Government, to enable the Provinces to start on their new voyage on an even keel, and all other aims were subordinated to this end. Even rural development on which the Finance Member had set his heart and for which he had made liberal grants to provinces has had to yield place in favour of ensuring the delegation of revenues to the provinces. The fulfilment of this important task was an essential prerequisite to the inauguration of provincial autonomy, and judged by this test, the budget of the Government of India for 1938-39 should be deemed to be a great success. For the Government have, without sacrificing their own essential and vital functions, been able to surrender as much as 9 crores to the provinces, partly by way of subventions to deficit provinces, partly by surrendering a share of the export duty on jute, of the excise duty on petrol and of income-tax. With revenues estimated to yield 85.92 crores of rupees and expenses estimated at Rs. 85.83 crores, a nominal surplus of 9 lakhs has been provided for.

While, therefore, the Central Government has done its duty by the provinces, the essential weakness of an arrangement by which the provinces have to depend so much upon the Centre for their financial resources is only brought to clearer light. Provinces are faced with an insufficiency of resources for their ever-growing and almost limitless expenditure and are confined within the strictest bounds by the nature of these resources, which are of a fixed and not expanding character. This is a problem

besetting all federations, and no country has successfully solved it. No clean-cut division of resources between the Centre and the Provincial Units can equate resources with needs. It is, therefore, inevitable that grants from the Centre, or the sharing of revenues on an agreed basis can be the only tentative solution. On the whole, the arrangements made in India are the best that can be devised in the circumstances.

How have the Provinces, circumscribed as they have been by their limited resources, distributed their available revenues amongst various needs? It is not necessary for our purpose to distinguish between Congress and non-Congress Provinces, for with the exception of the question of prohibition, no serious differences in aim or outlook are visible.

The first thing that should be said about all provincial budgets is, that they are all framed on moderate and almost conservative lines and satisfy all canons of sound and prudential finance. All the budgets, except those of Bombay, Central Provinces and United Provinces, are balanced, and the deficits even in those provinces are by no means alarming. The deficit in the United Provinces is almost deliberately planned, for according to the Premier-financier, a small budgetary deficit will be an incentive to ensure the utmost economy in administrative expenditure. While the budgets are balanced, Provincial Autonomy has wrought almost a revolutionary change in the sphere of expenditure, and the new orientation of policy inaugurated last year is sought to be pursued with even greater resolve and devotion in the coming year. The distribution of expenditure between what are usually described as primary and developmental functions is rapidly an

increasingly shifting in the direction of the latter. The welfare of the vast masses of the rural population is definitely accepted to be the concern of the new Governments, and it is sought to be promoted (a) by increased amenities of various kinds, like water-supply, rural dispensaries and hospitals, village roads, broadcasting, etc; (b) by definite plans of economic improvement by which better seed, fertilisers, improved cattle and implements are sought to be provided for the ryot; and (c) by provision for financing the scaled-down debt of the ryots to the extent possible. In the sphere of education, sanitation and public health, co-operation and agriculture, the pace has been quickened, and altogether the amount of new or additional sums set aside for a variety of social welfare activities is very considerable. Every province has proceeded broadly on the lines set out above; but on account of differences in financial resources, historical circumstances or relative emphasis, the amounts provided for, show considerable differences in detail. The Punjab and Madras, accustomed to relatively large amounts of expenditure on social services, have been able to go farther than others. Indeed, the former has been able to set aside a reserve of Rs. 61 lakhs for a six-year plan of intensive rural development. The United Provinces Government, more radical and imaginative than the rest, has definitely planned out a scheme for providing 500 training centres for rural uplift workers, and each centre is to have a seed, fertiliser and implement store. Ryots are to be given credit to buy these requisites and the loans are to be recovered in instalments. Madras has a plan of granting

loans to agriculturists to pay off the scaled down debt, and Rs. 50 lakhs has been provided for the purpose. The Central Provinces, again, have constituted a reserve fund for economic development and improvement of rural areas and provided for a variety of welfare activities, including provision of water-supply, rural roads, khadi manufacture, etc. Bihar, Sind and Orissa have also done their bit, though on a much smaller scale. Judged by their plans of expenditure alone, the Congress Governments and others have more than justified themselves.

A point worthy of note is the earmarking of funds for special beneficent purposes. The rural water-supply fund of Madras amounting to Rs. 15 lakhs, the Punjab rural development fund of Rs. 61 lakhs, the Central Provinces reserve fund for rural improvement, and the Bihar reserve of Rs. 8 lakhs for the same purpose are outstanding experiments in the sphere of planned finance, by which agreed schemes of financial outlay are placed beyond the hazards and vicissitudes of current finances.

The difference in aim and outlook between Provinces where Congress is in power, and those where it is not, is clearly in respect of prohibition. To the Congress Governments, prohibition is not a purely financial question, as it is to others. To them, it is an engine of great social and economic reform and forms a vital part of their plan of economic betterment. The loss of revenue is only an incident. Every one of the Congress Governments has embarked upon prohibition, although applied in the first instance to limited areas. The budgets for the coming year provide for an extension of prohibition into new areas. In certain

Provinces, the number of shops have been drastically cut down even in non-prohibition areas. From all the enquiries that have been made, it is clear that prohibition is a success in Salem district of Madras. From the financial point of view, however, the effects of prohibition are still to be felt. Indeed, in all provinces where prohibition has been partially introduced, excise revenue has really mounted up, because other districts are making up for the loss of revenue in the prohibition areas.

The coming years, therefore, are bound to throw up the problem of financial resources into greater relief. With the loss of excise revenue and with the increasing urgency of various items of expenditure, the exploration of new sources of revenue will have become a pressing task. But the first fruits of autonomy have been in the direction of a remission of taxation on land and a slight diminution in the burden of taxation on the poorer sections of the agriculturists. This was, of course, inevitable. The poor ryot has in the past borne a disproportionate share of the burden of taxation, and it is but right that he should be given relief. The Central Provinces and Bombay have granted a certain percentage reduction in land revenue to the small landholders, while Madras has given relief to the large as well as the small landholder. Grazing fees have been reduced so as to enable the poor ryots' cattle to be fed better than before. These are undoubtedly reforms designed to secure equality in taxation and a necessary preliminary to schemes of new taxation.

Another useful lesson that has been learnt in the past year, is the extremely limited scope for retrenchment. The salaries of all new entrants have been reduced, and although ultimately the

savings are likely to be large, for the next few years the result is inconsiderable.

The provincial budgets have, on the whole, revealed little by way of any new plans of taxation, though some Provinces have already embarked upon some new taxes. Contrary to expectations, the Madras budget contained no new tax measure. But some idea of the sort of new taxes sought to be imposed may be got from the fact that these have taken the form of a retail sales tax in urban centres on tobacco and cigarettes in Bombay, an electricity tax in Bombay and Bengal and Sind and an employment tax and petrol tax in the Central Provinces. Bihar has definitely embarked upon agricultural income-tax. Almost all Provinces have increased their revenues by raising fees on stamps and registration. In the sphere of taxation, the budgets have shown possibilities rather than achievements, and it is no easy thing to embark upon new schemes of taxation in provinces which, in the words of the Premier of Madras have been tackled by no unskilful hands.

Whatever new taxes are imposed, it is unlikely that they would yield sufficient to satisfy Provincial needs. It is often forgotten that the ultimate basis of taxation lies in a large national income. Hence, while a certain amount of additional revenue can be obtained by resorting to new taxes, the only permanent way of securing improvement is by raising the income and productive power of the people. It is from this point of view that the budgets are defective. They have not revealed any clear and definite agricultural and industrial policy; but the Governments have not had sufficient time to plan. Even so, all Provinces have not marked time. For example, the United Provinces

have not only a bold agricultural policy, but have made a careful industrial survey with a view to developing and encouraging industries that have possibilities. Its agrarian policy is likely to have a beneficial effect both on production and distribution. But, on the whole, it is true to say that provincial budgets have not revealed a plan of far-reaching agricultural and industrial development and it is in this direction that much improvement is to be desired and expected.

The one sure way of improving the economic basis of taxation is by a carefully planned and thought-out scheme of capital expenditure. In this respect, Madras leads by a long chalk over others. Her hydro-electric schemes and irrigation schemes are not only productive, but yield a surplus which will go to supplement the tax revenues of the province. But more important still, they raise the productive power of the country by affording more employment and by raising the level of efficiency all round. The Punjab has also a plan of capital works. In the United Provinces, the plan of capital expenditure includes loans for rural uplift which may not secure the approval of orthodox financiers. But it is fully justified. The credit of the Provinces stands high, and the Finance Ministers have

done nothing to impair it. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that it should be fully utilised for the purpose of useful and productive expenditure. Madras, United Provinces, and other Provinces have done well in planning for new loans in the coming year, and it is certain that these loans will be a great success.

In India where the masses are steeped in poverty, additional taxes are not easy to impose. Customs, excise duties and other consumption duties are central, although additional excise duties may be imposed on behalf of the Provinces. A little may be secured by this device. Fifty per cent. of income-tax will ultimately be distributed to the provinces. For the rest, however, they have to depend upon the inelastic land revenue and upon stamps and registration fees. Liquor excise is a fast disappearing item of revenue. Agricultural income-tax, succession duties and a few minor imposts are all that are available. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that Provincial Governments must definitely embark upon a policy of developing public utility industries with the view, not only of securing more efficient service to the people, but also as new and additional sources of revenue. The possibilities in this direction are great and must be explored.

TABLE
(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

	Government of India	Madras	Bombay	U. P.	Punjab	Bihar	C. P.	Sind	N. W. F.	Bengal.
Revenue ..	85.92	16.13	12.09	13.02	11.41	5.07	4.81	3.60	1.80	13.13
Expenditure ..	85.83	16.10	12.49	13.16	11.36	5.05	4.82	3.59	1.86	13.25
Surplus ..	.09	.03	..	..	.05	.02	..	.01	..	..
Deficit ..	..	..	.40	— .14	..	..	— .01	..	— .06	— .12

COLD WAVES IN INDIA

BY MR. KESHA VA SHARAN AGARWALA, M.SC., LL.B.

COLD waves are almost a regular feature of winter in India. During the last cold season, November to February, there were several severe cold waves which affected several parts of the country, chiefly Baluchistan, the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Central India, where much damage and hardship were caused.

During cold waves, the air temperature falls considerably below the normal, and when it is below the freezing point of water, frosts occur. The incidence of cold waves usually causes considerable damage to standing crops, vegetables and fruit-gardens and is, therefore, a source of great anxiety to farmers, fruit-growers, etc., in the country. In December last, damage was done to cotton, *juar*, pulses and garden crops in the Central Provinces and Sind; in Gujarat, a severe cold spell badly affected tobacco, cotton, vegetables, etc., in several districts and slightly damaged the *rabi* crops also. Extensive damage to similar crops was also reported in eastern Kathiawar by frost early in the last week of December. Again in January, there were several cold spells over north-west India and as a result, orchards were reported to have suffered considerably in the Punjab, and cotton crop was damaged in Sind and Gujarat. The month of February was also visited by cold waves, which prevailed almost over the whole of northern and central India during the third week, but fortunately no special damage to crops was reported.

The extent of damage caused by cold waves to plants depends upon the degree and duration of the cold and upon the condition of the plant at

the time. Injury to the tissues of growing plants is caused when the temperature falls appreciably below the freezing point of water (32°F.) and the term "ground frost" is used to denote this state of affairs. An indication regarding the occurrence of a "ground frost" or otherwise is obtained by means of a "grass minimum thermometer" (a specially designed minimum thermometer, which is exposed at night just above the surface of short grass); a "ground frost" is said to have occurred when the minimum temperature on grass has fallen to 30° 4' F. or below. During cold waves, "ground frosts" are fairly frequent; at Lahore, for instance, the grass minimum temperature fell below 30° 4' F. for 13 days during December last, reaching 25° 2' F. on the 27th December, 1937.

In severe cold waves, the havoc wrought is immense; crops are destroyed, birds and animals are killed and even human beings perish. During the later parts of the last week of December, crops and gardens suffered immensely on account of a severe cold wave that was sweeping over Sind; the cold wave was so severe that early in the morning the roofs of huts and trees in the villages were found "littered with dead birds". In the Allahabad district (U. P.), the reports from the villages indicated that several human beings and many head of cattle had perished on account of the intense cold. Early in January, a few persons were reported to have been "frozen to death" in the Kangra valley. Unfortunately, the largest share of the hardships that cold spells bring, always falls to the lot of the poor. It is not difficult to realise the great suffering

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caused when one remembers that there are millions of people in India living in huts and that they do not possess sufficient clothing to protect their bodies even from the rigours of the normal cold weather. Also in big cities, it is usually seen that poor people without a home sleep on pavements at night. All such people have practically no means of protection in severe cold, save the mere taking of warmth from bon-fires in the "open".

Besides the havoc and hardships already referred to, which cold waves cause, when intense and of a long duration, they also lead to the outbreak of diseases such as pneumonia, coughs, colds, etc. During the greater part of December last, when North-west India was in the grip of cold waves, pneumonia figured largely in the municipal health returns of affected stations such as Lahore. Other diseases which may be caused or influenced by cold spells are cold, eczema, frost-boils, etc. It must, however, be mentioned here that "cold waves when they are not severe, are considered to be beneficial to human beings from one point of view; it is said that cold waves serve as stimulant and that mental energy reaches a maximum when the mean temperature of the air is near about 40°F., i.e., when there are very mild frosts at night. On a consideration of the mean annual temperatures, together with the death rates of important cities of the world, it has been shown that between the limits of 40°F. and 80°F. a mean annual temperature between 40°F. and 50°F. is the best for health and that a temperature between 32°F. and 40°F. is the worst.

During some of the cold spells that occurred in India during last winter,

unprecedented snowfalls occurred on the hills. In the first two weeks of January, there were heavy falls of snow in the Kangra and Kulu valleys; in the former a few persons perished and in the latter the Dulchi Pass was reported to have been closed to traffic until the snow was cleared. Almost all the hill stations of the Punjab reported heavy snow-falls during this period; at Murree, it is reported that the snow-fall was the heaviest for the last 20 years. By a peculiar coincidence at about the same time, one of the severest cold spells occurred in Central Europe, making the country snow-bound, covering the rivers with ice, causing frost everywhere and freezing people to death.

Cold waves in India occur during the winter months—November to February. At other seasons of the year, brief cold spells may sometimes occur just in the same way as the cold weather itself sometimes experiences the sultry days of the summer, but they are seldom severe. Cold waves are most frequent in North-west India, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Kashmir and Sind and frosts are, therefore, common in that area. Other parts of the country that are visited by cold waves are Central India, the Central Provinces and the Gangetic plain. Bombay Deccan may occasionally be affected, but the rest of South India is practically free from them. During cold spells, it is the night temperatures that considerably fall, and the minimum temperature of the 24 hours is usually registered in the morning—some time between 4 A.M. to 7-30 A.M.

The incidence of cold waves is associated with the occurrence of cold weather storms or western disturbances, which

enter India through the North-West frontier and move eastwards. In the rear of these disturbances appear cold waves. To take one of the earliest examples of the last cold season, the western disturbance of the 17th to 20th November 1937, brought in its wake a cold wave in North-West frontier and North Punjab on the 20th, along the Western Himalayas on the 21st and in Kashmir on the 22nd. As regards the cause of cold waves, it may be stated that they are due to the cold winds which come into India from the North-West and the North and result in low air temperatures. Low ground temperatures are reached at nights when, in addition to the air temperatures being low, the sky is quite clear and the humidity of the atmosphere is also low.

One of the methods commonly adopted in Northern India to protect the plants from the effects of cold and frost in winter is the placing of covers over the plants; these covers are generally made of dry stalks of some fodder crop or of cloth. Other ordinary methods of protection against frost damage are flooding and irrigation, which are found of help during mild and brief cold spells. During severe cold waves, however, the only satisfactory measure, particularly for gardens found efficacious, is the prevention of freezing temperatures by adding heat to the air and by conserving heat inside the area requiring protection; this can be achieved by burning fires in large numbers inside as well as all round the garden and also by putting hot water in ditches. To make the fires more effective, it is also necessary to prevent the air movement, which is quite strong during cold waves by means of suitable wind-breaks. Clouds of smoke and steam have also been suggested as preventive

measures against frost damage to fruit orchards, etc. Besides the preventive measures referred to above, it is also necessary to protect the frosted plants from too rapid warming by the sun; for this, spraying with cold water just before sun-rise has been suggested as one of the remedies.

From the point of view of agriculture, the frequent incidence of cold waves accompanied by severe frosts in this country has made it necessary to deal with this problem in a scientific manner. To mitigate the damage caused, the fruit-growers and farmers should receive information, sufficiently ahead, of a coming cold wave and then also be in a position to take necessary measures to protect their gardens, crops, etc. So far as timely information is concerned, it is being supplied by the Indian Meteorological Department in the form of cold wave and frost warnings issued to Agricultural Officers, who inform the agriculturists of the area concerned. But what is most essential is that the farmers should possess full knowledge of the effective scientific methods of protection against cold waves and frosts and keep the materials in readiness required for the purpose. For this, it is necessary to evolve by experiment and research economical and practical methods to suit local conditions and then to advance and popularise them among the growers by means of intensive propaganda and demonstration. It is pleasing to note that efforts are already being made in this direction; for example, the Bombay Department of Agriculture has been carrying out some useful investigations in this matter. Apart from the urgent need for furthering these activities by all departments concerned, it must also be noted that much depends upon the agriculturists' co-operation without which all such efforts can hardly be expected to bear fruit. Let us hope that the problem will receive from all sides the fullest attention that it deserves.

CONGRESS AND THE MUSLIM

By MR. SRI PRAKASA, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.) BAR.-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

EFFORTS are being made on a wide and definite scale to bring Mussalmans in ever increasing numbers into the Congress. This Muslim mass contact movement is indispensable for the future national life of the land. I am not so frightened of the problem known as the Muslim problem as so many friends appear to be; still I certainly think that Congress workers must strive their utmost to bring Muslims in the Congress fold. It would, perhaps, be right and proper here to consider as to how this problem came to face us at all.

Ordinarily, Indian History is divided into three periods: Hindu, Muslim and British. If we were to scrutinise historical events really carefully, we shall have, in all probability, to admit that Muslim rule had practically come to an end, and the major portion of India was in Hindu hands, when the government of the land was transferred to the British. Perhaps, it would not be an exaggeration even to say that the British really got their rule from the Hindus. But looking at things superficially, one can say that the British came after the Muslims. Hindu rule during the period between the practical close of Muslim domination and the emergence of British authority was unorganised and diffused; wars were being fought on all sides, and the interval was too small for proper consolidation. Moreover, Mussalmans certainly think that it is from them that the British got their authority. The Hindu tradition of this period is very uncertain. No Hindu has any proud memories of lasting achievements in this intervening period. They have, of course, recollections of the formation of small states and of constant conflicts, full of individual heroism and stoic self-sacrifice.

The attitude of the British, after their assumption of power, also shows that despite the Mahratta, the Nepal and the Sikh Wars, they too think that they got their rule from the Muslims; that they had to be on their guard against them; and that it is the Muslim heart that was most sore at their coming in power. After the clash of 1857, when the British

were established in India in a well organised government, they favoured the Hindus and were hostile to the Muslim. Their early writings clearly prove that they were afraid of the Muslims.

The feeling lasted for almost exactly half a century. During this interval, despite the assistance received from Government in every way, the Hindus continued to struggle for the country's freedom and were far from satisfied with things as they were. It was then that the attitude of the Government changed. The Muslims also felt convinced that their safety and well-being lay in supporting the British in every possible way. They decided to adhere to Government by opposing the Hindus if necessary. They felt that the freedom movement was only in the nature of aggressive Hindu nationalism. They assured the authorities that they were with them and against the other community. The British then started blatantly siding with the Muslims. This state of things has been continuing for the last 30 years. But now despite the undoubted mutual jealousies and suspicions, almost every one has begun to feel that when they have all to live in this very country, when there is no escape from the inevitable, it is best they lived at peace with one another. They realise that there is no lasting well-being in depending on a foreign power, which may only lead them into still greater danger and difficulty.

The Congress, they all find, is the sole national institution which has proved its sincerity by self-suffering, which keeps aloft the standard of the country's freedom against all odds, and serves in a practical and disinterested manner which has such magnetic powers that so many men and women, high and humble alike, are found willing to give up their-all for it. Whether one likes it or not, one is driven to the conclusion that the Congress alone can make the most out of the situation and be trusted to do so to the best advantage; that only the Congress can and does ever continue the fight; and that it is but right that it should strive its very best to bring Muslims on its platform. Old

memories are forgotten; immediate problems press for solution; the possibilities of the future make all anxious and concerned. Looking at the scene from the economic and moral standpoint, it seems clear that the welfare of all lies in working in unison with mutual affection and esteem. The Congress has nothing to do with any creed. It has no interest in the special rights of any class. If there is any public institution which can join with a clean heart and without any fear, then surely it is the Congress. In these circumstances, the movement that has been started, is most desirable and is full of hope for the future.

How did the Hindu-Muslim problem arise? The Hindu religion and philosophy is individualistic. Though there is a rough outline of a vast social organisation in the ancient books, in actual practice its inheritors really do not care to keep it and carry it on, on a strong and permanent basis. The fissiparous tendencies of the social life of the Hindus soon break them up. That accounts for four original castes having been sub-divided into 4,000. Comrades separate from one another at the least difference of opinion. Some form a separate caste and continue to be Hindus; others in sorrow and disgust join other creeds and religions. Hindus have reduced themselves to-day to such a pass that in their society there is no room for the widow, the orphan, the distressed and the poor. We are quick in hurting others in their very vitals. No one is ready to help any one also. It is but natural that in this sad state of actual affairs—whatever the ideals—millions of Hindus should have turned themselves into Mussalmans.

There is, of course, always the attraction for everything that belongs to the ruler; and that if the ruler's religion was Muslim, it had a natural attraction for the subject people. Secondly, Islam is an intensely democratic faith; poverty for it is no crime and no bar to social position; and the rich and poor are equal at the board and in the mosque. Moreover, it is a simple faith and gives promise of much both in this world and the next for very little and quickly condones and pardons the lapses of weak human nature. Surely, the hundred million Muslims in India have not come from outside. Barring

very rare exceptions, they all belong to the land; only a few can claim pure non-Indian blood. If the Hindu who turns a Muslim, becomes the enemy of his own faith, we ought not to be surprised; for the person who has been discarded by his society, who has been insulted by his brothers, cannot help bearing a grudge against them, human nature being what it is. A convert is particularly attracted towards his new society and his new faith, which gave him welcome when he was down and out, an out-caste from his group and lonely in the world apparently so full of men. Surely, such a one burns with a desire to serve his new found faith and friends. A friend in need is a friend indeed, and very dear besides. The man who abandons one in distress becomes a dire foe.

At the same time there is no doubt that the men who increased the number of Muslims in circumstances such as these, did not and could not give their new society or religion any real moral or intellectual strength. Though the Muslims have been in the land for a thousand years during which they were the paramount governing power for many a century, they remained curiously enough weak and poor. There must be some fundamental defect in their philosophy or their religion, because of which there is a lack of self-control among them; and though they show great temporary lustre, they do not appear to have lasting strength. Towards the end of the 19th century, their position in Indian society was not what could have been expected; for socially, morally and intellectually the Hindus still seemed to be the dominant factor.

One should not be surprised that the foreign Government felt nervous at this phenomenon. So at about the beginning of the 20th century, it went over to the Muslim side. Artificial means were adopted to give strength to the Muslims; special arrangements were made to afford them opportunities for self-improvement; special seats were reserved for them in public services, etc. Such arrangements—and that on behalf of the State—inevitably gave the Mussalmans unusual glory. Hindus felt chagrined, and the Muslims wanted

more and more. The alien Power thought of awakening the Sikh, the Christian and other minority communities in order to ensure its own permanence. The wise among the Muslims saw through the game. They realised that their true and lasting welfare also lay in nationalism.

The international situation proved that even the biggest empires are but mortal. Only the stream of human life is eternal. Such Muslims felt impelled to join the Hindus and others in the common fight for freedom and appealed and encouraged their co-religionists also to join in the national struggle. Surely, the Congress was bound to take advantage of the situation. But the Hindus have a special duty to fulfil. They have to undergo every needed sacrifice so that all should be one. The Hindus must never forget that they are very nearly 250 millions. In this joint family they are like the elder brother. If the younger brother should be obstinate, if he should say: "Unless you give me this, even though it is more than my due, I shall invite strangers and get the house despoiled or set on fire;" then the elder brother for the sake of the safety of the household, for the maintenance of the dignity of the

family, gives in to the obstinacy of the younger, suffers loss himself but saves the Home.

The Hindus must work in some such spirit. If a minority community demands more powers and privileges than is their legitimate due, they will have to be satisfied. If the younger suspects the elder, it is but natural, and the elder must assuage the gnawing doubt. No harm can ensue. Everything will be put right in the long run. When freedom is attained, when there is no fear of the outsider left, when there is no hope either from any external power, then all the communities residing in the country will realise their rights and duties and act accordingly. At this moment for the sake of unity and organisation, for peace and good government, the major community must be prepared to sacrifice their all, even if that be the price demanded. This is the only way of making the Congress powerful. Then alone will the discipline of the Congress be accepted by all, then alone shall the doubts of every one be set at rest. May we hope that in this great task, we shall all contribute our mite and help by our active endeavours in the attainment of the goal?

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.

THE economic prosperity of a country depends upon the aggregate production and adequate distribution of wealth among the people. In Western countries, industries are highly developed and consequently the production of wealth and living standards are high. The glaring disparities in the distribution of wealth, however, are a great source of discontent among the people in those countries. In India, on the other hand, the standard of wealth production is very low and our vast national resources have not been properly utilized. Here the main difficulty lies in low production. A large majority of the people depend upon agriculture directly or indirectly. Here agriculture gives employment to 65·60 per cent. of the people, while only 10·38 per cent. derive their livelihood from industries.

The corresponding figures for industries for other countries are: U. K. 47·2 per cent., U. S. A. 32 per cent., Canada 25 per cent., Germany 41·3 per cent., and France 33·3 per cent. The following table giving income per head from industries in different countries proves the industrial backwardness of India.

COUNTRY.	INCOME PER HEAD FROM INDUSTRIES.
	Rs.
India	12
Japan	158
Sweden	384
U. K.	412
Canada	470
U. S. A.	721

Thus in India, the *per capita* income from industries is very small; while in other countries it is the principal source

of wealth. It is, therefore, necessary to make efforts to improve our industries. Improved and well-established industries will be of immense advantage to agriculture also. The demand for agricultural products will increase and capital will be available for improvements in agriculture. The problem of unemployment will also be solved to a very great extent. It is, therefore necessary that our industries should improve.

MAIN REQUIREMENTS OF INDUSTRIES

Industries have been a provincial subject since 1921; but the Central Government retains the power of granting tariff protection, adjusting railway freight and directing commercial and fiscal policy affecting their progress. The Provincial Departments of Industries have no power to deal with the larger questions of policy and organisation. Their activity is limited to giving technical advice to minor industries and the supervision of the primary grades of technical and industrial education.

Within their limited sphere, the Provincial Governments can render a great help through their stores purchase policy. They can place their orders as far as possible for the products of Indian industries. They can do much to rehabilitate the cottage and minor industries in different provinces. In providing financial and marketing facilities and in the matter of giving technical advice, the Provincial Governments can render services of far-reaching importance for the development of industries.

It is, however, the Central Government which can primarily help the industries. The regulation of its tariff policy should be consistent with the best interests of the country. Since 1923, the Government has been following a policy of discriminate protection; but in practice the policy has not been worked in a manner that may give the maximum advantage of protection to Indian industries. In some cases the Government has not taken any action on the recommendations of the Tariff Board as in the case of glass industry, while in other cases steps subsequent to the granting of protection have neutralized its policy to a considerable extent.

In the case of the sugar industry, the imposition of the sugar Excise duty has induced the competitive capacity of the sugar industry in Indian markets; while in the case of the iron and steel industry, even the revenue duties have been withdrawn according to the Steel Protection Act of 1935. In fact, this vacillating fiscal policy, which is dictated more by Imperial interests than by purely industrial considerations of India, has been responsible for the shyness of Indian capital. This fact has been admitted even by the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee. The fiscal policy of the Government should be brought now into consonance with the interests of our industries than has been done hitherto. When negotiating trade agreements with other countries, Indian interests must be fully kept in view and Indian business opinion should be taken into confidence to the same extent to which the mercantile community is consulted in other countries in such matters.

Better banking facilities should be provided. The Industrial Commission laid a great emphasis in this connection; while the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended the establishment of a Provincial Industrial Corporation in each of the major provinces. It is necessary that the main recommendations of the Banking Committee should be given effect to as early as possible. The changes that are being effected in the Indian Companies Act in relation to the institution of the Managing Agency should be welcomed.

Industrial research should be encouraged in India as in other countries. In Germany, research problems pertaining to industries are distributed among the various institutes of science and university colleges of engineering and technology. Similar steps can be taken in this country also. In the U. S. A., the amount of money spent annually on industrial research, according to the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade, comes to Rs. 22.5 crores. Technical and industrial education should be encouraged along the Japanese model.

Trade Commissions should be appointed in foreign countries to explore the

possibilities of demand for Indian goods in those countries. Canada with a total trade of the same value as that of India maintains about 22 trade commissioners abroad. They send reports regularly to the Government at home about the developments in industry and trade in countries to which they are attached. This information is published in the *Commercial Intelligence Journal* of Canada, a publication of the Department of Trade and Commerce. In India also there is the Commercial Intelligence section of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, whose activities should be enlarged.

Railway freight rates in India should be remodelled to suit the interests of Indian industries. The existing arrangements are not satisfactory, and there is an impression among Indian businessmen that there are concession rates on imported goods, but that the rates and fares from and to industrial centres in the country are high and they constitute a great burden on industry. The rates for coal, cotton and other raw materials to industrial centres, and for finished products from those centres to internal markets, should be reduced as far as possible.

The exchange policy of the Government of India has been encouraging foreign competition, and protection has been neutralized to the extent of 12½ per cent. thereby. It is said in some quarters that the devaluation of the sterling in gold must give an advantage to Indian products in foreign countries since the rupee is limited to the sterling. But in reality it does not give an advantage in the markets of *sterling bloc* countries. The ratio policy of India should be in conformity with her industrial interests.

The problems arising from foreign capital should also be reviewed. The External Capital Committee proposed certain restrictions on foreign capital in India. According to the recommendations of the Committee, foreign concerns should be registered in India with rupee capital; a certain proportion of shares should be reserved for persons of Indian domicile; a certain proportion of directors must be Indians chosen by Indian shareholders; and reasonable facilities should be provided

for the training of Indian apprentices. Some of these suggestions have been incorporated in the Indian Constitution Act. But more is necessary to be done. The provisions of the Act relating to commercial discrimination will be handicaps of a serious nature and should be modified at an early date.

In progressive countries like Japan, Germany, and Great Britain, the Government keeps a close eye on the development of industries. The Government in such countries has done much for their industrial advancement. Sir Arthur Salter once remarked that Indian industries, while already important enough, are at present small in comparison with her agriculture, and small also in relation to the future extension which they are no doubt destined to achieve. In other words, India is not fully utilizing her abundant national resources and vast opportunities for industrial development. Efforts should, therefore, be directed, both of the people and the Government, to achieve this object so that India may occupy her right status in the development of industries.

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Paramountcy & Responsible Government in States

BY MR. C. S. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

THE statement of Earl Winterton in Parliament that ordinarily the Indian Princes need not take previous explicit permission of the Crown to introduce Responsible Government in their full powered states, and that such introduction is only consistent with their sovereignty, has clarified the attitude of the British Crown in that matter beyond any further doubt or misgiving.

This attitude of the British Crown is but an enunciation of the spirit pervading and underlying the Government of India Act of 1935. Under the new Act, as we shall explain lower down, there has been, in the language of eminent jurists and constitutional thinkers, an inheritance of a large part of the right of Paramountcy by the Government of India.

It was at one time contended by eminent jurists and statesmen that Paramountcy was vested with the British Indian Government and not with the Crown. Naturally this gave rise to fear in the minds of Indian Princes that this trend of thought would lead gradually to encroachment of British India on their economic and political interests. The result of their attempts consequently to preserve their contact exclusively with the Crown is recorded in the proceedings of the Butler Committee. But even the Butler Committee do not recommend the prevention or the prohibition of the introduction of Responsible Government in the states, but they cast a duty on the Crown to safeguard the ruler of the state from internal rebellion or chaos. It does not prevent a smooth transfer of power from the ruler to his subjects. It has left the definition of Paramountcy vague and indefinite with a view to suit changing conditions and environments.

But the Princes were not completely satisfied by this attitude, and they wanted to express in stronger language their views on the question of introducing responsible government in their states, and they gave sufficient vent to their ideas in their deliberations on the question of Federation.

The Maharajah of Patiala's speech in the Chamber of Princes in February 1935, made it clear that the rulers of Indian states, while helping British India to achieve constitutional advance, were jealous about their own internal sovereignty.

Those of the Indian politicians who desire our entry into the Federation, do so in the hope that in the near future we will be forced by circumstances to introduce in our states democratic forms of government. We are thankful that our friends in British India should have given us a clear indication of their views. While we can assure them that the Princes of India have always been willing to do whatever is best for their people and will always be ready to accommodate themselves and their constitutions to the spirit of the times, we must frankly say that if British India is hoping to compel us to wear on our healthy body politic the Nossus Shirt of a discredited political theory, they are living in a world of unreality. But they will under no circumstances permit utilisation of the Constitution for interference between themselves and their people. The sovereign rights, prerogatives and privileges of the states are inherent in them and guaranteed by solemn treaties.

Thus the Princes emphasised that paramountcy, or any express provision in the Government of India Act, should never compel them to introduce responsible government in their states on the sole ground of their sovereignty being inviolate and inviolable.

The statement of Earl Winterton, following close on the heels of the Cochin Proclamation guaranteeing responsible government to the people of the state, and made in answer to a query arising out of the observations of the Travancore Government in the matter of introducing democratic government in native states, is significant and memorable. Not only has one Indian state like Cochin departed from the uncompromising attitude of the Princes displayed by the speech of the Maharajah of Patiala quoted above, and has shown a distinct inclination to co-operate with democratic British India, but also have the plenipotentiaries of Whitehall placed a wholesome progressive interpretation on the theory of Paramountcy. Now by the Government of India Act, the same paramountcy, which was once the sheet-anchor of the Political Department in

their encroachment on the internal sovereignty of the states, has, according to Earl Winterton, become the gospel of political progress, advance, and unification of India.

The tendency seems to be to vest paramountcy more and more in the Government of India or a future Federation by a sort of decentralisation of power from the Crown. That is the reason why the central federal government is based on the principle of safeguards giving protection to the Indian states, minorities, etc. By sheer logic of convenience and consistency, this result has to come. Indian states may enter into the Federation on certain subjects and keep out of the Federation for other subjects specially reserved. The question will be, while the Federal legislature, the Federal court and the Federal executive have complete jurisdiction over the federal subjects, can there be a concurrent jurisdiction of the Paramount Power as well the Governor-General of India over the non-federal subjects, especially when these non-federal subjects conflict with Provincial and other matters and in matters requiring the use of the special powers of the Governor-General relating to his special responsibilities? Further, some states may not enter into the Federation. Are they to be under the jurisdiction of both the Paramount Power and Governor-General?

Thus balance of convenience, consistency and the necessity for one undivided central authority, especially in times of great emergencies like a war threatening the whole of India when Indian states have to be protected, etc., require that a large part of paramountcy should be exercised by the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India. The logic and reason for this state of central control by the Governor-General is the regard and respect for the very sovereignty that Indian states have been fighting for.

It is very difficult at this stage to say what amount of paramount power has passed to the Governor-General, but a working of the Government of India Act would naturally conduce to the diversion of paramount power centralised in the

Crown, to the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India.

Let us briefly analyse the reasoning behind Earl Winterton's statement and the constitutional principles underlying it:

Indian states, though subordinate to the Paramount Power, can on no account be said to have surrendered their internal sovereignty. It is only in consequence of the right of internal sovereignty that the prince or chief grants powers of government to the people. Paramountcy of Indian states is nothing but subordinate allegiance for protection, and the states cannot be said to be strictly under Feudal subordination or sovereignty.

The relations between States and the Crown are based on treaties, defining and delimiting their powers *inter se* though oftentimes conventions have altered the rule. The British Crown is bound to protect the rights and person of the ruler of the state, which means ordinarily in cases of rebellion. But the recommendations of the Butler Committee do not prevent the smooth devolution of power from the prince or chief to his subjects. Sovereignty is a wider term than Kingship and, as in England, Sovereignty of Parliament, in the words of Professor Dicey, is not negation of Kingship in England, the Indian states can have also a Parliament existing side by side with their rulers. The Parliament of the Indian *Raj* can be carried on by ministers, as in England, with a nominal ruler who is above party faction or prejudice.

The Prince of an Indian state can reasonably distinguish between the sovereignty of his state and his princely status and also reconcile both. The British Crown cannot interfere in the ruler's interpretation of sovereignty and say that the Prince alone is the state in law and that he cannot part with his powers to his people. The conception of a state, apart from the prince and without prejudice to his individuality, is quite possible as in England. This is nothing but the theory of constitutional monarchy, which Lord Lothian recently expounded as being applicable to Indian states without derogation to the Paramount Power.

Now having seen the trend of constitutional thinking which the announcement has implied, let us only mention, as a word of caution, that Earl Winterton's statement, or Lord Lothian's statement, should not be interpreted as overlooking the essential fact that there must always be a central executive at the head of the state, which can be made answerable by tutelage or subordination in the event of maladministration. That right of interference in cases of maladministration, or chaos or internal disorder, has never been given up by the statement of Earl Winterton, and hence it has a great bearing on the degree of responsibility that could be conferred on the people of the states, especially in view of sectarian and religious troubles. Of course, conditions of the states will differ from one another, yet wisdom and practical statesmanship, as in the case of Cochin, would demand of the ruler of the Indian state to introduce sufficient safeguards in the devolution of power which may be released gradually as people rise to the occasion.

The Government of India Act by Section 6, Chapter I, Part II, and Section 311 has widened the connotation of the word "ruler" in order to include 'any other person recognised by His Majesty' and thus implying the possibility of Indian states achieving responsible government. Only if the form of government is not constitutional monarchy, it would appear that the President of the Republic or other Officer should be recognised by His Majesty.

The ideal of the Indian National Congress, i.e., Independence as their goal, is not suited to the condition of the Indian states, and it is only proper that the Congress does not actively work towards democratic government in the states. The rulers of Indian states possessing the tradition and heritage of ancient culture, and idealism, whether in art, morals or philosophy, are just like the House of Lords in England, a necessary conservative element which will preserve democracy from rushing headlong into communism and prevent the catastrophe which has befallen many a nation to-day. The presence of the Indian Prince in the Federal Government of India, where all the

units are responsibly governed, will conduce towards a democracy of the Eastern type with all the benefits of the Hindu tradition of Kingship of the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha, coupled with all the noble elements of the Western type but without its evils. We look forward with fervent hope that very soon all the Indian states will introduce constitutional monarchy in their states with safeguards, if necessary, and unite in a Federal India with common aspirations and ideals.

APHRODITE ANADYOMENE

By "R."

What is life? What joy
Sans golden love?
An if love cloy
Kind powers above,
My soul destroy!

MIMNERMUS.

Despair and gloom dislign when from the
[foam
Gleams Aphrodite over all the drear
Landscape, that loomed through many a
[misty tear
Obscurely and held out no hope of home.
Her radiance lights the darkness where we
[roam
With rainbow hues and spreading far and
[near
Glorious gladness still our every fear,
Until her lustre gilds earth's leaden loam.
Flaming she folds us, all aflame we fire,
Enveloped, overwhelmed, entranced,
And our transported spirits winging soar
Beyond the realms where fancy dares
[aspire,
Far past the farthest sun's far sphere
[advanced
To everlasting love's mysterious shore.

CROSSING THE COLOUR BAR: A STORY

By MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY

—:O:—

"THE colour of his skin makes no difference to the colour of his soul, Mary," remonstrated Mrs. Farrar's husband.

"That's all very well from an idealistic point of view, Nicholas, but in practical life there is a barrier against colour. Irrespective of his birth and breeding, or his soul, an Eastern is not considered our equal. It would be disastrous, mark my words, to ask Jaffer to come and live here and so meet Gyp intimately. They are the same age, both impressionable, and should not be brought up together."

"If you believe I'm right about the life principle, Mary, there's no more to be said. You would rise above public opinion and its spurious standards of convenient justice. It is sheer hypocrisy. I will cable Darsi that he might send Jaffer."

Mrs. Farrar left the room. Many times she had pleaded with her husband not to bring young Jaffer Darsi to live with them when he came to England to study. He had opposed her all through, and now argued on the spiritual basis. She admitted to herself there was much wisdom in his reasoning, even if it were contrary to Western judgment, but it meant grave danger to her only daughter, Gyp.

On his way to the City, Mr. Farrar cabled Jaffer's father, with whom he had close business relationships, to send his son. A few weeks afterwards they met the youth at Victoria Station. He was a well-built boy, athletic, alert in movement. As he was introduced to Gyp, who stood about his own height, his keen eyes lit with pleasure, for she gave him a warm welcome. In his own land, English girls of his age treated him contemptuously.

In the intimate relationships of home, Mrs. Farrar tried her best to be kind to the lad gracefully suppressing her feelings. Gyp, on the other hand, was fascinated by his companionship. It was not the mere novelty of his being an Eastern boy which attracted her, for her feeling towards Jaffer soon grew to one of affectionate friendship. Gyp admired his cleverness,

his sporting instincts, and, above all, his charming manners. Perhaps, too, her father's views had some influence in the moulding of her opinions. She argued often with her mother, who was ceaselessly warning her against becoming too friendly with Jaffer.

"Why is it Gyp, I am treated so differently by girls here to those I meet in my own country?" Jaffer queried. Gyp would smile, and tell him not to bother his head about the snobbish daughters of some officials.

Days passed quickly enough. Gyp and Jaffer became rivals in tennis, boating, and scholarship. Out of school they were always together, sport, and country walks, taking up their leisure hours.

Five years had been spent in this intimate life of brother and sister, when Jaffer went up to Cambridge. During vacations, Jaffer returned and was welcomed like a son by Mr. Farrar. His wife, however, saw the boy and girl friendship had unconsciously developed into something far deeper.

Her husband refused to believe "such nonsense", as he called her suggestion. "You are only storing up trouble for those children, Nicholas," she argued. "One day, God alone knows how soon, you will find you have made a mistake, I beg of you, for Gyp's sake at least, before it is too late, to break this friendship now Jaffer is at Cambridge. Each time he comes down they are encouraged by you in the tragedy of a mixed marriage."

Mr. Farrar raised his hands in despair. He had argued the matter out to its conclusion in the light of religion, philosophy, logic, principle . . . and still she talked of tragedy. He sauntered out into the garden to avoid being drawn into any further discussion. His domestic life had been perfectly happy, except for these bitter disagreements on the companionship of Gyp and the only son of his great friend, Walli Darsi, the rich Indian merchant.

Seeing her father in the garden, Gyp ran out and caught him by the arm.

"Hullo, Dad!" she cried, "I've had a ripping letter from Jaf. He has bought a two-seater, and intends coming home in it this weekend. Isn't it topping! Dad," she continued, lowering her voice confidentially, "Mum told me to-day that Jaf and I had better be careful. She said such friendships as ours always lead to unhappiness. She hinted that seeing each other so often we might be falling in love as we are growing up. I was angry, but I did not show it. Mum is such a dear, although I think she fusses far too much. But if we did fall in love we could not marry, could we, Dad? You see," blushing furiously, she glanced appealingly at her father, and did not finish her explanation.

"Don't think of those things, Gipsy," coaxed her father, mentally perturbed. "Love is something we must not discuss. It just comes, irrespective of nationality and colour. It happens mysteriously. The world laughs, or frowns, but love is an autocrat."

"But Dad, some of my friends already say rotten things about my being so much about with Jaf. Nellie Janis went so far as to say we would be outcasts when we were married. No one would mix with us socially, and I especially would have an awful time. Oh, Daddy! I am so unhappy when my mother and my friends speak like this."

Mr. Farrar put his arm about his daughter. They were the greatest of pals. Her happiness was his sole concern. If he thought he was injuring his child's life for a moment, he would not allow young Darsi to enter the house again. But he was convinced no harm could come of their friendship, and told her so.

Gyp confessed her fondness of Jaf. Human affections, so ran his thoughts, were not to be broken by man when they were made by Life. Who had control over these emotions? Who was there to point an accusing finger and say they were wrong, when Life itself had made such a union possible? Nevertheless! Why was he so greatly disturbed? All his logic, principle, religion, philosophy, came to the aid of his waning confidence in his beliefs. Yet within him, deep

down in the depths of his soul a small voice protested, and which refused to countenance this friendship developing into marriage.

Father and daughter walked side by side in the silence of the garden. Neither was inclined to speak; Farrar was at a loss to advise.

"You're not in love with Jaf, are you Gyp?" eventually came her father's blunt question.

"Father!" exclaimed Gyp, entirely taken aback by his question.

"Don't get excited, my child, I merely asked that we might try to put your mother's mind at rest about this matter."

"Suppose I am in love with Jaf—what then?" Gyp stopped and confronted him.

"Gyp darling, then we must submit to the inevitable. No power can stand against love. Why should it? It is the greatest gift of Life, of God, and cannot be denied. It is, of all the passions, the most natural, and therefore must be right. I was merely thinking of the bitter opposition there would be to your marriage, my child. You see, we are up against conventional law in this case. Although many have attempted to break down this soul-destroying opposition, the lives of those who flout this hypocritical law are made a veritable hell."

Farrar was downcast. The corners of his mouth twitching nervously, but the fight he saw in his daughter's eyes renewed his courage.

"Well, Daddy, if, some day, Jaf did ask me to marry him, I would not refuse, even though convinced of all the things you and Mother have said."

"Has Jaf ever mentioned love to you, dear?"

"No, not in the conventional way. We take it for granted. It came natural to Jaf and me. Months ago he asked if he could kiss me. I told him it was very silly for him to ask. We were such pals."

Farrar was greatly surprised, but managed to hide his feelings. It had gone so far.

Well, it was the inevitable end. But his own words haunted him now. Was he afraid of that end? He was not too sure. All his talk, his brave words, about the all-powerfulness of the life principle, the challenge of love to conventional law, what were those really? Why did his views not sustain him now, in this crisis? Surely his daughter's intimate affection for Jaf, their kisses, that was natural. Certainly it was natural, he assured himself. He was sick with fear. Gyp sensed it.

"Gyp, darling," he said consolingly, "no law on earth can stop people falling in love. Love is right. Love is greater than law, my child."

"I am glad you think so, Daddy. It's my opinion too. You always help me when I have been disturbed by listening too seriously to Mum. Jaf will be home tomorrow, and his room is not half ready yet. I like to do it myself. I'll run off now."

She kissed her father, and the feel of her rich, warm lips set his numbed heart beating again. Up and down the lawn he passed—the shadows of evening lengthened into the velvety blackness of night. His tortured mind told him it was the inevitable, nothing could stop it—now. But why this gnawing at his mind? His wonderful philosophy failed to buoy him up. He was dreading the thing he had fostered—a mixed marriage. Great wealth would come to them from such a union. But the price! Was Mary right after all? She had always opposed his views on the question, in fact, had she had her way the children would never have met. But, pride in his advanced opinions on life and love, his contempt for convention, brought consolation. He went indoors outwardly calm.

Farrar journeyed to the City next day a dazed individual, mentally preoccupied and dreamy, not the usual alert business man.

That evening, as twilight fell, Gyp went down the drive to await Jaffer in his new car. Her young heart beat fast. She loved Jaffer, and would marry him in spite of everything.

A low purring in the distance sent the colour rising to her cheeks. A two-seater turned into the drive.

"Jaf!" cried Gyp excitedly, as the car ran level with her hiding place in the shadows. The brakes grunted, and the car stopped.

"Gypo!" Jaf exclaimed, jumping out of the car. "How ripping of you to come and wait for me here . . . I . . ." He said no more, but stood looking into her radiant face. With a sudden impulse he caught her hands to his lips, and kissed them reverently. Then she was in his arms, clinging to him, returning his kisses.

"Jaf, I have missed you so much," she murmured.

"Darling," he said, "I never want to leave you again. *But I must.*"

His emotion startled her. What did he mean? He had only another term at college.

"Jaf, what's happened?" she asked, fearfully.

"After dinner, Gypo, I'll tell you in the garden—not now. Come on, let's go indoors." Jaf moved slowly to the car, and got in behind the wheel. Gyp, stunned by an intuitive warning, did not follow him, but walked up the drive alone. Her father and mother came out to greet Jaffer.

Gyp stole away to her room, and for the first time since childhood burst into tears. What had happened? What was going to happen, she asked herself. Why had she had that discussion with her father? A sinister feeling enveloped her.

During dinner conversation turned chiefly on Home Rule for India. Mr. Farrar, Jaf, and Gyp were convinced of the ultimate success of such a scheme, but Mrs. Farrar held the minority fort, unflinchingly. She was bitterly opposed to any such proposal. To her everything Eastern seemed designed for their destruction.

"Jaf and I are going to walk in the garden," said Gyp, after coffee. They left the room with a veneer of light-heartedness which neither felt.

"Well, Jaf?" blurted Gyp, clinging to his arm as they disappeared into the filbert

grove at the extreme end of the garden. "What has happened?" He caught her in his arms, but momentarily turned his face to choke back his emotion.

"Gyp," he muttered. "I wrote to father asking his sanction to our betrothal. He says he can never consent to our marriage, but if your parents agree to it he will not put any obstacle in the way. He says we will be in need of money, as we will be considered outcasts and bounded from all decent society, so he proposes to settle twenty thousand pounds on us. His decision has nearly broken my heart. And Gyp, darling, I have seen it in the East. But not till I grew to love you, to worship you, did I realise what a tragedy it would be for you. I could live it down, but to see you scorned, friendless amongst your own people, treated as an outcast by women of my nationality, I could not bear that—not even for love's sake. I must go away—for ever."

"Jaf," Gyp murmured, "I cannot leave you, for I love you. You know my mother is against us, and would never consent to our marriage. My father and I had a chat yesterday afternoon, and his opinion, too, is changing. When I told him I loved you, he seemed half stunned. But Jaf, we cannot separate. It is wrong; wicked in the sight of God. Can't we go to some unknown place, to live our lives in our own way? Promise me you will never, never leave me, Jaf."

"Gyp," he whispered, holding her close to him, "wherever we go on earth, we would be outcasts—even the Blacks in Central Africa would treat us so. We cannot escape it. Our love is a crime in the eyes of the world. God! that these things should be! We must bow to the inevitable."

Inevitable! The word struck Gyp with a new and startling meaning. Her father had used it yesterday; she had seen tears in his eyes.

Jaf held her more closely to him, and she returned the warm pressure of his lips again and again.

"You must never leave me, Jaf," she cried. "Promise, dearest, *never*."

"We are made for each other," he urged, "there is only one way that can make us inseparable all through the ages. One way—the Eastern way." His voice sank to a whisper and a tremor passed through his body.

"Jaf! How can we be together, always? To lose you would be death to me."

"Death! That's it, Gyp, darling. In death there is no separation. Let us drink!—and live where there is no man-made law, where love is right in the sight of God."

She clung to him more passionately.

"It will soon end, Gyp—then we wake where love is greater than all law. God! We will cheat the life of the outcast; have each other—always!" He placed a small phial in her hands, and felt her warm fingers grip it with ecstasy.

"Goodbye, Gyp darling, we'll meet soon—very soon." He drained his tiny bottle, smiled at her with supreme self-control. Gyp closed her eyes. With a frightened gulp she swallowed the contents of the phial in her hand. As she swayed towards him, "inevitable" escaped from her lips.

Jaf's arms held her in a vice-like grip. They slipped away quietly, swiftly into the unconscious of oblivion.

Mrs. Farrar looked up suddenly from her book and glanced at the clock.

"Midnight, Nicholas," she cried, "and those children still out. Really, it must be stopped. I've warned you they will marry! Without our consent. Go and call them in."

On any other occasion Farrar would have resented her tone. But he rose heavily from his chair and sauntered down the garden path. He whistled, in friendly warning, as he saw them standing clasped in each other's arms.

They were unconscious of his presence. "Gyp," he called aloud. No answer. He went up to them and touched them. They never moved. Locked in each other's arms, they were asleep.

RECENT CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

HON. MR. HAYE: PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

THE first of the Convocation addresses for the season was the one delivered by the Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, Punjab, on February 19, at the Emerson College, Mooltan. "We cannot afford to adhere to obsolete methods of procedure in the field of education," said the Education Minister, "any more than we can in the fields of business or industry."

Our aim in education should be first to help students to come to a better understanding of themselves, and secondly, to inspire them to make an earnest effort to prepare themselves through such agencies as they may employ for unselfish service in a world of opportunity. And yet the world is full of dogmatic teachers who are giving instruction now practically in the same manner as their predecessors years ago with the assumption that their little call for change either in the subjects taught or in the methods of treatment. That is why they so often curb the initiative of their pupils.

The success of any educational enterprise must depend upon a friendly co-operative effort between the students and the professors and a united interest in a common goal. Educational institutions are not entirely responsible for the failure of students to get as much out of their educational experience as they should.

Students often fail to take advantage of the varied opportunities that are available to them while in college. The great majority of you who enroll in your educational institutions think when you meet the requirements of some fixed curriculum that you have fully justified your connection with the institution and that when you complete the requirements for a degree, as prescribed by some faculty, you are entitled to recognition as educated men and women. But I remind you that this is an exceedingly narrow view to take of one's educational opportunities.

Do not let your way of life be completely regulated for you or the range of pressure and restraints to which you will be subjected will become so wide and so profound that most of you will be deprived of the chance to experiment with yourselves.

"What is the best thing that you can carry away from your college," asked the Education Minister.

One of the greatest scientists of the last century, Pasteur, coined an aphorism which should be emblazoned upon every college portal: "Chance favours the

prepared mind." And what is the prepared mind?

It is a mind stored with the history and fruits of human experience. It is a mind which has been called upon in the course of its education to deal with problems, now of one kind, now of another. It is the kind of preparation which will fit you to see and grasp opportunity and to turn opportunity not to your own individual or selfish benefit but to the benefit of human kind.

That must be the aim of University education in India.

DR. C. R. REDDY: OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, addressing the Osmania University Convocation on March 1, paid a tribute to the lead that Hyderabad had given in the matter of university education in all departments.

It is to me and all educationists a matter of deepest gratification that the Osmania University, which struck an independent line of its own and added a new note of impressive grandeur to our system of university education, has been a success in which not merely Hyderabad but the entire country could take legitimate pride. The chief credit of the organization of university on lines, courageous to originality, belongs to my friend, Sir Akbar Hydari.

Dr. Reddy added that the most useful work that was being done by the Translation department of the University has made him feel that whatever was possible in Urdu to-day would be equally possible in Hindi, Telugu and every other language to-morrow. Therefore, the Osmania University was not making local but an All-India contribution of the highest fundamental value to our culture. He did not doubt that this originality of outlook, breeding faith and confidence in the future of Indian languages and culture was actuating the various departments organized in the University and that research and creative activities would consequently find a memorable illustration.

A band of young accomplished and enthusiastic teachers, composing different faculties, are a team which the greatest educationist in India would be proud to captain. The researches accomplished and going on, and the investigations in the theoretical and the applied fields of science, including zoology, physics, chemistry, civil engineering and mechanics, augur not merely an All-India but an international future for Osmania.

Addressing the graduates, Dr. Reddy exhorted them to reverence their leaders for "life's sterner trials" ahead of them.

It is not enough, in the words of a famous writer, that you have gone through the college; it is more to the purpose if the college has been through you.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS: CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University was held on the 5th of March, when the graduates were treated to an inspiring address by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, who is well known in India as "Dinabandhu" or the Friend of the Poor. In a characteristic exhortation, Mr. Andrews told them how he himself came of a poor family, had to struggle through his student days in poverty and distress, and how they also could overcome the painful days of poverty if only they could cultivate friends round them. "Friendship is inspiration," said Mr. Andrews:

If this priceless boon of friendship had not been so bountifully given me in my own early college days, if I had not then learnt what may be truly called the art of friendship, I should never have been able to make friends so easily in Santiniketan itself when I went there from the Punjab. One step led on to another.

What I actually found at Santiniketan when I lived there was the old Cambridge atmosphere all over again—that close touch between the teachers and the students; those small groups and friendships formed between the students themselves, which is the noblest avenue of learning. Above all, we had in our Gurudeva an ideal teacher, whom we all could love and reverence. Thus we had our own education set in perfect surroundings. Both the teachers and the students lived together and learnt together. Friendship, to quote Dr. Whitehead, was inspiration.

Then he spoke eloquently of the transforming power of friendship and asked: "Can these ideal conditions still continue between pupils and teachers and also among fellow-students in a vast modern city like Calcutta, where simple friendly intercourse is hampered and restricted on every side by the crowd?"

His answer was that it was possible only in rare cases. But he suggested to the University authorities to consider whether the time had not arrived when they should remove some of the colleges to the suburban area of Calcutta.

With things as they existed—colleges overcrowded, staffs overworked, boarding houses overflowing—what could be done to prevent mere mass production of university degrees. "There is one principle," he said,

which may guide our thoughts, because its psychology has been thoroughly tested by experiment and proved scientifically sound. It is this that the small group enables the average man to make his own highest effort at intellectual attainment far better than the large group. For the crowded lecture hall is apt to leave the ordinary student unintelligently passive. He soaks in information like a sponge. He does not read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest his knowledge. He swallows it whole.

Here then is a psychological principle which may help the Calcutta University. The crowded class room is sub-personal, sub-human, herd-like. It does not carry men forward into that sphere of plain living and high thinking which alone can produce the scholar, the artist, the thinker, and the man of affairs.

We shall (therefore) seek to split up our classes and supervise personal work done by the pupil himself rather than aim at disciplining a vast crowd of students into a forced attention. In all this, we shall come back much dearer to the true personal relation of the *guru* and the *chela*, and be much less of a drill-master and an autocrat."

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S. GURUSWAMI PILLAI, B.A.

Secretary.

April '38.

A FEW FACTS ABOUT POLAND

BY MR. MAURICE FRYDMAN

POLAND ranks fifth in Western Europe with her population of 35 millions, sixth with her territory of 150,000 square miles.

India, on the whole, knows very little about Poland and what is known, is generally distorted to the disfavour of Poland. Yet it would be difficult to find another country in the Western World, which is both spiritually and historically more akin to India than Poland. The knowledge of Poland's past and present would certainly be interesting and instructive to the students of Humanity in India.

Space does not permit me to go into an extensive survey of the past and present of Poland. I propose, therefore, to give a few facts only, a few outstanding landmarks, which will enable the attentive reader to create for himself the general outlines of what Poland was, what she is, and what she can become in the future.

Between the Carpathian Mountains in the South and the Baltic Sea in the North, on a vast plain watered by the mother river of Poland, Wisla, surrounded by countries known presently as Germany from the West, Czechoslovakia from the South-west, Roumania from the South, Russia from the East, Lithuania from the North and Eastern Prussia from the North-west, dwelt from immemorial times Slavonic tribes, of which Poles were one.

These tribes were worshipping Nature gods in timber, shrines, growing corn, rye and wheat, spinning and weaving, linen, breeding horses, cattle, sheep and bees, living in self-governing and self-dependant villages. They were a sturdy, simple and peaceful folk, loving music, song, cooking and painting on wood, ready always to defend their own, but rather careless about invading other people's land. The social system was patriarchal, with a high degree of respect for womanhood. Many goddesses in the old Slavonic faith bear testimony to it. Wherever God is worshipped in woman's form, the women get a share of that worship, which makes them equal and sometimes superior to man. Priestesses were very common—

the best proof of a quiet, sweet and courteous folk.

Their peace-loving nature made them leave a very slight impression on the history of those remote times, which records wars and bloodsheds and leaves happy people alone. Archaeological research has proved beyond doubt that at the time of Julius Caesar, the Slavonic tribes had orderly laid out cities, with roads and protective walls, knew several arts and crafts including cart-making, practised agriculture, animal breeding, fishing and bee-keeping (not wild bee hunting). About 800 A.C. they were still devoted to their Nature gods, but the pressure of less peaceful Christian tribes from the West forced them to enter into defensive alliances and finally, when the Polanian tribe elected one of their wheel-wrights, Piast, as their head for his wisdom and statesmanship, he succeeded in bringing into permanent political union several Slavonic tribes who adopted the name of Poles. Piast is the only founder of a nation in history, who was neither a conqueror nor a warrior, but a peaceful craftsman. And the nation, established without warfare, detested warfare throughout its history and rarely engaged in other but defensive wars.

Hundred years later, the Poles were converted to Christianity, but managed somehow to reconcile the worship of their Nature gods with the new Christian creed for many centuries. About 1000 A.C. Poland was already a powerful and prosperous country and continued to grow till the middle of the 13th century.

Tartars came to Europe at that time, conquered the Russian tribes, but were stopped by Poland's knighthood, who have saved Europe from devastation.

It is only by comparing the further dwarfed development of Russia with the development of Poland and Western Europe, that we can fully appreciate what the Tartars' invasion would mean for European civilisation. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Poland was rapidly developing. Agricultural improvements, building of towns, opening of mines, founding of the Cracow University, the second in Europe,

promulgating of a code of laws, the first complete code in Europe, building of state granaries—one followed the other in rapid succession.

Poland was the only country at that time to give refuge to the Jews, driven out from most of the European States. Towards the end of the 14th century, Poland and Lithuania entered into a permanent political union reinforced by the marriage of the Prince of Lithuania with the Queen of Poland, and inter-marriage between leading Polish and Lithuanian families. This union, concluded quite voluntarily, proved extremely stable and outlived the partition of Poland in 1795.

In the 15th century, the Teutonic order of the knights of the Cross, plundering and murdering the peaceful Pagan tribes in the Eastern Prussia for the sake of their souls, was badly defeated by Poland and promised better conduct. In the next century, Eastern Prussia having to choose between the absolute rule of the Prussian king and the democratic Poland, chose the latter and became a part of Poland by voluntary union. This system of free union with neighbours proved quite successful, and during the 15th and 16th century, Poland increased considerably in area and population. At the end of the 16th century, she was the largest state in Europe, but not by conquest. The respect for law, civil liberties, internal peace, religious and racial tolerance drew to her those foreign territories of Lithuania, Livonia, Prussia, and Ruthenia. In Poland, there was at no time religious persecution nor inquisition, racial intolerance, absolutism or tyranny of rulers. In Poland, the politically active class amounted to 10 per cent. of the total population and at times when civil liberty was unknown in Europe, it was electing its President who was king only by name and had to respect the laws of the nation under sanction of dismissal. The Pole respected the king and obeyed him within the frame of laws agreed upon by the Parliament. But the respect was genuine and shown by the fact that not one king in the whole of Poland's history of 1000 years was ever murdered or executed. The 16th and 17th century witnessed the heroic fight of Poland against

the Turk invasion, which ultimately broke, unable to sweep over Poland.

The 16th century was the most brilliant in Polish history. Already in 1490, i.e., 259 years before the Habeas Corpus Act of England, Poland issued her law that nobody shall be imprisoned unless legally convicted. The Polish Parliament was established in the 15th century, and in the 16th she was a regular republic with kings elected for life but not hereditary.

Poland became a safe refuge of all oppressed people in a most ghastly intolerant and fanatic Europe. All persecuted creeds and opinions found shelter in Poland. Jews came from Germany in the 11th century, Protestants in the 16th. When in England, the people of the King Henry VIII were forced to change their religion to suit the fancy of their master, the contemporary Polish king said about religious differences: "I am not the king of your consciences."

The 17th century was spent in repulsing the invasions of Turks, Swedes and Russians. Continuous wars weakened the country considerably, yet Poland abhorred a standing salaried army, so common in the absolutistic and militaristic Europe of that time. Poland never maintained a large army in time of peace. War could be declared only by Parliament and not by the king. There was a law that only defensive wars could be waged and usually they were considered as finished when the enemy was pushed out of frontiers.

At that time there were but two nations—Poland and England who enjoyed Parliamentary government, and in many respects the people in Poland were more free and more safe than in England. The civil liberties of Poland in the very middle of the absolutistic European monarchies were a constant and dangerous example in their eyes. Especially in the 18th century when people began to murmur against the tyranny of the kings, Poland was constantly cited as a country of exemplary freedom. To suppress her became a matter of expediency. Internal weakness due on one hand to freedom, which began to grow beyond the limits of national safety, on the other to the absence

of a standing army: and mutual understanding of three powerful absolute monarchies, Russia, Germany and Austria have broken down a free and proud nation. It was the time of brute force—and brute force broke Poland into 3 pieces, partitioned between the conquerors. The 19th century has witnessed several efforts of Poles to regain their independence, ruthlessly suppressed. In spite of all efforts of the conquerors, they have maintained their culture language, customs and aspirations. The ideal of freedom has never died. It was gathering strength as years were passing. The Greatest War weakened the oppression. The Poles prepared their future army about 20 years before the Great War, and when it came, they immediately organised small armed units wherever they could and got their freedom out of the furnace of war.

Joseph Pilsudski was the father of Poland's independence. He was one of the greatest men Poland had, and he taught Poland a lesson of freedom through courage, freedom through integrity, that will not be forgotten.

Yet 125 years of foreign domination have left deep scars on the national body, although just before the partition, Poland was noted for the most progressive constitution in the world of that period, which even now could serve as a model in many respects. It established the first ministry of education in the World, abolished serfdom and undertook a large program of social and economic improvements. The partition put an end to the reforms and made national development extremely difficult for more than a century. Henceforward Poland could get crumbs from the table of her oppressors, who did all they could to crush her culture and industries. When independence came, Poland found herself without industries, with backward peasantry, with town demoralised in the service of foreign rulers, without money and with a war with Bolsheviks 1918-1920, destroying the last resources of the reborn nation. Yet it repulsed the invasion and began the building of everything anew. She is still building, in spite of her most dangerous situation between Nazist Germany and Bolshevik Russia.

After 20 years of independence, how does Poland compare with other countries? If Russia is included in the map of Europe, Poland's population ranks sixth, her territory sixth, arable land fourth. Rich in ores and minerals, Poland is mining coal, oil, iron, salt, potassium, zinc and lead. She supplies 1-5th of world demand of potatoes and is one of the greatest producers of hemp and beet sugar. She has got the largest factory of fertilisers in the world. She has got one of the best and most accurate railways in the World, with running stock of Polish-make and famous make too. She is building her own motor cars, cycles and airplanes. Within a couple of years, she has built a port that is the most modern and best equipped on the Baltic Coast. Her air lines are the cheapest and safest in Europe.

Seventeen per cent. of the nation's budget is spent on education. All children between 7 and 14 years of age get compulsory and gratuitous education.

Poland has 28,000 primary schools, 800 high schools, 6 universities, 10 higher academies.

Every town and village have a health office, where free medical help is given. Next to Denmark, Poland has gone further than any other country in Europe in public health and social insurance. She has erected the biggest students' home in the world in Warsaw.

Physical education stands high and is very popular. The number of World records established by Poles is the best proof of their being good sports too.

The future of Poland is slowly taking shape. It is a development towards freedom—however hampered by internal and external conditions. The main external obstacle is the unsettled condition of the World, which forces Poland to spend a large part of her budget on military preparedness. The internal obstacle is the clergy with definitely fascist sympathies. Yet the love of freedom is in the very blood of the nation and we see the future of Poland in the full flowering of freedom of the individual within the frame of a free nation.

Freedom was and has remained the key-note of Poland's history.

THE INDORE PROCLAMATION

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WHEN in November 1936, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore made the now famous Temple Entry Proclamation, it was widely realised that the movement was not likely to be confined to that State only but was bound to have far-reaching effects on other States and on the British Provinces as well. It is now gratifying to see that the Indore Durbar has followed suit and ranged itself on the side of progress. The Movement for Social reform has received fresh impetus from the action of H. H. the Maharaja of Indore, whose Proclamation removes at one stroke the many disabilities from which the Harijans of that State have been long suffering. We congratulate the Durbar on this gracious act of justice and humanity. The Proclamation itself is an inspiring document calling on the people to march abreast of the times and promising sustained State help in furthering their advancement.

The Proclamation says:

Whereas lately we have become convinced of the urgent necessity of effective measures being adopted for the amelioration of the so-called depressed classes and the speedy removal of untouchability and the restrictions that follow in its wake; and whereas, on a full investigation it has come to our knowledge that the principal disabilities from which the depressed classes suffer relate to the following: 1. Bar to Temple Entry. 2. Use of wells. 3. Use of public places such as hotels, restaurants and use of public conveyances. 4. Residence in certain Mohallas. 5. Education in schools. 6. Recruitment in Government service. 7. Entry into Public buildings and Offices, and 8. Wearing of certain ornaments, taking out of processions and performing certain ceremonies; we have now come to the decision that the future policy of our Government would be to take all possible and practicable steps to ensure a speedy removal of all social restrictions and disabilities to which the so-called depressed classes or Harijans have so far been subject.

Thus in the Indore State, there will no longer operate any of those restrictions that for ages have been imposed on a section of the people, merely because of their birth. There will hereafter be no discrimination in the treatment of the so-called "Untouchables" in the State.

In pursuance of this decision, says the Proclamation,

we hereby declare our pleasure and ordain and command that all State temples within the limits of the State be thrown open to Harijans for *darshan* according to the rules that may be laid down by us.

All existing public wells as well as wells constructed by the State hereafter, be invariably open to all classes alike. This is our policy, but in enforcing it in regard to the existing public wells, the District Officers will act in their discretion according to local needs and circumstances. All concerned should make it possible for the Harijans to have an unrestricted use of public places such as hotels, restaurants and public conveyances.

Our Minister in charge of Municipalities should, subject to his discretion, in the light of the conditions and requirements of a particular locality, allow Harijans to build or own houses in all areas open to higher castes and communities. Full and hearty effect be given to the existing orders relating to the unrestricted admission of the Harijan's children into State educational institutions.

Nor are the rights of the Harijans confined to temple entry and the use of the public wells and schools. Avenues of employment hitherto closed to them are to be thrown open to deserving Harijans. The Proclamation adds:

There shall be no restriction in the matter of recruitment to State services except where the incumbent has essentially to be recruited from a particular class or community. All State public offices and buildings are open to Harijans for entry. There shall be no restrictions on the wearing of ornaments, the taking out of processions and performance of ceremonies.

We understand that steps are being taken to give effect to these generous intentions of the Durbar, and that His Highness has sanctioned an annual grant for propaganda and other work for the uplift of the Harijans.

In advising His Highness to take this momentous step, Sir S. M. Bapna, who, for over a decade has been the guiding spirit of the Holkar's Government, has raised the prestige of Indore among the progressive States of India. Needless to add, Sir Bapna's excellent schemes of social uplift will be watched with keen interest and no little appreciation all over India.

SEPARATE CURRICULUM FOR WOMEN

BY

DR. MUHAMMAD HAFIZ SYED, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

(University of Allahabad)

IF education means the drawing out of the characteristic qualities of the individual taught, we have to be quite sure that all individuals are identical before going on to insist that there is no need for variety in the process of educating them. The differentiation of male and female in nature is a biological fact and the characteristics of the two as studied in the evolution of the race have led to divergence between man and woman lying at the root of human civilization. It is impossible to deny that the two differ in a variety of essential things, and the characteristic qualities of the two are complementary to each other in a fully developed and significant life. In mental, moral, physical and spiritual characteristics, the two come to develop differently and the adaptation of each to the environment is also unique. Even in childhood, some of these differences can be noticed; and as they grow up to maturity, the differences make characteristic qualities of each.

Corresponding to these differences between man and woman, the contribution of each to the culture and civilization of humanity differs. If the distinctive qualities of the two are obliterated, the loss would be appalling and in so far as education helped in the process, it would fail to perform its primary duty of completely developing by suitable exercise the characteristic qualities of each.

In addition to the evidence of biologists, our plea derives sanction from many distinguished educationists of the world, who believe that girls should have different curriculum from that for boys. The main reasons for their belief may be summarised as under:—

Up to a certain age and in a certain sense the boys and girls should have a common education but as soon as they become conscious of their separate duties and responsibilities, their educational curricula should naturally be devised on a different basis and principle, having regard to the division of labour and their special aptitude.

A woman has to play an important role in the regeneration of the race, evolution of social life and the cultural development of her own kind. All this is possible only through education. It is admitted on all hands that the mother is the first teacher of man. She should be as well equipped in the science and art of education as any teacher can be. Now the work of education is a really very serious and sacred vocation and needs very careful study of several relevant subjects, such as Child psychology, elementary knowledge of anatomy, physiology, dietetics, domestic economy, music, painting and other fine arts to enable her to observe and develop all the latent faculties of her dear ones. No teacher, however efficient, can possibly take as much interest in other's children as his or her own. Therefore, the mother needs special training.

The family is the first school and, perhaps, the most important one. We speak of principles imbued with one's mother's milk and apart from questions of heredity and inherited tendencies, the phrase implies the essential fact that the fundamentals of morality and knowledge gained at that age persist through life. Everywhere, therefore, the family is the most important of incalculable influences which go to make a man. If a child has a healthy home, one in which his body, his mind and his sensibilities get proper food and training, he grows up to a properly developed man. Physical development cannot be neglected in favour of intellectual training, because the future of the race is dependent on physical vitality. An intellectual education without proper æsthetic training would mean a mind devoid of imagination and knowledge without culture.

G. Spiller says: "The absence of a thorough education in home throws the whole burden of systematic education on the school, and since the children come, as a rule, ill-prepared to school, systematic education is almost paralysed. Education generally has to begin at birth, and if

neglected for seven years, and not encouraged at any time in the home, no school or any other power can make it effective. The need, above all needs is, therefore, a single system of education embracing home and school.*

A woman-journalist, a woman-lawyer, a woman-secretary and, etc., is more an exception than a rule in the economy of human life and under the stress of modern struggle for existence. What is in keeping with Nature's laws is her vocation of motherhood. The special duties of motherhood demand a separate curriculum of education.

The building of character or the formation of right habits and eradication of evil tendencies in little ones at an early age can only be done by well-educated mothers who, if they know how to discharge their duties by their children, will have little time left for any other occupation. In the Western countries whose customs and manners we Indians are so eager to imitate, a modern woman more often than not sedulously evades the irksome though all important task of motherhood, and the result is so disastrous that it has set their far-seeing statesmen at thinking about the future well-being of their respective nations.

No sensible person in India, who has the good of his country at heart, can ever counsel that women should be kept down. They should by all means be given liberal education, but with special reference to their needs and requirements. India is not England. Western ideas and Western methods cannot be wholly applied to Indian conditions.

A suggestion to devise a separate curriculum for Indian girls, in view of their special requirements and backward social environments she lives in, does by no means preclude her from fighting against unequal opportunities, unjust laws of marriage and inheritance.

She must be freed from her cage and given full share of freedom which is her birthright.

*The Training of the Child by G. Spiller, pp. 78.

A word more may be added about curriculum itself. All curricula, however carefully drawn up, are meant in their nature to meet the requirements of the average individual. In strict theory the average individual is non-existent. Every child, strictly speaking, is a unique visitant in the world and is an end itself. Not every teacher is a fit person to educate it. The child may or may not be fortunate enough to find its own teacher. As education is at present or can be organised, the child has to be taught in a class of many other children from books and exercises, meant and devised for average children. It has to grow up to be a girl or a boy upto the secondary stage in her or his education as an average individual. It is only when the University stage begins that the girl or the boy is in a position to exercise choice in the matter of subjects of study. The final choice of one special subject can only arise after graduation.

Just as every young man who joins the University is not intellectually fitted for the higher studies, in the same way every young woman who passes the Intermediate Examination cannot be supposed to have the mental equipment for the cultivation of advanced studies of University subjects. The students who carry on post-graduate studies are exceptionally well qualified for higher intellectual work. Evidently there can be no difference in the course of studies for such students, be they men or women. The question of separate curriculum arises only in the stage of the girl's earlier development, as distinct from a boy's and provides exercise for the dissimilar characteristic of each. These dissimilarities become fewer as higher intellectual progress is made until they disappear, when special branches of knowledge are cultivated. For one Madam Curie who makes epoch-making discoveries in science, a thousand women fall back upon the world from the schools and colleges and are content to live the average life in the world. A different curriculum must take account of this host of women, who live the average life in the world and are mothers, wives and sisters of the race.

ROADS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY MR. THAKUR, B.A. (Hons.), Dip. Ed.

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THE opening up of a country by roads is one of the most important steps in civilisation. The demand for roads is created at a very early stage in civilised life. It may even be said to precede civilisation, as the desire of social intercourse is all that is needed to originate it. And a completely developed system of roads may be regarded as one of the crowning triumphs and a sure test of civilisation.

Roads in the modern sense, that is to say, embanked lines of ways, well-drained, allowing the use of wheeled traffic, have existed in India from the most ancient times. In the first stage, land-roads were very primitive. They consisted often of little more than stones to guide the travellers and the emigrant. Then forests were burnt and passages were cleared. In the next stage, "slight attempts at improvements were made, rude bridges of planks were constructed and streams were forded". Gradually, as civilisation advanced and human needs multiplied, these crude ancient tracks were replaced by well-made roads of various kinds.

It is improbable that the Aryans, who came from the steppes of Central Asia, brought with them all civilisation and culture ready made that the Vedas are representative of. The original inhabitants of India, the pre-Vedic Indians, must have developed a high type of civilisation inasmuch as the Rigveda, the earliest Aryan record, while describing the many arts of peace and war, takes for granted many notable items of civilisation as already existing from time immemorial. Thus we find the mention of towns, large buildings and wide roads feasible for chariots and carts. From the remotest antiquity, the overland route from Indian centres of trade and commerce to Central and Western Asia existed. The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, the Indian Tiryus and Mycenae, have led to new discoveries of an unknown prehistoric past in India. The archaeologists have now lighted upon the remains of a long-forgotten civilisation. At Mohenjodaro,

the main street of the old city can still be discerned as a broad highway, running from the south bank of the river towards the south-east with houses fringing it on either side. What is surmised by the discoverer, Mr. Banerjea, to have been the Royal palace stood at this point where this road emerged on to the quays of the river-side. In another part of the same group is what appears to be an altar built of small glazed bricks and provided with a drain of similar brickwork. Now when there is a close and striking resemblance of the objects from Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus Valley, to Babylonian antiquities (noted by Prof. Sayce) of the 3rd millennium B.C., it is definitely known that there was an intercourse between N.W. India and Susa at that time and the prehistoric civilisation of India must be dated 3000 B.C. and even earlier. From prehistoric times, India has known and appreciated the advantages of communication by land and sea.

The Vedic literature gives us some incidental references about the then existing means of communication. There are references to big raised roads built on embankments on a higher level than the surrounding country. The villagers have to cross many tracks and forests in reaching these roads. These *mahapathas* or cross-country roads, which are evidently inter-provincial and sometimes inter-continental, are spoken of as 'joining languages and peoples'. These high roads were accessible to two-horsed to eight-horsed chariots and were marked at intervals by memorial pillars. The stages were provided with rest-houses (*प्रस्थ*), which were not only provided with food and comfort for travellers, but seem to have stocked cloth for sale. There were rougher roads in South Bihar or Magadha which were accessible only to one-horsed chariots (*निपथ*), the modern *ekhas*, and they have been referred to in derisive terms. Mention is also made of *tirthas* (*तीर्थ*) or ferries, and *setus* (*सेतु*) or bridges, but about the

art or materials of the construction of the latter we don't get any information. Evidently the *mahapathas* were not constructed by the villagers. There must have been some external road-making authorities or agencies. Road-builders, *pathi-krit*, are referred to and a Prince of the Yadava dynasty was given the appellation of Prapathin, his principality being in Western India near about modern Guzerat. The Vedic Aryans (2000-1400 B.C.) made roads by which they carried their humble trade. India in remote times claimed admirable highways.

Modern India does not possess any architectural remains of the classic period (1400-900 B.C.). But from the study of Epics, it is clear that the art of road-making was of a high order. An Aryan village was generally a rectangular enclosure, with the four sides facing the four quarters and intersected by two main streets, which crossed each other in the centre, and were terminated at each end by the four principal gates. The longest of the two main streets was known as the king's street, *rajapatha*, being evidently part of the main royal road in the case of big towns; the shorter one was called Mahakala or Vamana signifying broad street or short street. These two streets, wider than the rest and planted with trees, were the two main lines of communication linking village with village and forming the highways of commerce. They were military and commercial routes, maintained either at the charge of the king's treasury, or by the co-operation of groups of villages, and at their joint expense. A wide path, which intervened between the outer blocks and the boundary walls or fences, was known as the Mangalavithi, the path of blessing or auspiciousness, as it was the path by which the Kshatriya or Brahmana householder circumambulated the village in the immemorial rite of Pradakshina, reciting *mantras* to invoke the favours of the gods and to keep off evil spirits. This path was dedicated to the War-god Kartikeya, one of whose epithets is Mangala on account of its use in the military defence of the village. The principle of combination was applied also to the upkeep of roads. The Mahakala, the broad street of the village, running north and south, was the way of the caravans conveying the rich

merchandise from Dravida to the capitals of the Aryan kings of the North. A road from Ayodhya to Rajagruha via Hastinapura is mentioned in the Ramayana.

In the Buddhist age (700-200 B.C.), there was a large network of roads and trade routes in Aryavarta. T. W. Rhys Davids denies the existence of made roads and bridges at that time, but the Jatakas point to the contrary. It is clear that instances of collectivist initiative were not wanting and there was an advanced sense of citizenship. The villagers took turns at voluntary corvée in keeping their roads in repair, and women too considered it a civic honour to bear their own part in municipal building. The maintenance of roads was one of the duties of the Public Assembly. The villagers used to clear the roads of stones with their clubs. They used to cut down trees that would strike against the axles of chariots. They smoothed rough places and also built causeways. Road-making was thus an important business of the State. Roads were made, regularly repaired, and timely cleared. In the culture-period depicted in the Jatakas, overland trade was great, and caravan traffic was carried on a titanic scale. Big trade routes crossed the land in all directions and carried on an extensive exchange of goods between several and widely different parts of India. But the insecurity of the roads made the traffic very troublesome. Organised bands of robbers lay in wait for the travelling tradesmen and forced them to employ armed men, who for a salary led the caravans through dangerous places. Besides these, there were the land-pilots (*थलनियामक*), who steered the caravans during the cooler hours of darkness by the stars. Of the main commercial highways, we can draw up provisionally the following list and calculate the distance between important stages:—

From Savatthi	S. W. to Patitthana	about 900 miles.
" "	S. E. to Rajagruha via	" 700 "
	Kusinara Pataliputra	
" Shahgate	E. to the mouth of	
	the Ganges	" 800 "
" Kosambi	E. to Champa	" 500 "
" Videha	N. W. to Gandhara	" 1,200 "
" Magadha	" to Souvira	" 850 "
" Rajagruha	W. to Bharukachha	" 800 "
" "	" Roruka	" 800 "

The construction of roads was always regarded as a pious duty of a king, and Kautilya shows the great importance which was attached to it from a military and economic point of view. The principal *Rajapatha* or Royal Road of the Maurya Empire, the *via Appia* of India, was that which ran from Tamluk, and passing through Pataliputra, Prayag, Kanyakubja, Rhodopha and Takshashila continued right up to the north-western frontier town of Pushkalavati. Its value from a commercial and strategic point of view must have been enormous. By means of it, troops could be moved from Pataliputra to the furthest confines of the Empire. Goods from the Golden Chersonese and beyond, silk from Seres, Gangetic muslins, spices from Arabia, specie from the west, all poured into the bazars of Pataliputra, and caravans could pass uninterrupted from the Ganges to the Khaiber. Along the main route, trees were planted, wells were dug, post-houses, police-stations, and rest-houses for travellers were built at regular intervals. At every mile along the road was a stone to indicate the by-roads and distances. Imperial and Provincial Officers looked after their upkeep and proper repair, the towns and villages through which they passed providing the labourers, who were exempted from taxation.

Kautilya details many different kinds of roads, classifying them according to use, destination and width. They may be represented as follows:—

DIVISION	WIDTH
Royal roads.	
Chariot roads.	
Roads leading to (a) Dronamukha	8 yds. each.
(b) Sthanika	
(c) country parts	
(d) pasture-grounds	

From	Charikar	to
"	Kabul S. W.	"
"	" S.	"
"	" E.	"
"	Jalalabad E.	"

DIVISION	WIDTH.
Roads leading to Sayoniya	
" " military stations	16 yds. each.
" " cremation grounds	
" " gardens, groves and forests	8 yds. each.
" " elephant forest	4 yds. each.
" " for cattle	6 yds. each.
" " minor quadrupeds and men	3 yds. each.

In forts there were three royal roads from west to east, and three from south to north. The roads of forts and towns were paved with stones, or planks of palm trees. The king was not only to clear roads of traffic from the molestations of courtiers, of workmen, of robbers, and of boundary guards, but also keep them from being destroyed by herds of cattle. Fines were imposed upon those who obstructed the traffic or damaged the roads. After the period of the Mauryas, there was a network of well-beaten routes throughout India, and along these armies in war, like merchants and pilgrims in peace-time, made their way from one city to another. Through this system ran the two great arteries, which connected Pataliputra with Kabul Valley on the one hand, and with the delta of the Indus on the other, and their routes were continuations of others which passed through Iran to the west. The ports on the west coast were connected with Pataliputra through Ujjain, the great emporium of the period. The chief stages on the more northern of these, which the Yavana invaders must have followed, together with the distances between the stages, are known from ancient authorities, who derived their information from the campaign of Alexander and Seleucus. The most complete record has been preserved by Pliny. As some of his accounts are evidently less exact, it will be more convenient to summarise here such information as is supplied by the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and to estimate other distances approximately:—

Kabul	..	40 miles.
Kandahar	..	313 "
Indus Delta	..	725 "
Kathiawar	..	1,000 "
Jalalabad	..	101 "
Peshawar	..	79 "

Stages on the royal roads, which ran from Charsadda (Peshawar) to Pataliputra.

From Charsadda (Pushkalavati) E. to	Shahdheri (Tasila)	..	80 miles.
" Shahdheri S. E.	Jhelum	..	70 "
" Jhelum S. E.	Sialkot	..	55 "
" Sialkot S. E.	Beas	..	65 "
" Beas S. E.	Sutlej	..	85 "
" Sutlej S.	Junna	..	100 "

The course of the central route, which joined the northern route to Kausambi, was as follows:

From Hyderabad (Sind)	to	Ujjain	..	500 miles.
" Broach	"	"	..	200 "
" Ujjain E.	"	Beshagar	..	120 "
" Beshagar	"	Barhut	..	185 "
" Barhut N. E.	"	Kosambi	..	80 "
" Kosambi E.	"	Bonares	..	100 "
" Bonares E.	"	Patna	..	135 "

The Gupta period was the golden age in the history of Indian arts, and the art of road-making was carried to a high degree of excellence. The extensive conquest of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya would not have been easily effected without good roads. And the traditional military pilgrimage of the Indian Napoleon would not have been so successful without long military roads, joining the strategic points of the Empire. Hindu civilisation at its height was not wanting in the easy means of communications. Harivamsa and Vishnupurana state that vehicular streets, avenues and men's roads were constructed in the city. This shows that there were distinct roads fixed for each class of passers-by. In some cases, lamp-posts were planted. The Smriti Shrutras enjoin lighting lamps at the cross-roads. Divine edifices were also erected at the intersections of roads. Fahien, the Chinese pilgrim, bears evidence to the fact that there were long roads planted with trees and provided with rest-houses for travellers. He journeyed in various parts without any hindrance, and it is clear that the roads were safe.

The Huna invasions created great disorder in the country, and eventually the roads of the Hindu mediæval age were not so safe. Travellers were exposed by bands of outlaws on roads. Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana, had to encounter many such molestations. But in more settled districts where a strong central government existed, there were good roads and free rest-houses with food and medical attendance provided for needy

travellers and pilgrims. According to the law-books, which reflect the conditions of mediæval Hindu India, wide roads were to be constructed to connect town and village, *pura* and *janapada*. Bridges and ferries were to be provided for crossing rivers. Roads were to be made with a convex surface like the back of a tortoise; they should have drains on both sides and be repaired every year with stones or gravel by convict labour at the cost of the royal treasury. A travellers' rest-house was to be provided between every two villages; it was to be kept clean and in good order by the official in charge of it, who was also to scrutinise all travellers, record their names and permanent residence, take possession of their arms at night and have the rest-house carefully guarded.

It is clear, then, that India in ancient times was traversed by long and well-built roads, which are triumphs of engineering skill and whose characteristics were highly scientific. The vivid account of spacious roads, towns and villages, etc., and principles of their construction indicates a high standard of hygienic perfection and regard for the comforts and conveniences of life. These descriptions are sufficient evidences to show that a nation, which possessed so much idealism in matters of religion and philosophy, was not indifferent where secular affairs were concerned, that the ancient Hindus were not transcendental philosophers solely, but knew how to enjoy life and used their intelligence to make it worth living, and that material civilisation was not less highly developed than spiritual.

HITLER, WHAT NEXT?

BY MR. N. R. BHUVARAHAN, B.A. (HONS.)

AUSTRIAN politics after the War is a tangled and intricate affair. Austria emerged from the mess, irretrievably shattered, shrunken and shrivelled. What was once a mighty empire became finally reduced, after four years of warfare and a hundred years of political turmoil, to one of the smallest states of Europe: hopeless, defenceless, moribund. It was reduced to almost an eighth of its size. It had to struggle hard to unite the warring factions and combat the reactionary elements. Unity could not be achieved without a dominating and dynamic figure, possessed of those dramatic qualities which capture popular imagination. All the post-War states have had their prophet-heroes, Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, Pilsudski and Kemal with power to rouse faith in the ordinary man.

The abortive Nazi revolt of July 1934 was wide-spread and involved much bloodshed. A pack of infuriated Nazis raided the Ballhausplatz, the chancellery, and Dollfuss was riddled with bullets by Otto Planetta. Thus perished the valiant, midget Chancellor who fought for Austrian independence. His assassination throws much light on the chaotic politics of Austria, where on one side was the scylla of angry social democracy, and on the other, the fanatical charybdis of National socialism. But the Nazis, who captured the chancellery and caused this outrage, were soon overpowered by the Heimwehr, and in turn made captives. So ended a raid that, had it been what its leaders intended, a successful *coup d'Etat*, would have set the witch's cauldron of Europe boiling. The independence of Austria has always remained a figment.

The Treaty of Versailles was deliberately drawn up so as to reduce the size and power of Germany. The Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon were framed to release the Austro-Hungarian internal minorities from bondage and allow those liberated peoples to be united to their own fellow-nationals, from whom the Austro-Hungarian Empire had kept them separated. These treaties were signed under duress by nations overcast by the shadows of war and the horrors of

starvation at the behest of victors obsessed by hatred and blind to every sense of fairness and sanity. The voices of Bavaria and Wurttemberg would have been appreciably strengthened, if Austria had been added to the German Empire. France opposed this *Anschluss*—the movement that was heading for the inclusion of Austria in the German Empire. In that she was resolutely firm. Germany wanted the inclusion in the Republic of the six million Germans in Austria. The Germans became naturally exasperated at French opposition. The socialist Government which came into being with much goodwill, could not last on account of French exaction and injustice. The Germans yearned for a strong hand who could free them from French shackles. They found Adolf Hitler. He is of Austrian birth. But his rise to power was meteoric. He is apt to play deep games. He has shown himself to be one of the astutest politicians that Germany has ever had. He has followed the footsteps of Frederick and Bismarck. It is the old-time Prussian diplomacy.

Hitler, having swallowed the Saar, (March 1936) has found his appetite whetted for other morsels. His intervention in Austria though jam for the Nazis is gall and wormwood for the Jews, social-democrats and the clergy. It is the culmination of his policy of militarism, his racialism, his anti-semitism, his anti-liberalism and his repressive campaign against the churches. In their present frame of mind, the Nazis are glorying in the second act of destruction as lustily as in the first when they occupied the Rhineland. National socialist policy has always been to strike first and to argue afterwards.

Hitler now controls Austria. Not a shadow remains of the pledge given on July 11th, 1936, regarding the independence of Austria, and confirmed at Berchtesgaden only three weeks ago. Dr. Schuschnigg is reported to be under guard, and is confined to the Belvedere castle, Vienna. He held the offices of the foreign minister and minister of the Interior, as well as Chancellor. He favoured a rapprochement

with the Fuhrer, unlike Dollfuss who found his ally in the Duce. But Dr. Schuschnigg under Nazi pressure appointed the pro-Nazi Dr. Schmidt to the Foreign Office and passed the control of the Interior to Dr. Seyss-Inquart, one of the best known of Hitler's Austrian henchmen. He was compelled to grant amnesty to all Nazi terrorists, including the conspirators concerned in the murder of Dollfuss in 1934. He gave a free hand to Nazi organisations in Austria. Pressure was exerted on him to accept changes, which would have made the small Austrian army a part of the huge military power of the Reich. Hitler has accomplished his dream. He is reported to have said: "I believed in this mission, I lived and fought for it and I have now fulfilled it." The Duce let down Dr. Schuschnigg very badly when the Chancellor proclaimed a plebiscite, which led to Hitler's occupation. He has expressed pleasure at Hitler's triumph. Probably it may be due to their identical ideology. Nazi domination of Austria will mean concentration camps for social-democrats, and liberals, and misery for Jews in Vienna. The Berlin-Rome Axis has held. Britain is sluggish and the French press voices loud alarm; the Czechs are disturbed, the minor states from the Baltic to the Black Sea shiver, while Stalin calls for increased vigilance among the working classes in every country. It portends further a threat to every one's security.

The Anschluss has been accomplished. Great Britain has recognised the Austrian coup as *fait accompli*. The Austrian army has been incorporated with the German and is placed under the command of General Von Boec. Dr. Von Seyss-Inquart has become the president. The Nazis have granted the freedom of the Brenner pass to the Italians. The Nazification of Austria is swiftly and savagely proceeding. We hear of many arrests, detentions and suicides. Jew-baiting and kindred Nazi thuggery have asserted themselves violently. The fate of Schuschnigg hangs in the balance. Europe has reverted to the old system of *Machtpolitik*. Its tragic dilemma in 1938 remains the same as it was at the peace conference in 1919; the choice between

two rights are equally beyond challenge which so far has proved irreconcilable, the right of Germany to justice and that of Europe to security.

The world watches with painful anxiety Hitler's next move: Will it be Czecho-Slovakia? The Germans form 24 per cent. of its population. They will provide many sleepless nights to that philosopher President Benes. An amputated Germany of sixty million inhabitants, *plus* fifteen millions separated from her, is a far more dangerous proposition than the whole seventy-five millions under one roof. There is a pro-Nazi movement in Czecho-Slovakia, the Sudetendeutschen, the influence of which it would be idle to deny. The German minority is on the periphery of Bohemia, co-terminous with Germany, and is in continual and direct contact with her. The bitter feeling is present that German is German, and Czech is Czech. The Czechs are relying on French and Soviet help in the event of a Nazi attack. The plebiscite which will decide the fate of Austria will take place on April 10th.

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June '38.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Federation

THE statement made by Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, in the Central Assembly gives evidence of the authorities' concern in regard to the prospects of Federation. It is obvious that the States are by no means enamoured of the Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, any more than the people of British India. There seems to be as much opposition to Federation, in the States as in British India, and it is well that Government recognise that the terms and conditions of accession to Federation "involve important and difficult issues". We are told that the preliminaries to the negotiation are being conducted under the direct orders of H. E. the Crown's representative in close and confidential consultation with the States "with a view to safeguarding the interests of British India". This statement gives out practically nothing definite, but the inference is irresistible that the coming of the Federation is postponed. That is good so far. For practically every progressive element in the country is against Federation in the form proposed. The welcome feature of the situation is the growing recognition in England of the strength of opposition to Federation in this country. The *Times* speaks of "the hostility of opinion in India to Federation so long as the Governments of States are autocracies". It points out that no modification of this hostility can be expected "if most of the Rulers of the States maintain the conservatism of the past". In this connection, Earl Winterton's interpretation of Paramountcy and the right of Princes to initiate responsible government in their States

must make the more lethargic States bestir themselves. For then, a federation of units of uniform standard of political consciousness will be at once irresistible. Federation then, as the *Times* says, "would hardly require to be imposed; it would happen logically". But to attempt to impose it in the teeth of opposition on an unwilling people will only be inviting trouble to all concerned.

A Premier's Warning

Disturbances during the Mohurram and Holi festivals have become a hardy annual; and the Press has been full of the doings of hooligans in Benares and Allahabad where the trouble seems to have taken a serious turn necessitating the use of force. The U. P. Government and their Executives have shown commendable promptness and firmness in dealing with the situation. And yet the former had to face an adjournment motion in the Assembly to discuss the grave situation created throughout the province by the failure of the Government to maintain peace and order and to protect life and property.

There was a full-dress debate, and the Prime Minister of the United Provinces, the Hon. Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, made a spirited reply to the critics. He characterised the tactics of the communalists as a political stunt and warned them that he would deal firmly with those who incited people to violence. After claiming credit for the way in which the officers in the districts had dealt with the recent riots, the Prime Minister dramatically asked the House to give permission to resort to firing in cases of communal riots.

It must be said to the credit of the Congress Governments, that in none of the Provinces under their control have they shown any the least reluctance to face similar situations with firmness and promptitude.

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two rights are equally beyond challenge which so far has proved irreconcilable, the right of Germany to justice and that of Europe to security.

The world watches with painful anxiety Hitler's next move: Will it be Czecho-Slovakia? The Germans form 24 per cent. of its population. They will provide many sleepless nights to that philosopher President Benes. An amputated Germany of sixty million inhabitants, plus fifteen millions separated from her, is a far more dangerous proposition than the whole seventy-five millions under one roof. There is a pro-Nazi movement in Czecho-Slovakia, the Sudetendeutschen, the influence of which it would be idle to deny. The German minority is on the periphery of Bohemia, co-terminous with Germany, and is in continual and direct contact with her. The bitter feeling is present that German is German, and Czech is Czech. The Czechs are relying on French and Soviet help in the event of a Nazi attack. The plebiscite which will decide the fate of Austria will take place on April 10th.

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June '38.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Federation

THE statement made by Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, in the Central Assembly gives evidence of the authorities' concern in regard to the prospects of Federation. It is obvious that the States are by no means enamoured of the Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, any more than the people of British India. There seems to be as much opposition to Federation, in the States as in British India, and it is well that Government recognise that the terms and conditions of accession to Federation "involve important and difficult issues". We are told that the preliminaries to the negotiation are being conducted under the direct orders of H. E. the Crown's representative in close and confidential consultation with the States "with a view to safeguarding the interests of British India". This statement gives out practically nothing definite, but the inference is irresistible that the coming of the Federation is postponed. That is good so far. For practically every progressive element in the country is against Federation in the form proposed. The welcome feature of the situation is the growing recognition in England of the strength of opposition to Federation in this country. The *Times* speaks of "the hostility of opinion in India to Federation so long as the Governments of States are autocracies". It points out that no modification of this hostility can be expected "if most of the Rulers of the States maintain the conservatism of the past". In this connection, Earl Winterton's interpretation of Paramountcy and the right of Princes to initiate responsible government in their States

must make the more lethargic States bestir themselves. For then, a federation of units of uniform standard of political consciousness will be at once irresistible. Federation then, as the *Times* says, "would hardly require to be imposed; it would happen logically". But to attempt to impose it in the teeth of opposition on an unwilling people will only be inviting trouble to all concerned.

A Premier's Warning

Disturbances during the Mohurram and Holi festivals have become a hardy annual; and the Press has been full of the doings of hooligans in Benares and Allahabad where the trouble seems to have taken a serious turn necessitating the use of force. The U. P. Government and their Executives have shown commendable promptness and firmness in dealing with the situation. And yet the former had to face an adjournment motion in the Assembly to discuss the grave situation created throughout the province by the failure of the Government to maintain peace and order and to protect life and property.

There was a full-dress debate, and the Prime Minister of the United Provinces, the Hon. Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, made a spirited reply to the critics. He characterised the tactics of the communalists as a political stunt and warned them that he would deal firmly with those who incited people to violence. After claiming credit for the way in which the officers in the districts had dealt with the recent riots, the Prime Minister dramatically asked the House to give permission to resort to firing in cases of communal riots.

It must be said to the credit of the Congress Governments, that in none of the Provinces under their control have they shown any the least reluctance to face similar situations with firmness and promptitude.

Independence and the Oath

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and a few diehards in England have discovered that Congressmen are guilty of reprehensible conduct in that they have sworn allegiance to the King while they had also taken the independence pledge at the Delhi Convention. The position which is so obvious elsewhere in the Dominions seems to them intriguing in India. Where is the incompatibility, asks Sir Alfred Watson in an interesting letter to the *Daily Telegraph*. The claim of independence is implicit in the status of a Dominion and what is "normal procedure" abroad cannot be "a crime in India". Congressmen in India, he says, have acted in the same way as the legislators in Canada, Australia and South Africa. India may not as yet have attained Dominion Status "but the attainment of it has been pronounced under every solemnity". The validity of the Oath is in no way affected by their commitment to a free India.

Indians of all shades of opinion are claiming the right for themselves to determine the future of India. If that be sedition, then all India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas will have to be turned into one vast internment camp.

Sir Sikander's Statesmanship

Wide-spread appreciation of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's attitude to the Shahidganj dispute has been expressed, not only in the Punjab, but all over the country. Sir Sikander definitely declined to interfere with the judgment of the Court and restore the site to the Muslims. In his statement in the Punjab Assembly, he explained why his Ministry advised H. E. the Governor against giving his sanction to the introduction of Mr. Malik Barkat Ali's Bill seeking *inter alia* the restoration of the site of the Shahidganj mosque to the Moslems. In the first place, it will involve disobedience

to the decision of the Court; in the second place, it will bring in its train a crop of similar disputes for which there could be no end in a communal-ridden country. So might Hindus put up claims to similar sites in provinces where they are in a majority and none can say where the conflict will end. The Punjab Premier went so far as to say that he was prepared to tender the Cabinet's resignation if the verdict of the House should go against them on the issue. It is fortunate that his colleagues and his whole party are one with him on this momentous question, and we congratulate the leader of the Punjab Muslims on the example he has set of a line of action that has evoked unstinted appreciation of his courage and statesmanship.

Unparliamentary

It is a pity that Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, who has played such a conspicuous part in the Government of the Central Provinces, and who has held one of the highest offices in the gift of the Crown, should so far forget himself as to indulge in a remark unworthy of himself and of the Assembly of which he is a distinguished member. The remark has only to be quoted to show how gross and insulting it is, apart from its being so unparliamentary. It was aimed at the Premier, Dr. Khare.

"Is it possible," asked Mr. Rao, "for a Government with the servile mentality of a disgruntled Assistant Surgeon to carry on the administration of a province on the liberal and progressive lines of Sir Montagu's Government?"

A mere "Assistant Surgeon" and "disgruntled" at that, and with a "servile mentality—" could anything beat this for unparliamentary speech? What is more surprising, Mr. Rao would not withdraw his words when the offence was pointed out to him; and the Speaker had no option but to suspend him for the day. Mr. Rao's lapse is lamentable; and whatever the provocation, it is up to the House to keep up its prestige for decent and gentlemanly conduct.

The Release of Mr. Batliwala

We are glad to see that the Government of Madras have passed orders directing the release of Mr. S. S. Batliwala, the Bombay Socialist. Mr. Batliwala, it will be remembered was tried for sedition under Section 124-A in the Sessions Court, Nellore, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment since confirmed on appeal, by the High Court of Madras. The action of the Government having been fully indicated by the findings of both the Original and Appellate Courts, the prosecution has served its purpose in that propaganda of the kind tending to incite disorder and violence have also ceased. It is just the time to show clemency and the Government have done well to remit the unexpired portion of the sentence. We trust the consideration shown by the Government will be duly appreciated. And in congratulating them on this generous step, we hope with the Government "that the clemency shown at this stage will conduce to the maintenance of non-violence and good feeling and will not the least weaken the forces of order".

Prof. Karve

Half a century of strenuous and unceasing public life lies behind the 81st birthday of Prof. Karve—a period on which he can look back with legitimate pride and satisfaction. It is given to few to dedicate themselves so completely to public work and to fewer still to achieve the objects of their highest ambition realised in their own lifetime. This double satisfaction is Prof. Karve's, and the hearty felicitations of the whole country go out to him in unstinted measure on the occasion of the completion of his 80th year.

Prof. Karve has been a Karma Yogin in the true sense of the word. Born in 1858, he gave 20 years of his life to education at the instance of his master Gokhale. Starting public life at 28, he founded the Hindu Widows' Association at the age of 38, and established the Hindu Women's University in his 58th year. As nothing succeeds like single-minded devotion to a cause, Prof. Karve put all his energy and resources in the cause of Women's uplift, and the institutions that he has built up and fostered will remain a monument of his reforming zeal and devotion to public work.

So completely identified has he been with these causes that Prof. Karve, like the veteran Pandit Malaviya, has become an institution in himself. The reward of such a life is in the spread of enlightenment and culture in the land, and Prof. Karve's heart must glow with satisfaction as he contemplates the condition of women in the country to-day with what it was in the eighties of the last century.

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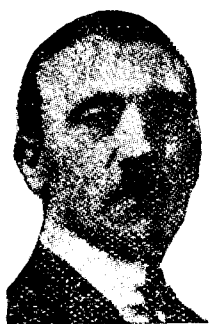
RICKETY
Children

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Fall of Austria

HITLER has annexed Austria without firing a single shot. Of course, it was not in Austria's power to resist. She was weak and divided. And the Austrian Nazis had made the task easy for Hitler. It was an audacious coup and Hitler got



HERR HITLER

away with it, because there could be no effective protest from the great powers. They simply looked on as they looked on when Italy got away with Abyssinia.

Mussolini himself, so solicitous for the independence of Austria not long ago, advised acquiescence in the inevitable. For in his present position, it could hardly be of advantage to Mussolini to pick up a quarrel with Hitler. So the two dictators fraternised with each other and brought about the fall of Austria. That is how Hitler chose to respect the League and the treaty of Versailles. But Hitler at least had always been maintaining that Austria is essentially German, and he never proclaimed infallibility either for the League or the Versailles treaty. He has always been in open revolt against either. But what of

Britain and France? Their policy has never been firm and the forging of the Rome-Berlin axis sealed the doom of Austrian independence.

The Nazi leaders have a will of their own, and they are bent on carrying out their intentions, even though their methods are the methods of the gangsters. But the democratic leaders seem to have no policy and no definite aim. They seem merely to be drifting, trying to save themselves the trouble of acting or even deciding to act, and abjectly submitting to the *fait accompli* of the Dictators. As has been very shrewdly pointed out by a contemporary, Mr. Chamberlain gave the line clear to Hitler when he recently observed:

"The League as constituted to-day is unable to provide collective security for anybody. We must not try to delude ourselves and still more we must not try to delude small and weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression when we know that nothing of the kind can be expected."

Why "nothing of the kind can be expected"? Because Fascist aggression can be stemmed only by the use of force, or show of overwhelming force, the only argument known to the Fascists. "The hard fact is," said Mr. Chamberlain after the event, "that nothing could have arrested this action by Germany unless we and others had been prepared for the use of force."

This disinclination of democracies to use force has been exploited by the Fascists to their own ends. And it would appear that in trying to avoid war, they are inevitably drifting towards it.

APRIL 1938]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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After the Anschluss

Germany has sent a note to the League of Nations saying that since Austria has ceased to exist as an independent State, she must no longer be considered a member of the League.

A World Jewish Congress *Communique* to the Press protests against the methods employed against the Jews in Austria which, it is said, are more brutal than against the Jews of the Reich.

Well informed circles state that there have been 1,700 suicides in Vienna since the *anschluss*, most of whom were Jews, but a number of whom were Aryans whose political past made their future hopeless.

The Neutral Bloc

Describing Herr Hitler's intentions as honest, Count Potocki, Polish Ambassador in Washington, stated that Poland would not allow Soviet troops to cross its territory to launch any attack on Germany.

The Count also said that the Polish-Lithuanian settlement would enable Poland to take the initiative in forming a neutral bloc of nations from the Baltic to the Black Sea, involving Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania.

A Swiss Declaration

The Swiss people are united in their will to defend at all costs against any opponent and to their last breath their peerless fatherland which God had given them, says a declaration read in the Chamber by President Baumann and two Members of the Cabinet solemnly proclaiming the independence and neutrality of Switzerland. The declaration adds that in view of the recent events in Austria, Swiss efforts to have their complete neutrality recognised must be continued and brought to fruition.

M. Blum's New Cabinet

The Chautemps Cabinet resigned early last month and it was not easy to find a substitute. But the Austro-German tension came to the rescue of the internal situation in France. All the groups merged their differences and M. Leon Blum has formed a Government in which he will be Premier and Minister of Finance; M. Edouard Daladier, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence; and M. Paul Boncour, Foreign Minister.

The political composition of the Cabinet is: 12 Socialists, 7 Radicals, 3 Democrats of the Left, and 1 Independent. The Under-Secretaries include 4 Socialists and 6 Radicals.

The Premier is leader of the Socialist Party, the Vice-Premier leader of the Radical Party.

The creation of a Ministry of Propaganda is an interesting innovation.

Czechoslovakia

German action in Austria has naturally perturbed the smaller States of Central Europe. The French Government have informed the Czechoslovak Government that they are determined to honour their agreement with Czechoslovakia in the event of an attack on that country.

It is understood in French Political circles that the pledge means that France intends to take immediate action in the event of any German threat to Czechoslovakia without awaiting to consult Britain.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, on the other hand, is definitely opposed to making further commitments on the Continent. Despite his disappointment, he says the League of Nations should be nursed back to life. He rejects the Soviet invitation for a Powers' Conference as likely to promote inimical groups destructive of European peace.

Britain would not, however, shirk a fight in case British interests are threatened,

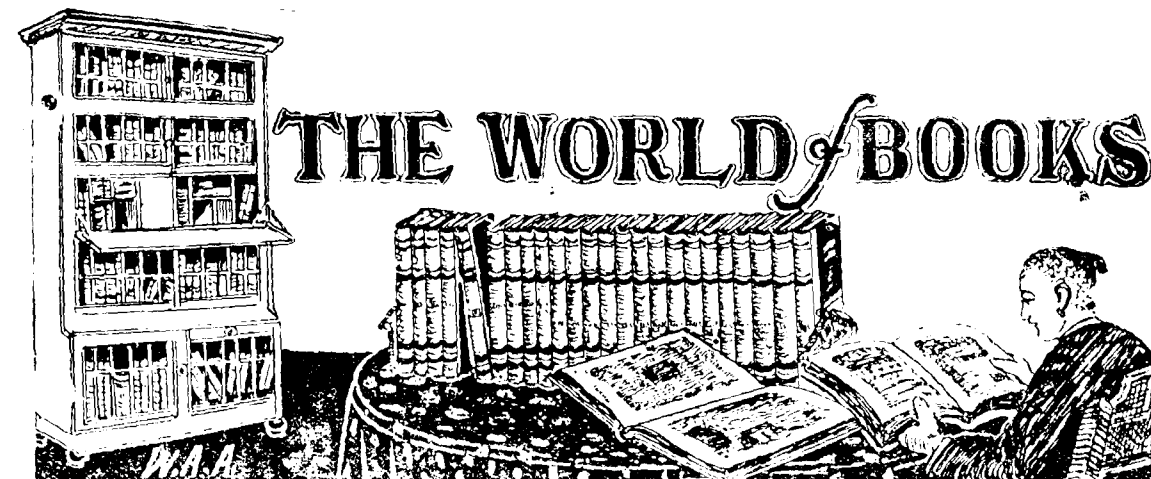
DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Mar. 1. Central Assembly passes the Tea Control Bill.
- Mar. 2. Maharaja of Indore allows temple entry to Harijans in his State.
- Mar. 3. Mr. Pyarelal Sharma, Education Minister of U. P. resigns: Mr. Sampurnanand takes charge.
- Mar. 4. Sir Harcourt Butler is dead.
- Mar. 5. Mr. George Joseph is dead.
- Mar. 6. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose appeals to Indian clove dealers to continue the boycott.
- Mar. 7. U. S. A. House of Representatives approves Mr. Roosevelt's Naval Expansion Bill.
- Mar. 8. Punjab Government decides to introduce Prohibition in selected areas.
- Mar. 9. Dr. Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, announces a plebescite to be held on Sunday the 13th on the question of union with Germany or independence.
- Dr. Gilbert Slater is dead.
- Mar. 10. Central Assembly rejects the Finance Bill.
- Mar. 11. Germany annexes Austria.
- Mar. 12. The C. P. Assembly passes the Prohibition Bill.
- Mar. 13. French Government resigns: M. Blum forms the new French Government.
- Mar. 14. H. E. the Viceroy gives his assent to the Madras Agricultural Debt Relief Bill.
- Mar. 15. Mahatma Gandhi leaves Wardha for Calcutta.
- Mar. 16. Anglo-Italian negotiations begin between Count Ciano and Lord Perth.

- Mar. 17. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan announces that he would resign if the Assembly disapproves the Sahidgunj decision.
- Mar. 18. Russia invites all Great Powers, except Germany, Italy and Japan, to discuss situation created by Germany's occupation of Austria.
- Mar. 19. The rebels in Spain bomb Barcelona heavily.
- Mar. 20. Sir G. H. Hidayatullah's Ministry in Sind resigns.
- Mar. 21. The Council of State passes the certified Finance Bill.
- Mar. 22. Mahatma Gandhi interviews Lord Barbourne *re.* the release of the remaining political prisoners in Bengal.
- Mar. 23. H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala is dead.
- Mar. 24. Dr. Megha Nath Saha is appointed Palit Professor of Physics of the Calcutta University.
- Mar. 25. H. H. the Pope appeals to Franco's army not to harm civil population in Spain by bombing.
- Mar. 26. The Japanese Upper House passes the National Mobilisation Bill.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE GANDHIAN WAY.** By Acharya Kripalani.
- NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION.** By the same author.
- REVOLUTION OR COUNTER-REVOLUTION?** By Jairamdas Doulatram. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 8 Round Building, Bombay 2.
- THE BATTLE OF CHINA: THE LAY OF A CHINESE EVIL.** By Dr. K. R. Menon. Printers' Association, Cecil Street, Singapore.
- MARKETING OF RAW COTTON IN INDIA.** By M. L. Dantwala. Longmans, Green & Co.
- HYDERABAD'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS.** By Syed Mohamed Ahson and Mir Hasnuddin. (Pamphlet of 12 pages), Hyderabad (Deccan).
- MICHAEL COLLINS** (in Tamil). By P. Ramaswami Navayug Publishing Ltd., Madras.



COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN. By C. N. Vakil and D. N. Maluste. Publishers, Longmans Green & Co. Rs. 5.

India is one of Japan's biggest customers. Apart from the importance of India's trade with Japan, a study of the organisation of Japan's trade and industry is exceedingly valuable for our guidance in regard to methods and policy of our own economic developments.

The authors begin with an able survey of the economic development of Japan and a careful analysis of her remarkable economic organisation. To say that protection is mainly responsible for Japan's phenomenal economic development is not quite correct. In the opinion of the authors, if Japan had not developed technical education, national shipping, sound banking institutions and other accessories of modern industrialism and if her social psychology and organisation were not what they have been, protective tariffs alone would not have helped Japan.

A statistical examination of the trade between India and Japan discloses that the percentage of raw cotton taken by Japan in recent years has been falling and that she is buying increasing quantities from other countries. Although Japan still remains the biggest buyer of Indian cotton, she has been sedulously developing alternative sources of supply

for obvious reasons. In the matter of cotton piece-goods, the Indian market for imported goods has been shrinking on account of the development of Indian cotton mills. The most important point to note in Indo-Japanese trade is that relative to other countries, our export and import trade with Japan is increasing, that is, Japan has been taking an increasingly larger percentage of our exports and sending us an increasingly larger percentage of our imports.

The authors next proceed to examine Japanese competition—a problem not only for Indian industries but for the industries of all countries. The fact that it has developed during a period of depression has made the problem more acute. While the depreciated *yen* has undoubtedly helped Japan's industries, we must not exaggerate its importance in our anxiety to hide our own backwardness and inefficiency of our industries. In their opinion in respect of hours of labour, there is not much difference between India and Japan; but the output of a Japanese labourer is greater, particularly because of his higher efficiency, because he is better housed, better fed and has better training and because the machinery and capital equipment with which he has to work is better organised. Although wages in Japan are low, Japanese industries spend much more upon welfare work and housing than we do in this country. The book under review is the first systematic study of India's commercial relationship with Japan. It is a sound, useful, and welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

THEY FOUND GOD. By M. L. Christlieb. Allen and Unwin Ltd. 5 shillings net.

A time like the present needs very badly many books of this kind. Immersed in the material needs of life, the modern man is scarcely aware that he has an immortal soul within him. Like Ruskin's picture of the dead man on whom honours are showered, riches and fame are sought and gained by men whose souls are atrophied and almost dead. Even such will be awakened and stirred by the lives of such holy men and women as the eight devoted lovers of God, whose short biographies make up this book. They lived in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries; they belonged to various walks of life; the problems they had to face were different; but they were all consumed by the same hunger to be united with God. In their every-day life, in every act of theirs, they remembered God. Armelle was a servant, but during all her works she managed to be in as close a communion with God as the Marquis of Renty or Anna Garcias of the convent. In the same way, Marina of Escobar was an invalid, Nicholas Von Der Flue was a family man, Catherine of Genoa was a philanthropist, Heinrich Suse was a preacher; but all of them were alike in taking life as worth living only for the sake of loving and serving God. They could find no joy or peace except when in prayer or meditation; and they welcomed every kind of suffering for God's sake. They had their moments, at times years, of spiritual dryness, doubts and misgivings, but through it all, their most intense yearning was for spiritual realization. Hence it is that the lives of all these simple, holy people make absorbing and inspiring reading.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT. Vol. I. By B. Majumdar, M.A., University of Calcutta, Bengal.

Few attempts have been made to give a connected and consecutive history of political ideas in India such as have been made in regard to the development of political thought in England or France or America. Mr. Majumdar's book tracing the evolution of political thought in the nineteenth century is, therefore, most welcome. There is the fundamental limitation that India, in her subjection, is hardly free to shape her destiny in the way of independent nations; but the fact remains, that limited as is her scope, she has developed a political consciousness which has expressed itself in varying phases of the British Indian system of administration. The growth of English education in India has been steadily followed by a corresponding growth of political ideas, which the author is trying in these pages to gauge. Those ideas have expressed themselves through the activities of diverse organisations and the reactions of representative Indians to Indo-British administration through the decades of the last century. In this volume, Mr. Majumdar points out that the periodical improvement in the status of Indians, as reflected in the Acts of 1833, 1853, 1861, which come within the purview of this volume, were mainly due to the agitation for political and administrative reforms carried on by a succession of public-spirited men in India. The activities of these men and of the institutions through which they worked are by no means negligible factors in shaping the political conditions of this country. The bulk of this pioneering work fell upon Bengal, and the author recounts the story of great Bengalee patriots and reformers from Ram Mohan Roy who have helped to galvanise the nation.

THE GROUNDWORK OF CIVICS. By Prof. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L. Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta. Rs. 3.

The work is divided into two Parts dealing with Politics and Economics respectively. Each Part in turn is divided into two books, the first of each dealing with general principles, and the second with British administration in India and Indian economics respectively. This emphasis on Indian politics and Indian economics is a welcome feature of the book.

The scope of the work is very wide. Within a space of 600 pages, the author manages to cover a great many topics. Nevertheless, the book is bound to be a good introductory study for the beginner.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM. Part II. The Graeco-Buddhist School of Grandhara. By N. G. Majumdar, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Superintendent, Indian Museum, Archaeological Section, Manager of Publications, Delhi. Re. 1-8.

This manual is abundantly and instructively illustrated and furnishes an account of the Graeco-Buddhist school of sculpture in North-West India that flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era, as represented by the specimens preserved in the Grandhara Room at the Indian Museum of Calcutta. It gives a short retrospect of the historical evolution of this type of sculpture and also of the typical motifs and technical aspects characteristic of it.

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BRADLEY AND BERGSON: A comparative study. By Ram Murti Loomba, M.A. With a Foreword by Narendranath Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN INDIA, 1936-37. By Jawahar Lal Nehru. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

THE MESSAGE OF BUDDHA. By A. S. Wadia. J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London.

HEAD IN GREEN BRONZE. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan & Co., London.

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES, VOL. I. By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A. Government Press, Trivandrum.

OUTLINES OF ISLAMIC CULTURE. By A. M. A. Shushtery. In 2 Vols. Rs. 15. The Bangalore Press. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

LOVE SONNETS AND OTHER POEMS. By M. Krishnamurti. Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA WITH BRITISH EMPIRE AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES for the year ending 31st March 1937. Vol. I. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THOSE WERE THE DAYS. By Osbert Sitwell. Macmillan & Co., London.

OVERLAND ROUTE FROM INDIA. By S. Jepson. Times of India Press, Bombay.

THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA as interpreted by Sri Aurobindo. By Anilbaran Roy. George Allen and Unwin, London.

REPORT ON INDIAN RAILWAYS FOR 1936-37. Vol. I. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

WHISPERING STARS. By A. L. Kathib. Plate Ltd. Printers and Publishers, Colombo.

CONGRESS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES; INDIANS IN FOREIGN LANDS. By Rammanohar Lohia. THE INDIAN FEDERATION. By U. A. Ahmad. INDIA ON CHINA. By Rammanohar Lohia. All-India Congress Committee, Allahabad.

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL. By Mukul Gupta, M.A. Government Printing, Alipore, Bengal.

SIVAGIRI. By C. Valupilai. Commercial Press, Jaffna. THE U. P. GOVERNMENT AT WORK. July 1937—January 1938. Dept. of Public Instruction, U. P.

DIVINE TALKS. By B. Prasad. All-India Human Breed Improvement Association. Koolghati Rikbikish, U. P.

THE PSALM OF PEACE. An English translation of Guru Arjun's "Sukhmani". By Teja Singh. Oxford University Press, Bombay. Rs. 2.

FASCISM. By Mr. N. Roy. D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis St., Calcutta.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Mr. N. Roy. D. M. Library, 42 Cornwallis St., Calcutta.

BEE-KEEPING IN INDIA: WHAT OTHERS ARE DOING. By Bhupen Apiaries. Almora, U. P.

Hyderabad

POSTAL ORDERS

In order to promote the convenience of the people, the Hyderabad Government have now arranged for an exchange of money orders between their Postal Department and the British Indian Postal Department. This involves double fees, but even before the present system was introduced, persons from those places in the State, where there is no British Post Office, had to pay double fees for remitting money outside the Dominions. It may be stated in this connection that though in 1862, the State entered into postal agreement with British India, whereby the principle of mutual exchange of postal articles was accepted, and though the Nizam's Postal Department carries all letters and postal articles bearing British Indian postage free of charge, this service is not reciprocated by British Post Offices, with the result that postal communication between British India and places in the districts of the State is considerably hampered.

THE BRATACHARI MOVEMENT

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government had invited Mr. Dutt, founder-president of the Bratachari movement, to Hyderabad to demonstrate the utility of the movement. Now a branch association of Bratacharis has been established in the State under the aegis of the Government. Nawab Mehdiyar Jung, Political and Education Member, is President of the branch.

HYDERABAD LEVY

The Government have sanctioned the levy of a 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* customs duty on the export of all kinds of oil from the State with effect from 24th November next.

Mysore

MYSORE AND FEDERATION

The Government of Mysore have decided to appoint a standing committee of public men to examine and make recommendations on matters relating to Federation under the Government of India Act 1935. The Committee will also consider and report on constitutional, administrative, fiscal and other issues, which Government may from time to time refer to it for opinion.

DISTRICT BOARDS IN MYSORE

The Government of Mysore have appointed a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to examine the financial conditions of District Boards in Mysore and to suggest measures to utilise the finances in such a manner as to provide more funds to rural relief in those districts.

Travancore

STATE FORCE

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has approved of the scheme to enrol 25 Hindus and 25 Christian Nadars as recruits to the Travancore State Forces as an experimental measure. It will be recalled that originally admission to the Travancore Forces was restricted only to the Nayars. Soon after his accession to the *gadi*, present Maharaja threw recruitment open to the Nayars, Christians, and Ezhavas, three of the major communities in the State. The Nadars are a martial race. They fought under Maharaja Marthanda Varma in the wars which he waged for the consolidation of Travancore.

MR. GOPALA MENON

Mr. A. Gopala Menon is appointed Director of Public Instruction in Travancore. He is the first Travancorean to hold this post.

Baroda

CATTLE BREEDING IN BARODA

Out of the 11 animals of the different kinds and breeds exhibited by the Baroda State at the recent Cattle Show in Delhi, eight were selected by the judges for awards and cash prizes. This indicates the steady progress made by the State with its schemes to improve cattle breeding and animal husbandry. The State has recently put into operation a new scheme to make sustained efforts to improve poultry. A Poultry Officer was appointed last year and steps were taken to survey suitable areas for immediate development.

BARODA AND TEMPLE ENTRY

H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda has left for Europe and will remain there for the next cold weather. Asked whether Baroda would follow the example of Travancore and Indore regarding temple entry by Harijans, His Highness said that the Indian people were very conservative and refused to change their narrow outlook. Until that was done, no advance was possible.

Gwalior

GWALIOR REFORMS

Addressing the Gwalior Legislative Assembly, His Highness the Maharaja declared:

I appreciate that most of you have during the past 18 years successfully discharged the confidence and responsibilities reposed in you by your electorates. I, therefore, take the opportunity of announcing to you in as clear words as possible that I mean to make this body a true representative of the different shades of opinions and a responsible adviser and guide in matters of administration.

With this purpose in view, I mean to get this problem investigated and it will not be very long before I think, with your help, I may be able to gain the object which, when it materialises, will afford me an opportunity of meeting you twice in the year.

Indore

THE PROCLAMATION

"I had considered the question in all its aspects before issuing the declaration regarding temple entry and have come to the conclusion that no civilised State or



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF INDORE

country can keep a section of people under the burden of untouchability and deny them the privileges given to other Hindus," said the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, in reply to the representation of orthodox Hindus for cancelling the Harijan Proclamation.

He added: "It pains me to see a section of my people still unwilling to advance with the times. I am unable to consider your request to withhold the order and would ask you all to join me in eradicating the blot of untouchability. This action is in no way contrary to the true tenets of Hindu religion."

Kashmir**LOANS FOR EDUCATION**

His Highness' Government have in the current year's budget set apart a sum of Rs. 25,000 for grant of loans to State subjects desirous of prosecuting advanced studies, or undergoing advanced or special training in India or abroad. The loans are to be granted on very liberal terms. Each loan will be repayable in easy instalments after the grantee has begun to earn an income. Simple interest at 8 per cent. per annum will be charged. An abatement of 25 per cent. of the total amount of interest will be allowed in case the debt is paid within 7 years of the termination of studies and an abatement of 15 per cent. in case the debt is paid within 10 years.

DEWAN'S TERM EXTENDED

H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir has sanctioned an extension of the services of Dewan Babadur N. Gopalaawami Iyengar, Prime Minister, and Sir Abdus Samad Khan, Home Minister, for 2 years.

Rewa**REMISSION IN REWA STATE**

According to a Rewa State *communiqué*, the Government of H. H. the Maharaja has, with a view to ameliorate the condition of the poverty-stricken agriculturists of the State, been pleased to grant liberal remission ranging from 12½ per cent. to 25 per cent. in the current year's land revenue. The *communiqué* further enjoins upon the Ilakedars and the zamindars of the State to grant similar remissions to the tenants of their respective estates. The defaulters are threatened with dire consequences.

Patiala**THE LATE MAHARAJA**

We regret to record the death, on March 23, of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, Lieut.-Gen. Maharaja Bhupindra Singh Mhinder Bahadur. His Highness was born in the year 1891 and ascended the *gadi* in 1900.

For four years from 1926-30, he was the Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber. He served in the expeditionary force during the War in 1914 and on the staff in France, Belgium, Italy and Palestine. He also served during the Afghan War. He was the recipient of many honours from various European States. He represented India at the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet in 1918. He also represented India in the League of Nations Assembly in 1925.

The Maharaja was a great sportsman. He was the princely patron of cricket. His other favourite sports were polo and shooting.

PATIALA REFORMS COMMITTEE

The appointment of a committee to consider and formulate proposals relating to constitutional and administrative reforms is announced in a *communiqué* issued by Nawab Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan, Prime Minister, Patiala.

The *Communiqué* states:

His Highness the Maharajadhiraj of Patiala has had for some time past under his consideration the question of Constitutional and Administrative Reforms for the Patiala State with the object of associating in an increasing measure the subjects of his State with legislation and administration through a constitutional machinery to be set up in the State, and he has accordingly been pleased to appoint a Committee with Nawab Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister, as its Chairman, to consider and formulate proposals and submit the same within the next six months with a view to achieve the object mentioned above. It is understood that after the preliminary data have been collected, the Committee will take steps to establish contact with public opinion in the State on various issues arising under the contemplated scheme of Constitutional Reforms.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

SIR SYED RAZA ALI
ON 'RACIAL PREJUDICE'

"The amount of racial prejudice prevailing in South Africa is appalling," declared Sir Raza Ali in an interview given to the *Associated Press* soon after his arrival in Bombay on March 5.

He said that the position of Indians in South Africa was essentially different from that which they had in other countries where they had settled. The peculiarity of the position arose from the fact that Indians in South Africa have no vote. "My endeavours during the last three years," he said, "have been to prepare European public opinion on this question. Indians in Natal who had both parliamentary and municipal franchise are deprived of the same. In the Transvaal, Indians have never had a vote. In the Cape Province, though they have both municipal and parliamentary franchise, the Indian population is very small. I have no doubt that most of the disabilities from which we suffer in South Africa are because we are a voteless community. As long as this continues, it is impossible for any South African Government, with the best of intentions and goodwill towards the Indian community, to do anything."

THE TRADE AGREEMENT

The Government of India have entered into a temporary trade agreement with the Government of the Union of South Africa, which has been embodied in an exchange of notes providing for a mutual most-favoured nation treatment in respect of such commodities as are not eligible for preferential treatment. The Notes were signed and exchanged at Cape Town

on March 8, 1938. The Agent-General in South Africa signed the Note on behalf of the Government of India. The Agreement will be operative until superseded by a more comprehensive commercial agreement, or until the expiration of three calendar months from the date on which notice of termination shall have been given by either Government. The main provisions of the Agreement are:—

1. Articles of growth, produce, or manufacture of one country, when imported therefrom into the territory of the other country, shall, in respect of customs duties, other taxes and charges levied on imports and in all matters pertaining to the administration thereof, be treated not less favourably than like articles of growth, produce or manufacture of any other country, provided that the one Government shall not be entitled to claim the privileges following from the preferential treatment accorded, or to be accorded, by the other Government exclusively to any members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, or to any possession or territory belonging to any of them, or to any territory under the jurisdiction of any such member either as a Protectorate or as a Mandated Territory;

2. In the event of either Government establishing or maintaining a system of licensing or quantitative regulation of imports, such a system should be so administered as not to discriminate against the articles grown, produced or manufactured in the other country and the conditions under which the licenses or permits will be issued or obtained for importation of such articles shall be not less favourable than those applied in the case of like articles grown, produced or manufactured in any other country;

3. In the event of either Government establishing or maintaining any form of foreign exchange control, such control should be administered so as to ensure that the commerce of the other country will be granted a fair and equitable share in the allotment of foreign exchange;

4. The most favoured nation treatment provided for will apply also to taxes or charges levied in connection with the internal distribution and sale of imported articles; and

5. Notwithstanding the provisions of the agreement, either of the two Governments may, where for any reason it is deemed necessary to prohibit or restrict the import of any article by the imposition of special duties or otherwise provided no such prohibition or restriction be imposed or maintained on articles grown produced or manufactured in the other country unless such prohibition or restriction is imposed or maintained like articles imported from any other country in regard to which like grounds for application of such measures exist.

Zanzibar

THE CLOVE MEMORANDUM

Certain changes made by the Zanzibar Government in the Clove Decree in the light of the Indian community's criticism are explained in a Memorandum received from the Government of that Colony.

The changes are described by the Memorandum as intended to give the maximum degree of freedom for internal trade in cloves, consistent with fully safeguarding the interests of producers and for serving stability in foreign markets.

These proposals, according to the Memorandum, have been approved by the Secretary of State.

It is proposed that the modified scheme should be brought into effect in the event of Government being satisfied that free flow of exports to India would be resumed.

The following are some of the principal features of the modified scheme:—

Price paid by licensed dealers to producers for each other would not be proscribed by law, but will be a matter for arrangement between the parties concerned.

Prior to ultimate exportation, all cloves and stems will pass through the Clove Growers' Association, who will purchase them at the published price fixed from time to time by the Clove Growers' Association.

The Clove Growers' Association would not sell direct to principal overseas markets as long as the normal flow of exports is maintained. It will sell direct to a few small overseas markets only when it is clear that the local exporters are unwilling, as has been the case in the past, to deal with these small markets.

It is proposed to renew the offer to appoint two Indians to the Clove Growers' Association's Board of Management to represent the interests of sellers in overseas markets and two Indians to represent the same interests on the Advisory Committee.

It is also proposed to invite the Government of India to authorise the Indian Trade Commissioner at Mombasa to attend the meetings of the Clove Growers' Association Board of Management in the capacity of an Observer.

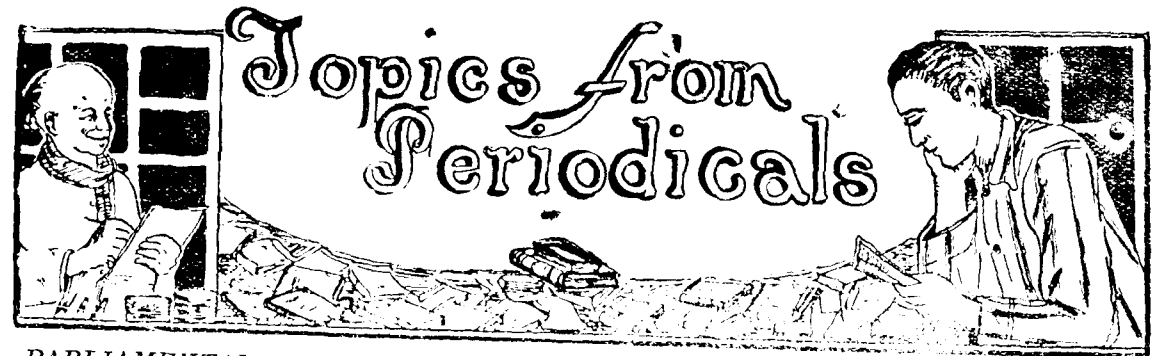
Malaya

INDIAN SETTLERS IN MALAYA

The Central Indian Association of Malaya has addressed a letter to the Agent to the Government of India in Malaya, drawing his attention to the various points raised in the Associations' memorandum presented to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri when he last visited Malaya on a deputation from the Government of India.

The letter points out that the grievance of Indians in Malaya is that there has been a "complete lack of understanding of the position of Indians other than labourers by the delegation that came from India". The Association deprecates the tendency to treat the Indian problem in Malaya as a purely labour problem and says that Indians who did not belong to the labouring classes have "so far been more or less ignored even by the Government of India". The Association is of opinion that the problem of Indian settlers is bound to force itself on the attention of the Government of India in "more serious form in the near future unless it is handled even now with foresight and understanding".

It is stated that the aim of the Malayan Government has been only to secure a continuous supply of labour "to exploit the country or even to encourage Indians to settle here as labourers". The letter says that the Government of India should interest themselves in the question of the political status of Indians, not in the Colony but in the Federated and unfederated Malay States to which Indian emigration is permitted to-day.



PARLIAMENTARY GOVT. IN INDIA

Writing in the March number of the *New Review*, Mr. Correia Fernandes points out how democratic government is at present under a cloud, and how country after country, both in Europe and America, is running away from it. He further observes that the Government of India will develop on the lines of complete Dominion Status, whose first beginnings one sees in the provincial autonomy inaugurated last year. Democratic government derives its life and strength from the electorates and from the system of representation.

The total electorate at the last election numbered 30,137,914, which is greater by about one million than England's present electorate with universal adult franchise. It was called upon to elect 1,585 members. The number of candidates for the contested elections was 3,757, and 54.55 per cent. of the electors exercised their franchise. In the North-West frontier province, 72.8 per cent. voted among the male electors and 71.4 per cent. among the female.

This cursory examination of the present electoral technique makes it clear, says the writer, that single-member constituencies have not reflected and are not likely to reflect adequately the opinion of voters among the successful candidates. It is true that the last elections were not a complete gamble. Minorities, as has happened more than once in England under the single-member constituency, did not obtain a majority in the Councils. "Nevertheless, the

prevailing system of representation requires modification. The single-member constituencies should be replaced by multi-member constituencies. This system of creating constituencies with three or four seats each by a process of amalgamation will result in a more adequate and accurate representation in the Provincial Parliaments of the state of public opinion and of parties in the constituencies. To improve the democratic technique still further, the system of cumulative voting may be tried in the Lower House in some provinces and the single-vote system in others. Such a combination of multi-member constituencies with single or cumulative votes will evidently take democracy in India a step further. For the Upper House, the system of the single transferable vote is preferable to the present one, as it is more democratic and quite suited to the educated and limited constituencies created for this House."

In conclusion, the writer points out:

There are only three parties in England, and one of them is more dead than alive. In India, we have over half-a-dozen parties politically alive. The Congress is the strongest and best organized; in fact it is the only All-India party with a gigantic following in almost all the provinces. All the other parties are generally provincial except the Muslim League which is, after Congress, the best organized political group. It is even possible that India may, in the near future, develop a one-party rule. This is the modern tendency all over the world.

CO-EDUCATION

"Co-education does not assume, as some of its critics seem to allege, that boys and girls are the same and that they can be treated in exactly the same way," states Mr. A. Ingham, B.A., in the February issue of *Children*, the monthly magazine of the National Children's Home.

So far as school work is concerned, there would seem to be no great difference between the sexes as regards mental ability, so much is granted by psychologists, and even in the separate boys and girls' school the same curriculum, broadly speaking, is studied and the same examinations are taken. Nor are boys and girls forced into each others' company on all occasions in out-of-school time. They have meals together and lessons together, but they play games separately and have separate sitting-rooms. But they may be in each others' company in common rooms and library, and they may, and do, co-operate in the many out-of-school activities which may be classed under the heading of hobbies.

It is argued by some that the education of boys and girls together produces sexual precocity, premature love and early marriage; and other critics say that co-education nullifies the natural feeling of admiration between the sexes, hinders love and romance and prevents marriage later in life.

Arguments so diametrically opposed would of themselves rather suggest the probability that the system produces normal and well-balanced feelings between the sexes, but they can be answered more satisfactorily. In answer to the first criticism, Mr. B. A. Howard, in his book "*The Mixed School*", claims that actual experience with mixed schools shows that there is practically no sex tension, that sexual trouble of a seriously unhealthy nature is unknown, and that sensible co-operation and unsentimental friendships between the boys and girls are possible to the great advantage of both sexes. My own experience supports this contention.

In these days of small families, co-education provides, as we believe, the ideal training, and those who see boys and girls so happily and naturally co-operating in the life of the school community and tackling together the problems of their small world, feel confident that they will carry away a sane and balanced outlook on life, well prepared for the tasks that lie ahead of them in public as well as in their private lives.

THE CONGRESS AND THE CRISIS

"The annual meeting at Haripura has been a demonstration of firmness but not truculence," observes the *Manchester Guardian* in its comments on the last Congress. Largely owing to the restraint shown by the Congress, says the *Guardian*, "India's political crisis has, at least, grown no worse in the last few days":

There has been no haste to call upon the remaining five Congress Ministries to resign and no eagerness to expand the present dispute into a breach between the Congress and the British Government. This restraint shows that the moderate wing of the Congress, which believes in Provincial Autonomy, can be made some use of still by the most powerful in the Party's Councils and shows that Mr. Gandhi's influence is as great as a year ago. It does not mean, however, that the Congress has any doubts on the justice of the position it has taken up.

Referring to the excuse that the Governor-General's action in overruling the Cabinets of the United Provinces and Bihar, as regards the release of political prisoners, was necessitated by the special circumstances in Bengal, the *Guardian* says that this is not much of an excuse, since admittedly the Bengal Ministry is not a Congress one. But recent negotiations have made it likely that Congress members will soon be included therein, in which case Congress would be as much responsible for their action in Bengal as in the United Provinces and Bihar.

But even if this does not happen, it must be remembered that Mr. Gandhi has recognised the fact that prisoners in Bengal are a special problem, and in the middle of his discussions on their future with the Bengal Government, he had said:

Congress is prepared to await the outcome of the discussions. In the meantime, it appears to the country that British expressions of confidence in India's capacity for self-government should not have been taken seriously.

TAGORE ON GANDHI

Years ago when Mahatma Gandhi launched the civil disobedience movement and promised "complete independence" in 12 months, the Poet thought fit to criticise the Mahatma's lead. He doubted Gandhiji's wisdom in the path he chose for attaining *swaraj* within a year. Neither the emphasis on Khaddar, nor the withdrawal of boys from schools, could pave the way to National freedom. And the Poet openly

blamed Mahatmaji for exploiting this irrational force of credulity in our people, which might have had a quick result in a superstructure, while sapping the foundation.

Thus began the Poet's estimate of Gandhi, but it did not end there. In the course of a thoughtful article in the *Statesman*, the Poet revises his original estimate and has some illuminating things to say of Gandhiji's inspiring leadership:

Gandhiji, like all dynamic personalities, needed a vast medium for the proper and harmonious expression of his creative will. This medium he developed for himself, when he assumed the tremendous responsibility of leading the whole country into freedom through countless social ditches and fences and unlimited dullness of barren politics. This endeavour has enriched and mellowed his personality and revealed what was truly significant in his genius.

The Poet confesses frankly that he misunderstood Gandhiji's genius and later realises his mistake: "I am amazed," he says, "at the effectiveness of his humanity."

An ascetic himself, he does not frown on the joys of others, but works for the enlivening of their existence day and night. He exalts poverty in his own life, but no man in India has striven more assiduously than he for the material welfare of his people. A reformer, with the zeal of a revolutionary, he imposes severe restraints on the very passions he provokes. Something of an idolator and also an iconoclast, he leaves the old gods in their dusty niches of sanctity and simply lures the old worship to better and more human

purposes. Professing his adherence to the caste system, he launches his firmest attack against it where it keeps its strongest guards, and yet he has hardly suffered from popular disapprobation as would have been the case with a lesser man who would have much less power to be effective in his efforts.

Gandhiji alone is able to carry out in practice his precept that while hating the evil, one must sympathise with the evil-doer. His patience and sympathy are god-like.

Here, I said to myself, is a truly great man, for he is greater than the party he belongs to, greater even than the creed he professes.

This, then, is the significant fact about Gandhiji.

Great as he is as a politician, as an organizer, as a leader of men, as a moral reformer, he is greater than all these as a man, because none of these aspects and activities limits his humanity. They are rather inspired and sustained by it. Though an incorrigible idealist and given to referring all conduct to certain pet formulae of his own, he is essentially a lover of men and not of mere ideas, which makes him so cautious and conservative in his revolutionary schemes. If he proposes an experiment for society, he must first subject himself to its ordeal. If he calls for a sacrifice, he must first pay its price himself. While many socialists wait for all to be deprived of their privileges before they would part with theirs, this man first renounces before he ventures to make any claims on the renunciation of others.

There are patriots in India, as indeed among all peoples, who have sacrificed for their country as much as Gandhiji has done, and some who have had to suffer much worse penalties than he has ever had to endure; even as in the religious sphere, there are ascetics in this country, compared to the rigours of whose practices Gandhiji's life is one of comparative ease. But these patriots are mere patriots and nothing more; and these ascetics are more spiritual athletes, limited as men by their very virtues, while this man seems greater than his virtues, great as they are.

Gandhiji has carried his emphasis on Truth and Non-violence to the uttermost limits.

Perhaps, he will not succeed. Perhaps, he will fail as the Buddha failed and as Christ failed to wean men from their iniquities, but he will always be remembered as one who made his life a lesson for all ages to come.

MOUNT KAILAS

Swami Chidbhavananda, who recently went on a pilgrimage to Mount Kailas, gives interesting impressions of his visit in the *Vedanta Kesari* for March. Mount Kailas is in Western Tibet on the trans-Himalayan region. Hindus and Buddhists alike hold this as heaven on earth. Kailas is about 250 miles from Almora. It takes about seven weeks to return to Almora after accomplishing the pilgrimage to the Mount. The writer says: "The snow which forms the natural barrier across the Lipu Lake Pass, begins to give way in the middle of June, and hence that is the best time to commence the pilgrimage from Almora." Crossing the Lipu Lake Pass is an experience by itself. The elevation of this Pass is about 16,800 feet above sea-level. Turn wherever one may, a grand panorama is presented. The glaring snow all round makes one feel as if transported into a region of lustre.

It is verily the gateway to heaven. On the India side stretch for miles together mighty mountains that link heaven and earth together. And Nature has lavished on them colours and forms worthy of none other than gods. On the Tibetan side the spectacle is different. There the stainless space merges into infinity.

A few days' travel in Tibet brings the pilgrim all on a sudden in the presence of another panorama. Its perspective is more intensive than extensive. What the pilgrim had been dreaming of for a long time, what he had longed to see face to face, for what he had even risked his life, is now actually before him. He sees Mount Kailas. At the sight of this long desired-for object man loses himself in wild joy; he is transported into ecstacy. Mind is drawn to that mysterious Mount as iron to a magnet. While in that region it constantly floats in a wide intense state of consciousness. All the toils and troubles are more than amply rewarded. Divine bliss marks the pilgrim for its own.

Towering majestically high up above the rest of the snow-clad peaks stands Mount Kailas, the perpetual source of inspiration. It is of the shape of a gigantic Shivalingam. Snow-covered as it is day and night, it is set in contrast with the deep blue vault above. With the change of time and weather, it seems to undergo magical transformation. When bathed with the beams of the rising sun, Mount Kailas is a mass

of burnished gold. Neither word nor mind can fully enter into the glory of it. On clear days it is as if several suns have concentrated themselves there without their burning effect. At dusk it is a heap of red lotuses. Myriad-coloured clouds gathering on Kailas resemble wreaths showered by celestials.

The panorama is complete with Lake Manasarowar and Mount Mandhata. A doubt arises whether the lake is not, as its name suggests, more a projection of the mind than external reality.

With all the minor details of its sublime formation, it seems as if some divine architect had planned this celestial spectacle. A vast square of crystal-pure water, picturesque banks on all its sides, Mandhata to the south and Kailas to the north like two diamonds on either side of an emerald, large tracts of sand with multifarious hues—all these put together make one feel whether one is not placed in some fairyland.

The Southern Mount is named after Mandhata, the sage who had performed penance there. In structure it is almost akin to Kailas. Between the two is the beautiful lake representing the mind.

What actually stands between man and God is the mind. Through the vicissitudes of life, man is consciously or unconsciously making a pilgrimage towards Godhead. As he attains perfection, he becomes akin to God. That is possible by purifying the mind. "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." Lake Manasarowar stands for the mind and all that it ought to be. From Mandhata, a clear reflection of Kailas can be seen in that lake. In the joy of it, Mandhata is clean forgotten. Man's pilgrimage towards perfection culminates in his effecting the complete purification of mind.

MOSLEMS IN THE WORLD

Out of an estimated world population of slightly over two billion, about 240 million are Mohammedans. Moslems, says the *Moslem World*, constitute 17.9 per cent. of the population of Asia, 37 per cent. of Africa, 2 per cent. of Europe and .02 per cent. of the population of the Americas, or 135,583. India has the largest Moslem population of any country in the world with an estimated 78,000,000 or 21 per cent. of its total. The Dutch East Indies is second with 43,000,000. China has 12,000,000 Moslem citizens.

INDIAN DANCING

Sreemati Pratima Tagore writes to the *Visva Bharati Quarterly* on "The Dance in India". She says that there are three kinds of representative Indian dance which still exist: the South Indian dance, the Manipuri dance, and the North Indian dance.

The classical dance of the South expresses six kinds of human emotions; in Sanskrit we call them Rasa. The different Rasas in the art of the dance represent the following: parental feeling, friendship, conjugal love, strength, heroism and humour.

In the South Indian dance, the different movements or poses of the hands suggest the inner meaning of the drama and represent in visual form the language of dance. The symbolical name given to these movements is Mudra. The Southern dance, which is probably the most ancient, takes its themes from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. One can witness this dancing still in the Katha Kali dance in Malabar. This art developed certain dramatic qualities and expressed them in a shape that might be called cubic in conception, in which the movements of the arms and hands are at right angles and not in the swelling and curving motions of other Indian dances.

These movements express great strength and offer a fascinating display of rhythm; through them movements become as expressive as a spoken language.

The dance of Manipur on the north-east frontier of India is, perhaps, of a still purer character than the other schools of dancing, and seems to be absolutely devoid of any foreign influence.

This dance shows that lyrical quality, which characterises the classical literature of Bengal and which was inspired by the Vaishnava religion. It always represents the life of the god Krishna.

The Manipuri people are worshippers of Krishna. Their dance is a token of adoration offered to their god, and the music which accompanies the dance is called Kirtana. The dance describes the whole story of Krishna's life; the love of the *gopis* for him, and all the symbolical meaning of that love which can best be compared to the "Song of Songs" in the Old Testament. This kind of dance avoids all sensual movements in order not to spoil the idea of supreme love and religious devotion. Therefore the dancer dances under very severe restrictions; he must neither move his hips nor play with his eyes and eyebrows. This dance lacks the dramatic intensity of the South Indian.

The third school of Indian dancing, which is entirely different from the other two, and which is called Northern School,

is a mixture of Hindu and Mahomedan dance.

It was born in the time of Akbar, and took its inspiration from Persia. It is hybrid in origin and differs from all the other schools of Hindu dance, since it had its birth and growth in the atmosphere of the royal courts. The same may be said of the Moghul school of painting which, mingled with the old fresco technique, gave birth to the new Indian style called the Kangra school. This kind of dance, therefore, never took root deep down in the consciousness of the Indian people; it remained the professional dance of the *baijis* or the *nautch* girls, who still draw their inspiration from the Persian *qazal* and the classical Indian music. This dance developed a high technique of sensuous movement, of pretty poses and of mimicry.

In conclusion, the writer draws attention to many other kinds of folk-dances:

These cannot be classified; they have their origin amongst the people of the soil and give expression either to religious practices or to the celebration of natural events like spring festivals, harvest festivals and other similar kinds.

These folk-dances are not highly developed as an art, but are the spontaneous expression of particular feelings. If the other Indian dances could be likened to dramas or lyrics, these dances may be likened to popular ballads.

BANK OF HINDUSTAN Ltd.

THE H. O., MADRAS.

PROGRESS OF THE BANK

	1931	1933	1935	1937
Capital ..	9,98,400	10,00,000	10,00,000	10,00,000
Reserves ..	16,500	19,570	33,000	50,000
Deposits ..	19,56,499	25,41,523	30,42,790	47,35,134
Net Profit.	34,359	41,201	42,518	57,698
No. of Branches	6	7	10	16
Total working Capital.	31,02,997	37,02,760	42,78,621	55,15,515

April '38.

ENGLISH PARLIAMENTARIANISM

In a paper reproduced in the *Inter-mediate College Magazine*, Bangalore, Prof. Earnest Barker observes that

Parliamentary Government is Government by discussion and the success of English Parliamentary Government depends upon four things: the existence of Parties, the Electorate, the House of Commons, and the Cabinet. Candidates contest seats as members of a Party. Members of the House of Commons are elected by the constituencies, but are not absolutely bound by any mandates from them. They can vote as they like in the House of Commons. The electorate are not bound in their choice of candidates to those who have put in a certain period of residence in their own locality. For, they often elect national leaders who have never lived in the locality.

The Government of England is run by a Cabinet, which consists of the leaders of the majority party and is responsible to the House of Commons.

These leaders, and one or two of them, control the party and the Government. Though the House of Commons is supposed to control the Cabinet, in reality the Cabinet controls the House of Commons. The Cabinet controls the time of the House, and legislation which is not supported by the Cabinet has not much chance of success. But the leaders of the majority party always consult the Leaders of the Opposition, who may be called a Potential Cabinet or an Anti-Cabinet, in regulating the time and business of the House; and in all vital matters affecting the nation, there is agreement between the several parties.

"This agreement," says Prof. Barker, "between the Cabinet and the Opposition on all vital matters has two important consequences. It brings about a continuity of policy in all important matters affecting the Government of the country."

When the Opposition, in its turn, forms the Cabinet, they continue the policy of the previous Government in all vital matters and this assures a continuity of national life and a united front to people outside. This need for constant consultation and agreement between the Cabinet and the Anti-Cabinet also promotes a spirit of compromise which is essential for success in the art of Parliamentary Government. It is in promoting this spirit of compromise between the majority and the minority that the House of Commons plays its chief part. For all argument is finally submitted to the common sense of the House and is decided on by a free voting on its floor. The voting in the House of Commons, in the last analysis, directs the Government of England and its policy. These features of English Parliamentary life must be carefully borne in mind, if Responsible Government should be a success in India.

THE POPULATION OF INDIA

In an article in the *Financial Times*, Dr. H. L. Dey deals with the above subject. He asks what is the optimum population, and answers:

It is that size of the population where the productivity per head is at its maximum, such that if the population were more or less than that ideal size, the productivity per head would be less than the maximum possible. This is the view that is finding an increasing measure of acceptance among the leading economists of the world. The theory of optimum population is the only valid theory that exists. But it must be confessed that it is a pure theory or abstract theory, logically perfect but difficult of application to the practical problems of life. It does not enable us to say of any country at any particular moment whether the population is below, above or at the optimum.

The great tragedy of the present age is, according to him, not that there is poverty because of society, but there is poverty in the midst of plenty.

It, then, comes to this that we have a perfect theory of population free from the flaws and inconsistencies of the old Malthusian theory. The only inference of a practical nature that we can draw from it is that there is no limit to the size of optimum population, provided knowledge, organization and capital grow as fast as, if not faster than, population. In the light of this theory, one will not be justified in making a statement to the effect that in 1950, for example, the optimum population for India would be, say, 380 millions, and that, therefore, through the education of public opinion or through legal compulsion or regulation of marriages, etc., we ought to control the birth rates in such a way that 380 millions may be the size in 1950. And even if such an estimate were possible, it would be impossible to regulate the reproductive activities of such a huge mass of population representing every stage of culture and education.

In fine, he points out that

there are good reasons for suspecting that those who are always raising the spectre of over-population and advocating large-scale birth-control are either suffering from some sort of Freudian complex or are persons who have developed a dismal outlook or are such people as are interested in inculcating the wrong belief in the public mind that all the ills of India are due to over-population and over-population alone and to nothing else. Poverty, unemployment, class struggle, communalism, diseases—the responsibility for all these evils should be laid at the door of the phenomenon of over-population; nothing else can be blamed for these. We can only suggest that the nation should think not twice or thrice but at least a hundred times before believing these prophets or accepting their advice. For, in reality, the ill-founded fear of over-population has arisen out of a lack of courage and energy. It is the counsel of despair.

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDICINE

Lt.-Col. G. H. Mahony, I.M.S., of the Prince of Wales Medical College, Patna, has contributed an interesting article to the February issue of the *Hindustan Review*. The article is informative and shows how medicine emerged as a science on organised system of thought out of the morass of superstition in which it had its origin.

So we find, observes the Colonel, that in the earliest human records—those of ancient Egypt—when man had already emerged in a highly civilised state from the mists of primitive obscurity, that one of the best known names of this period is that of a physician famous in priestly learning, in the formulation of wise proverbs, in medicine and architecture. Many centuries later the great Greek physician and philosopher, Hippocrates, formulated the ideals and principles which had inspired seekers after the true knowledge and practice of the healing arts throughout all ages, in his famous oath, which has ever since for the last 25 centuries been the creed of the medical profession. The Hippocratic oath reads as follows:—

"I swear by Apollo, the Physician, and Aesculapius, and Hygieia, and Panacea, and all the gods and all the goddesses and make them my judges—that this mine oath and this my written engagement I will fulfil as far as power and discernment shall be mine.

I will carry out regimen for the benefit of the sick, and I will keep them from harm and wrong. To none will I give a deadly drug, even if solicited, nor offer counsel to such an end; but guiltless and hallowed will I keep my life and mine art.

Into whatsoever houses I shall enter, I shall work for the benefit of the sick, holding aloof from all voluntary wrong and corruption. Whatsoever in my practice, or not in my practice, I shall see or hear amid the lives of men which ought not to be noised abroad—as to this I will keep silent holding such things unfitting to be spoken.

And now, if I shall fulfil this oath and break it not, may the fruits of art and life be mine,

may I be honoured of all men for all time; the opposite if I transgress and be foresworn."

For some time after Hippocrates' death in 359 B.C., scientific research made great strides in the Old World, and about the end of the 3rd century B.C., a Museum, which corresponded very much to a modern University, was founded in Alexandria, then one of the most important cities on the Mediterranean. "To this Museum came teachers and students from all centres, and their work in mechanics, physics, astronomy, mathematics, and optics, forms the basis of most of our modern knowledge. Euclid and Archimedes, for example, are two of the great names associated with this old Alexandrine seat of learning. A great medical school grew up as part of the Museum, with its laboratories, libraries, and clinics, and here anatomy was studied freely for the first time from dissections of the human body. The original writings of its early teachers have been lost, but in the middle of the 1st century, A.D. there flourished in Rome a pupil of the Alexandrine school of medicine, whose name, Galen, is the greatest in Old World medicine after Hippocrates. Galen did much original work in anatomy and physiology. He showed that arteries contain blood and not air, and recognised the difference between arterial and venous blood. After Galen, himself an ardent disciple and teacher of the Hippocratic ideal, very little was added to medical knowledge for 15 centuries Many are the names associated with medical research in the 17th and 18th centuries, and many were the arbitrary theories and systems founded by enthusiasts. The knowledge of anatomy, physiology and pathology, went on accumulating, and with the discovery of anaesthetics early in the 19th century, great advances were made in surgery."

INDIAN TARIFF POLICY

"The logic of necessity should turn British commercial policy in India to examine the import trade of India and to regulate Tariffs through a permanent Board of Trade with Tariff experts and industrial engineers, regulating the flow of manufactured hardware, plant and machinery, finished commodities of daily consumption, with the solid object of inducing their manufacture in this country," writes Dr. J. D. S. Paul in the February-April number of the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. Where this cannot be achieved, the only other possibility, according to the writer, is that of harnessing the over-weary villager, inspiring him with the antiquated idea of subsidiary village industries and an intensive "Buy Indian" campaign. Dr. Paul says:

The campaign for "Buy Indian", logically, consistently and continuously pursued, is the one sane policy for a subjected race, whose economic life is ever thwarted by forces which they cannot aspire to control constitutionally. If it is possible to fix a ratio for the rupee, there is no reason why a ratio should not be fixed between Indian raw cotton and Lancashire-manufactured goods and resolve trade into barter at select centres. We cannot touch the ratio, but we can develop honest and sound indigenous banks with a large gold reserve and a banking policy broadly conceived so as to relate itself to internal industrial development, largely of small scale power-driven industries in the country-side which meet the constant necessities of the consumer.

Every province has to adopt measures for a planned economy. Locking up capital in import and export trade, and large deposits in European Banks and enterprise because of our mismanagement, the merchant class walked into the mouth of the lion. A constructive concerted policy on the part of the Indian Chambers of Commerce for the development of towns and villages industrially and socially would go a long way, while negative criticism of the policy pursued by Government will only fritter away their energy. The message of a century of our economic history is

that of untold and unmerited suffering through the shocks given to our economic structure from piecemeal efforts in economic improvement, inspired by interests that have held India as a market for manufactured goods.

Illustrating the above statement, the writer points out that an expenditure of three crores on roads may bring the American Motor Lorry, and millions of landless bullock cart-men will be displaced. The gain may, therefore, only be to the trade in over-stocked hides and skins and the beef market, but the loss to the country is permanent and irreparable. The writer continues:

A land of small villages require a balanced statesmanship that every transition absorbs the people in other spheres. The purely agriculturally prosperous countries are in the realm of mythology and belong to the ages prior to steam and machinery. The producer of agricultural commodities must first think of his own consumption and live at the marginal level of subsistence through his annual increase in numbers unless there are in the immediate proximity large industrialised and machine-minding communities, willing to consume the produce of the peasants and have the purchasing power to pay for them. The co-operative paradise of Denmark depends on British Isles, Scandinavia and Germany, and forms one economic bloc with them. The case of India is different. She has been an economic entity by herself and will tend to be so in the future unless external coercive factors intervene to thwart the process.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES. By Kerala-Putra. [The Twentieth Century, March 1938.]

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN BENGAL. By Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.A. [The Modern Review, March 1938.]

SCIENTIFIC RENAISSANCE IN INDIA. By the Editor. [Prabuddha Bharata, March 1938.]

MODERN THOUGHT AND VEDANTA. By Swami Prana-veshananda. [Vedanta Kosari, March 1938.]

INDIA AND CHINA. By Tan-Yan Shan. [The Visvabharati Quarterly, Feb.-April, 1938.]

VISUALIZED INDIAN MUSIC. By Harkant B. Shukla. [The Triveni, March 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

FEDERATION

In the Central Legislative Assembly, on March 10, Sir James Grigg made a comprehensive statement in regard to Federation while replying to a question put by Mr. T. S. Avanashilingam Chettiar. He stated that the final revision of the Instrument of Accession was still under consideration.

In August 1936, enquiries were made from the Rulers of the States regarding their attitude towards Federation and in the ensuing months the representatives of the Viceroy toured the States and held discussions with the Rulers and their Ministers on many points of difficulty or uncertainty with a view of dispelling possible misapprehensions and clarifying the issues involved. Replies to those enquiries have been received from practically all the States. These replies, which relate to the terms and conditions of the States' Accession including the question of administrative machinery for giving effect to the laws of the Federal Legislature in respect of matters accepted by the States as Federal, involve important and difficult issues. They are now under the active consideration of the Government.

The terms of accession depend upon His Majesty and the Rulers of the States concerned, and the preliminaries to the negotiation thereof are being conducted under the direct orders of His Excellency, the Crown's Representative, in close and confidential consultation throughout with the Government, with a view to safeguarding the interests of British India.

THE SALEM EXPERIMENT

"Already in thousands of homes in the district, conditions have changed to a remarkable extent. Domestic brawls have ceased, a sufficiency of food is available and the grip of the money-lender is relaxed. This has happened within the short space of four months. If the Act continues to be enforced not less effectively than it is now, I anticipate a great and permanent improvement in the material well-being of the peasants and labourers of this district," says the District Collector in Salem in his latest report of the working of the scheme of Prohibition.

CONGRESS AND M. L. A'S OATH

The opinion that the oath taken by Congress representatives of Delhi Congress Convention last year, and the oath taken by them when they entered the new Legislatures, are not incompatible, is expressed in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* by Sir Alfred Watson. In a previous letter to the paper, Sir Michael O'Dwyer had asked how the two oaths could be reconciled.

In Canada, Australia and South Africa, says Sir Alfred, every member of Parliament and every Minister takes an oath of allegiance to the King-Emperor and does so while claiming an independence permitting these Dominions, if they choose, to secede from the Empire.

That is the inner meaning of Dominion Status, the attainment of which has been promised under every solemnity to India.

What is normal procedure in the Dominions is, in the opinion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Louis Stuart, a crime in India. If it be so, not only the members of Congress but every man of political mind in India looks forward to the day when India will decide its destinies for itself. And if, as Sir Michael O'Dwyer says, a man in Mysore has been punished for taking the Congress oath, there has been an extraordinary miscarriage of justice that demands redress.

Indians of all shades of opinion are claiming the right for themselves to determine the future of India. If that be sedition, then all India from Cape Commorin to the Himalayas will have to be turned into one vast internment camp.

The assumption that, exercising its independent judgment, India would secede from the Empire is as profoundly untrue as that Canada, Australia or South Africa will take like action. To-day, even the more extreme section of the Congress is alive to the meaning of the Japanese activities farther East, and the Japanese claim to control the destinies of all Far Eastern peoples.

An India outside the Empire would be an easy prey to the ambitions. Within the Empire, as even Mr. Subhas Bose recognises, it may be left to work out its own salvation.

LORD LOTHIAN ON THE CONGRESS MINISTRIES

Addressing the East India Association, London, Lord Lothian gave his impressions of the working of the Constitution in India. He said that if the old Government was too slow and conservative, the new Government tended to err on the side of trying to go further and faster than was practically possible.

Not the least difficult problem which confronted the Ministries in the Congress Provinces was dealing with its own left wing. The determination of the Ministries to curb the excesses of its extreme followers, maintain law and order, prevent interference by young Congressmen with the working of the administrative machine, had steadily increased from the date of assumption of office. The fear sometimes expressed that the Congress would try to destroy the Civil Service had proved to be without foundation.

On the whole, Provincial Autonomy was working satisfactorily, and all Ministries had shown a marked sense of responsibility.

DR. TAGORE ON IMPERIALISM

Celebrating the 86th anniversary of Santiniketan, the Poet spoke vehemently on the worsening of the international situation and its relation to human values. He said:

To-day in this insane world of ours, human life has become a plaything. Monsters arise on all sides and make a ruthless sport of human lives. One gets anxious for the destiny of mankind when one thinks of the inhuman tortures that Japan is inflicting on the helpless population of China. Even women and children are not spared.

Is there then no hope for the future of mankind? Is humanity doomed to inevitable ruin? We should not lose heart but keep our faith firm in the eternal forces that are everywhere at work in human society. Those who are offered to-day as sacrifices at the altar of greed and empire-grabbing, those who resist with their lives the onslaught of robbers are the real heroes of human history. They might suffer an apparent defeat to-day, but they by their dauntless heroism and fearlessness help the progress of the forces of peace which are sure to prevail ultimately.

MR. MADHAVA RAO'S EXHORTATION

Presiding over the celebrations of the Madras Pachayappa's College Old Boys' Day at the Hostel premises on March 30, Rajamanthrapravina N. Madhava Rao, Member, Executive Council of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, gave the following advice to the students:—

There is no reason why some of our highly educated young men should not employ themselves as village school-masters, post-masters or secretaries of co-operative societies and panchayats and thus eke out the income from their lands if they have any, or why some of those who have studied medicine should not accept the honoraria offered by Government and settle down as medical practitioners in rural areas.

Imagine what a couple of such men living in a village and sharing in its community life could accomplish for the health of its inhabitants, the education of its children and adults and for its civic and economic progress. If they used their opportunities properly, they might, indeed, be the leaven that leaveneth the lump of rural life.

THE INDIAN QUESTION

"India for the time being is considered a 'closed question' in England. We should open up the question and make it known that the Indian question could never be sealed or considered closed until the problem is settled through a constitution framed by the Indian people by means of a Constituent Assembly," declared Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, addressing a huge public meeting at Matunga last month.

BACK TO THE GOSPEL

Dean Inge, who has been lecturing on the Bible, takes a characteristic view of the present day.

When something like a reign of Antichrist has been let loose upon Europe; when ruthless cruelty on a scale never seen before has been not only practised but justified by contemptible fanatics; when the liberty with which Christ has made us free is crushed and persecuted; and when the State, that monstrous idol, is deified and worshipped, where if not to the Gospel are we to look for a power which may bring back the nations to mercy and justice, to decency and humanity?

PARAMOUNT POWER & THE STATES

In a letter addressed to a Cochiti journalist, Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith, an authority on Constitutional history, has expressed his views on the question of introducing responsible Government in Indian States. Dr. Keith writes:

The rights are concerned with (1) the conduct of the State as part of the Indian body politic involving its contribution to the welfare of India, and (2) the internal government of the State. The Paramount Power being under obligation to secure to the dynasty the rule of the State, if it remains loyal, is bound to secure that the internal government shall be conducted on reasonably efficient and just principles.

The introduction of responsible government presents the obvious mode for the carrying out of the second principle. The British rule of responsible government rests on the doctrine that in this mode there is best secured the welfare of the people as a whole as opposed to that of a minority, and the Paramount Power would no doubt welcome the transfer to the people of the conduct of their internal relations.

As regards the first principle, the matter is solved in the case of any State which accedes to the Federation, for *ipso facto* it is thus engaged to perform its share in the general welfare of India. Naturally if responsible government were introduced for the internal government, the State representatives in the Federal legislature would be selected by election and not nominated by the Ruler.

If, on the other hand, a State was, despite acceptance of responsible government, unwilling to accept Federation, the responsible ministry would have to accept the demands made by the Paramount Power upon it to co-operate in matters essential for the general welfare of India just as the Ruler now must do. But, of course, a responsible ministry would be in a much stronger position to represent the views of the State than is any Ruler, and it would have much greater weight with the Paramount Power, for it could rely on receiving in any sound cause the support of many members of the British Parliament of all political complexions.

The Paramount Power, for the reason just given, might not be anxious to see responsible government introduced into any State, but even were this so, it could not resist its introduction since that would be disapproved by Parliament.

No doubt, there is a possibility that under responsible government, there might be a distinct clash of views between a State and the Paramount Power. But in that case, in the ultimate issue, the latter must prevail. But the mere possibility of clash is no reason for not creating responsible government. Were it carried through by carefully planned steps, it can hardly be doubted that a new era of prosperity would be opened up both for the States and the Paramount Power.

A FOUR-YEAR PLAN FOR PROHIBITION

A four-year plan for complete prohibition in the United Provinces was outlined by Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister for Justice, in reply to a debate on the Excise policy of the Government in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly.

He stated that U. P. was far ahead of any other Province in India in tackling the problem as they had taken up the question all along the line by introducing a four-fold scheme, namely, intensive prohibition in two districts; reduction of a number of shops; raising the price of intoxicants and discouraging private profit by opening State-managed shops.

Dr. Katju said that there would be no shop within a five-mile radius of a prohibited area, and except under certain conditions import and export of intoxicants would be a crime in the area. He claimed that the U. P. Government was the first to take that step in India in such a manner.

THE NEW SIND MINISTRY

The Ministry of Sir Ghulam Hussain in Sind has suffered a precipitate fall.

The members of the new Sind Cabinet were sworn in on the 21st March, the Chief Secretary, Mr. H. K. Kripalani, administering the oaths.

The following are the new Ministers:—

Khan Bahadur Allah Bux : Prime Minister.

Mr. Nehchaldas G. Vazirani.

Pir Illahi Bux.

The Ministry has decided at present to carry on their work without Parliamentary Secretaries, appointing them when the work justifies it. The Ministers will, it is understood, accept the salaries fixed in the Congress Provinces, namely, Rs. 500 per month.

THE WARDHA SCHEME

The Government of Madras having decided to introduce the Wardha scheme of education in a few schools in different parts of the province as an experiment, it is understood that the Director of Public Instruction has been asked to select suitable schools in which to introduce the scheme from the next academic year.

The schools will be selected from among those which offer the best facilities for training in crafts in each district.

The Government have been considering the problem of reorganization of secondary education on the basis of the *Press Communique* issued in June last year. The Universities in the Presidency are being asked to express their views regarding the pre-University course proposed in connexion with the reorganization scheme.

It is expected that the scheme will come into force in the school year of 1939.

THE LATE DR. SLATER

We regret to record the death of Dr. Gilbert Slater, an old and valued contributor to this *Review*, in his 73rd year.

Dr. Slater was born on August 27, 1864, at Plymouth. Educated at Cambridge, he held the office of Principal of the Ruskin College, Oxford, for six years. In 1915, he was called over to India to be Professor of Economics of the Madras University, which chair he occupied with distinction till 1921. He had been a member of the Madras Legislative Council during 1921-22 and is the author of many valuable publications, the latest of which was on the economic and political problems of South India, arising out of the working of the Government of India Act of 1935, a review of which appeared in the May (1937) number of the *Indian Review*.

INSTRUCTION IN MOTHER TONGUE

The following *Press Communique* has been issued by the Ministry of Public Information, Madras :—

"Government are anxious that the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in High School Forms should be widely extended throughout the Province. It is Government's intention, that as far as possible in the school year 1938-39, all High Schools in uni-lingual areas should begin the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in the IV Form and continue to use it in successive years in Form V and VI. Instructions to this end are being issued.

"Government realise, however, that there are certain difficulties in High Schools located in bi-lingual and multi-lingual areas and also that there are difficulties in connection with certain classes of schools, particularly girls' schools. Government have, therefore, decided that in the case of such schools, some time may be given to overcome the difficulties and to enable the schools to make arrangements ultimately for the introduction of the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction."

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

Addressing the Conference of primary school teachers at Mymensingh, Khan Bahadur Tasaduk Ahmed, special officer for primary education, Bengal, said that the province had 100,000 villages, but the number of primary schools was 64,000.

Of these schools, about 54,000 imparted lower primary education for a period of three years by which illiteracy could be removed. He stated that no child less than 6 years of age would be admitted in the primary school in the new scheme and that English would be taught in the primary schools only when suitable teachers were available.

SUPREME COURT OF APPEAL

The establishment of a Supreme Court of Criminal Appeal in India and the initiation of a measure to provide for civil appeals to the Federal Court from the Judgments of High Courts in British India were urged by Haji Syed Mohammad Hussain in the Council of State, which discussed non-official resolutions.

The resolution was withdrawn after the Government's reply that they had an open mind on the subject and were considering the preliminaries in connection with Civil Appeals to the Federal Court.

As regards the establishment of a Supreme Court for Criminal Appeals, there was no provision in the Government of India Act.

MR. K. R. R. SASTRI

Mr. K. R. R. Sastry, M.A., M.L., Reader, Law Department, Allahabad University, has been elected a member of the Grotius Society, London, formed in 1915 for advancing the study of public and Private International Law. His name was proposed by Vice-Chancellor Arnold Macnair of Liverpool University, and seconded by Professor H. L. Anterpacht, Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge.

MR. K. S. K. IYENGAR

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. K. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, at present Government Pleader, to be permanent Judge of the High Court of Madras in succession to Justice Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao with effect from 18th July 1938.

THE MOSCOW TRIAL

The 18 sentenced to death in the treason trial were shot on March 15.

The trial of the 21 accused began on March 2, before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court.

Among the accused were: Yagoda, ex-head of the Secret Police; Bukharin, ex-editor of the *Izvestia* and ex-President of the Comintern; Rakovsky, President of the Council of the People's Commissars for Ukraine; Grinko, Commissar for Finance; Krestinsky, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Rosenholtz, Commissar for Foreign trade; Rykov, Lenin's successor as Premier of the U. S. S. R. They were charged with organising a system of espionage, wrecking and terrorism on behalf of foreign States for the purpose of provoking war, in order to dismember the U. S. S. R. and to surrender the Ukraine, White Russia, Turkestan, Caucasus and the Far Eastern Maritime Province to the above foreign States.

The indictment alleged that the accused's activities began in 1918 when they planned to murder Lenin, Stalin, and Sverdlov and seize power. In collusion with Trotsky, they were further accused of the murder of Kirov in 1934, and with the help of prominent doctors, including Platanov, the famous heart specialist, of the murder of Maxim Gorki, Menhhinsky, ex-head of the OGPU; and Kuibyshev, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, who all three were formerly certified of having died naturally. The organisation was stated to have aimed at establishing a bourgeois regime and restoring Capitalism.

All the 21, except Rakovsky, Platanov, and Bessenov, were sentenced to death.

DELHI ORIENTAL BUILDING

An Oriental Building, newly constructed on the Queensway, New Delhi, by the Oriental Life Assurance Company, was opened on March 10, by the Hon. Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in the unavoidable absence of the Hon. Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member. There was a large gathering of the members of the Central Legislature, officials, and citizens of Delhi. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, a Director of the Company, welcoming the guests, gave an account of the achievements of the Company since its inception 60 years ago. Mr. Bambri, local manager, read messages from Sir Purshotamadas Thakurdas, Chairman, and other Directors.

BURMA INSURANCE BILL

Dr. Thein Maung, Commerce Minister, proposes to introduce a Bill at the current session of the House of Representatives to consolidate and amend the law relating to the business of Insurance in British Burma. The Bill, which is entitled the Burma Insurance Bill, 1938, is modelled on the lines of the Indian Insurance Bill which was passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly during the last session. Before the Indian Bill was passed, Burma was separated from India so that when the Bill became Law in India, Burma was not bound by the provisions of the said Bill. It is, therefore, necessary that a similar Bill should be passed by the Burma Legislature.

THE NEW INSURANCE ACT

It is reported the new Insurance Act will be brought into force with effect from October next.

ROAD CASUALTIES

According to the returns recently issued by the Ministry of Transport, the total number of Road casualties in Great Britain in 1937 was 232,930, the number killed being 6,591 and the number injured being 226,339. It is of tragic interest to note that the total persons killed on the roads in one year, as stated above, was only a little below the total number of British soldiers killed during the whole of the South African War. It should, however, be mentioned in this connexion that there was an increase of 170,000 in motor vehicles on the roads in 1937.

MYSORE STATE INSURANCE

Two decades of steady growth are reviewed in a report of the Mysore State Insurance Department.

In 1917, when the department was opened, 225 policies were issued for cover amounting to Rs. 4,00,600 and bringing an annual premium income of Rs. 18,607-4. In 1927, policies issued came to 1,027 for Rs. 10,88,900 yielding Rs. 61,896-9. In 1937, as many as 5,779 policies were issued for cover amounting to Rs. 50,31,400. The premium-income amounted to Rs. 2,68,033-4.

INSURANCE AMALGAMATION

Replying to Sardar Mongal Singh, M.L.A., in the Central Assembly, on the 25th February last, Mr. H. Dow, Commerce Secretary, stated that no Company had amalgamated in British India during the last 10 years, but five companies have given notice of amalgamation since 27th January, 1937. He further stated that all such companies would be required to complete their separate deposits.

PROVINCES AND INCOME-TAX

A *communiqué* issued on March 23, announces the amounts distributable to the Provincial Governments from the income-tax receipts of the India Government.

On the basis of the latest estimates available, the amounts payable to Provincial Governments in respect of income-tax during the current financial year are as follows:

	Rs.
Madras	18,75,000
Bombay	25,00,000
Bengal	25,00,000
United Provinces	18,75,000
Punjab	10,00,000
Bihar	12,50,000
Central Provinces	6,25,000
Assam	2,50,000
North-West Frontier Province	1,25,000
Orissa	2,50,000
Sind	2,50,000
Total	1,25,00,000

Arrangements are being made for these amounts to be credited to the Provincial Governments before the close of the present financial year.

Adjustments will be made in 1938-39 when the amount actually received by the Central Government from Income-tax and Railways becomes accurately known.

NON-INDIAN FIRMS IN INDIA

The establishment of non-Indian concerns in India behind the tariff wall was referred to in the course of questions in the Assembly recently, when Seth Govind Das asked whether the Government were aware that such concerns were in some cases keenly competing with Indian enterprises and in other cases preventing the growth of Indian enterprises.

Mr. H. Dow, Commerce Secretary, replied that the Government of India had no reason to believe that the results of the establishment of such concerns on Indian soil were not desirable. He invited the member's attention to the finding of the External Capital Committee of 1925 that any measures discriminating against external capital or penalising it, either by way of taxation or control, would, far from assisting the development of Indian resources or fostering the Indian investor, will be definitely injurious to both. He added that such a course would impede the growth of new industries, restrict transferability and consequently the market value of holdings of the Indian investor.

MADRAS HAND-MADE ARTICLES

The following statement placed on the table of the Legislative Assembly recently by the Ministry of Industries, in reply to a question, gives particulars of the value and quantity of articles which are most probably hand-made, exported from the Madras Province during 1935-36.

	Rs
Apparel	25,062
Works of art	12,937
Coir unmanufactured (173 cwt.)	28,885
Coir yarn (599,612 cwt.)	60,18,360
Coir, other sorts (26,308 cwt.)	9,30,244
Cordage and rope of vegetable fibre (9,646 cwt.)	85,148
Musical instruments	36,564
Other kinds of instruments, apparatus and appliances	90,574
Mats and matting except coir and rubber (413,953 sq. yds.)	97,541
Brass, bronze and similar alloys wrought (6,346 cwt.)	2,71,567
Pickles, chutnies and condiments (214 cwt.)	7,891
Cotton handkerchiefs and shawls in the piece (801,828 Nos.)	29,65,787
Lungis and saris (10,262,570 yds.)	48,14,177
Silk, raw (339,017 lb.)	70,433
Toys and requisites for games and sports	13,519

DR. POONEN LUKOSE

Vaidya Kusala Dr. (Mrs.) M. C. Poonen Lukose, Senior Surgeon and Superintendent of the Women and Children's Hospital Trivandrum, has been offered and accepted the post of Surgeon-General with the Government of Travancore to succeed Dr. James Simpson, who has been permitted to retire from service with effect from September 1 next.

Mrs. Lukose will be the first lady Surgeon-General in India and the appointment is deemed as one more proof of the recognition given by His Highness's Government to the claims of women.

Mrs. Lukose, who is an M.B. B.S. of London University and L.M. (Rotunda), has been recognised by authorities as specialist in the diseases of women and children, and has thrice acted as Durbar Physician in Travancore. She has done much useful work as a nominated member of the Travancore Legislative Assembly and is President of the Christian Young Women's Association and the Travancore Medical Association.

MRS. PANDIT'S REPLY TO CRITICS

"I am not a feminist and I do not believe that because a woman happens to be born a woman, therefore every help and advantage should be given to her," declared the Hon. Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government, replying to the criticisms of Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh during the discussion on the budget in the U. P. Assembly. She said that she strongly believed that the future of the country was dependent on its women, and unless the men and women of a country marched together, there could be no progress. Unless they

played together, worked together and built up the history of the nation together, there could not be a history worth building. If nothing spectacular had been done for women, it was not because she had no appreciation for women, it was not because she did not think that they had to be helped, but because she thought it was a wrong policy to do these things. Women wanted to stand up and go forward just as fast as they could. If, in that march, they wanted something, it should be given to them, but the helping hand should not be stretched to them because they were women.

Mrs. Pandit requested some of the honourable members, who had made such gallant, chivalrous and beautifully high-sounding speeches about women, to come forward and translate all that beauty into the beauty of action. She specially said to the Muslim members who belonged to the League and the Independent Party that if their women-folk would come forward, she would go out of her way and do everything that she could, both as a Minister and as a woman, to make it possible for them to march side by side with their Hindu sisters and to take their rightful place in the scheme of things in this (U. P.) province.

HOME AND SWADESHI

An exhibition of Swadeshi articles, designed to beautify the Indian home, was opened at Adyar, on December 23, by Dr. George S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society. The Exhibition was organised by Shrimati Rukmini Devi on behalf of the International Academy of the Arts, of which she is President.

LITERARY

A FREE PRESS

Mr. Subhas Bose, Congress President, was the guest of honour at a Party given by the Journalists' Association of India at Bombay.

Welcoming Mr. Bose, Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor, *Bombay Chronicle*, detailed the difficulties of journalists and said the object of Indian journalism was the establishment of a free and fearless Press in the country. That was one of the conditions mentioned in the famous Karachi Resolution of the Congress on Fundamental Rights. Mr. Brelvi had no doubt that Mr. Bose would jealously guard the interests of journalists and journalism.

Replying, Mr. Bose said he had always taken a keen interest in journalism and been a journalist himself in the broader sense of the word. He had no doubt that a free and fearless Press was necessary in a 'slave country like India', more in the interests of the people and the country than of the Press itself.

BASIC ENGLISH

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, presiding over a lecture on "Basic English", delivered by Mr. Adolph Myers in the Law College, Allahabad, said, what appealed to him particularly about Basic English was that its adoption would enable students to conserve energies now wasted on unnecessary literary refinements. It was useful also as a model for Basic Hindustani as the All-India *lingua franca*. For all practical purposes, Basic was a good substitute for complete English.

URDU FOR UNITY

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, presiding over the closing session of the Anjuman Bhariadab (Urdu Poets' Conference) said that it was wrong to think that Urdu was a special cultural production of the Mussalmans. It was built up by both the Hindus and Mussalmans and made for communal unity.

SIR T. V. ACHARYA

The Italian Institute for Middle Far East, founded by Signor Mussolini, to promote cultural relations between Italy and Asia, has invited Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar to deliver a course of lectures in Rome on "Culture, agriculture and public life".

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER

We regret to record the death of Sir Harcourt Butler in England. Sir Harcourt came out to India 18 years ago as an Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the United Provinces, and he rose to be the Lieut.-Governor of the same Province. He held many important positions. It is said that Lord Minto, who met him, was greatly struck with his abilities and appointed him Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. He was a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council from 1910 to 1915. He became Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces where he remained till 1921. In December, he went back to Burma as Governor of the Province and served the full period.

His term expired in 1927, and in 1928 he was Chairman of the Indian States Committee. He was responsible for the endowment of the Rangoon University. Sir Harcourt was 69 when he died.

THE LATE NAWAB ABDUL HAKIM

A public meeting of the citizens of Madras, summoned by Mr. G. A. Natesan, the Sheriff of Madras, placed on record its sense of sorrow at the demise of Nawab C. Abdul Hakim Sahib and resolved to institute a suitable memorial to him and appointed an influential Committee to take the necessary steps in this behalf. The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister, presided over the meeting.

MR. T. J. KEDAR

Sir Hari Singh Gour, Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University, has handed over charge of his office to Mr. T. J. Kedar, M.L.A.

As a Minister in the C. P. Government in 1928-29, he was responsible for the first measure in prohibition—in the Damoh district. From 1934 to 1937, he was the leader of the Opposition in the local Legislature.

SIR PUTTANNA CHETTY'S GIFT

Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty has donated Rs. 85,000 to create a charitable trust for the maintenance of poor Veerasaiva students studying in the colleges and high schools in Bangalore City. Free boarding and lodging will be provided for such students.

THE TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow addressed a Press Conference at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi, on the anti-tuberculosis campaign inaugurated by her, and explained her plans for the utilisation of the funds which are being collected.

The Conference, which was held in the oak-panelled State room in which the Viceroy's Executive Council meetings generally take place, is the first to be held by a Vicereine in Delhi, and is acknowledged as an important event in marking the break with official tradition in this respect. In the course of an appeal, Her Excellency said:

"I want to see additional wards of free beds added to the existing hospitals and sanatoria, which would bring them within the reach of the poor. Free beds already exist, but we want more and those beds should be endowed. It would be clearly impossible for unendowed hospitals to increase to any large extent their free accommodation. It is about as much as they can do in many cases to keep their heads above water. Even now I commend this method of helping my scheme to the many large-hearted and charitably-inclined people of India, that they should endow free beds which could bear names that would be inscribed for all time, not only on brass plates but would also be enshrined in the hearts of the poor, who found a refuge from their sufferings."

BARCLAY MEDAL FOR RESEARCH

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has awarded the Barclay Memorial Medal to Brevet-Colonel R. N. Chopra, I.M.S., Director, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, for his long sustained and distinguished labours in the field of medical research. This Medal is awarded biennially for conspicuously important contributions to medical and biological science with special reference to India.

Some of the former recipients are: Sir Donald Ross, Col. D. D. Cunningham, Col. A. W. Alcock, Sir David Prain, Col. Glen Liston, Sir Leonard Rogers and Sir Rickard Christophers.

CLIMATE ON HUMAN PHYSIQUE

Many popular ideas regarding the effect of the tropical climate on the human organism need revision, according to Brev. Col. R. N. Chopra, who, in the course of his presidential address to the Physiology Section of the Indian Science Congress, explained how conflicting and inconclusive is evidence on the theory, for instance, that the tropical climate induces sluggish metabolism, lower energy rate, etc.

A more systematic study than hitherto of the influence of climate on the human physique, said Col. Chopra, may result in the development of a new branch of physiology in this country. "The material is in abundance," he added, "but it needs the sickle of properly organized and directed research to garner a harvest, which will be of the greatest value to us in India as well as to the world at large."

TEA CONSUMPTION IN INDIA

India is becoming more and more tea-minded. The increase of tea consumption in India has been most marked during the last few years. The figures relating to the amount of tea left for internal consumption in India and Burma for the years 1933-34 and 1934-35 stood at 69.9 and 70.9 million pounds respectively. The finally revised estimate for 1935-36 showed 85.5 millions—a rise of 14.6 millions in the brief period of 12 months.

Comparing this figure with the consumption figure 10 years ago—1925-26—which was placed at 49 million pounds, it will be seen that the amount of tea consumed in India and Burma has increased by nearly 75 per cent. in the short space of 10 years.

DR. VISWANATHAN

It is learnt that Dr. K. S. Viswanathan, Assistant Professor of Hygiene, Medical College, Madras, who was selected as a Rockefeller Fellowship Scholar for higher studies in Public Health and is now working at the Harvard School of Public Health in America, has been awarded the Gold Key of Harvard University and elected as an honorary member of Delta Omega Society in recognition of his distinguished work in the field of Preventive Medicine.

ABOLITION OF BLANK TRANSFERS OF SHARES

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce have sent a representation to the Government of Madras, drawing their attention to the uniform opposition to their proposal to abolish blank transfers of shares.

The proposal, the Chamber state, would deal another blow to the credit structure of the country, which has already suffered by recent legislation calculated to diminish the value of personal security and of landed property. If the proposal was restricted to this province, stocks, shares and securities bought and sold in the province would be subjected to a big handicap and would react upon general business enterprise, thereby accentuating its present backwardness. If, on the other hand, the proposal was to be made All-India in its scope, its effects on the purchase and sale of stocks, shares and securities should be carefully considered.

Loans, advances and cash credit which form the main business of banks, the Chamber fear, would as a result of the proposal receive a rude shock, as credit could not be given except upon registration of transfers involving time and correspondence. Transactions on the Stock Exchange also would be considerably reduced. The Chamber, therefore, strongly opposed the proposal.

THE CITY BANK

The statement of affairs of the City Bank Ltd., and the Directors' report thereon for the year 1937 reveal the extent of the progress made by the Bank during its eleven years' existence. The Bank has paid an interim dividend of 9 per cent. per annum free of income-tax for the first half year, and the Directors recommend a like dividend for the second half also. From the audited Balance-sheet and profit and loss account, it would appear that the Bank has made substantial progress in the year under report. There has been a marked increase in the deposits, even though in the second half of the year the deposit rates were reduced all round. Another satisfactory feature in the year's Balance-sheet has been the rise in the paid-up capital of the Bank.

EASTER CONCESSIONS IN S. I. R.

It has been decided to issue "Go-as-you-please" tickets for 15 days' unlimited travel on the S. I. Railway system during the Easter period at Rs. 60, 37-8-0 and 12-8-0 for 1st, 2nd and 3rd class tickets respectively; and those desirous of travelling on the Jalarpet-Madras Section can procure supplementary tickets. These will be issued as from the 8th April to 1st May 1938; whilst tickets issued on and after 18th April, 1938, will hold good up to 2nd May 1938.

Combined "Go-as-you-please" tickets for travel over the S. I. and M. S. M. Railways will also be issued as usual.

The usual cheap return tickets can be obtained for distances of over 100 miles at one and one-third single fares for first and second classes, and at one and three-fourths ordinary fares for third class, these being issued between 8th April and 18th April, the return journey to be completed by midnight of 2nd May, 1938.

POST OFFICE TUBE RAILWAY

Every visitor to London is familiar with the unique system of underground railways, which serves all parts of the metropolis. Few, however, know of the existence right under the capital of one of the most remarkable of transportation links—the Post Office tube railway. This system has recently celebrated its eleventh birthday, for while construction was begun a quarter of a century ago, the Post Office tube was not actually opened to traffic until 1926. During the last war, the partially-completed tunnels served a useful purpose as bomb-proof shelters for priceless national works of art.

Running east to west beneath London, from Whitechapel to Paddington, the tube connects with various mainline railway stations, where mails are handled. The double-tracks are of 2 ft. gauge and the tunnel is 9 ft. in diameter. Approaching a station, the main tunnel divides into two 7 ft. tunnels, and in the stations themselves passing loops are provided. Trains are electrically operated and are automatically controlled throughout.

FRESCO PAINTINGS AT PAGAN

The great achievement of ancient art in Burma has so far escaped the attention of connoisseurs of Eastern Arts, writes Mr. Ajit Mookerjee in the *India Monthly*. Nowhere in the East, except in the Ajanta and Bagh caves, can there be seen such wonderful fresco paintings as there are in the remains of the temples at Pagan, the ancient capital of Upper Burma. In the forlorn temples of Pagan, one finds some of the most precious artistic possessions of the East.

The ruins of Pagan cover a tract of country along the Irrawaddy river measuring 20 miles in length by 5 miles in breadth, or an area of 100 square miles, and within this space there can still be traced the remains of 5,000 or 5,500 temples.

These paintings afford an interesting study in Buddhist Jataka stories, but they are more interesting from the artistic point of view. The most representative collection of the fresco paintings of Pagan can be found in the vaulted roofs and the inner walls of the Nandamanna, Payathonzu and Kyanbankkyi temples, built by the great Buddhist kings: Anarawtha, Kyanzitha, Alaung-sithu and other kings of Pagan. Besides these, there are smaller groups in other temples, and though the fresco paintings of these temples of Pagan are of a conventional mediæval type, they show considerable artistic merit.

THE SEVEN PAGODAS

A new fashion was set in South India in building sacred Hindu structures when granite was used for the first time for the dome of the temple of Mahabalipuram, also known as the Seven Pagodas, in the seventh century A.D., says a writer in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*.

The monuments at Seven Pagodas fall broadly into three classes: the carvings, the caves, and the shore temple. Notable among the carvings are: Arjun's Penance, a large panel showing an animated forest scene. It is considered the biggest bas-relief in the world. The stone *raths* or cars, scooped out of solid rock and ornamented with storeys, fall into the second class. They take their names from the heroes of the *Mahabharata*.

TENNIS IN INDIA

Mr. C. A. Muirhead, the Agent of the South Indian Railway, has some interesting things to say on Tennis in India. Speaking at the conclusion of the Trichinopoly Club Open Lawn Tennis Tournament recently, Mr. Muirhead said:

"I think the Indians are peculiarly adapted for the game of Tennis. Indians are World Champions of Hockey. This Championship has been in a large measure due to two qualities inherent in the Indians—keenness of eye and nimbleness of foot. These, in my opinion, are also just the qualities required for success in Tennis. Two things, however, require to be remedied before Indians can take their place in International Tennis. One is lack of stamina and the other lack of proper coaching and training. I am glad to hear that the All-India Lawn Tennis Association is taking steps to bring out efficient coaches from Europe and train promising young Indian players. As regards stamina, the Tennis of to-day makes enormous demands upon the physical strength of the players. To-day it is impossible for a man, however adept he may be in the technique of the game, to win any first class tournament unless he has enormous physical endurance. This cannot be achieved in a day. It means proper diet, regular habits and well-regulated forms of physical exercise. I would, therefore, advise Indians, who wish to make a mark in this game, to pay particular attention to their physical development without which they cannot hope to achieve any success in this game."

WORLD RECORD FOR CYCLING

Krishna Kumar Sharma, who is on an attempt to create a new world record for endurance cycling, broke the world record of 84 hours 30 minutes, incidentally breaking the Indian record also, *viz.*, 74 hours 3 minutes at 8-50 p.m. on March 7.

MAJOR C. K. NAYUDU

The Managing Committee of the Hindu Gymkhana, has decided to award the L. R. Tairsee Gold Medal to Major C. K. Nayudu, whom they considered the best cricketer of the year.

PROF. J. C. GHOSE

Professor J. C. Ghose, D.Sc., head of the Department of Chemistry of Dacca University, who has been elected President of the Indian Science Congress for 1939, to be held at Lahore, has had a distinguished academic career at Calcutta University and at University College, London. He joined the staff of Calcutta University as a lecturer in Chemistry in 1916.

He has been professor and head of the Department of Chemistry of Dacca University since its inception in 1921. During this period, he has organized and developed a School of Chemical Research and has made notable contributions to Science in the field of electro-chemistry, theory of salt solutions and mechanism of chemical reactions, especially under the influence of radiation.

Professor Ghose has been a member of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and of its Advisory Board since 1925. He has also been a member of the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association since 1932.

He was one of the promoters of the Indian National Institute of Sciences and of the Indian Chemical Society.

GLASS SUBSTITUTE FROM POTATOES

A new material which has all the transparency of glass, is now being manufactured from potato starch. It has an advantage over glass, in that it is transparent to the short wave lengths of light, which carry the health-giving properties of sunlight. This new product can be colored, if desired, and has stood up well under exposure to all wave lengths of light given it to date.

GAS MASKS FOR CIVILIANS

The Government of India have under consideration a scheme for the manufacture of gas masks in India for the civilian population, writes a correspondent in the *Daily Gazette*.

EARTH'S NARROW ESCAPE

A South African Astronomer reports that the Earth as a whole narrowly missed being smashed to bits when a planet shot towards it recently.

MR. S. C. BOSE ON THE INDIAN CINEMA

The Cinema in India has been receiving greater and greater attention from responsible quarters. Ministerial visits to Indian cinema studios have become the order of the day, bearing witness to the Indian Government's solicitude for the welfare of an industry which has been growing by leaps and bounds, and which is providing the public the most popular form of amusement. Now a pronouncement comes from Subhash Chandra Bose, President of the Congress, carrying with it, says a contemporary, all the weight of one who occupies the presidential chair of the premier political organization in the country. Naturally enough, the side of the Indian Cinema, which struck the President most, was the exploitation of our films for the purpose of representing to the Western public India and things Indian as they actually are, and of incidentally to shatter to bits the fantastic India of their lurid imaginations. Subhash Bose said: "If we could send out cultural and educational films made in India, I am sure that India and her culture would become known and appreciated by people abroad."

THE DANCING JALAJA

Jalaja, the new screen play in Tamil, is a welcome addition to the South Indian pictures. The picture is produced by the well-known Sagar Studios and there are some novel and interesting features introduced by its talented Director, Mr. Seshagiri of the Renaissance Theatre, Madras. The Bharata Natya scene where Miss Bhanumati, as temple dancer Jalaja, dances to the music supplied by Mr. Kalyana-Sundaram, will, it is hoped, draw crowded houses in the South.

THE HARIPURA CONGRESS SESSION FILMED

The Haripura Session of the Congress has been filmed by the Wadia Movietone. The picture will have a warm reception all over India, as it will be a political news-reel of the first order. It is hoped that the film will be worthy of the great national event it portrays.

MOTOR TRANSPORT IN SOUTH INDIA

"Motor transport is literally in its infancy in India, it needs sympathetic guidance," remarked Mr. E. A. Watson at a meeting of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association. "So far it may fairly be said that motor transport has received anything but sympathetic guidance. Every Government, every local body, says the *Madras Mail*, "has seen in motor transport something to be taxed, harried and legislated for without cessation. Its raw materials are taxed, its motive power is taxed, it cannot use the highways without paying further taxes. Only a lusty infant could survive such treatment, but there is a limit to what even the healthiest youngster can stand. Mr. Watson pleaded for fairer treatment for this new public utility. It does not wish to menace other existing public utilities. It desires to work in co-operation with them, each striving to increase the amenities, the conveniences afforded to the public. It is possible and, indeed, most probable that had the problems created by the birth of this new infant been approached differently, if instead of trying to kill it, Governments, local bodies and others had sought to fit it in with other members of the public utility family, the railways, the waterways, air-ways, etc., there would have been less bitterness, less cut-throat competition, more co-operation in promoting the common weal and better understanding all round."

APPEAL TO MOTORISTS

In issuing an appeal to owners and drivers of motor vehicles in the provinces, Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, Minister for Public Works and Communications, C. P., says that he had noticed with the gravest concern instances of reckless driving of motor vehicles at speeds far in excess of the limits permitted by law, or indicated by prudence and common sense. During the period 1934-35, the total number of accidents had risen from 695 to 1,181 and every year about 60 people lost their lives and 500 were maimed or injured as a result of motor accidents. In over 50 per cent. of the accidents, public vehicles figured and these accounted for nearly 70 per cent. of the death-roll.

NEW FLAT RATE FOR AIR MAIL

Mr. Bewoor, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, interviewed regarding postage rates on the new 'all-up' scheme, states that the flat rate of two annas and half for each half ounce applies only to countries participating in the scheme and all correspondence to such countries can go by air.

As regards non-participating countries, there is no change in the postage rates or air mail fees, or the mode of conveyance of correspondence. Air mail surcharges in the case of these countries will be as before.

LORD WINTERTON IN AIR COUNCIL

Lord Winterton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, has joined the Cabinet.

He will be an additional member of the Air Council and will act as Deputy to Lord Swinton on the Air Council and deal with all major air questions in the Commons on the service side.

His appointment will enable Colonel Muirhead, Under-Secretary for Air, to devote himself to the needs of civil aviation in accordance with the recommendations of the Cadman Report.

AIR-RAID PRECAUTIONS

The British Home Secretary, speaking on air-raid precautions on March 19, said that the response to his appeal for a million volunteers had been very good. Offers of help had been so heavy that local organisations had been unable to cope with them. He also stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had agreed to allow for income-tax purposes expenditure of firms on training staffs in air-raid duties and provision of shelters and equipment.

ENGLAND-NEW ZEALAND RECORD

Establishing an England-New Zealand record in 4 days 8 hours 7 minutes, Clouston and Ricketts landed at Blenheim on March 20, at 4-57 a.m., compared with Jean Batten's 11 days 1 hour 25 minutes.

Clouston also established the record for crossing the Tasman Sea in 7 hours 19 minutes compared with 9 hours 15 minutes taken by the Empire Flying Boat "Centaurus."

STATE AID TO INDUSTRIES

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, have submitted a representation to the Director of Industries, Bengal, giving their views on the necessity of bringing an early amendment to the Bengal State Aid to Industries Act, in order to ensure greater benefit to *bona fide* industrialists and to the development of indigenous industries.

While the Committee do not favour Government taking shares in an industry as a form of State aid, they suggest the extension of the facilities provided under the Act of securing cash credit, advance, etc., by industries and express themselves against putting any limit on the amount of loan to be granted under the Act, except the usual restriction of proportionate security.

The Committee also suggest that the Board of Industries should be empowered to sanction loans without reference to the local Government up to a sum of Rs. 25,000 in each individual case, and that the Government should make allotment in the Budget every year for the purpose of giving State aid to industries.

A SIX-YEAR PLAN FOR PUNJAB

A six-year plan of intensive and all-round development will be launched by the Punjab Government early in summer. The plan is to select a *tehsil* in each district for an intensive and co-ordinated drive towards moral and material uplift.

Among the objectives will be the consolidation of holdings, the supply of improved varieties of seed to the cultivator, the improvement of the breed of cattle, the preservation of manure, the improvement in the methods of agriculture, the provision of better marketing facilities, the expansion of education, industries, and co-operative activities, the supply of adequate and wholesome drinking water, the improvement of sanitation and the relief of indebtedness.

On an average, there are four *tehsils* in a district. The programme is expected to be completed in six years, costing, according to the present calculations, Rs. 72 lakhs.

REDUCTION IN LAND REVENUE

Inaugurating the Peasants' Conference held under Congress auspices at Katol, on February 10, the Premier of the Central Provinces, the Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, said that the Government had decided to give a permanent reduction of 12½ per cent. in land revenue to the smaller peasantry. They were further examining the question of relief to the heavily assessed areas and would give a reasonable rebate.

The Premier alluded to the hesitation on the part of the people to pay land revenue and said that the figures of collections in the current year showed a big drop as compared with last year's. He advised the peasants to pay their revenue dues without delay. He warned the kisans against the critics of the Ministry and advised them to support Ministry and strengthen the Congress by joining it in large numbers. Even if they were to forego the entire land revenue, the Premier continued, it would not solve the problem of the poverty of the people. He thought that industrial development was the only solvent of their ills.

MADRAS AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

The Premier of Madras announced in the Assembly, on March 14, that the Governor-General had given his assent to the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Bill.

"The House is aware," the Prime Minister observed, "that the Agriculturists' Relief Bill had been reserved for consideration by His Excellency the Viceroy.

"As soon as the measure was passed by this House and the other House, the Bill was reserved for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor-General in the ordinary course, as it sought to alter the law with regard to civil procedure, limitation and similar matters falling within the concurrent list of the Government of India Act.

"I am sorry to disappoint persons who might have expected something more sensational, but I believe that the House would be pleased to learn that His Excellency the Governor-General has given his assent to the Bill."

CONGRESS AND LABOUR

Workers belonging to various trade union organisations in Madras went in a mass procession to the Assembly buildings on the 6th March, when the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, addressed them on the labour policy of the Congress Government.

The Hon. Mr. Giri said that the Congress Government stood by their pledges which assured fundamental rights to workers. If workers were hasty and expected things to be done for them without much thought, they would be disappointed. The Government realised that it should be made possible for the employers to recognise well-regulated trade unions running on sound lines. He had been thinking for some time past as to what should be done in the matter of industrial unemployment and for the development of schemes to relieve unemployment among the workers. He expected the complete co-operation of all workers and industrialists in that matter. He felt that if the representatives of the employers and those of the workers could meet together to discuss common matters, an agreement could be arrived at and then labour legislation might follow.

Continuing, Mr. Giri referred to the labour policy of the Government and the action that had been taken by them in about 37 strikes that had occurred since July last in the Presidency. Courts of enquiry and conciliation boards were appointed whenever internal settlement between the parties was not possible in any trade dispute. He would warn the workers that if they expected of the Congress Government to do what labour unions had themselves to undertake, the workers deserved no encouragement, and they were then bound to fail. The only salvation of the workers lay in a sound trade union organisation, which alone would secure sanctions for their just demands. Above all, their demands must be just and reasonable.

Proceeding, Mr. Giri stressed the necessity for the workers and their leaders co-operating with the Government by unstintingly following the policy laid down by the Government from time to time.

GEN. SMUTS' TRIBUTE TO GANDHIJI

In the course of a letter addressed to Sir Raza Ali, who has returned to India after his term of office as Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, General Smuts, Minister of Justice, South Africa, pays a tribute to Gandhiji and his work in India.

General Smuts says: "If you happen to see Mr. Gandhi, will you kindly convey him my best wishes for his continued health and strength."

His work for Indian regeneration, more especially in its social aspect, seems to me among the greatest in the most fruitful of human tasks and in its extent surpassing that undertaken by any single man in our generation."

SUBHAS ROSE'S GIFT TO THE NATION

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, and his brothers have made a gift of their Cuttack house to the nation.

The house was built by the late Mr. Janakinath Bose, father of the Congress President at a cost of several lakhs of rupees and is situated in the most aristocratic quarters of the town on a plot of land measuring about two acres.

The gift-deed will be executed in favour of the Indian National Congress and, it is further understood, the house will be used as the headquarters of the Orissa Provincial Congress.

8-HOUR DAY FOR WORKERS

The Madras Congress Ministry was planning to introduce an eight-hour working day, announced the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, Madras Government, addressing a Meeting of Railway workers at the Moghulpura Workshops, North-Western Railway, Lahore.

The Hon. Mr. Giri hoped that other Congress Governments would do likewise and also introduce legislation for fixing minimum wages for workers and for unemployment and health insurance. It was the right of workers to demand that minimum wages be fixed. He appealed to workers to be united and disciplined.

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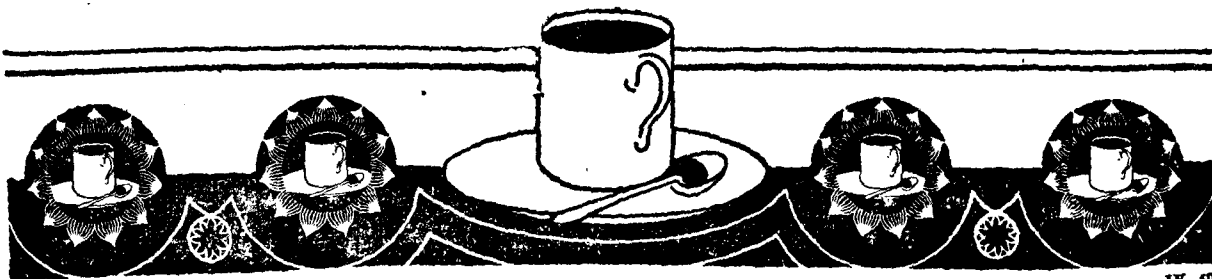


East and West

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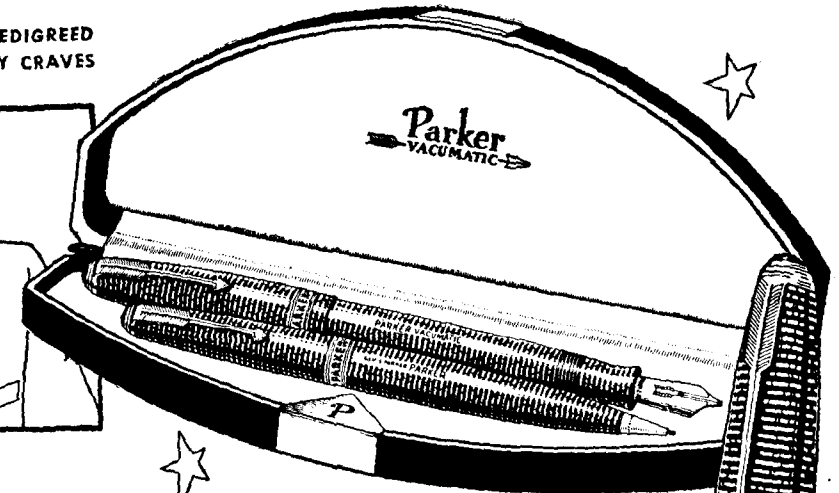
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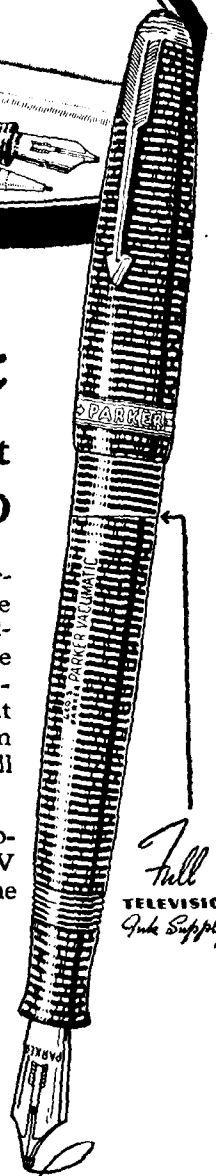
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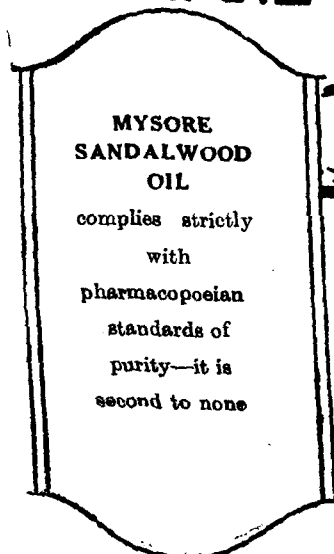
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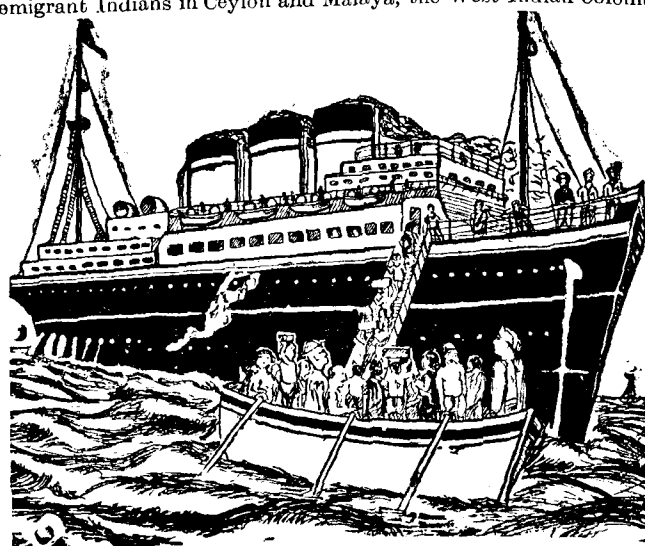
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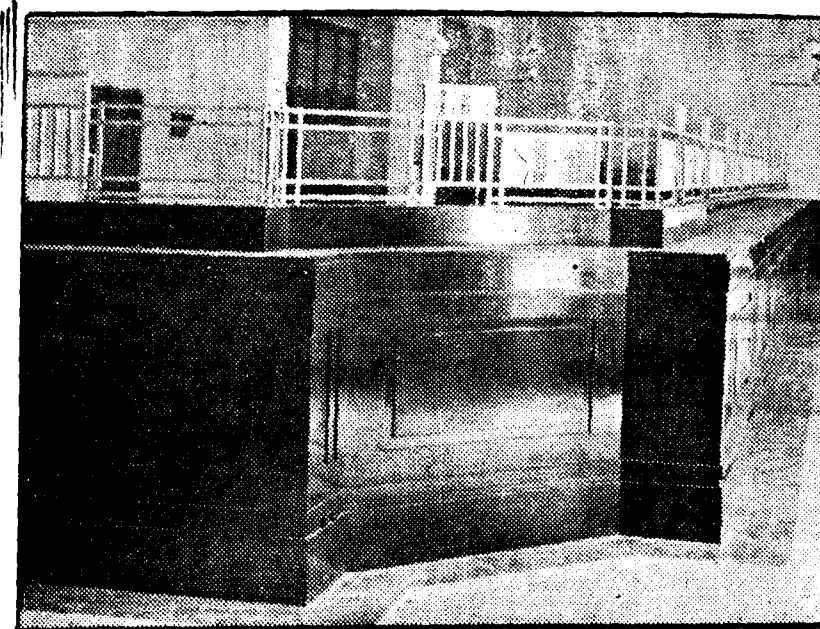
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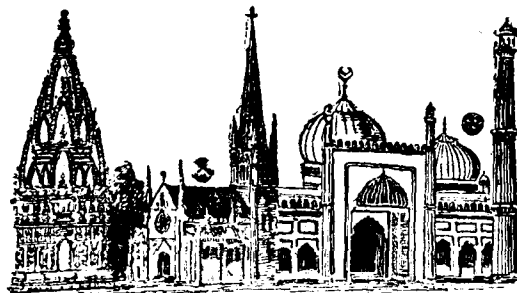
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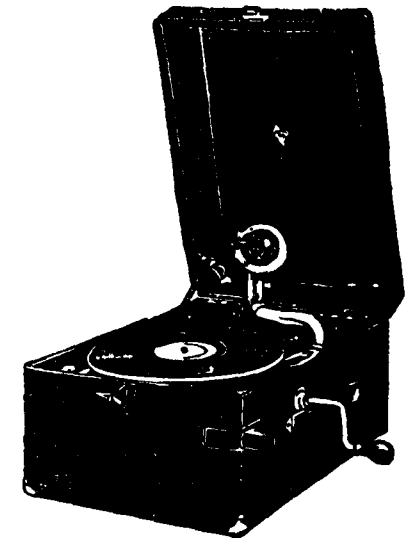
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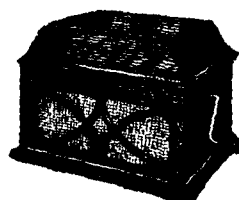
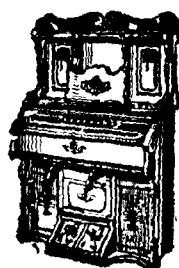
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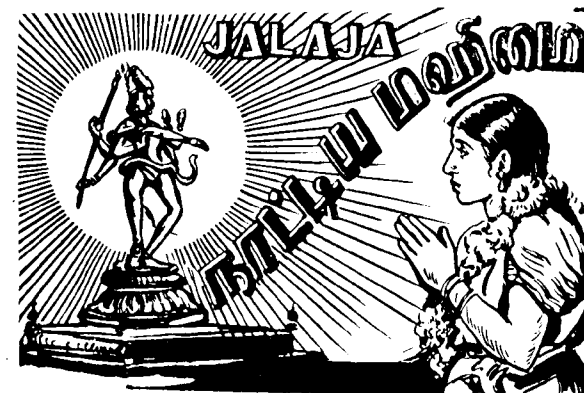
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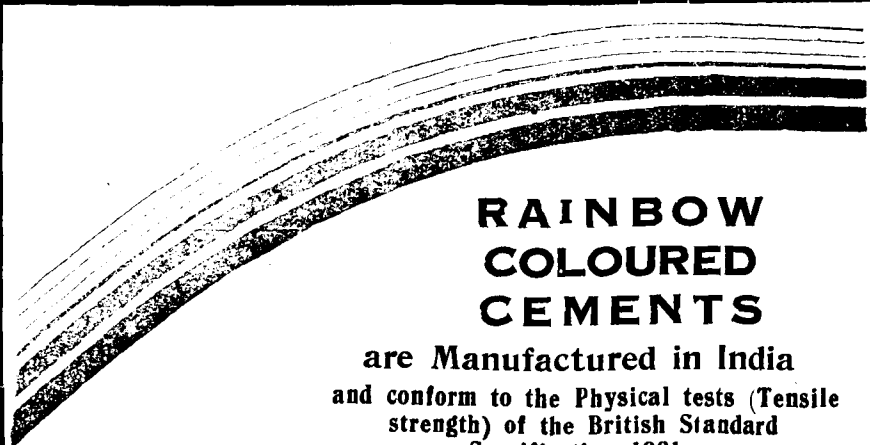
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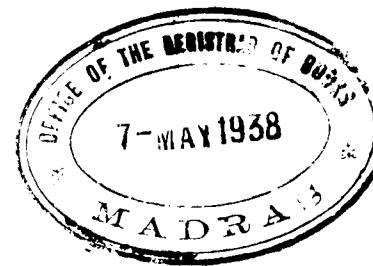
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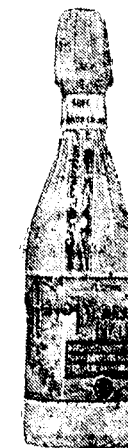
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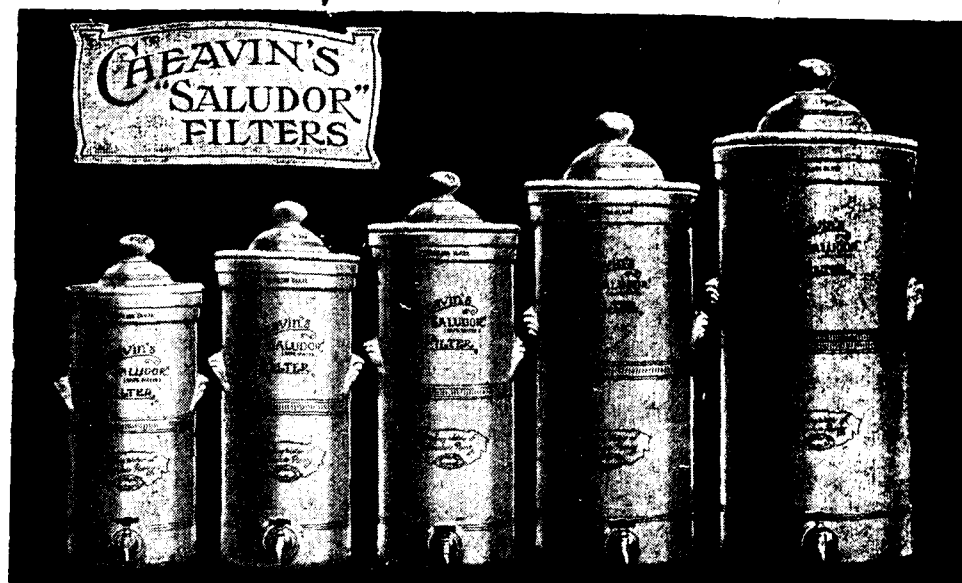
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Vol. XXXIX.]

MAY 1938

[No. 5.]

The Christian Solution to the Social Problem

BY HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF MADRAS

INDIA'S SOCIAL QUESTION

TODAY India stands on one of the curves of its History. This new movement and impulse, all the more sincere because coming from its own

Socialistic and also Communistic principles are none too infrequently presented to the public.

THE CHRISTIAN SOLUTION

We, who pertain to that great and disciplined Society which is the Catholic Church, and which more than any other works for the solution of the Social problem and for the social uplift of the people, we also wish to make our contribution thereto.

Three are the great schools which have pretended or pretend to solve the Social Problem: (1) The Liberal or Individualistic—already in its agony, (2) the Socialistic or Communistic, and (3) the Catholic.

GENEALOGY OF VARIOUS THEORIES

Although agonizing, we cannot pass over in complete silence the school of Liberalism or Individualism, since with the past we explain the present. The link which exists between ideas and the development of facts and happenings obliges us to look into its origin and causes.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF MADRAS

forces, cannot leave the Social Question unobserved; and in fact, the numerous discourses, even of members of the Government, speak clearly to us of the serious and logical preoccupation, which all have, of studying India's social question and of solving it as far as possible in favour of the people and of its poor people.



be retained as truth is rare. In fact, many go so far as to disagree with the principle of contradiction itself. Those formed in such a so-called Scientific school, sustain gross materialism.

Others imbued with the philosophy of Hegel affirm the identity of contraries—besides, for personal reasons, they create a syncretism which justifies all. No unity of doctrine, no method, a real anarchy in ideas—an epidemic of interpretations and variations which ruin true knowledge, right governing and proper living. Behold the geneology of the various theories.

"Socialism has for its father Liberalism; for its heir, Bolshevism." This Liberalism was itself the product of Protestantism.

Individual examen generated Liberalism, philosophic and scientific, which, blinded by the progress of the sciences, claimed for itself legitimate and absolute authority through which it vindicated its right to judge of the value of dogmas and of interpretations and to explain the Scriptures.

Persuaded as we are that between experimental and revealed truth there can be no confusion or contradiction, we Catholics will ever fight against the proud pretence of science which wishes to condemn dogma: Such is false science. Against the ignorant challenge of those who accuse us of obscurantism, saying that dogma paralyses, and hinders liberal free scientific research, there stands out the tremendous fact that the greatest scientists were and are the greatest, most fervent believers.

From the philosophical sphere, the principle of absolute liberty descended into civil institutions.

Political Liberalism denied the religious Hierarchy and right of interfering in

political and social organizations. God and the Church were limited to individual consciences which recognized them, but they were not to interfere with modern societies which no longer recognized them.

From the political and civil works there sprang economical liberalism. There reigned a merciless, inhuman egotism, which gave rise to an irresistible reaction. Unfortunately this reaction knew not how to maintain itself within just limits and as all exasperated reactions it broke all bounds. This reaction was Socialism.

The Church has always held the golden mean between Economic Liberalism and Socialism.

Catholics want neither of these extremes, neither the dictatorship of proletariat nor of any class. They refuse to bow before the brutal supremacy of number, they equally refuse to serve the humiliating supremacy of money.

AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

The only social policy truly Christian is that which defends with equal loyalty and equal value all the legitimate interests of all social classes.

The characteristic of the social doctrine of the Church is its wishing to conciliate the rights of the individual for whom Society exists with the rights of Society itself, which, in the interests of the individual, imposes on him obligations and sacrifices.

Society has no reason for subsisting if not to guarantee and assure to man the possession of those goods to which he has a right by his nature and which of himself he would not be able to procure.

Society is subdivided into:—

(a) The Family, which gives existence, the life of the body and in which the

physical, intellectual and moral life of all who compose it should have free development.

(b) Civil Society which has for its scope to assure man of those advantages and that security which he cannot find in the restricted limits of the family circle.

(c) The Professional Society which protects the normal exercise of the work guaranteeing existence and life.

(d) The Religious Society which helps man to attain his eternal end.

These Societies, or better, these integral parts of Society, have for their scope the facilitation for man's entire development and hence every attempt against their normal functioning, goes against the rights of the individual, rights inherent in his nature of which no one can justly rob him.

In fact, we must speak of an international society. The Society of which we have spoken, in view of modern discoveries can no longer keep itself within the narrow limits of physical boundaries. The economic interdependence of all the peoples of the earth, which is brought into strong relief by the actual crises, shows us how wise the Catholic Church is, which, being by definition international—and not national—favours the progress of international life. Our present Holy Father proclaims that the social problems cannot and ought not to be considered in the nebulous light of an egoistic and mean nationalism which is not true and generous patriotism, but should be considered in relation with the rights and interests of all peoples. Our social world is no longer a piece of land restricted for me to France, for you to India or England, but it is the map of the whole universe where the peoples and the men are all brothers, not to tear one another but to help one

another, to love one another. And hence it follows naturally that we condemn this egoistic wave of sheer nationalism or racism which wishes to establish and firmly plant itself as if we were not all children of the same Father, God our Creator, and therefore brothers to love, not enemies to tear one another.

UNITED BY THE BOND OF LOVE

The cry of Christ: "Love one another" will end in triumph, because it is the cry of a God of Love, of order and of peace. And for this do we sing our International, but not that which inspires hatred and class strife but that which seeks to unite all in love and in the tranquillity of order.

That which distinguishes our Christian Social Work is that we wish to obtain in peace and charity those results which revolutionaries wish to grasp with violence, ruining thus the basis of Society. The Social Question cannot be solved except in an atmosphere of peace, serenity and justice, not violence.

The social doctrine of the Church has never admitted nor will ever admit, that pagan concept which makes of man, of the individual, a mere cog in the great mechanism of the state.

The state is for the individual and hence should stimulate and recompense his private initiatives and it has not the right to hinder, prevent or discourage them.

THE DANGER OF SOCIALISM

Will the Catholic Church wed Socialism? A strange question! The Church would then for the first time have to admit divorce through incompatibility of character.

The supreme authority of the Church has already pronounced itself categorically:

"No one can at the same time be a good Catholic and a true Socialist."

Socialism, however, as all error, contains something of truth and it were not convenient to repulse on the spot any proposition just because it comes from a Socialist.

Here precisely lies the danger and hence the need of knowing how to detect the error, which calls for sociological knowledge which many have not. There is a moderate party of Socialists who present principles which are in accordance with those of Christianity. By these we can be trapped or led astray. They go further, however, upholding in part, if not in an atrocious manner, the struggle of classes and claim the disappearance, the suppression of private property—principles for us inadmissible.

THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Class struggle is satanical and is directly opposed to our divine brotherhood. We uphold the right of private property because it is from nature, hence from the Creator, that man has received the right to private property: first, that each one might provide for his own sustenance and that of his family and, secondly, because the goods put by God at man's disposal thus effectively fulfil their destiny, having been created for man's use. Thus speaks the Holy Father: "The right to own private property has been given to man by nature, or rather by the Creator Himself, not only in order that individuals may be able to provide for their own needs and those of their families, but also that by means of it, the goods which the Creator has destined for the human race may truly serve this purpose."

Europe laid low by the World War and trembling on the verge of intellectual

and moral ruin owing to liberalism and all its consequences, sees today the rise of two ideas or rather of two civilizations, one fighting the other. They are the old Christian civilisation and that of Bolshevik Communism. The Sentinel of the Vatican watches over the first and in his encyclicals and repeated admonitions shows forth the danger and traces the norms of safety, while from Moscow, in a flood of reeking blood, there are launched those directives of assault for the triumph of that other would-be civilization which can never have any point of contact or of understanding with the first. The one is based on the existence of God, the other on His negation. No collaboration of these two forces is possible. If one triumphs, the other must necessarily perish.

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EXACTLY a year ago the New Constitution was inaugurated in India. Despite the dark forebodings of political weather-prophets, the Constitution has not found a premature end. In all the eleven Provinces, the Constitution has been working and is being worked. Those who predicted that the dominant political party in the country would seize power only to wreck the Constitution have frankly been disappointed. The Constitution, it must be owned, has cast its spell on all alike and quickened the political life of the community. Today in all the Provinces, the elect of the people are enthroned in the seat of power. Self-Government has become an accomplished fact.

It does not, however, follow that everything has been achieved in achieving a democratic system of Government. A constitution, it is well known, is made or marred in the process of its working. Representative institutions granted to the early settlements of St. Vincent and Grenada had soon to be scrapped. Responsible Government granted to Malta in 1921 had to be suspended, and later, was reissued only with restrictions. Elsewhere in other countries, the constitution has marched forward in its course. The Dominions have transcended the bounds of their original constitution and advanced from responsible Government to a novel status. Only a few months back, the Irish Free State made history in enacting its own Constitution, proclaiming her independence and sovereignty.

A constitution must, therefore, be watched and tended with care. It may get dwarfed and stunted in its growth, or thrive and flourish in the process of time. More so, is this true, when the Constitution embodies a system of responsible Government and is largely a matter of convention and usage rather than of theory and form. No constitutional instrument of any Dominion provides that Ministers are responsible for the government of the country. Nor does it compel the representative of the Crown

to accept the 'aid and advice' of his Ministers. Nevertheless, these are the hoary maxims of the Constitution, more sacred and unalterable than the written word of the fundamental law. Tradition and custom have thus transformed the formal framework of monarchy into a great and abiding democratic system of the world.

Custom, however, is always founded on usage, and usage on practice. Political events make their impact on the constitutional structure of a country; and precedents are born in their train. Such precedents may be good, bad or indifferent; but they undoubtedly shape the form of the Constitution and the future of the country. Every year that passes, therefore, makes its own contribution to constitutional growth. And the first few years of infancy leave their indelible impress on the future.

Responsible Government, as framed in the Constitution of the Indian Provinces, implies the correlation of three forces: there is first the Governor representing the King and controlled by the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, wielding in his hands the entire gamut of 'safeguards'. There is, secondly, the Government or the Cabinet representing the people as voiced at the elections, and holding the reins of power as determined by the polls. There is, thirdly, the array of public servants on whom depends the carrying out of the policy of the Ministry and the orders of the Government. Each has its own function to fulfil. But beyond these lie the pulsating life of the people, their ambitions and aspirations, vague and often inarticulate, nevertheless of decisive value in altering the alignments of the different organs of the Constitution. The year that has passed, has revealed a little of the process of the working. We must attempt to understand the movements of its growth, so that the foundations of our experience might guide us to our destiny.

Certainly, the first and foremost event that set the pace for responsible Government was the first constitutional crisis

* See Art. 5 of the New Irish Constitution.

that arose at the very threshold of its birth. The facts are too recent to need recapitulation at any length. In the seven Provinces where the Congress had been returned in overwhelming majorities at the polls, the leaders of the party had demanded assurances of non-interference from the Governor, which the Governor under instructions from above refused. Faced with the crisis in which the major party declined to form the Ministry, the Governors of the respective Provinces appointed their own Ministers to carry on the government until such time as a settlement could be reached. Lord Zetland's first statement on the dead-lock was singularly unhelpful. It emphasised the letter of the Constitution, which endowed the Governor with a large domain of discretionary powers which the Governor, he maintained, was not competent to divest himself of. The appointment of *interim* Ministers was justified as perfectly constitutional. It was not only the right but also the duty of the Governor to find a Ministry to carry on the King's Government. In India, the refusal of assurances was decried as proof of the masked despotism in a constitution assured to hold out responsible Government to the Provinces. The entrustment of the Government to *interim* Ministers was impugned as illegal and challenged as a fraud on the Constitution and the people of India. The representative of the King became the target of hostile criticism. The controversy in the Press and on the platform was both furious and bitter. It revealed also the pulse of the country. To summon the Legislature was to invite a vote of censure against the *interim* Ministries and, therefore, against the Governor. Efforts to wean members from their allegiance to the major party ended in publicity and ridicule.

In the dilemma that followed, only two courses were possible: to effect a settlement with the Congress, or to suspend the Constitution. To adopt the second alternative was to commit constitutional *hari kari*, after 10 years of conferences and constitution-making. Wisdom therefore demanded the first course. Lord Zetland's second statement on the crisis in the House of Lords, unlike the first, was conciliatory in tone and in substance.

The Government of India Act sought to divide the orbit of Government into three domains: firstly, the domain of Governor's discretion in which the Ministers have no right of entry or of consultation; secondly, the domain of Governor's individual judgment in which the Ministers may enter and advise but may be overborne and, lastly, the domain in which the Governor is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry. Lord Zetland made it clear that the boundaries of these fields were more imaginary than real in practice. "Firstly then," he declared, "let it not be supposed that the field of Government is to be divided into two parts, in which 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 the responsibility for the *whole* of the Government of a Province, though in form vesting in the Governor, passes to the Ministry as soon as it takes office." *

As the formal declaration of the highest authority in the Government of India on a rule of practice affecting the most vital issue in the Constitution, that statement was, indeed, worth a crisis. It made plain that no sphere of action existed from which Ministerial advice would be excluded. Secondly, it emphasised that the initiative for any Governmental Act lay not with the Governor but with the Ministry. That is to say, the Governor could not embark on any original action of his own, but may consider only matters which his Ministers propose. Thirdly, the responsibility for the entire range of Governmental activity lay on the Ministers. The moment that was conceded, the distinction between the three spheres of Governor's discretion, individual judgment and Ministerial responsibility ceased. The whole area of Government became assimilated to the whole area of Ministerial responsibility and, therefore, of authority.

* See "Steering the New Constitution" by M. K. Nambyar in the *Indian Review* for April 1937, in which it was long anticipated. "It may geometrically be possible to differentiate into three concentric circles: the fields of Ministerial responsibility, of Governor's individual judgment, and of his discretion; but in every-day administrative practice it would be an impossible adventure."

In a constitution that sought to restrict Ministerial authority by every means that the wit of draftsman could devise, the declaration of the Secretary of State was of no little consequence. The outcome of the first dead-lock was, therefore, decidedly to advance the cause of responsible Government in the Provinces. It stressed the transition of power from the Governor to his Ministers in practice, and signified that the formal deviation from the Dominion models did not alter the core of the responsibility in the Indian structure. The assurance of the Secretary of State made the Governor merely the constitutional head of his Government.

With this, the crisis should have ended and with it also the constitutional interest in the controversy. Strangely, however, the Congress insisted that on an irreconcilable difference between the Governor and his Ministers, the Governor should dismiss his Ministers, and not wait for the Ministers to resign. That was certainly an unusual position to take up, nor could it be justified by the constitutional usage of the Dominions, or of the United Kingdom. The Viceroy's comprehensive survey of the situation pointed out that between dismissal and resignation, resignation was the more suitable and dignified course to the Ministry. Apparently, the Congress wished to make it perfectly plain to the world that the responsibility for the Ministers quitting office lay entirely on the Governors. Whatever the reasons behind the demand were, the Congress thesis was soon to be put to the test before the year ran out. Fortunately, the Congress did not hold out long on this issue; and every one was glad that the differences were soon composed and the Congress enabled to assume the reins of office.

The second crisis came on the eve of the Haripura Congress in the month of February. Though a few might have known, and many suspected that matters were heading to the breaking-point between the Ministers and the Governor in the United Provinces and Bihar over the release of the political prisoners, to the general public the resignation of the Ministers in the two Provinces came as a sudden surprise. For a week its

repercussions in the rest of the Congress Provinces caused grave and anxious concern. The Governors in the two Provinces had refused to accept the advice tendered by their Ministries, at the bidding of the Governor-General under Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act. Ministers in all the other 'Congress' Provinces were prepared to tender their resignations on orders from the Congress High Command. The one was as much a negation of Provincial Autonomy as the other. It revealed that in its ultimate aspects the policy in all the Provinces, whether of the Imperial Government or of the Congress, must remain the same. But that was not all. It brought in bold relief once again the questions as to who were the masters of the Government in each Province, White Hall or the people governed, and again what was the nature of the government framed by the Constitution, despotism or democracy, foreign domination or home rule.

The contest between the representatives of Imperialism and those of the people was happily again settled. On neither of the two occasions was the trial of strength carried to a conclusion. But it is singularly noteworthy that each time the representatives of the people emerged victorious. The Governor gave way to the Ministers. The 'safeguards' in the Constitution yielded to self-rule.

For such a result, the reasons are not far to seek. Responsible Government elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia or South Africa seeks its strength and sustenance from the control of the purse. So long as the Constitution, written or unwritten, made the elected assembly the donor of the supplies, the Crown or its representative was necessarily thrown on its bounty for running the government of the country. That compelled the Crown or the Governor to seek the aid and advice of the leader of the dominant party in the Legislature. For, without such help, the consequences were obvious.

In the Indian Constitution, the position is no doubt slightly different. A large portion of the expenditure is charged on the revenues of the Province, and the Governor is independent of the favours

of his Assembly to that extent. Over the rest again, though he is bound to submit the same to the sanction of his Assembly, there are some items which, even if rejected, he has authority to restore. But the aggregate amount under both the items does not, however, cover the whole range of demands of expenditure for the Province. In fact, the major portion of the demand for grants is entirely in the hands of the Assembly, which it may refuse or assent to at will. The dynamics of responsible Government, therefore, in the Indian Constitutional machinery are essentially the same as that in the system obtaining in England or the Dominions.

Undoubtedly it was quite open to the Governor to stand firm when the crisis arose. But then the course of events would have been perfectly plain. At the inauguration of the Constitution, the Governor by Order in Council under the Act, had of course the authority to incur the necessary financial expenditure for the first six months without recourse to the Legislature. The *interim* Ministry therefore could have carried on for six months without any difficulty. But the moment that period passed, the Governor would have exhausted his treasury and his resources. No expenditure could then be legally incurred other than that charged on the revenues without the sanction of the Assembly. The *interim* Ministry would certainly not have been able to procure the Assembly's assent. The only alternative would have been to find another Ministry which could command the confidence of the Assembly or grant a dissolution and obtain the verdict of the electorate. Either course, in the temper the country was in, would have been highly disastrous to the name and prestige of the Governor.

So, too, at the second crisis if the Governor could have found another Ministry willing to take the responsibility for his action, the result would have been different. But the Congress majority was so strong that no party in the Legislature had a chance of forming a Ministry. If still any group had attempted the impossible, a dissolution would have been inevitable; and if, as one might feel fairly

certain, the Congress was again returned in a majority, perhaps, in greater numbers, the country would have registered its formal censure against the Crown's representative.

On both the occasions it was freely whispered that the Governor might suspend the Constitution or suspend at least such portions which compelled him to obtain financial support from the Legislative Assembly. Such a course was perfectly possible. But it would then mean not only the scrapping of the labours of the past, but also the substitution of the rule of the naked sword, or of brute force for responsible Government, a contingency which no one could possibly contemplate with equanimity.

It was noteworthy that when the Governors in the U. P. and Bihar refused to accept the advice of the Ministers, they did not insist on dismissal as demanded by the Congress earlier. They submitted their resignations, which was certainly the correct constitutional course to pursue. The crisis, therefore, has given the quietus to the original demand of dismissal and set the precedent of resignation as the proper procedure of resolving such constitutional dead-locks, a practice in conformity to that in the United Kingdom.

Save for this brief interlude in the two Provinces, the relationship of the Governor and his Ministers in the Congress Provinces has been reputed to be happy. However alarming the safeguards be in the text of the Constitution, in practice no occasion for their exercise ever seems to have arisen. The discretion of the Governor has apparently become the discretion of the Ministry. The individual judgment of the Governor has obviously conformed to the collective judgment of the Ministry. There must, of course, have been give and take. Particularly, as in Madras, where a distinguished politician imbued in Parliamentary tradition occupies the gubernatorial seat, the Governor would tend to become what he should be, the Constitutional Head of his Province, trying to give effect to the will of the people as expressed at the polls, that is to say, the custodian of democracy in the Province. In some of the Provinces, an outcry was raised from ill-informed

quarters deploring the composition of the Ministry. In one Province, the Governor seems to have been memorialised praying for communal representation in the constitution of the Ministry. Though the Instrument of Instructions mentions the desirability of having regard to communal claims in the appointment of Ministers, the demand is based on no little misconception and ignorance. Responsible Government cannot possibly work in India or elsewhere unless the person who accepts the duty of forming the Government has the freedom of selection of his colleagues. The Governor may, of course, discuss the names, or attempt to influence the judgment of his prospective Premier. But the ultimate decision must be entirely of the Premier. Cabinet Government is absolutely different from Executive Council Government. To force the nominees of the Governor into the Council of Ministers on whatever basis it be, is to disrupt collective responsibility which is the anchor-sheet of Cabinet Government. That is why the fortunes of the Cabinet are always centred in the hands of its chief. With him the Cabinet stands or falls. He is both its creator and destroyer. In spite of the provisions of the Instrument of Instructions, it is significant no Governor has cared to appoint to the Council of Ministers any one other than the nominees of his Premier. Convention has again been made.

Considerable solicitude was entertained at the time of constitution-making for the comfort, contentment and happiness of the Permanent Services in India. Their reactions to the New Constitution, and the reactions of the Popular Ministers to the Permanent Services were both matters of concern. The tradition of the Government of India stood rooted in conquest. The Government servant, however low in cadre, became a part of the governing class, while the people, of whom he was theoretically the servant, were the governed. The reversal of the process in which power shifted to the people, and its active exercise by those nonentities or 'seditionists' whom he had looked down upon with contempt or hostility, was certainly hard and difficult to reconcile. The preservation of pay and of prospects and of the

sanctity of the supreme services in the Government of India Act no doubt added to the complexity of the situation in which the servant was sought to be saved from his new masters. Again, the new role of Governor in the Constitution in which he appeared as a shield for Government servants against Ministerials' frowns could not but have its own insidious influence; and the rules of business prescribing a Secretary's signature, "By order of the Governor" on the ukase of the Ministry seemed further to cast an illusion on the relative power of the Governor and his Government in the new dispensation. One Chief Secretary of a Congress Province was emboldened not long back to circularise all Departments to ignore the Orders of Ministers which did not purport to emanate from a Secretary. He was soon apprised of his mistake. Slowly, of course, the conviction has grown and is growing that to bow to the Ministry is, indeed, inevitable. Yet considering all the rooted antipathies of the past, the Services, on the whole, have been singularly loyal. And as years pass, they would undoubtedly learn the tremendous changes made by the New Constitution. Only then would the realisation grow that they are the true servants and not the masters of the people. Only then would the New Constitution have served its purpose.

One singular practice continuing to obtain under the Constitution has been the elevation of members of the Civil Service to Governorships of Provinces. Those Provinces which were originally under Chief Commissioners or Lieutenant-Governors and later raised to Governor's Provinces under the Montford Constitution or those newly formed on the eve of the present Constitution have by convention been the prize places for European members of the Indian Civil Service. That some of the Civilian Governors have discharged their high duties with singular ability has certainly to be conceded. But what might have been feasible under the old Constitution may not necessarily be desirable under the new. In a Government by a bureaucracy, a promising Civilian slowly grew into a Head of Department or a Secretary to Government, and gravitated

with seniority into the Executive Council. From the Executive Council of the Government of a Province, or of the Government of India to the Governorship of a Province, the transition was not unnatural. He was a part of the Government; he became now the directing force of the Government. But in no system of responsible Government is the precedent of pitchforking a Civil servant to the supreme head of the State ever known. It must be embarrassing to a Minister to issue orders to a Secretary who might one morning be found in the gubernatorial throne; nor is it likely to improve the relationship between the Civil Services and the Ministry. This is not all. The qualities which make a constitutional Governor are fundamentally different from those which make an able Civil servant. It would organically be almost impossible for a 'sun-dried' Civilian steeped to his finger tips in the traditions of bureaucratic efficiency suddenly to emerge into the watchful guardian of democratic institutions. Time alone would reveal the wisdom of adhering to the antiquated conventions of a totally different system of Government.

But it is in the background of a strong and virile public opinion that responsible Government could function with efficiency and success. The masses of the people are illiterate and are still unaware of the implications of the democratic changes in the Governmental machinery. It is personalities and not policies that really count with them. They voted for the 'Congress' largely because, Mahatmaji was the Congress, and the Congress Mahatmaji. They voted against Congress for a similar reason out of deference to local personalities whom they dared not disregard. The result has been that in Provinces where the communal award has split the electorate into fragments, the Government is run by a coalition of the parties, and the Congress is in opposition. In provinces where the communal award has wrought no deep fissures in the body politic, the Congress commands an overwhelming majority in the Legislature which makes opposition an illusion, a disorganised handful lacking in cohesion and vitality. In either case, the absence of a real party system divided by broad policies, seeking strength and sustenance

from a mobile public opinion tends to create a group system in the Government or in the Opposition, as the case may be. No deep reflection is necessary that such a government would lack in vigour, just as such an opposition would lack in effectiveness. A Government too weak is useless; too strong is dangerous. A vigorous opposition is a vital necessity to the healthy growth of responsible government. Unassailable power in any political party, however well intentioned, is apt to degenerate into dictatorship.

The impotence of opposition in some of the Provincial Legislatures has betrayed a tendency to appeal to the Governor's intervention against Ministerial acts. The Legislative measures initiated by the Congress Government in some of the Provinces, provoked agitation from a few in the Press and on the platform, praying the Governor or the Governor-General to refuse his assent. The reservation of the Agriculturist Debt Relief Bill by the Governor of Madras for the consideration of the Governor-General was hailed with joy in several eminent quarters, which ought to have known that the procedure was a matter of form necessitated by the class of subjects which the particular legislation affected. Redress was sought of the Governor-General both on the ground of the policy underlying the Bill, and of the incompetency of the Provincial Legislature to enact the Bill. The legal validity of a statute is entirely for the courts; and the theory that the Governor-General may refuse his assent to a Bill because it is *ultra vires* has long been abandoned in Australia and Canada. Such questions belong to the domain of the judiciary in the land; and that is the competent organ to decide. Matters of policy the Governor-General may, of course, canvass; but it would be fatal to Provincial Self-government if the views of the Viceroy were to be enforced against the views of the elected representatives of the people of the Province. To invite the Governor or the Governor-General to intervene against the people is, therefore, to invite the annihilation of responsible Government in India.

The rule of democracy is the rule by the majority. And the remedy of the

minority against the excesses of the majority is not to drag the Crown or its representatives into the arena of party politics, but to preserve the Crown's isolation and attempt to convert itself into the majority. It is not playing the game in a scheme of responsible government to appeal to the Crown to do what the people ought to do for themselves. Neither in England nor in Australia or Canada is such a thing ever done; and there is a duty cast on the leaders of the public opinion to lay right the foundations of responsible government in the country.

Though just a year has passed since the initiation of Provincial Autonomy, it makes a great epoch in the history of India. It has been a period of trials and tribulations. But the formative influences of the year have already aligned the contours of responsible Government in a manner probably never anticipated by the framers of the Act. A beginning has been made. But inspite of the slight faults and handicaps, it must be acknowledged that it is a beginning pregnant with hopes and promises of a great future.

MODERN TRENDS IN POLITICS

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THAT which strikes even the casual observer of world affairs is the totalitarian character of the modern State. Totalitarianism is on the increase, not only in countries under a dictatorial form of government, but also in countries which profess to be governed democratically.

The totalitarian view claims that the State is all in all and that the business of the individual is simply to fall down and worship it. While the Bible teaches that we live, move, and have our being in God, the totalitarian teaching is that we live, move, and have our being in the State. If we live, we live for the State; and if we die, we die for the State. The individual's life is not his own. It is a trust given to him by the State to be used in the service of the State. The motto which Mussolini places before his countrymen is: "Nothing against the State; nothing outside the State; everything for the State." According to the same authority: "Beyond the State—nothing." The State is absolute. It is omnicompetent. No phase of man's life is outside its detailed jurisdiction and control.

I

Dictatorship is a logical corollary of totalitarianism. It may swing to the right as it does in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Militarist Japan; or to the

left as it does in Soviet Russia. It may be concentrated in the hands of one person as in the Fascist countries, or in the hands of a party as in the case of Russia. Whatever the case may be, dictatorship is a necessary accompaniment of totalitarianism. The totalitarian State is really the State made by the totalitarian party. Limited criticism in such a case is allowed within the party machinery, but nothing outside it. Mussolini's motto to the youth of his country is: "To believe, to obey, to fight."

Such an acute observer as the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastri opines that in India there is a tendency towards a dictatorship of one party. Opposition, he contends, is not tolerated to any large extent and party discipline is becoming rigorous. Independence of judgment, he says, is not looked upon with favour, and people are compelled to speak and vote at another's bidding.

The totalitarian State crushes individual liberty and suppresses human personality. A passionate cry like "give me liberty or give me death" is being openly sneered at in many parts of the world. If the emphasis at a former time was upon individual liberty and opportunity for self-perfection, the emphasis to-day is upon order, discipline, and authority. In the totalitarian States, people are injected with mass hysteria. They are trained to

think alike, speak alike, and act alike. The conception of individual liberty is regarded as a fetish of the past, or as a *bourgeois* conception which does not fit the present circumstances. Bullets are freely used to get rid of political opponents and party members who fall out of favour with the powers that be. Witness the recent executions in Soviet Russia. Liberty of thought, speech, and writing, liberty of public meeting, and liberty of association are seriously curtailed.

II

Alongside of the spread of totalitarianism and dictatorship, the post-War world has witnessed a tremendous decline of parliamentary democracy. Dictatorship is the fashion of the day. Democracy is being criticised on all hands as being slow-moving and inefficient. Parliaments are looked down upon as mere talking-shops which are incapable of accomplishing results. Democracy, it is said, is a decaying corpse. People are pinning their faith more and more to the gospel of direct action, according to which a conscious, well-organised, well-disciplined minority, which knows its own mind, should rule over the vast, ill-organised, helpless majority which does not know itself.

In the midst of the depressing situation, which confronts democracy everywhere, one sees signs of hope. The revised Soviet constitution, while still adhering to the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat, is more democratic than its predecessor. Realising the imminent danger before them, such democratic countries as England, the U. S. A., and France are grouping their way to the formation of a united front to the non-democratic, dictatorial States. Such a democratic grouping, when formed, will no doubt stem the rising tide of dictatorship. Even in Fascist States, while parliamentary democracy is rejected without any ceremony, the claim is made that the principle of representation underlying democracy is not rejected. Major Barnes argues, though not successfully, that Fascism is more representative of the wishes and needs of the people than any democracy can ever be.

In England, where there is no clear sign of the rise of the Continental type of

Fascism, complaints are made from time to time that bureaucracy is gaining ground every day and that administrative departments are arrogating more and more power to themselves. The quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers exercised by them are seriously resented by such writers as Chief Justice Hewart in his book "The New Despotism". Thinkers like Ernest Barker, on the contrary, hold that there is no justification for such resentment.

The rise of totalitarianism and the decline of parliamentary democracy have meant in the field of political theory the shelving of the vital issues raised by pluralism. While one may have no sympathy with that extreme form of pluralism, which seeks to place the State on a level of absolute equality with other permanent organisations functioning within society, one can heartily endorse that form of pluralism which stands for a "unifying" or "federal" State, i.e., a State which, in its capacity as "a group of groups" or "a society of societies", makes possible the richness and variety of voluntary group life. Totalitarianism is opposed to granting local autonomy to voluntary groups within society, adhering as it does to the time-old doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the State.

III

The totalitarian State is becoming more and more exclusive. Its horizon is confined to the high walls of the national State. Cosmopolitanism and internationalism are openly rejected by it. The prayer of the totalitarian State is "God bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more". Germany is building up strong race prejudices and hatreds. It believes that the Nordic race is superior to every other race. In the name of preserving the purity of the so-called Nordic race and culture, unspeakable atrocities have been committed on the long-suffering Jews. Jesus Christ himself, it is argued, was not a Jew but a Nordic. According to the Nazi teaching, the value of a person depends not on his ability and character, but on the colour of his hair, the shape of his nose and lips, and his cephalic index.

Exclusiveness is marked, not only in the matter of race but also in the fast developing chauvinistic type of nationalism and aggressive imperialism. The bitter sarcasm of Grillparzer that "humanity, through nationality, returns to bestiality" seems to be coming true in some parts of the world at least. The nationalist sentiment is being exploited to the full. Even Russia, which began with an international outlook, is fast becoming nationalistic under the threat of German and Japanese aggression. Under the guise of self-protection and saving the East from Western exploitation and helping China to set her own house in order, Japan is carrying on a brutal and thoroughly unjustifiable warfare.

Italy, Japan, and Germany are on the war-path for the acquisition of colonies and markets. Mussolini says: "Imperialism is the eternal and immutable law of life." "We are forty millions squeezed into our narrow but adorable peninsula," and in order that the people of this "adorable peninsula" may have elbow room and may not be suffocated to death, Abyssinia has been annexed. Germany is vociferous in her demand for the restoration of her colonies. Hitler is using all his forensic powers in his demand for the return of the "stolen property", taking care, of course, not to mention from whom the original theft took place. Recently he has annexed Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia is nervously awaiting her turn.

Another sphere in which the policy of exclusiveness is gaining ground, is the economic. Economic nationalism or autarchy is being pushed to the forefront. The policy pursued by many a modern State is the promotion of its own national self-interests, regardless of the injustice and injury which such a policy may inflict on others. It is forgotten that in the long run a policy of economic self-sufficiency defeats its own end. It reacts upon oneself like a boomerang. Besides, it is a fruitful cause of war. Yet the present Premier of Great Britain contends that a preferential tariff is "twice blessed". One wonders whether it is not twice cursed, cursing him that gives and him that takes. It needs to be constantly borne in mind that what the world needs to-day is, not

only national planning but also world planning, if mankind is not to commit suicide. According to M. Van Zeeland, international economic collaboration is far better than autarchy, which increases the cost of living and lowers the standard of life.

IV

A welcome trend in modern politics is the great increase in social services. The old idea of the police state is being rapidly replaced by the modern idea of the social service state. Not long ago, Earl Baldwin, quoting Sir William Harcourt of an earlier day, said: "We are all socialists now," meaning thereby that irrespective of party labels, all parties are agreed upon taking measures of different kinds to secure social justice for everybody. During his recent visit to India, Lord Samuel remarked that the present Liberal Party in England stood for "peace, liberty, and social justice" rather than for "liberty, security, and property", which have been its watchwords hitherto. It is estimated that the wages of every worker in Britain is increased by 11 per cent. on an average by the various social services rendered by the State. In Soviet Russia the addition is about 40 per cent.

The modern State is keenly interested in the education, health, and general well-being of its citizens. Between 1918 and 1935, the Local Authorities in England built no less than 800,000 houses. Free milk supply, free education, and free health centres are the order of the day in that country. It is a pity that progress along these lines is being checked by the present rearmament programme of the large States.

V

The trend in India seems to be in the direction of reviving the village economy of earlier days. The philosophy of the Village Movement emphasises peace politics as against power politics. It believes in the motto "live and let live". While intensely nationalistic, it has no colonial or imperial designs, at least for the present. It stands for decentralisation and "federalism" both in politics and economics. It wants to revive the old *panchayats* and

other indigenous political organisations and seeks to endow them with considerable power and influence. In the place of an expensive, top-heavy, centralised administration, it wants a simple, inexpensive, localised administration.

In the economic field, it claims that it is superior to both individualistic capitalism and communism. It opposes individualistic capitalism, because it results in excessive profits for a few, mass poverty, chronic unemployment, business crises, wars of conquest, and colonisation. It opposes communism, because it leaves no room for individual thinking and planning which are necessary for creative work, subordinates the spiritual to the material, subjects man to a strict regimentation, and uses violence. If capitalism means exploitation for the sake of the capitalist or a trust,

communism is interpreted to mean exploitation for the sake of the whole community.

The philosophy of the Village Movement emphasises decentralised production without the aid of large-scale machinery, each locality producing its own needs, and each person consuming mostly things produced in his own locality. The individual, the family, the village, the district, the province, and the country are to be so organised that each would produce "his or its own requirements within the limits left uncovered by the lower units". Whether such a system is practicable under modern conditions of society and whether, if practicable, is desirable and how it can be correlated to a system of world planning, are questions which only the future can answer.

The Speaker and his Participation in Politics

BY PROF. GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH, M.Sc. (Econ.) BAR.-AT-LAW

I

THE question as to whether the Speaker should or should not take part in politics outside the House has assumed considerable importance particularly in the United Provinces and it may not be without value to examine it from the scientific—though, not necessarily, from the purely academic or theoretical—standpoint.

In every legislative chamber the presiding officer occupies a very important position and the smooth and efficient working of the Chamber depends to no small extent upon his personality and ability to win the confidence of all sections of the House, particularly of those who are in a small minority. The characteristics that have come to be associated with the Speakership of the House of Commons in England are greatly admired all over the world but it has not proved possible to reproduce all of them in other countries because they are the result of slow evolution and of the existence of peculiar historical and other circumstances in the country. Careful observers have been noticing that even in England some of the conventions regarding the position of

the Speaker have not been observed in recent years and it may be that when the labour party secures absolute majority in the House of Commons the position of the Speaker may change radically. It is, therefore, necessary that conditions in other countries and in India should be carefully examined before foreign parallels are pressed into service.

II

The institution of the Speakership came into prominence in England during the struggle between the Commons and the King at a time when the House did not trust the King's ministers and wished to have nothing to do with them, when the only leader the House had was its presiding officer, who acted as its spokesman and the protector and guardian of its honour, dignity, functions, powers, rights and privileges. The Speaker stood as the representative of the whole House, demanding the rights and privileges of the Commons from the King and protecting them from royal encroachment. It was under such circumstances that the Speaker came to be recognised as the official spokesman of the Commons, representing them as a unit before the Sovereign, and fighting

on their behalf for the establishment and preservation of the powers and privileges of the House. As a symbol of unity of the Commons, the Speaker was above all parties and factions in the House—the trusted champion of the rights and privileges of all members.

Gradually the House of Commons established its supremacy in the system of Government in England and in course of time was developed the cabinet form of government. The leadership of the House passed into the hands of the Cabinet and the Speaker became a mere chairman. The system of parliamentary government became established in the 19th century and the important parties in the country accepted it and the economic structure of society without any reservations. The Whigs and the Tories, renamed as Liberals and Conservatives, were alternatively in power and both were interested in maintaining an atmosphere of dignity, calm and order in the House of Commons, each depending on its majority to carry out its programme and not on partisan help from the Chair. It was under such circumstances that the office of the Speaker came to be regarded as uncontentious and a non-party one and various conventions were evolved to enable its holder to perform efficiently the functions of an impartial chairman or umpire who would see that the rules of parliamentary cricket were observed and that each party had its innings, victory being secured to the stronger side on account of its larger voting strength. The office, although an elected one, did not go to an active leader of a party, who looked for the fulfilment of his ambitions to the Treasury Bench, but to a person who possessed the requisite qualities of judgment, judicious temperament, imperturbability, dignity, honesty, integrity, knowledge of the rules of procedure, etc. the qualities that are required for becoming a successful chairman and a trusted umpire.

The Speaker of the English House of Commons is still regarded all over the world as an ideal chairman of a legislative chamber in whom all sections of the House repose full confidence and in whose impartiality, integrity, good sense, judgment and knowledge each member has

complete faith and who can be trusted to protect his rights and privileges from any encroachment from both outside and within, i.e., from the majority party or the Government. The Speaker, although originally a member of a political party, ceases to be a party man both inside and outside the House and he keeps scrupulously aloof from all activities that would identify him with one party or another. It is for this reason that he inspires full confidence in the minds of all members. His seat in the country is not contested and he is re-elected again and again to the Chair so long as he is willing to continue as the Speaker, although the party complexion of the House may have undergone complete change in the meantime.

III

In England, it has been possible for the Speaker to keep himself aloof from politics and to maintain strict impartiality and neutrality for several reasons:—(1) The House of Commons has achieved a position of supremacy and it has full control over its own procedure. Unlike the Governor of an Indian province, the King has no power to stop discussion of any matter or subject in the House. (2) Each party is able to achieve power by constitutional means and the government of a single party has never lasted for so long a time as to make the other party think of using unfair or extra-constitutional methods. Each party, therefore, has believed in keeping the Speaker out of party politics and has felt no necessity of using the Chair for party purposes. (3) Unlike France and other continental countries, the parties in parliament have been both big and almost equally balanced. Each party has sufficient number of capable men and of persons possessing ability of different types. They can easily spare a member possessing the requisite qualities for the Speakership and loose his services for purely party purposes. This is hardly possible for a small group to do. It is for this reason that the Speaker in France continues to be a member of his group and to give his advice to its members. Moreover, in a country like France, where there are a large number of political groups and it

is not clear which leader would be able to form a combination strong enough to command a majority in the Chamber, the function of advising the President regarding the choice of the Premier falls upon the Speaker. And, it is obvious, that if he is to perform this function successfully he must keep himself in touch with the current of public affairs and with the leaders of political groups both in Chamber and the country. And (4) the Speaker in England has been, during the last three hundred years, or so, a mere chairman of the House of Commons and not its leader, as he was in the beginning, or as the Speaker of the House of Representatives has been during the 19th century in the United States of America. It is difficult to say as to whether the English Speaker would have developed into an impartial umpire if the Cabinet system had not evolved itself and the Speaker had to continue to perform the dual role of a chairman and the leader of the House. It is, however, a fact that in spite of all efforts to follow the English model, the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the United States of America developed into an entirely different officer on account of the absence of executive leadership in the Chamber,—a party leader intent upon getting the party programme through the House and frankly giving up the pretence of neutrality or strict impartiality in his work as Chairman of the House. During the first three-quarters of the 19th century, the Speaker of the American House of Representatives acquired almost absolute control over the work of the Chamber and no Bill could pass through the House without his support. There was a revolt against this concentration of power in the hands of the Speaker in the eighties of the last century when the power of nominating members to the Committees of the House was taken away from him. None-the-less he continues to exercise a great deal of influence over the work of the House. The Speaker in the U. S. A. is a powerful party leader and takes an active part in the politics of the country. He regulates the procedure in the interests of his own party and not in strictly impartial or neutral fashion.

IV

It will thus be clear that in spite of all attempts it has not been found possible to create a position for the Speaker in France and the U. S. A. similar to that of the Speaker in the English House of Commons. As a matter of fact the position of the English Speaker is unique and ideal. But it is not possible to say whether it shall remain so for a long time to come. Already there are signs that a change may come in the near future. The Labour Party has already broken the convention and has set up candidates to contest the seat of the Speaker and it seems certain that when the Labour Party has gained an effective majority in the House, it shall elect a strong member of its own party to the Chair, who may not hesitate to use his position to promote the interests of his own party in the House.

In this connection it is necessary to remember that the Labour Party in England differs essentially from the two older parties. The Labour Party has a dynamic and essentially a revolutionary programme. It may have adopted the parliamentary method for bringing about the change, but its aims are revolutionary and it cannot be expected to regard the old-world conventions as sacrosanct. The conventions that have gathered round the Speakership in England arose under conditions of stability when the House had achieved full powers, when the parties had become strictly constitutional, when differences between them were only differences of degree and not of kind, and when both were agreed on continuing the existing order and the fundamental institutions of society. Under such circumstances it was possible for the Speaker to maintain strict neutrality and impartiality. But during a revolutionary period when the struggle for fuller rights and complete autonomy and for a radical change in the fundamental institutions of society is proceeding, the Chair cannot maintain an attitude of utter unconcern and strict neutrality and impartiality. This is proved by the experience of those countries where normal conditions have not yet been restored after revolutions

as in Russia, Italy, Turkey and Germany. My belief is that in India also it will not be possible to establish Speakership of the type that exists in England till parliamentary government is fully installed and the political parties have reached an agreement in regard to the fundamental institutions of society.

V

India is still in the transition stage. How long it will take to establish "complete Swarajya"—"Independence" or "Dominion Status" whatever it may mean—it is impossible to foretell to-day. It is still more difficult to forecast as to how long it shall take for the political parties in this country to reach an agreement on the fundamentals of social change. In this respect there is a sharp difference of opinion within the Congress itself. All the same the Congress is essentially a revolutionary party—perhaps more so than the English Labour Party. It has no doubt accepted offices in seven provinces but it is still pledged to the wrecking of the Constitution and to preventing the federal portion of the Government of India Act 1935 from coming into force. Provincial autonomy is limited by the powers vested in the Governors by the Constitution and the provincial legislatures are not complete masters over their own procedure. A dynamic and revolutionary party like the Congress, which has accepted offices to strengthen itself and to prepare further for the fight for freedom, cannot be expected to cultivate the purely constitutional mentality that is required for the establishment of conventions which have grown in England round the institution of the Speakership of the House of Commons. The Congress has not followed the English convention of not contesting the seats from which the presidents of the old legislative councils were elected. I doubt if it will consent to having non-Congressmen as Speakers in the legislatures where they have a majority. They have put forward strong Congressmen for the office of the Speaker, who can be expected to hold their own if there is a contest between the Governor and the Chair or the Governor and the Congress Ministry. The persons who have been elected Speakers

in provinces under Congress rule are not of the type chosen in England for the Speakership. They have taken far too active a part in the Congress movement, several of them having suffered imprisonment in the cause, to become suddenly indifferent to the fate of the Congress or of the movement for national freedom. I doubt if it is possible for persons of this type to develop at this stage in the life of the nation a purely constitutional mentality and to circumscribe their activities within the four walls of the legislative chamber. It is also unlikely that the Provincial Congress Committees would be willing to lose the services of such leaders in the councils particularly at the time of stock-taking and of preparation for the coming struggle. I believe this was pointed out by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in a statement on this issue a short time ago.

Of course it is possible to argue that the Congress parties in the several provinces should have selected different type of persons for the Speakership, who would have been willing to forego participation in politics and act as impartial umpires and become, at any rate for the time being, non-party men as if they had been raised to the bench of a High Court. But whether men with such temperament, constitutional mentality and other requisite qualities were available, could have been expected to show sufficient mettle at times of crisis are questions which only persons with inside knowledge of Congress party organisation can answer. All that an outsider like myself can state is, that, from the point of view of working the Constitution as it is, it would have been better if less ardent fighters and more constitutionally minded persons had been selected to fill the Chair. They would have enjoyed greater confidence of the other parties in the House. It appears to me that there is force in the contention that it is not possible for non-Congressmen to feel complete confidence in the neutrality of a Speaker who continues to take part in party politics outside the House. As Sir Maharaj Singh put it, Caesar's wife should be above suspicion and it is not enough to profess complete neutrality and absolute impartiality within the House and

even to show that so far they have always been observed. On the other hand, it is perfectly understandable if the Congress feels that under the existing circumstances—when important powers are reserved to the Governor and the Chamber does not possess complete control over its procedure and work and when a crisis with the Governor may occur at any time—it is necessary to have a party leader of tried strength and of front rank in the Chair—a person of the type of the late Mr. V. J. Patel, who could rise to the occasion and give battle to the bureaucracy. It is true that the late Mr. V. J. Patel did not take part while he was President of the Indian Legislative Assembly in politics if the word is understood in the narrower sense. But if politics is used in a broader sense, it may be said that Mr. Patel did exercise a considerable influence over it both inside and outside the House. Throughout the period of his presidency he acted as a mediator between the Congress and the Viceroy and thus influenced the course of practical politics

to a considerable extent. Within the House, he did not interpret rules according to the intentions of their framers but always with a view to enlarging the rights and privileges of the members. His rulings had the effect of strengthening the position of the non-official opposition against the bureaucratic irremovable executive and its supporters in the Assembly and instead of possessing the full confidence of the Government and its supporters he was more of an eye-sore to them.

It is not intended to discuss here the valuable work which the late Mr. Patel did as President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. All that is intended is to point out that conditions in India are not favourable at present for the development of conventions of the type that have grown round the English Speakership. It is hoped that it will not take India long to reach the stage when it may be possible to have in Indian legislative chambers presidents of the type that England has had in the House of Commons for the last two-and-a-half centuries and more.

Prohibition : Prospect and Retrospect

BY MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.

NOW that the major provinces have formulated a programme of prohibition it is well to consider its financial and other implications. The total revenue for British India from restrictive excises is from 20 to 21 crores. The percentage of excise to total revenue in the various provinces is as follows: Madras 39 per cent; Bihar and Orissa taken together 34 per cent; Bombay 28 per cent; Assam 28 per cent; C. P. 25 per cent; Bengal 20 per cent; U. P. 12 per cent; Punjab 11 per cent.

1. *Madras*.—Unlike other provinces, Madras has passed an Act for introducing prohibition all over the province. Salem is the first district where the experiment is being tried since October 1937, and from April next, 2 other districts are to be tried. Despite

prohibition in the Salem district, the revised estimates for the current year in Madras showed an increase of Rs. 15 lakhs in excise revenue. It is too early to say anything about the success or otherwise of the experiment in Salem, and the financial implication of total prohibition in Madras is a loss of revenue of about Rs. 4½ crores for which additional taxation is now being contemplated by the Madras Ministry.

2. *Bihar*.—This province is launching a scheme of prohibition to take effect from April 1st, and the loss of revenue calculated by the Ministry on account of prohibition is about Rs. 2 crores. This amount represents loss of excise revenue of about Rs. 160 lakhs and another Rs. 40 lakhs which may have to be spent to prevent smuggling. It is proposed to select at first industrial areas like Jhana. All

possible avenues are being explored to meet the loss of revenue arising from prohibition. The cuts in special pay and travelling allowances are expected to bring about a saving of Rs. 10 lakhs, and taxation of agricultural incomes about 30 lakhs. But in Bihar excise revenue bears a bigger proportion to the total revenue than in most provinces—about 1½ crores which is more than one-third of the revenue of the province. The alternative methods of finding revenue are very limited in Bihar. In some districts the excise revenue is more than the land revenue. The suggestions of the Bombay Excise Committee for replacement of excise revenue are suited mainly for industrial areas where big incomes are made in business and the taxes suggested may not bring in much in provinces like Bihar and Orissa.

As regards Orissa, the first step has been taken in deputing an Officer to study Prohibition work in Assam. In Orissa, as in Assam, the opium evil is more prevalent than the liquor evil. In Orissa, *ganja* is much more easily smuggled from the Feudatory States than in Bihar. Co-operation with Feudatory States was tried in the past, viz., those States undertook not to allow *ganja* growing, and Bihar and Orissa gave *ganja* free of duty, i.e., it was supplied at the cost price under what they call the Cooch Bihar System. But *ganja* from the States is smuggled as a matter of fact and seems to be very popular.

3. *Bengal*.—In the Legislative Assembly in the recent Budget debate, there was wordy warfare between the Ministerial party and the Opposition on the injunctions in the Koran requiring prohibition. While Muslim members on the Treasury Benches maintained that total prohibition was unknown in the early stage of Islam and that ideal prohibition was to be realised only by gradual stages, Muslim members of the Opposition said that total prohibition was one of the cardinal principles of Islam. Intervening in the debate, the Finance Minister, Mr. N. R. Sarkar, said that prohibition was not a pressing and vital problem in Bengal requiring attention at the sacrifice of more vital and pressing problems. Moreover, Prohibition is not one

of the election pledges either of the Muslim League or the Proja party, who supported the present Government. So far as the masses of the provinces were concerned, the problem of drink is not so important as in other provinces. However, the Government has decided to introduce total prohibition in Noakhali district from April 1st, and if the experiment succeeded, they would next take up Chittagong, Comilla and ultimately the whole of Chittagong division. If the experiment failed, they would give up prohibition altogether.

4. *Punjab*.—The Punjab Government have said that a State bordering on Prohibition already exists in the province. Such a policy has brought about a state of affairs in which illicit distilling and smuggling are the rule rather than the exception. Illicit liquor costs only 4 as. per bottle to make. Prohibition will mean increased taxation in other directions. In other words, the Prohibitionists will have to pay no excise duty that should be recovered from the distillers. Honest men will have to make up the revenue evaded by the law-breaker. Illicit distilling is not considered an offence by the public. Government can by a stroke of the pen forfeit the excise revenue and increase taxation in other ways, but this will not decrease the consumption of country liquor. Punjab excise administration reports show that illicit distillation and smuggling of liquor from Native States are chiefly responsible for the decrease of revenue to Government. What is wanted is a discerning and at the same time a firm treatment of the liquor problem with full recognition of the possibility that some remedies may be worse than the disease. That a public opinion which desires a drastic reduction of consumption should at the same time look with no disapproval on illicit distilling is a fundamental inconsistency which the prohibitionists must face. The Punjab Premier has recently in the Punjab Assembly exposed the weakness of the prohibition now in force in Madras which permitted the tapping of toddy trees. The Minister for Excise has correctly said that the Punjab Government's policy in prohibition was the same as the Government of India.

In enforcing complete prohibition, Punjab would part with nearly one-eleventh of their total revenue. A local option Bill has been applied to 46 districts which were at a liberty to go dry. Government were considering proposals to enforce prohibition in one district to begin with and slowly extend it.

U. P.—It is understood that Government are planning the introduction of prohibition in the districts of Etah and Mainpuri from April. Another experiment might also be undertaken in the districts of Allahabad, Lucknow, and Cawnpore where a novel system is likely to be tried—neither the surcharge system nor the auction system but one in which the vendors or licencees would be selected almost on the service basis, the prices of the commodities being fixed by the Government. But the fundamental facts to be considered in the case of U. P. are:

(a) The U. P. is the most sober province in India.

(b) The policy hitherto followed by the Government with its system of licensing boards has already done much to reduce consumption and is likely to do more. These licensing boards in U. P. have had actually greater power to abolish licencees than is possessed by any licensing authority in Great Britain, or any similar authority with a mandate for limitation under any local option Act in the British Empire.

(c) Prohibition is ruinously expensive as it would involve an increase in expenditure by 30 lakhs with a loss of revenue of 77 lakhs. Though the sources of taxation at the disposal of the U. P. may appear to be ample, yet the nature of the system of taxation and especially its distribution are such that the scope for expansion is very small. If all further taxation on the agricultural class is avoided, I should estimate the fullest measure of additional taxation that is possible at Rs. 55 lakhs is as follows: Court fees 20 lakhs; non-judicial stamps 12 lakhs; registration 2 lakhs; tax on non-agricultural land (urban areas only) 5 lakhs; succession duties 10 lakhs; minor taxes 6 lakhs. But Rs. 55 lakhs is only 4 per cent. of the existing revenue. And even

if further taxation were placed on the agricultural class, the figure would only become Rs. 125 lakhs or 9 per cent. of the existing revenue. There is, therefore, little help to be found in the existing system of taxation. Under such circumstances a policy of total prohibition, which would mean a loss of 77 lakhs, is to cripple the province of its slender resources.

C. P.—The C. P. Prohibition Act in certain respects follows the Madras Act and the financial aspect of the problem arising out of the loss of excise revenue is complicated by the fact that C. P. is a poor province and alternative sources of revenue are very limited.

Bombay.—In 1924 the Government, in accordance with the recommendations of a Committee, declared in favour of Prohibition. In 1926, another Committee was appointed to calculate the net loss likely to accrue from total prohibition. They reported that the loss would be Rs. 6 crores per annum. This report made people realise that the progress of prohibition depended on the willingness of the province to submit to additional taxation. But quite recently the Government have outlived a prohibition policy—Ahmedabad and three rural areas are to go dry. A dry area is to be distinguished from a prohibition area. No licence will be granted beyond May 20, 1938, for the sale to the public of country liquor, toddy, foreign liquor in the dry area. Unless a strong body of healthy public opinion is created, the consumption of alcohol and intoxicating drugs will persist, though from a financial point of view the problem of filling the gap created by extinction of excise revenue is less serious in Bombay than in other provinces. Bombay's share of the central surplus is a substantial relief to the province. But what is likely to cause a large hole is the first instalment of Prohibition and it involves anything up to Rs. 50 lakhs in excise revenue. It will also entail a much larger preventive expenditure. On the taxation side, the three sources—tobacco tax already levied locally by the Corporation, stamp duties, and contributions from horse-racing and betting by increased licence fees may not go far enough.

GOETHE AND THE EAST

BY MR. ABDUL GHAFUR, M.A.

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IT was at Wetzlar where he had gone to complete his legal preparation in the Reichskammergericht (the Imperial Chamber of Justice) that Goethe began to take a fancy to the tales in Ramayana. The city was shabby and ill-built and hardly worthy of the dignity of being the legal metropolis of the Empire. The young lawyer, who was lionised once in the fashionable circles of Leipzig, was already ill-disposed towards his place of future sojourn and the forebodings of the dull sessions of the courts, dozing judges and stuffy inns for which he had inherited a profound hatred from his father, drove him nearly mad on his journey. Fortunately he fell in with a society of lively madcaps at a *tabled'hôte* where he found grouped together the flower of Wetzlar society. They were much given to rollicking fun and legendary tomfooleries "cheering their midday gatherings by indulging in romantic fiction".

These merry young men had formed themselves into a kind of Round Table or a medieval order of chivalry with a mock Grand Master and a Chancellor. Each member was dubbed with a title of his own, and Goethe was christened as Gotte after the name of one of his heroes. Here he revived his early passion for story telling. He writes in his *Wahreit und Dichtung* (Truth and Poetry):

I felt a similar if not an equal interest in the Indian fables, which I first learnt to know from Dapper's *Travels* and added them to my own stores of tales with much delight. The *Altar of Ram* was always most successful with my hearers and in spite of the great variety of characters in this tale, the ape Hannemann (Hanuman) remained the general favourite.

German literature was emancipating itself at that time from the benumbing and decadent influence of French classicism, and Herder, whose confidence and regard Goethe had won during his short stay at Strasburg, was the harbinger of the new era, the epoch of Romanticism. When once liberated, the German literature looked beyond its rigid and inflexible rules. Macpherson's *Ossian* and the Poems of Edda opened fresh fields and pastures new with their Celtic and Nordic

lore. The odes of Klopstock had made the German literary circles familiar with the gods and goddesses of Valhalla, while Homer and the Attic tragedy became a perennial source of inspiration to her writers.

The epic poetry of all ages and climes has a uniformity in principles and plot. The same stately measure, dignified movement, the pristine simplicity and intensity of human passions and emotions is a common feature of Homer, Beowulf, Shahnama and Ramayana in greater and lesser degree. In some cases the plot, action, and character run on parallel lines. Ravana has his prototype in the White Demon of Firdusi or Grendel of Beowulf who was, by the way, a denizen of water. The outward journey of the hero, the conflict with the adversary, the battle scene and the return journey; all are described in the same imposing manner with the reserve and simplicity of the epic style. Hanuman, the ape-god, has his pale reflection in Wiglaf, one of the thirteen who accompanied Beowulf on his fateful journey and who stood faithfully by when the hero tried his fatal fall with the Dragon. It must have been the distant recollection of such a similarity and style in the theme which led Goethe from a study of the Northern Sagas and Ossian to Ramayana.

From Herder, Goethe had also imbibed his love for the cosmopolitan literature. Under such a master it was impossible to keep a parochial outlook in literature. Moreover from his childhood, he received a training which developed a catholicity of taste and an inquisitive spirit.

He was attracted by Hebrew in the very beginning, and in his auto-biography he has critically examined his early impressions of the Old Testament. The Jews had a special attraction for him as the Chosen People of the Lord, and he often visited the Jewish quarters in Frankfurt, frequented their synagogues and sometimes assisted at their ceremonies. Herder once more awakened in him an interest for his long forgotten hobby and

under his genial influence he had to change and define his whole attitude towards literature. He writes: "I learnt to know poetry from quite a different side and in another light than heretofore, one, too, which suited me well. Hebrew poetry which he (Herder) had treated in a masterly manner on the lines of his predecessor Lowth—popular songs such as he urged us to search for in Alsace and the poetry of the oldest extant records—all bear witness that all poetry is a gift of the world to nations and not the private inheritance of a few refined and cultivated men."

The political atmosphere of Europe was not very congenial to the artist in those days. The French philosophers, like Voltaire and Rousseau, had perturbed deeply the social and political circles in Europe. The French Revolution had blazed the trail of social discontentment throughout the length and breadth of the Continent. This was followed by the Napoleonic Wars which made the whole of Europe a camping ground for the armies of France, and the dismembered, divided Germany was for long their quartering area. Hence it was not unreasonable that the poet turned towards the 'silken' East with its reputation for meditation and quiet thought. Here he hoped to find that calm and solace of mind which he could not find in the West. He gave expression to his thoughts in a few forceful lines in the introduction to his West-Oestlicher Divan (West-Eastern Divan).

North and South and West are crumbling
Thrones are falling, kingdoms trembling
Come, flee away to purer East
There on Patriarch's air to feast
There with love and drink and song
Khiser's spring will make thee young.

His lyrical rhapsody on Sakuntala is familiar to all of us, a play which inspired his master Herder with the eloquent lines in praise of India and her dramatic art as exhibited in Sakuntala. Sakuntala was first introduced to Europe in 1791, through the English translation of Sir William Jones, the well known Orientalist to whom we owe the epithet of 'Indian Shakespeare' for Kalidas and the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Sakuntala with its Idyll of Love and Romance touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of Goethe, ever sensitive to such influences and gave rise to some of the most beautiful lines ever written in praise of any work.

Wilt thou the bloom of the spring and the fruit
that are later in season.
Wilt thou have charm and delight, wilt thou
have strength and support.
Wilt thou with one short word encompass the
earth and the heavens?
All is said if I name only, Sakuntala thee.

Goethe had seriously considered a scheme of adapting the play for the Weimer stage, and he did not forget the play when he was writing his Faust. It is believed that the Prelude of Sakuntala suggested to him the plan of the Prologue of Faust.

A prologue is an introduction to the play, an external adjunct to it which stands generally outside the action of the play. In the Attic drama, a *deus ex machina* descended on the stage and explained everything which led to the first act of the play. In other words it was an explanatory first act of the play. In the Elizabethan drama it became an address to the public on the occasion of the play explaining the special excellences of the play. But the prologues of Kalidas have a character of their own. They consist of a confidential talk supposed to be held in the Green room or behind the scenes between the manager and the actors on the subject of the play, its author and the directions to the actors. Goethe took up the hint and developed it into his master-piece of a prologue in the Faust. In Prelude, Goethe makes use of the poet, the manager and Merryandrew, to represent two points of view, that of the artist and the public. The poet has a Shakespearian dislike of the mob and can hardly suffer talking of "yonder motley crowd" whom "but to see puts out the fire of song". He is carried away by his own idealism and is deeply conscious of his high poetical function. The wise fool with his bells jangles out a reasonable tune from his jargon and tries to convince him that he is the man to paint life in its various aspects, because the genius is perpetually young and the poet can treasure up the

sense of novelty of the child with the experiences of age. Although Goethe surpassed his model in his idealism, he seems to have missed a very important feature of his prologues. The most skilful part of the Prologues of Kalidas appear to be the transitional stage between the Prologue and the first Act. The ease and facile elegance with which the matter-of-fact talk turns into the first scene of the play is admirable. The transition point of Vikram-Urvashi is really of a very high technical finish, as the audience is hardly conscious of a break in the plot.

He carried his admiration for Indian poetry even to the end of his life, and Eckermann reports a conversation of Goethe in 1827, only five years before

his death. "Dined with Goethe and Dr. Lassen—here Lassen displayed great knowledge of Indian poetry, which seemed highly acceptable to Goethe as he could thus complete his own very deficient knowledge of these things."

Indian philosophy has always had a fascination for the German mind, and Schopenhauer was only one out of the famous group of its admirers. To Goethe there seemed nothing foreign in it.

This philosophy, if what the Englishman tells is true, has nothing foreign. On the contrary, the epochs through which we all pass are repeated in it. When we are children, we are sensualists; idealists when we love and attribute to the beloved object qualities she does not naturally possess; love wavers; we doubt her fidelity and are sceptics before we think of it. The rest of life is indifferent; we let it go as it will, and end like the Indian philosopher with quietism.

The Significance of Ajanta Paintings

BY MR. N. R. MALKANI, M.A., LL.B.

(Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi)

THE fresco paintings of Ajanta occupy a unique position in the history of Indian painting. There is literary evidence of the existence of pictorial art in the fourth century B.C., and the palaces of Magadh and Kosala kings seem to have been so decorated. The oldest extant example of Hindu painting is now to be found in the Jogimara cave of Ramgarh hill in the Mirzapur district. There are four preserved panels of the second century B.C. said to be the oldest samples of paintings in Asia. The next and by far the greatest example is that of the fresco paintings in Ajanta caves, near Fardapur in the Nizam's dominions. In 1879 there were paintings in 16 out of 27 caves, nine of which were important. Caves Nos. 9, 10 and 11 are the oldest and their paintings are of an ante-Christian period. Paintings in Caves Nos. 16, 17, 19, and 21 followed after an insignificant effort for two centuries on Caves Nos. 13, 14 and 15, and then a long pause of full three centuries. Caves Nos. 1 and 2 are the latest and the best, which bring the history of Ajanta paintings to an end in the middle of the 7th century. Between the Buddhist

paintings of Ajanta and the Indo-Persian paintings of the 16th century there is a gap of 9 centuries. Thus the Ajanta paintings are known to be "the most important mass of ancient paintings extant in the world, Pompei alone excepted".

But their importance is enhanced by their influence on the subsequent history of painting both in India and abroad. The art of Eastern Asia can only be understood with reference to the history of Buddhism, and the student of that art finds himself constantly referring to the art of Ajanta the noblest existing monument of that religion. The discovery of fresco paintings in Central Asia in Khotan at Turfan and at Tunhuang has increased the interest in Ajanta frescoes. According to Lawrence Binyon: "Even in the modern Buddhist painting of Japan, the symbolism, the types and the imagery are of Indian origin." The revival of art in modern India cannot fail to derive inspiration from the same source and from those paintings created by Buddhist faith in the very land of its birth. It is, therefore important to discover the significance of

that art and the main features underlying its supreme efforts.

The paintings of Ajanta are the work not of individuals but of schools. The artists are not expressing all feelings in any manner but some feelings in a similar manner. Their subject-matter is not one of choice but is predetermined by their beliefs. They are a group of devotees having the same faith and glow of a religious inspiration. As with the subject-matter so with the technique. Its main contents are a masterly drawing with the brush over wet plaster in the dark. The touches are few and simple but firm and fine. The colours are primary and pale, not rich and deep; but their tones are soft and their distribution is harmonious. It is true that there are varieties of paintings, but these arise out of the difference of periods, not the inspiration of individuals. It is with the Ajanta paintings as with the West Greek sculptures and Gothic architecture. In each case the work was too colossal in size, extent, and period to be undertaken by individuals. The twenty-seven caves of Ajanta were excavated and finished within the course of seven centuries (64 B.C. to 642 A.D.) Some of the caves have vast dimensions wherein pillars and roofs, walls and verandahs are all richly painted and profusely decorated. Cave No. 4 has 28 pillars and a hall 87 feet square. Cave No. 24 has 20 pillars and a hall 75 feet square. The drawings on the walls are not of individuals but of groups, some of crowded groups. But there is a harmony and a balance in the representation which could only be the result of similar ideals and of artists having a collective personality. They all seem to be working under the same impulse to a definite end. They do not aim at expressing themselves to show originality, but attempt to express the noblest feelings arising out of the greatest faith. Hence there was no anarchy but an evolution in art, and though the names of artists are unknown, the stages of growth are known. The growth was an ordered growth and the change was more of technique than in content in the means of representation than the aims of the art. As with the groups so

with the individuals of the group, there is an ordered evolution of the type of beauty. The artists drew their inspiration from life, not from individual artists. It was natural for them to express their feelings, but these feelings had their source in the same inspiration. Hence there was an evolution of a type of beauty drawn from life and idealized by artists.

The types of beauty represented are essentially Indian, and even where foreign influences are perceptible, the representations are remarkable more for the transformation of foreign elements for Indian purposes than for their resemblance to foreign types. The figures are round and soft. They are brown beauties having handsome faces and graceful poses, which are a little too dainty. Their hands are drawn like lotuses and their eyes resemble jewels. There is a dramatic expressiveness in the nobility of the one and a passionate calm in the tenderness of the other. Some are so good as to be pictures by themselves. Women are in the forefront, but always shy and serene, tender and loving. There is an "intuitive discovery of the beauty of natural movement, unstudied attitude, and spontaneous gesture". Figures are dressed in gossamer which does not clothe but glorifies the wearer. There are no dresses but draperies, whose grace is enhanced by their ribbon appendages. Important persons wear head-dresses exceedingly intricate in design yet exquisitely pleasing in form. There is charm in the crowns and dignity in the wearer. The flowing tresses of women are made up into knots surmounted by bouquets of flowers. Thus there is a certain style and grace in the figures which is rare in the art of Asia. The artist seems ever on the watch, observing forms and studying situations but idealising both. He was not indifferent to the things that are called ugly, for to the real artists nothing is beautiful or ugly in itself. What he painted was not things as they are but as they appear, and appearance is a matter of light and shade, of feeling and faith, of masses of positions and their value to the artist. The artists of Ajanta searched for beauty and charm. They found nature falling

short of the idea, and by sympathy with the creative spirit they improved nature and depicted it not as it is but as it wishes to be, not what appears but what exerts to appear.

But the art of Ajanta not only idealised form but also feelings. An artist experiences feelings which he desires to transmit and does transmit by means of external signs. A good artist standing on the level of the highest life of his times, experiences the noblest feelings, which he desires to transmit and has the ability to transmit by means of external representation. Thus good art is sincere art, which aims at infecting with feelings felt. The transmission is clear because the expression is pleasurable. The artists of Ajanta were devotees first and all else next. They drew their inspiration from faith in the grandest of religions and the noblest of personalities. Their subject-matter is either the Jataka stories or the life history of Buddha. The fervour of their faith is shown by the extent of their effort, and the nobility of their beliefs shown by the quality of their work. In all the variety of emotions experienced in the drama of life, there is a selection of feelings which gives unity to their composition. The individuals in the drama, while playing their respective parts, seem to feel a compassion for the miserable and a certain aloofness from misery. Love and renunciation are their dominant feelings. In the midst of the most varied experiences and interesting situations, the great Buddha sits calm and compassionate, majestic yet gracious in his aloofness. His is a passionate calm and a loving aloofness. Thus the art of Ajanta is neither sensuous nor frivolous. It does not excite desire or please the foolish. It is neither patriotic nor martial so as to arouse the excessive love of one's own country or hatred of others. It is not even professional, for the artist draws no portraits to pander to the vanity of the rich. It is essentially a religious not a secular art.

Yet even here it is a simple art appealing to the most elemental feelings and a direct art appealing through the most common incidents of life. It is a

religious art, not a church art, whose essence is the enjoyment of universal feelings, not the acceptance of peculiar tenets. It has little or no symbolism to obscure its story, and scene after scene is easily read without copious commentaries. It does not make us exclaim: "how curious" and "how interesting" but "how beautiful" and "how noble". There are no commonplaces to avoid and no complexes to understand. It is essentially modern, for it appeals to universal feelings. Even where the composition is large, its parts have a rhythm. From the outer verandah through the hall and its aisles to the inner cell, there is a balance in proportion and a purpose in representation. The decorated part is relegated to pillars and roofs, while the imaginative part finds walls as spaces for the edification of the devotee. The scene grows interesting as the work proceeds within, until it finds its culmination the central figure of the Buddha. The interest of each scene is focussed on Buddha, and the interest of all scenes converges towards the dominant figures in the cell. All is subordinated to this man raised to a god—man made in the image of God. The beauty and majesty of God is here represented in man—the superman. The representation is large and sometimes huge but gives meaning to the whole composition. The great Buddha of Cave No. 1 is the life of all the work of Cave No. 1. He stands out like a vision, soothing us by its calm and melting us with its tenderness. It is as pure as the blue lotus in its lily hands. Its majesty is its own, which claims our reverence, and its towering crown adds stature to it to which we may aspire, but which we cannot achieve. Its tender figure seems fashioned in a dream when the gleams of golden light glide in from the west.

This brings us to the last great feature of Ajanta paintings—their intense humanism. They are not forgetful of the rich complexity of the larger life of the outside world. They represent and that truly the varied activities of life. "They are majestic and sublime, tender and graceful, joyous and passionate." All casts, colours and types, all faces Chinese, Persian and Indian have their place. A vast drama of life—"of pleasures and

battles, processions and durbars, lotus tanks, animals, and birds" spreads before us. It is an intensely human drama, which appeals to us and moves us. It is the discovery not of God but of God as man—of man, the superman, the Buddha as the measure of all things. It even thought of natural forces as having human bodies exerting their influence on human beings. Hence it painted the gentler and social attributes of the divine. It painted the human form with a consummate art in a spirit of man nearest to God. Hence there was nothing fantastic and curious about it. Its sympathies were not only for man but for all creatures. Above all, there is a note of optimism and beauty running as a thread through all the variety of form and feeling. The paintings are things of beauty and so a joy for

ever and the lesson is that of life, not death for which we pant. Though there is no mirth among the actors, there is a subdued joy arising out of a great hope. Even the earnestness of life is occasionally relieved by a sense of humour so necessary in this queer world of ours.

Thus Ajanta is a pilgrimage where worship of the good becomes also worship of the beautiful and where the spiritual permeates the material. It is a pilgrimage for devotees, artists and all those who wish to taste the joys and view the glories of ancient Aryavarta. The faded glories of its past have a deep significance, for our future and any revival of Indian paintings must take it as its starting point in the search of fresh fields and pastures new.

RAJPUT DEMOCRACY

BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

THE Rajput States, now confined to Rajasthan, but which once overspread the entire territory between Lahore and the Arabian Ocean, were largely democratic for a long period of their history. It was the patriotism and public spirit, born of their democratic institutions, that enabled the Rajputs to battle long and gloriously against the foreigner and, finally, made possible the survival of those brave peoples in racial and political integrity to our own times. We proceed to give a description of the polity, as it prevailed in the numerous Rajput States, with a prefatory paragraph on the social structure of the Rajputs.

The Rajputs, when their states first came into being, are found under the domain of feudal ideas and are arranged in groups of vassals and sub-vassals under a chief or king. They are in possession of military fiefs, which they hold under a special tenure. In each Rajput State there is also an older stratum of population consisting of the conquered elements, politically and socially distinct

from Rajputs proper. They have no feudal or democratic privileges, they hold their lands on a different tenure and they are governed more absolutely by an official hierarchy appointed by the king. We thus have two halves of the population governed by two different systems, both united under the king.

The feudal half of the Government has its origin—as in Europe—in the conquests of the Rajputs, who were organised in primitive tribal groups under an elected chief or king. When they conquered new territory, it was distributed among the leader and his followers and was held on terms of military tenure. The military followers, who thus become holders of land, also claimed political privileges and association with their erstwhile leader in government and in war. The old tribal assembly gave place to a superior council attached to the king and consisting of the chief vassals. The lesser vassals grouped themselves under the superior ones, and thus, in regular chain of sub-infeudation, had

privileges and councils of their own under their immediate lord.

The king's council consisting of superior vassals varied in number in the several States; in Mewar the number was 16, in Amber 12, and Marwar 8. They constituted a hereditary council. They advised the king in matters of general policy, in the making of war and peace and sat with the king while receiving ambassadors and on other State occasions. They were summoned to the council by the beating of kettle-drums (*nakara*), for the Rajput States were very small in extent. The vassals were keen on their privileges and always insisted on their right to attend the council and considered it an utter disgrace to be excluded therefrom.

The executive work of this branch of government, composed of the king and his council of vassals, was entrusted to a premier or minister (*pradan*) appointed by the king from among the nobles, who constituted the council. He was generally some court favourite, who had attracted the prince by his talents or character. The *pradan* carried on military and foreign affairs and also managed the political government and regulation of the fiefs held by the feudal nobles. In subsequent times, according to Colonel Tod, the *pradan* became a most important personage in the states, as his position gave him an unbounded power over the military classes and as he was the sole dispenser of the favours of the sovereign. This feudal minister was variously called in the several Rajput States—*pradan* at Jodpur, *dhivan* or *kiledar* at Kotah, *moosahib* at Jaipur.

The nobles or higher vassals, in true feudal fashion, had each a court and government under them on the same but miniature model. He had a *pradan* and lesser officers, and he had a council on which his sub-vassals sat. It is said that measures of State were discussed in this lesser or "domestic" council and the chief generally voiced the decision, arrived at in his own council, in the more important council of the realm. We are told that the lesser councils of the nobles would go on discussing the question even while the superior council was in session.

The whole scheme of feudal rights and privileges finds expression in a document set out in Tod's "Rajasthan" and described by him as the Remonstrance of the sub-vassals of Deogurh against their chief:

(1) He respects not their privileges or customs established of old. (2) To each Rajput's house a *churas* or hide of land was attached; this he has resumed. (4) Ten or twelve villages established by his *puttaets* (vassals) he has resumed and left their families to starve (7) In old times it was customary when the presence of his chiefs and kindred was required to invite them by letter; a fine is now the warrant of summons, thus lessening their dignity (10) Without crime he resumes the lands of his vassals for the sake of imposition of fines; and after such are paid, he cuts down the green crops with which he feeds his horses. (11) The cultivators on the lands of the vassals he seizes by force, extorts fines or sells their cattle to pay them. (16) When Deogurh was established, at the same time were our allotments; as is his patrimony, so is our patrimony. (17) From these villages founded by our forefathers, he at will takes four or five skins of land and bestows them on foreigners. (19) From ancient times the vassals formed his council; now he consults only foreigners. Our rights and privileges in his family are the same as his in the family of the Presence (overlord—Rana).—(Tod's "Rajasthan", Vol. 1, pages 160 to 162.)

The purely monarchical half was of the ordinary bureaucratic type, which is not of much interest from our point of view; but a short description of the same is necessary in order to understand the final process when the feudal and democratic element was completely swallowed up and the Rajput State stood forth at the end of the middle ages an unmitigated type of personal monarchy. The government of this half was carried on by the king assisted by a cabinet of four ministers and their deputies. The four were: a prime minister (*pradan*), a commander of the forces (*bukshi*), an auditor and record keeper (*suruthnama*) and a keeper of the seal (*suhai*). The prime minister was the chief executive officer, who looked after the entire administration and the finance of the State. He nominated the governors of the district and the collectors of revenue and custom; and had 14 departments under him which managed all that related to public expenditure. The commander of the forces was both a civil and military officer. He took the muster of the army, distributed pay to the mercenaries and

rations to the feudal levy, and he appointed deputies to look after the military arrangements on expeditions and officers to guard the frontiers. He was also in charge of feudal states and their regulations, and four secretaries assisted him in the latter work. The feudal levies, it may be noted, consisting of the Rajput nobles and their followers always assembled under this ministerial officer. The *suruthnama* was in charge of all expenditure and accounts; he drew bills on the treasury and was the State treasurer. The fourth was the minister of home and foreign correspondence. He affixed his seal to all State documents and grants. These ministers had a collective standing and each of them should set his seal to royal acts. The acts and regulations of the king were enacted in this ministerial cabinet.

Below the ministers came the administrators of districts and of villages and towns. Each Rajput state was divided into districts, which each contained from 50 to 100 towns and villages. The district was administered by a civil and a military officer. In frontier districts, however, both offices are combined in a single person. In the administration of justice, the district officers as well as the village and town officers (*patel* and *nagarseth*) were assisted or aided by assessors and commoners (*chotias* and *panchayats*). The *panchayats* were constituted at the instance of the parties, who named two villages from whom the members of the *panchayat* were to be drawn. The members of *chotias* or assessors in each town and villages were elected by their fellow-citizens and remained as long as they conducted themselves impartially. A right of appeal to the prince existed, but, as often a heavy fee was levied for the same, it was not much called into exercise.

At the end of the middle ages, the partial democratic or feudal element in the Rajput State was completely submerged, and the Rajput king grew into an autocratic ruler of the ordinary type with all his subjects—Rajputs and others—governed by the same system of officers. The causes of this final decay of the

somewhat partial democratic element, which we met with in the origin of the Rajput State, deserve to be scrutinised. They are chiefly the following:—

(1) The mountainous nature of the country cut the Rajputs into small, isolated communities and prevented them from forming into a single large state. The Rajput states were small in extent and were spread in a large number over the province bearing their name. The feudal principles also kept them from growing into large groups. The smallness of territory and of population led to the easy growth of royal power.

(2) The influence of the contemporary Hindu and Mahomedan States which knew nothing of popular privileges or government by means of deliberative councils. The influence is visible in the very names and offices of the Rajput State described earlier, which were clearly taken over from or modelled upon the departmental organisation of the Hindu and Mahomedan states.

(3) The most important cause, however, lay in the exclusion of the feudal orders from all governmental business, except that which concerned their own estates or the war and foreign policy of the State. The "exclusion" was not, as Colonel Tod put it, a "wise", but constitutionally speaking, a most unwise one. The feudal vassals, denied the civic experience and knowledge arising from a full participation in the governmental work of the State, became a narrow military class. They, as we have seen before, allowed themselves to be assembled for war, and have their estates regulated, by the *bukshi*—an officer who was appointed by the king and who never sat in their councils and was not amenable to their deliberation. Added to this was the growing cleavage between them and the other classes of population under the influence of caste. They came more and more to consider themselves as a special class, and the social prestige that surrounded them made them forget the higher political privileges that once belonged to their order.

The Growth of the Cement Industry in India

(SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED)

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ONE OF INDIA'S YOUNGEST INDUSTRIES

THE rapid development within recent years in the manufacture of Cement, one of India's youngest industries; the great part which that industry plays in the economic and national welfare of the country; and the wide scope for building up cottage industries offered by its subsidiary products—these factors will naturally rivet the attention of every right-minded individual interested in the current problems of the country and make him wonder how and by what agency this pre-eminent situation has been brought about.

It is the intention of this article to trace as briefly as possible the growth of the Cement Industry in India, the useful service which the organisation controlling it is rendering to the nation and its potentialities in respect of every feature of the national programme for rural reconstruction and the uplift of the country.

The majority of people are unaware that Cement was known to the Romans in classic days. James Aspdin, an English bricklayer, discovered the Portland Cement of the present day.

The majority of people are unaware that Cement is not a new invention; it was known to the Romans in classic days and also to the Indians of old, as is evidenced by the roads and castles built in Britain by the former and by the prescription for the compounding of a special enduring mortar given in the *Brihat Samhita* written by the gifted Indian author, Varaha Mihira. The art was lost for some centuries but was revived and vastly improved by John Smeaton, an eminent English engineer, in the third quarter of the 18th century. The real credit, however, must be awarded to James Aspdin, an English bricklayer, for the discovery of the Portland Cement of the present day and the establishment of the first Cement plant in 1825.

It was due to the enterprise of the South Indian Industrials Ltd., Madras, that the first Cement factory in India was opened in Madras in 1902. The capacity of the

plant was exceedingly small and the methods employed were far from being technically efficient according to present day standards, and probably due to these factors and also to the high cost and lack of encouragement, the factory had latterly to close down.

It was actually in 1912 that the real foundation of the present industry was laid down. The Indian Cement Co. Ltd. was registered in that year and started work in Porbandar. The next two years saw the formation of the Katni and Bundi Companies. These factories were also of restricted output to begin with. However, the Great War broke out when they were still in their infancy and left them without competition to cater for practically the whole of India's Cement requirements. The success of these factories naturally lent a fillip to industrial promoters in the country with the result that no less than 9 large factories were set in operation in 1923.

INDIA IS A CONSERVATIVE COUNTRY

Unfortunately, in their enthusiasm and optimism, the manufacturers overlooked the essential fact that India is a conservative country, slow to change its habits, its customs, and its building methods. The result was overproduction, far beyond the demand. Again, most of the factories had been erected within the geographical marketing areas of the already existing factories. These two factors inevitably led to internal competition and rate war; the scramble for business at any price and for delivery over any distance crippled the industry; two factories were forced to go into liquidation and the others sustained serious losses.

The Cement manufacturers realised the gravity of the situation. The Indian Cement Manufacturers' Association, formed in 1925, successfully directed their efforts towards the stabilisation of the prices at an economic level.

The Cement manufacturers who were now brought to their senses, realising the

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gravity of the situation, joined hands and appealed to Government for protection against foreign competition. They were not able, however, to obtain any relief as the enquiry by the Tariff Board revealed overproduction which had been intensified by undue competition in the market. The Board made a recommendation for the grant of a subsidy, but when this was not accepted by the Government of India, the only course open to the manufacturing companies, if they wanted to survive a catastrophe, was to adopt a policy of co-operation. As a result of this wise decision, the Indian Cement Manufacturers' Association was formed in 1925. This Association successfully directed their efforts towards the stabilisation of the prices at an economic level which gave a new lease of life to the industry.

The truth of the modern slogan "Publicity Pays" has now been recognised by all. The Concrete Association of India was inaugurated in 1927.

The next step was to develop a market for the excessive output. No trading concern, however large the organisation or however strongly established, can afford in these days of commercial enterprise and competition to dispense with its propaganda branch whose constant aim should be to keep the public informed of the superior merits of its products. On this principle the Concrete Association of India was next inaugurated in 1927, an organisation to educate the public in the use of Cement and to offer free technical aid and advice. The useful propaganda work of this Association soon bore fruit. The free distribution of a full range of literature showing, from every point of view, the superiority of Cement concrete as a building material and the various uses to which it can be put, together with the issue of a monthly publication entitled the "Indian Concrete Journal" containing articles on the various phases of Concrete Construction, instructive both to the layman and to the Concrete Engineer, brought about that most desired effect, viz., faith in Cement and the development of a Cement-minded nation. The result was naturally a sustained increase in consumption and the industry steadily advanced.

ANOTHER PROGRESSIVE STEP—THE FORMATION OF THE CEMENT MARKETING CO. OF INDIA, LTD., IN 1930

The ever-growing demand for Cement called for closer co-operation between the manufacturers, and in 1930 another progressive step was taken in the formation of the Cement Marketing Co. of India, Ltd. Under its auspices the selling arrangements of the member companies were centralised. The output of all the factories was controlled on a quota basis. Amalgamated funds also rendered it possible to apply the whole force of effective advertising and propaganda programmes to the betterment of sales, instead of having to dissipate a large portion of the money available in keeping each particular Brand name before the public. The selling price also was substantially reduced.

In conjunction with the Concrete Association, offices were opened in the chief cities of India and staffed with competent engineers trained in Cement Concrete work.

A Cement dealer or stockist was made available at every important place so that Cement could be distributed in small or large quantities to the consumer at the minimum cost. Through these dealers and stockists, the public were instructed in their own language how to use Cement for the thousand-and-one purposes for which it can with benefit be employed.

CEMENT IS ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE AN ECONOMICAL BUILDING MATERIAL

As a result of experiments made, a new weather-proof packing was introduced for use during the monsoon period, or for occasions when cement had to be transported over long distances or held in stock over long periods. This method proved to be extremely satisfactory. By the adoption of a sound policy and by sustained publicity, Cement, as in other countries, was slowly but steadily accepted as an economical building material, thus giving an impetus to the development of modern methods of construction in reinforced concrete. In spite of the fact that the Cement Marketing Company were in this way able to achieve phenomenal success in promoting sales throughout the country, at the same time they were

labouring under a heavy handicap, in that the quota system upon which they had to work had its limitations as regards flexibility to keep pace with the rapidly growing demand.

If the industry were to continue to be capable of economic expansion and development or even retain its existing measure of prosperity, a more adaptable arrangement was imperative from the point of view, not only of distribution but also of its capacity to erect new factories to serve those areas where the demand tended to be in excess of the existing economic supply.

With this end in view, a merger company was formed with the main object of consolidating and reorganising the entire business of the various Cement manufacturing companies, not only in respect of sales and selling prices but also in regard to manufacture, administration and the erection of new factories where and when needed, together with the all-important matter of economic distribution.

Such a merger offered possibilities of considerable saving on bulk purchases of Indian coal, jute bags and other stores required by the industry. The quota system could be abolished and the fullest advantage taken of the production capacities of the existing works favourably situated with regard to the markets, whilst production in the less economic centres could be restricted.

The merger received the unqualified approval of that far-seeing industrial magnate, the late Mr. F. E. Dinshaw.

The advantages and future possibilities of the merger scheme were so overwhelming and convincing that it received the unqualified approval of that far-seeing industrial magnate, the late Mr. F. E. Dinshaw, and it finally became an accomplished fact in August 1936, under the name of the Associated Cement Companies of India, Ltd.

A Concrete School is now maintained in Bombay in which young men from various parts of the country are trained.

Under the new regime, special attention has been given to publicity activities. In

addition to intensive advertising in newspapers and journals throughout the country, the free distribution of booklets, and the detailed study of new problems in the *Indian Concrete Journal*, a Concrete School is now maintained in Bombay in which young men from various parts of the country are trained, free of charge, in the correct methods of preparing concrete mixtures and products. This is a move of great importance both to the industry and to the country.

STUDENTS ARE MOSTLY OF THE SUB-OVERSEER AND MAISTRY CLASS.

As an indirect means of making known to the general public the various uses of Cement, the Concrete School is of considerable propaganda value. It was established, however, essentially for the purpose of training young men in the practical application of the rules laid down in the various pamphlets and textbooks issued by the Association. Students are mostly of the sub-overseer and maistry class and their training covers all elementary construction work such as floor finishing, plastering, coloured Cement work, etc., together with the manufacture of small concrete articles in every day use, such as segreos, choolas, flower-pots, etc. A similar School is being opened in Madras and will be followed by others in every Presidency town. These will act as a short finishing course to the various Colleges and Engineering Schools throughout the country, and while they are designed mainly for teaching the subordinate classes, the course of instruction available is of the greatest assistance to young engineers who, in the early stages of their career, should learn to use their hands as well as their brains.

DEMONSTRATION LORRIES MOVE FROM PLACE TO PLACE

Another novel method of boosting the use of Cement has been tried out with very gratifying results. A number of demonstration lorries, each equipped with the necessary tool-plant and in charge of a Concrete Specialist, move from place to place in their respective areas demonstrating to the public how easily and cheaply ordinary household articles of a durable quality can be prepared from

Cement, and explaining to them how advantageously it can be used for all constructional purposes. This form of publicity reaches the villager in his home and helps to make him realise the invaluable uses of Cement for minor purposes and as a means of improving sanitation and cleanliness, not only in his own house but in the village as a whole. In addition, the Touring Specialist discusses with the local dealer or stockist the latest methods and improvements in Concrete Construction and ascertains from him the local requirements in this respect. In this manner he comes into contact with the local Municipal, P. W. D., and District Board Officers, explaining to them how every item of construction, whether it be a school, a sewer, a lamp-post, a bridge or a road, can often be built more cheaply, more enduring and more attractive by the use of Cement Concrete. Thus a twofold object is gained, on the one hand the education of the public to increase the demand for Cement, and on the other, more durable structures at less cost to public funds.

THE INDUSTRY AFFORDS EMPLOYMENT TO 10,000 MEN

The part which the Cement industry plays in the interests of the welfare of the country is not generally appreciated. Not only does it afford employment to about 10,000 men in the factories alone, but it is one of the best customers of Indian coal, $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs tons of which are consumed there every year. The jute industry is also benefitted, as over 180 lakhs of jute bags are used for packing purposes. Then there is the huge freight revenue accruing to the Railways by the transport of coal, gunny bags and Cement, the latter having now reached a figure of well over a million tons per annum.

FOUR MAIN SCHEMES OF THE NATIONAL PROGRAMME

Again, the Cement industry is of greater national importance than any other industry in the sense that it is the only one which can enter into every one of the four main schemes of the national programme, viz., rural uplift, development of cottage industries, reduction of

unemployment and proper housing of the toiling masses.

Associated with rural uplift we need only consider a good road, parapet walls and covers for wells, curbs round water springs to protect them from pollution, drinking troughs and manure pits. These are some of the various items of village requirements in the provision of which Cement can be used with advantage.

The manufacture of by-products can be developed as a cottage industry. In the villages, the poorer classes benefit.

The preparation of such by-products as segrees or choolas, flower-pots, etc., can be developed as a cottage industry.

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THIS GROWING INDUSTRY HAS A GLORIOUS FUTURE BEFORE IT

Who then can deny that this growing industry, fostered by a far-seeing and progressive-minded management and deserving of the full support of the nation, has a glorious future before it?

PROGRESSIVE REVELATION

BY MR. K. BALASUBRAMANIA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

ALL religions depend for their authority on revelation. Christianity goes further in believing that the Bible contained the one, only, and sufficient revelation of God to man. But ever since the revolution created in the minds of men by the wonderful discoveries of Darwin, the conclusions and facts of science appealing to the reason and confirmed by experiment and observation which contravened the Bible in many of its statements, tended to throw doubt upon the Christian belief in the absolute truth of revelation. As science progressed still further in modern times and added to its reputation by still more remarkable discoveries and the enunciation and proof of scientific theories and truths, the conflict between it and revelation became keener. The simple faith of mankind in the inviolability of revelation has been entirely shaken. Mr. Vivian Phelps, in his interesting book on "Concerning Progressive Revelation" remarks "that the new theological theory of progressive revelation tries to reconcile all outstanding discrepancies between our new knowledge and the old beliefs". He says "that a scientific discovery simply means that God wills to reveal another detail of his eternal methods and there must be a frank modification or even the abandonment of certain pre-conceived ideas which, faulty as they were, have sufficed for man in an earlier stage of his development and have come to be regarded as integral parts of his religious faith". This new explanation, he adds, will come as a surprise to the rank and file of Christendom.

In the history of Hindu religious thought also, doubt was very early attempted to be thrown on the authority of the Vedic revelation and the problem was present to the minds of the acute religious thinkers of ancient India even 20 centuries ago. The Indian school of exegesis tried to tackle it in its own way. They took advantage of the clear demarcation between the domain of the physical world and spirituality. They accepted the supremacy of science and ratiocination in the region of the physical world and marked it off from the supremacy of revelation in the spiritual world. The faith of man in

revelation was, therefore, confined to the truths which are beyond the range of the finite intellect of man and which cannot be discovered by the operation of the senses. Hence they argued that man must believe in revelation. The fact that certain statements contained in the scriptures may be contradicted or even proved to be untrue by the discoveries of modern science will not affect the faith in those aspects of the scripture which relate to the supra-sensuous knowledge. It may be, as Sir Radhakrishnan says, "that the need for religious mystery will diminish as the scope of scientific explanation extends". The progress of modern science in bio-chemistry and in psychology may tend to throw doubt even on the beliefs hitherto entertained by the followers of scripture, and conflicts may arise for which the above solution may not suffice. But for all practical purposes, the authority of revelation is in this view saved from the onslaughts of science and the inroads of reason. The Sankhya school of Hindu philosophy adumbrated the theory of the tentative belief in the authority of Vedic revelation until it is shaken by the undoubted facts and inferences of science. This may commend itself as a workable hypothesis to the ordinary conservative mind. Sir Sivaswami Iyer in his Kamala lectures on the "Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals" criticises the doctrine of the Hindu school of exegesis as having been applied in a manner which will surprise the modern mind and especially the minds of the foreigners. Mr. Vivian Phelps is of opinion that the study of comparative mythology also reveals the reasonableness of the theory of progressive revelation. He points out that the mythology of ancient peoples like the Hindus, the Chinese and the Mexicans indicates parallels for some of the cardinal beliefs of Christianity and shows that God tries to reveal Himself progressively. This involves the assumption which is questionable of the primitive character of these ancient nations. On the other hand, it only goes to show that the claim of Christianity for the Bible being the one, only, and sufficient revelation of God to man is hardly sustainable.

* By Vivian Phelps. Published by Watts & Co., 5 and 6 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4, London.

SIR MAHOMED IQBAL

"I am not afraid of death. I am a Mussalman and shall welcome death with a smiling countenance"—these are reported to be the last words of the great



SIR MAHOMED IQBAL

Muslim poet and philosopher, Dr. Sir Mahomed Iqbal, who passed away at Lahore on the 21st of last month in his 61st year. Sir Mahomed was, indeed, ailing for some months past, but the end was sudden and unexpected. Leaders of divergent political opinions have borne testimony to the remarkable influence of Sir Mahomed's writing and character. Dr. Tagore's message is characteristic:

The death of Sir Mahomed Iqbal has created a void in our literature, that like a mortal wound would take a very long time to heal up. India whose place to-day in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss the poet whose poetry had such a universal value.

Sir Mahomed Iqbal was a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and was prominently associated with the Muslim

cultural revival. He took a leading part in the activities of the Muslim League for a number of years and attended the Round Table Conference in London.

But those activities pale before his profound interest in the deeper problems of life, and his contribution to the cultural aspect of Islam was far reaching. Speaking under the auspices of the Madras Muslim Association, Sir Mahomed outlined his views on the "reconstruction of religious thought in Islam". He attempted in his own words

to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge.

Sir Mahomed will, above all, be remembered by posterity as the supreme poet of our time—a poet who brought to our materialistic age something of the beauty and mystery and wisdom of Hafiz and Saadi. Scholars have borne testimony to the grace and charm of his writings in Urdu and Persian. It is in his poems—those semi-philosophic musings in verse—that we must seek for an expression of his true genius. His mature thought and definite conclusions may be found in a number of poems, chief among which are *Asrarai Khudai* and *Ramuzi Bikhidi*, (both of which present a continuity of theme) and *Payami Mashriq*.

The first, which has been translated into English by Dr. Nicholson, has established him in the front rank of world poets. "In a fascinating style," says Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, "Iqbal deals with the whole problem of man, his life and attempts to forge a new destiny for his people by preaching reversion to the vigorous but simple life of the early Muslims based on the teachings of the Prophet." The dynamic philosophy of Iqbal has won him admiration in all climes. The *Payami Mashriq* (Message of the East), written in the style of Goethe, gives philosophical interpretations of important problems of human life and our relations to God. The latter portion of the book gives *ghazals* written in the style of Saadi and other poets including the well known tribute to Love:

"Love painteth red the tender tulip petals,
And lo our life with anxious recklessness."

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Congress Governments

H. E. THE VICEROY, replying to the welcome address presented by the Peshawar Municipality, took occasion to express satisfaction at the way provincial autonomy is being worked in the different provinces. "In a broad view," observed His Excellency, "we can claim that the first year of Provincial Autonomy has worked well and that the provincial legislatures have shown imagination and responsibility in a high degree."

Now in seven out of the eleven Provinces Congress Governments are functioning, and as if to test their capacity they have been confronted with riots and difficulties which they have, by all accounts, handled with firmness and discretion. Grave doubts had been expressed, sometimes genuine but often by interested parties anxious to discredit Congress, that they could not cope with the demands of law and order, whatever else they may be able to accomplish in the spheres of finance and legislation. But a year's rule has set at rest all doubts on this head. They have shown themselves equally competent in this as in other respects. Thus the *Statesman* in a recent editorial observes:

The Congress Government in Bombay have taken prompt and vigorous measures to put an end to communal rioting. A curfew order has been enforced in the affected area in the city and over 460 persons have been taken into custody. This affords further satisfactory evidence that those were unduly pessimistic who foretold that the entrusting of Law and Order under the New Constitution to elected Ministers, some of whom might not long previously have participated in civil disobedience, would lead to chaos. In the United Provinces, too, the Congress Ministry has proved well able to cope with communal and other disorders, though there the Allahabad disturbances proved more difficult to handle. Communal tension in the city continues (at the time of writing, viz., the third week of April) but the authorities are vigilant, and an incident which might have had ugly consequences on the 20th April was disposed of promptly and tactfully.

A Great Address

The address delivered by Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Judge of the Federal Court, at the Delhi University Convocation, deserves to be read, marked and digested for its wisdom and eloquence. It is a brief address but pregnant with sound sense and inspiring counsel. Sir Maurice emphasised the double function of a University—to extend the bounds of knowledge and to teach—the supreme aims being a passion for truth, a sense of proportion, a sense of values or what Mr. Sastri used to call the attainment of "a balanced mind", freedom of thought and the development of personality.

"It is an appalling thing," said Sir Maurice in his impassioned plea for freedom, that

the human race should have striven for so many hundreds of years to emancipate thought from the fetters in which civil or ecclesiastical tyrants in this age or that have sought to imprison it, only to find that in the 20th century the most complete technique the world has ever seen is being used for destroying the freedom of thought of whole peoples, the regimentation of schools and universities and of the whole teaching body, the control of an entire press and of every organ of public opinion, a propaganda which falsifies or distorts facts, imputes or misinterprets motives, and poisons the very springs of truth."

He has no patience with the doctrine of the omnipotence of the State at the expense of human personality—a doctrine that is now making headway in Europe.

Man was never intended to be a slave of the State, a pawn to be moved about on a chess-board.

There is in his personality a divine element, the spark which is always waiting for us to fan it into a flame, and if you have profited by your education here, the flame will burn steadily in that secret and inner chamber which belongs to you alone, of which you only have the key, and against the door of which all the dictators of the world may batter in vain.

Here, I believe, lies the last stronghold against dictatorship, the ultimate refuge for the things of the spirit.

Gandhiji and the Congress

Recent riots at Allahabad, the headquarters of the Congress, have set the Mahatma a-thinking; and as is usual with him, Gandhiji thinks aloud and gives the readers of the *Harijan* the privilege of sharing his candid thoughts on the subject. While everybody has been congratulating the Congress Governments on their successful handling of the situation, the exacting Mahatma is not quite content. It is true the riots have been quelled and peace restored with the minimum of force, but to one of the Mahatma's keen sensibility it is a matter of concern and humiliation that there should have been any occasion for such disturbance at all and the necessity of summoning the assistance of the police and the military. In so far as such measures were necessary, to that extent, says the Mahatma,

we must admit failure. That the Ministers could not have done otherwise is unfortunately only too true. I should like every Congressman and the Congress Working Committee to ask themselves why we failed, if they think with me that we have.

According to him then, the resort to the use of force shows that Congress is not yet in a position to replace British authority for the maintenance of peace between communities. He adds:

It is best to face this naked truth, however unpleasant it may be. The Congress claims to represent the whole of India, not merely those few who are on the Congress register. It should represent even those who are hostile to it and who will even crush it if they could. Not until we make that claim shall we be in a position to displace the British Government and function as an independent nation. This proposition holds good whether we seek to displace the British rule by violent action or non-violent.

What then should it do to improve communal relations and establish a better hold on the country? Gandhiji lays down that "it is necessary for Congressmen individually and collectively to examine the quality of their non-violence" and suggests the formation of an army of

volunteers "who should be ready to cope with any emergency". In order to still the frenzy of mobs, they should risk their lives in numbers sufficient for the purpose.

A few hundred, may be a few thousand, such spotless deaths will once for all put an end to such riots.

Thus once again, Gandhiji has shown that he has never lacked the courage to speak unpalatable truths—truths that must make his followers do some useful thinking on the lines of his philosophy of non-violence in which his own faith has never wavered.

But it would not do to interpret his censure too literally as interested persons and parties are apt to do. The Mahatma's censure must be taken "in a spiritual sense", as the expression of a most sensitive spirit, always apt to turn the search-light inward and reacting with alertness to the sequence of events.

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E. Sept. '38.

The Late Mr. Nageswara Rao

It is with deep regret that we record the passing away of Mr. Nageswara Rao, the well known businessman and philanthropist of Madras. The Telugu country and culture are the poorer for his death; for he was a great and discerning patron of art and literature and of all good causes. Starting life as a businessman, he made a large fortune which he gave away lavishly for public causes deserving of his support. An ardent Congressman, he was a devoted follower of Gandhiji and gave unstinted support to his movement. His *Andhra Patrika*, a nationalist daily in Telugu, has championed the cause of the Congress with courage and pertinacity and carried the message of Gandhiji, day in and day out, to the very heart of the Andhradesa. Nageswara Rao was a kind-hearted gentleman distinguished by his generous benefactions and unswerving loyalty to the Congress. A patriot of a high order, a man full of the milk of human kindness, the late Mr. Nageswara Rao was one of the few that realised that his wealth was for the benefit of those that were in distress and suffering.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji

We welcome the appointment of Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji to officiate as Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council during the absence of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar on leave. Sir Manmatha Nath, it will be remembered, was appointed to the same office last year, but he did not actually join duty, as Sir Nripendra Nath did not choose to avail himself of his leave. Sir Manmatha Nath has had a distinguished career on the Bench in Calcutta, and we have no doubt he will fill the office of Law Member with equal credit.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer

When in October 1936, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer assumed charge of the Dewanship of Travancore, few realised that the appointment was only for a short period. The announcement, therefore, that His Highness the Maharaja has extended his term for five years from May 1st, has been welcomed on all hands. It is but fitting that Sir Ramaswami Iyer should continue to guide the administration for an appreciably long period. For within the short term of two years, the Dewan has initiated so many measures of far-reaching importance that his personal guidance is absolutely necessary for their complete fruition. We have no doubt the Maharaja's action in securing Sir Ramaswami Iyer's services for a further period is gratefully appreciated by the people of Travancore. We also congratulate the Dewan on the extended opportunities of service to the ruler and people of a State for which he has for over two decades evinced genuine affection and loyal devotion.

Britain's Trouble in India

Britain's trouble in India is mainly due to the deplorable lack of insight in training her civilians, observes H. G. Rawlinson, the well known writer, in an article in *Great Britain and the East*.

Owing to their perfunctory study of Indian culture before proceeding to this country, English people in India form themselves into little colonies with their own clubs and social circles, entirely isolated from Indian society.

If, on the other hand, Britain had followed the Dutch way and forced her civilians to undergo an intensive course of study in Indian culture, the last two decades would not have been so troublesome.

With better mutual understanding, political adjustments would have been a comparatively easy matter. Contrariwise, no constitution, however ingeniously provided with checks and safeguards, can be worked except on a basis of trust and goodwill.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

The Anglo-Eire Pact

THE signing of the Anglo-Eire Agreement, on April 25, marks the end of one of the bitterest controversies of recent times. The Anglo-Irish question has baffled British statesmanship for two generations and has caused not a little anguish and despair. So long as Ulster remains aloof, the Irish problem cannot be said to have been completely solved. But the present Pact shows that complete agreement has been reached in regard to financial settlement. It is, therefore, of first class historical importance and is expected not only to remove many causes of Anglo-Irish disagreement and tension, but to have far-reaching effect on trade, foreign affairs, and defence.

The Agreement provides:—

The transfer to Eire of the coast defence stations which the United Kingdom are unconditionally evacuating;

Eire will pay £10,000,000 to the United Kingdom by November 30, as a final settlement of all financial claims of either Government against the other;

Eire will continue to make an annual payment of £250,000 in respect to damage to property under the Agreement of December 1925;

All British penal duties against Eire and corresponding duties imposed by Eire on the United Kingdom are abolished.

In effect, the Agreement is a complete termination of all financial and economic disputes. It will end the annuity dispute and the Anglo-Irish economic war.

The successful outcome of the talks between Britain and Eire must add to the reputation of both Mr. De Valera and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. Such a Pact, though incomplete in so far as it does not touch the subject of partition, must yet forge a new link of friendship between the two countries.

The British Budget

Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented his first budget (for 1938-39) in the House of Commons on the 27th ultimo. There are no surprises in his budget, but the deficit of about £30 million is covered by additional taxation. The Chancellor pointed out in his speech that the estimated revenue on the existing basis of taxation was £914,400,000 leaving £29,998,000 to be found by additional taxation as follows:

An increase of 6d. to 5s. 6d. in income-tax, not to affect taxpayers whose incomes were less than £135;

An increase of 1d. (bringing the tax to 9d.) on petrol;

A similar increase on the duties on hydro-carbon and heavy oils used in road transport;

An excise tax of 9d. per gallon on power alcohol; and

An increase of 2d. on Empire and foreign tea.

The income-tax proposals taken together, he said, would provide £22,250,000 this year, and in a full year £26,500,000. The increase in tax on petrol, hydro-carbon, and heavy oils would yield £5,000,000 and the excise duty of power alcohol £350,000. The tax on tea would provide £2,750,000.

The final figures are as follows: Estimated revenue £944,750,000; estimated expenditure £944,398,000, giving a surplus of £352,000.

Sir John's budget has had a mixed reception. On one point, however, public opinion in England, as in this country, will endorse Sir John's view—that effective steps should be taken to deal with those attempting to evade the tax. The Chancellor has evidently valid proofs of evasions on a large scale and he will doubtless have considerable support from all sections of the House and the country in any measures he may deem fit to take to punish this evil which seems to be growing apace in England.

The Anglo-Italian Agreement

The Anglo-Italian Agreement signed at the Palazzo Chigi, Rome, on April 16, provides that each party should notify the other in advance any decision to provide new naval or air bases on the East Mediterranean and Red Sea; that each should respect the integrity of Saudi Arabia and Yemen; that neither should employ publicity to injure the interests of the other; and that neither should establish sovereignty in the Red Sea islands, or object to the presence of British officials at Kamaran for securing sanitary service for the Haj pilgrimage.

The Italian Government reaffirm their previous assurances, fully conscious of their obligations towards the United Kingdom in the matter of Lake Tsana. Each party affirms the free use of the Suez Canal for all Powers. Italy signifies her intention of acceding to the London Naval Treaty.

Thus the Pact offers four distinct advantages to Italy: She is given a status equal to Britain in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Her conquest of Ethiopia will be finally recognised. The much needed financial support will be forthcoming and General Franco's victory is assured.

Great Britain's gains do not appear equally substantial, but a dangerous corner has been turned. The threat to Egypt and Palestine will be removed for the present, and Britain knows "that with her immense resources, to gain time is almost tantamount to winning a victory".

Public opinion has by no means agreed in assessing the results of the agreement on which Mr. Chamberlain had set his heart. The *Daily Herald* says that in the Agreement and all its annexes, there is nothing worth the paper on which it is written. Mr. Chamberlain has sealed the betrayal of Abyssinia, arranged the betrayal of Spain, and struck yet another blow at the League.

The German Plebiscite

Germans all over the world have voted overwhelmingly in favour of the union of Austria with the Reich.

Figures from Germany, Austria and other parts of the world, where the plebiscite operated, show that the votes cast against the Anschluss were negligible when compared to those in its favour, the latter being over 99 per cent.

Herr Hitler was so happy over the outcome that he could hardly find words to express his feelings adequately. He considered it a miracle wrought by God and characterised Dr. Schuschnigg's breach of 'pledge' as a call of Providence and what followed its execution. The result was "the irrevocable unification of the German people". Hitler declared:

In this irrevocable unification of the German people, I see the justification of all my efforts and in this historic hour, I offer from the depth of my heart my sincerest thanks to the whole German people, particularly my native country.

But then it is evident there could be no alternative.

The only alternative offered them in this case was between the present Government and no Government at all, and to make matters more difficult, between Germany and Austria united and Germany and Austria as separate entities. In these circumstances, a patriotic German had no real choice.

The New French Government

Once again the French Government has fallen, and Mr. Blum and his colleagues have resigned. M. Edouard Daladier has formed a new Cabinet. The Cabinet is predominantly Radical Socialist. It consists of 24 members compared with its predecessor's 34.

It is unfortunate that at a time like this when united front is of prime importance, France should have no stable Government to guide it. Any betrayal of disunion and instability at such a crisis will have serious repercussion both on domestic and foreign interests.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

March 27. H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior opens the Bhonsle Military School at Nasik.

March 28. All-India Charka Sangha meets in Berboi under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi.

March 29. The Government of India announces its decision to appoint an Agent in Burma.

March 30. The Madras Assembly passes the Bill to amend the suppression of Immoral Traffic Act.

March 31. Central Assembly passes by 91 votes against 22 the motion for consideration of Mr. B. Das's Child Marriage Restraint Act.

April 1. Congress Working Committee meets at Calcutta.

April 2. A Three-power Agreement between Germany, Italy, and Japan *re.* trade in North China is signed.

April 3. Sir Hyde Gowan, Governor of the C. P., is dead.

April 4. Sir James Grigg introduces the Income-tax Amendment Bill in the Assembly.

April 5. Sardar Patel launches the Prohibition campaign in Saran district.

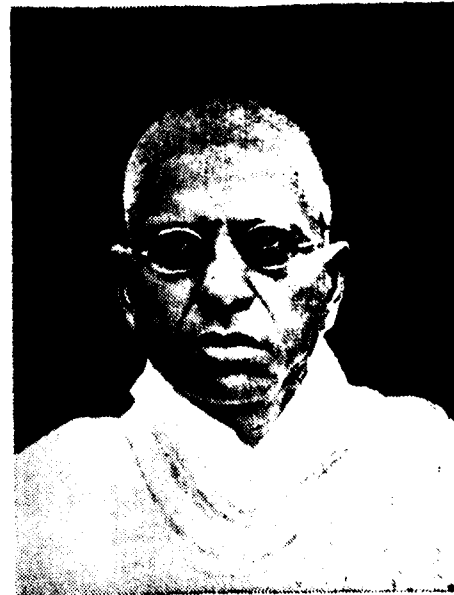
April 6. U. S. A. recognises *de facto* though not *de jure* Germany's conquest of Austria.

April 7. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, entertains Mr. C. Rajagopalachari the Premier and his colleagues at Dinner at his residence "Mangala Vilas".

April 8. Sir Henry Craik takes charge as Governor of the Punjab.

April 9. Mahatma Gandhi interviews the political prisoners of Bengal.

April 10. Sir John Thom's report on the Bhitia railway disaster is published, as also the Government's resolution.



THE LATE MR. NAGESWARA RAO.

April 11. Sjt. K. Nageswara Rao, Editor of the *Andhra Patrika*, is dead.

April 12. The Mysore Congress Convention opposes the Federation Scheme.

April 13. The Central Assembly adjourns *sine die*.

April 14. Mahatma Gandhi leaves Calcutta for Delhi to meet the Viceroy.

April 15. Italy and England sign a treaty of friendship.

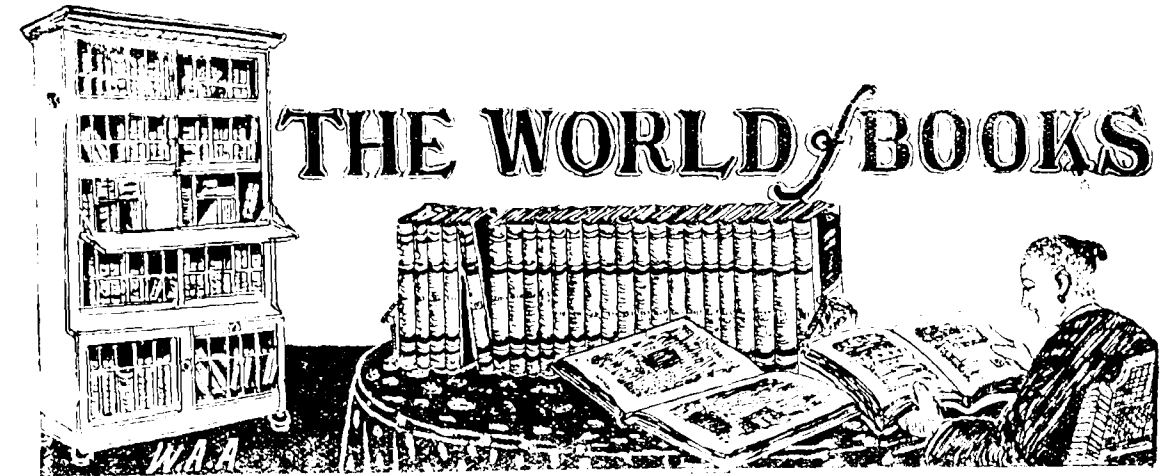
April 16. Muslim League meets at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Jinnah.

April 17. All-India Trade Union Congress and National Trade Union Federation amalgamate into one body.

April 18. All-India Muslim League passes a resolution vetoing direct action with regard to the Shahidgunj agitation.

April 19. A conference of coloured people meets in Cape Town and urges united front against colour bar.

April 20. 40 out of 41 political prisoners are released in Bihar.



THE OVERLAND ROUTE FROM INDIA. By Stanley Jepson. Times of India Press, Bombay.

This is one of the most charming records of travel impressions we have come across. Mr. Jepson has produced a book as useful to the tourist as it is entertaining to the lay reader. This double interest is due mainly to the writer's intimate knowledge of the overland route and his ability to give a faithful and pleasing account of his travels. There are fascinating word pictures of peoples and countries, of scenes and characters remote from the beaten track of the modern traveller, accustomed to be carried swiftly over the sea or air in almost undisturbed somnolence. To be carried almost unawares from one place to another in a luxury 'plane or a moving saloon of the great liners is to miss the heart of the entertainment. Mr. Jepson shows the better way; and his chapters provide what he terms

a travel film of the greatest magnitude, revealing pictures of the oil-field and pearly dhows of Bahrein Island, the gondoliers of Basra and the bazaars of Baghdad, glimpses of Babylon and of the ancient Sumerians who established the world's first known civilisation, etc., etc.

The whole moving panorama of life and land, complete with information and

details as to the very price of food-stuffs and accommodation in hotels, (including tips to waiters,) such as no official or travel agency can supply, and vivid impressions of men and things such as only an experienced and intelligent writer with the flair of a true journalist can give, are presented in this volume. Mr. Jepson has obviously felt the need for such a companion to the traveller, and he has set about designing it in a way as attractive as it is practically useful. The volume which is racy with reminiscences that lend continuity to the narrative, is also enriched with excellent photographs mostly taken by himself.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER. By C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin, London. 3s. 6d.

With his long and varied experience and sympathetic outlook, Mr. Andrews makes a striking contribution to one of the most vital problems in India—that of the North-West Frontier. He seeks a "moral equivalent for war" and believes that India with its synthesis of Hindu, Moslem, Christian and Buddhist cultures has an intellectual and spiritual message to deliver to the armament-manufacturing world of to-day. The book deserves the closest attention of all interested in Indian affairs.

THE PSALM OF PEACE. By Prof. Teja Singh, M.A. Published by the Oxford University Press. Rs. 2.

This is a charming and excellent English translation of Guru Arjun's "Sukhamani" or the Psalm of Peace in the Holy Granth of the Sikhs. It is a veritable treasury of inspiring thoughts couched in simple language and easy flowing rhythm. The Psalm is deservedly one of the most popular songs in Northern India with its message of Peace and Goodwill, of Love and Truth, of a life of selfless service. It is the passionate expression of a fervent heart overflowing with compassion for struggling, suffering humanity. Every stanza of this devotional hymn makes an instant appeal to the heart attuned to the music of the universe.

He who listens to this Psalm with love,
[and gives it a place in his heart,]
Shall be able to commune with the Lord.

The Translator justly says: To a man complaining of life weariness, there is nothing so cheering, so invigorating as Guru Arjun's "Sukhamani".

FASCISM AND PROVIDENCE. By J. K. Heydon. Sheed and Ward. 5sh.

Mr. Heydon, we are told, is a "Johnsonian Englishman", exuberantly healthy and, therefore, we presume, is anxious to tell us what we should know of Fascism. He is certainly robust; he hits out freely and without remorse. For him Bolshevism is Satan; Russia a limb of the devil; socialism and even democracy are anathema. He is very sure about the soul of man and is convinced that it can be saved only by Fascism. His complacency is staggering; his antics most entertaining. His book is an excellent raw material for the sociologist.

HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By Dr. M. Krishnamacharya, M.A., M.L. (To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.) Rs. 10 or 15s.

Few Indian scholars have applied themselves to the very necessary work of writing an account of the vast Sanskrit literature. The books of foreign scholars like Keith and Winternitz hold the field. Accounts of Sanskrit literature by foreigners do not take into account the large number of works produced in the Muhammadan and modern periods and in the earlier periods also, they notice chiefly the more important works in each class. One would like to have in one volume the entire literature with no omission and this need has been filled in the field of classic literature, that is, leaving out the philosophical and technical literature, by the present book of Dr. M. Krishnamacharya, to whom the production of this book of 1120 pages of very closely printed matter has been a labour of love for the past 20 years.

An enormous amount of literary material has come to light in the last half century by the discovery of numberless manuscripts in the several, chiefly South Indian, libraries. It is a task demanding great labour as well as care to digest the numerous big volumes of the descriptive catalogues and present the information in a clear and classified form. A book of this nature, so packed with names of authors and works, will be difficult to be used without an exhaustive Index and the author has, to our great benefit, appended a hundred page Index. It is impossible to overrate the usefulness of such a valuable book of reference.

TOWARDS DRY INDIA. By "Atreya". With a Foreword by Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A. Dikshit Publishing House, Thyagarayanagar. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Re. 1-4.)

Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Campaign, Prohibition has passed the stage of academic discussion in India and is a live issue in all the Provinces where the Governments are tackling it in right earnest. The literature on the subject is growing apace; and it is well that the economic and moral implications of the experiment are widely recognised. The book under review is a judicious survey of the drink problem through the ages and explains the prohibition policy of the Government and the efforts made to check the drink evil. Of particular interest to politicians and reformers are the accounts of the Parliamentary debate on the Indian Excise administration and the discussion on Prohibition in the Madras Legislature together with the text of the Act now in operation. We congratulate the author on the timeliness of the publication and the weight of authority in support of Prohibition he has brought together between the covers of a handy volume.

RAMA THE JESTER. Published by W. O. Fonseca, 9, Naval Hospital Road, Vepery, Madras. Re. 1.

The book deals in an enjoyable manner with the life and exploits of the favourite jester Tenali Rama, from the time he became famous by wondering how the Goddess blew her hundred noses with one pair of hands to his death by literally hanging himself for a joke.

BOOKS RECEIVED

KANTHAPURA. By Raja Rao. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

THE FLINER KING: A Novel of Ford-America. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., London.

COMPLETE PRACTICAL ASTROLOGY. By Edward Lyndee. Putnam, London.

FURTHER UPWARD IN RURAL INDIA. By D. Spencer Hatch. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. (Sanskrit Devanagari) Vols. I and II. V. Rama swami Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras.

REGENERATION. By Dewan Bahadur R. Subbaya Naidu, Commissioner, Corporation of Madras. P. R. Rama Iyer & Co. Ltd., Esplanade, Madras.

HINTS ON MUSEUM EDUCATION. By J. C. Basak. 363, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

SRI KRISHNA CHARITRA. By R. Vyasa Rao, Bangalore Press, Bangalore. (In Kanarese.)

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION: Mahatma Gandhi's articles; Wardha Education Conference Proceedings; Zakir Husain Committee Report; The Proposed Syllabus; Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd. 8, Round Building, Bombay 2.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD. By Dr. Zakir Ali. Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf. Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore.

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA: His Life and His Religion. By Srimati Akshaya Kumari Devi. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Re. 1.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE RIGVEDIC PANTHEON. By Srimathi Akshaya Kumari Devi. 31 Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Re. 1.

LETTERS TO MY SON. By C. S. Angre. Translated by his private secretary, V. K. Datta. D. B. Tareporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.

HIND SWARAJ OR HOME RULE. By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE. By Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR BRITISH INDIA, 1926-27 to 1935-36. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE NIGHTSIDE OF BOMBAY. By O. U. Krishnan, B.A. Published by O. K. Sreedharan, Talap, Cannanore.

DRAPIA: THE VEDIC CYCLE OF ECLIPSES. By Dr. R. Shamasastri, B.A., Ph.D. Sree Panchacharya Electric Press, Mysore.

A LIGHT SET UPON A HILL. By Walter Clemon Layton. L. N. Fewler & Co., 7, Imperial Arcade, Ludgate Circus, London.

VILLAGE THEATRES. The foundations of the Indian National Theatre. By Tandra Devi. Tandrasram, Srinagar, Kashmir.

A WORLD TOUR AND GUIDE TO WORLD TOURISTS. By Dr. T. S. Siddappa, L.M. & S. Retired District Medical Officer, Mysore.

Hyderabad

HYDERABED REFORMS

Proposals for constitutional reform are made in a report prepared by a Committee appointed by the People's Convention held in Hyderabad in November last, under the presidentship of Mr. Abdul Hasan Syed Ali. The report suggests the constitution of a bi-cameral legislature with 200 members for the Assembly and 65 for the Council. The Legislature is to have powers of legislation, voting on budget and taxation subject to certain restrictions.

The issue of a proclamation by His Exalted Highness containing a declaration of the fundamental rights of the subjects is also suggested in the report.

The report of the Committee was considered at a meeting of the Convention, held on 25th January last under the presidentship of Raja Pannalal Pitti, M.L.C., and after discussion the report along with the recommendations of the Committee was adopted. At this meeting a Committee was appointed with Mr. M. Hanumantha Rao as Chairman to carry on its work.

HINDU MARRIAGES IN HYDERABAD

A *Communique* issued by H. E. II. the Nizam's Government states:

In view of the representations made by several sections of the Hindu community for the protection of Hindu matrimonial rights, and the proposals of some officers in this respect, His Exalted Highness' Government in the Ecclesiastical Department has been pleased to pass an order for the introduction of a system of registering Hindu marriages.

The work for the present has been entrusted to the Police Department, which will keep registers for the purpose and make entries without levying any fee, whenever a wedding ceremony is held in the Hindu community.

Police *patels*, however, have been enjoined not to exercise compulsion in the matter, but to record such marriages only about which information is willingly offered.

They also have been asked to restrict their work to making the necessary entries in the registers and to have nothing to do with the usual ceremonies connected with the marriages.

Baroda

BARODA'S FINANCES

The sound and stable financial position of Baroda's administration was revealed in the review of the working of the State Finance Department during the official year 1936-37, made by Mr. K. V. Uplap, the Naib Dewan and Councillor.

The review states that the total revenue of the State was Rs. 230'54 lakhs, the expenditure Rs. 221'15 lakhs, against Rs. 280'46 lakhs and Rs. 217'37 lakhs in the previous year, showing a decrease of Rs. 49'92 lakhs in revenue and an increase of Rs. 6'78 lakhs in expenditure.

The decrease in the revenue receipts is mainly attributed to the grant of remissions and suspension of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs; less recovery of past arrears; decline in customs receipts at Port Okha owing to trade depression, and the small collection of income-tax owing to assessment work being not completed in time.

The decrease was partially offset by a rise in revenue under tributes Rs. 4.19 lakhs due to adjustment of the police subsidy accounts and in realization under the heads: excise, public works, education, and interest, namely, Rs. 2.20 lakhs. The increase in disbursements was mainly due to the fall in the expenditure under public works, interest and subsidy to local boards amounting to Rs. 4.1 lakhs.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL HOME

The Baroda Government have sanctioned plans and estimates for the construction of a suitable building for housing the Women's Industrial Home at Baroda at a cost of Rs. 28,000 out of a grant of Rs. 30,000 by His Highness.

Mysore

REFORM COMMITTEE

The Mysore Government, as already indicated last month, have appointed a Committee for examining the working of the State Legislature as well as the other representative bodies and institutions connected with them. The Committee consists of Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Chairman, and 19 members, two of whom are officials.

The Committee is to formulate comprehensive proposals as to the further changes which may be desirable in order to secure the steady and harmonious constitutional progress of the State from the point of view of all the interests concerned. The Committee will have power to call for information and opinions from Government officers and experts as well as from members of the public bodies.

The Committee is to make recommendations to promote the contentment and well-being of all His Highness' subjects and to increase the scope for their exercise of the duties and privileges of citizenship.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN MYSORE

The Government of Mysore have constituted a special committee of officials and non-officials to examine the progress of primary education in the State since the passing of the Elementary Education Regulation which came into force in 1930.

Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, First Member of the Executive Council, will be the Chairman of the Committee, and Messrs. N. S. Subba Rao, Vice-Chancellor, E. G. McAlpine, K. V. Anantharaman, M. Venkatesa Iyengar, Md. Abbas Khan, D. V. Gundappa, H. D. Chendrasekharaiya, H. Guruvareddi, H. Lingappa and Sultan Mohiyudeen the members.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The Travancore Women's Conference, which met at Trivandrum under the presidentship of Mrs. C. P. Skrine, passed several resolutions of which one urged the Government of Travancore to take advantage of the new Travancore University (1) to introduce more residential life in colleges, and (2) to start special courses of studies for women.

The Conference requested the Travancore Department of Education to improve the accommodation in the primary schools in the State and to provide special conveniences such as sanitary arrangements, separate playgrounds, etc., for girls attending mixed schools.

The Conference recommended that in all schools a certain time should be reserved each week in which instruction should be given in domestic science, household hygiene and other kindred subjects likely to be useful to them in after life with special courses in child training for girls.

It was also resolved to encourage the popularisation of Hindi.

DEWAN'S TERM EXTENDED

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has been pleased to extend the term of Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar as Dewan of Travancore for five years from May 1, 1938.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar was appointed Dewan of Travancore in October, 1936. His advice has been taken on many important occasions by the Travancore State for nearly 15 years now and in 1931, he was appointed legal and constitutional adviser to the Maharaja.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Kashmir

PRESS LAW FOR KASHMIR

When the Press and Publications Regulation (Amendment) Bill was brought up before the State Assembly for discussion on March 19, Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Prime Minister of Kashmir, observed:

Believing most sincerely that the functions of the Government is to invite and not to suppress independent and strong criticism, I shall be the last person to be responsible for any measure to prevent the Press from doing so in the strongest possible manner. But at the same time criticism, while it may be strong, should not be abusive; while it should be independent, it should not be defamatory; while it should try to improve the administration of the State, it should not do anything to subvert the existing order.

"The Muslim Conference Party," the Prime Minister said, replying to the debate,

has made an appeal to me to withdraw the Bill. But I am not able to accede to the request. The debate has further confirmed me in the impression that the Bill is absolutely necessary. I wish only to make it clear that our object is not to put fetters on the Press. It is not to initiate a policy of repression. It is simply to pull up the tone and to build up a healthy and clean Press. I believe as the Head of the Administration that we should invite legitimate, independent and even strong criticism, by which alone Government can understand the grievances and the troubles of the people. And if the Government is worth its name, it must take action and correct the abuses and grievances brought to its notice, and to better the lot and condition of communities in the State.

"While each community gives vent to its particular grievances," the Prime Minister added,

the Press which represents the community should do nothing which should embitter the feelings of the other communities or fan communalism. I hope that the hon'ble members will give me and my colleagues the credit for sincerity of purpose in our endeavour to improve the tone of the Press. We want the Press to be strong, independent and really helpful to the administration.

IMPORT DUTY ON KHADDAR

Duty of 10 per cent. has been ordered by the Kashmir and Poonch Government, to be levied on Khaddar that is being imported into the State.

Patiala

THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO PATIALA

A Durbar was held at Patiala on the 8th April, by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala when Sir Harold Wilberforce Bell, Resident, Punjab States, presented the *Kharita* (message) of the Viceroy to His Highness. The Resident remarked that the pleasure he felt in congratulating His Highness on his succession to the *Gadi* was necessarily tempered with sympathy, which he felt for him in the loss of his father.

His Highness Sri Yadhavendra Singh, the new Maharaja, on being invested with Ruling Powers, made the following declaration:

I realise that circumstances are fast changing in India and that the time when the Indian States and their Rulers lived and worked for isolation, ignoring the conditions around them, is rapidly disappearing. No barriers can be erected against the ideal, and I recognise the time has come when the traditional policy of the States may require modification and adjustment in the light of what is happening in the rest of this great country.

In the wider entity of India and the Empire alone can the Indian State find its fulfilment and attain its full status, and it is the realisation of this fact that led the more far-seeing Princes to participate in the larger affairs of India.

Gwalior

GWALIOR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Among the resolutions discussed at the Gwalior Council are the following:—

Introduction of a Civil Marriage Act; abolition of dowry and prohibition of the sale of girls; limiting expenses incurred on marriage; fixing maximum of 6 per cent. interest for cultivators; demand to set up a committee to solve educated unemployment; introduction of income-tax; appointment of a committee to remove the grievances of Harijans and assigning a certain proportion of seats to them in representative institutions; making Hindi the court and official language; demand for a university and opening temples owned by the State to all.

South Africa

INDIANS' POSITION IN S. AFRICA

"There has been a decided set-back to the economic position of Indians in South Africa," declared Sir Raza Ali recently. The number of 12,000 Indians who were in industrial employment 20 years ago, has fallen to-day to 10,000 while the population has increased by over 35 per cent. He urged the appointment of a fact-finding commission to enquire into the economic position of Indians in South Africa in view of the existing unemployment. The worsening position of Indians is a danger to South Africa.

While agreeing with Mr. Hofmeyr that a non-European front was ill-advised, he said that when the increasing disabilities of the Indian community were realised, one cannot blame the Indians for wanting to join such a movement.

SOUTH AFRICA COMMISSION

The terms of reference of the Asiatic Land Commission, South Africa, recently appointed, are to inquire into and report whether, and if so to what extent, the letter and spirit of any law restricting or prohibiting the ownership, use or occupation by Asiatics of land is being evaded and to make recommendations.

The foregoing terms of reference shall not apply to proclaimed land under the Precious and Base Metals Act, Transvaal, as amended from time to time to the extent to which it has been dealt with by the report of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission of 1932.

Mr. Justice Murray is the Chairman, and Mr. Henry Britt, former chief magistrate of Pretoria, and Mr. Smith, a prominent farmer, are members.

Zanzibar

THE ZANZIBAR QUESTION

Attention will now turn from the clove boycott to the new inquiry which will shortly take place at Zanzibar. India's point of view will not lack a spokesman so long as Mr. Bozman is taken into consultation, says the *Statesman*.

It appears that the Colonial Office is anxious to associate with this fresh inquiry all representatives of opinion in Zanzibar and elsewhere. Mr. Binder, whose report formed the basis of the legislation which will now be reconsidered, will be heard again. That may prove to be a source of difficulty. There is a certain danger in making a committee or a body of inquirers too representative. But it is clear that the Colonial Office is anxious to conciliate Indian interests. This is not a committee which can please by dotting the i's and crossing the t's in the decrees. The whole ground will have to be explored over again.

THE ZANZIBAR STRIKE

The strike of the Zanzibar Indians has caused them a loss of Rs. 10 lakhs in the last four months, says a statement issued by the Congress Foreign Department.

The daily business loss of the community is between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000. Arab and African cultivators of cloves have also been affected seriously; still they are regarding the Indian strike with sympathy.

"If we can make our boycott of Zanzibar cloves still more effective, there is no reason why the combined strength of the African and Arab clove growers and the Indian traders should not bend the Zanzibar Government to an early settlement with the Indians of Zanzibar."

Kenya

KENYA HIGHLANDS

The issue of the Reservation of the Highlands of Kenya for the exclusive settlement of the European was before the Indian and British Governments in 1922-23, a White Paper issued by the British Government in the latter year declared that the area would be so reserved, though no legislative Act would be passed on racial lines.

The question has again come before the Indian public and the Indian Government on account of the announcement of the British Government that an Order-in-Council will be soon passed setting apart these lands for exclusive European occupation.

A deputation of Kenya public workers consisting of Messrs. Shamsuddeen; Isher Dass, P. A. Mehta and S. J. Amin is now on a visit to India in order to educate and awaken public opinion and seek assistance from the various Indian Governments.

MR. ISMAIL IN MOMBASA

The Indian Merchants' Chamber of Mombasa was "At Home" to Mr. M. H. Ismail, India Government's Trade Commissioner for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Mr. T. A. Adamji, president, said, according to the *Statesman's* report, that for the past 15 years they had been pressing the Government of India for the appointment of a Trade Commissioner and they were very grateful to the Government of India for the appointment of Mr. Ismail. Indians in East Africa, he said, were rapidly losing trade of the country, and he thought the appointment of the Trade Commissioner was an indication to recapture the lost ground.

Ceylon

INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO CEYLON

In his report on Indian Immigration to Ceylon published last month, Sir Edward Jackson says that restriction of Indian immigration into Ceylon is not practicable. Even if it is, the time has not arrived for it. In the case of Indian immigrant estate labour, the existing means to restrict immigration to desired level are adequate.

The report refers to Ceylonese prejudices against unskilled occupations and suggests ways and means to increase employment of Ceylonese, stressing that no distinction should be made between Ceylonese and Indian workers who are born on the island and who have made it their permanent home.

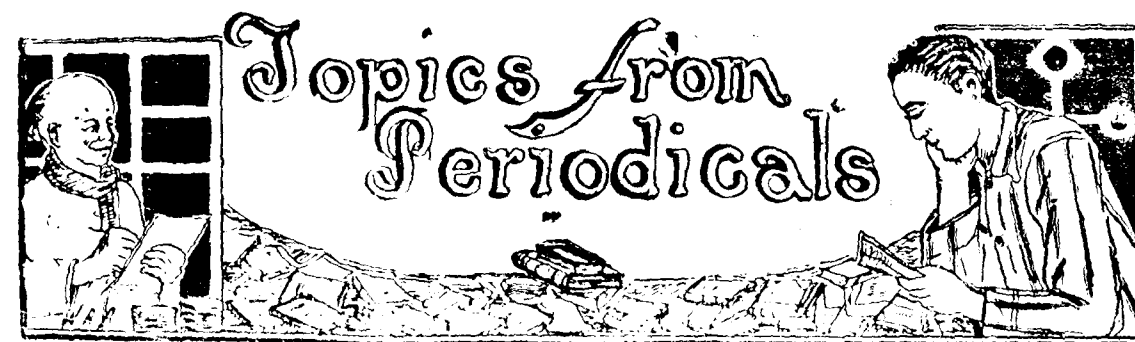
Sir Edward Jackson points out that Indian immigrants, far from causing economic injury, have made possible Ceylon's economic advance and without them various works could not be carried out. Their compulsory deportation when they no longer are required would be a bad policy as long as Ceylon is obliged to rely very largely on Indian labour for her principal economic crops.

Fiji

INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN FIJI

A well-attended meeting of Indian Christians of Fiji was recently held at Suva. The object of the gathering was to inaugurate the Indian Christian Association. Mr. J. F. Grant said that it was time for Christians irrespective of denominations to bind themselves together for a common end. The Rev. Ishwari Prasad and the Rev. Samuel Sharan in their speeches referred to one or two efforts previously made to bring the Christians together.

Mr. Hari Charan and Mr. D. Singh were elected president and vice-president, respectively.



NEW TRENDS IN INDIA

The writer on Indian affairs in the *Round Table* for March draws attention to the changed outlook in the country following the acceptance of office by the Indian National Congress:

While no one admits that the new constitution meets Indian aspirations, nearly all are impressed with the reality of provincial autonomy. Indian Ministers now recognise that they themselves are responsible for "law and order", that fateful phrase which has meant so much in recent Indian experience and has hitherto been generally regarded as an inseparable adjunct of an alien bureaucracy. Responsibilities of office have brought home to Congressmen that the maintenance of law and order is essential under any Government, whatever its political complexion may be. In Madras, the United Provinces, and elsewhere, the Congress Ministries have clearly indicated their intention to enforce the law against the preaching of violence and communal incitement, and the measure of this advance in Indian thinking is emphasised by the action of the upper hierarchy of the Congress organisation in pointing out that Ministers must inevitably uphold the law. This constitutional role is something entirely new for the Congress party, and the result proves the rightness of the decision which resulted in the transfer of law and order to responsible Indian Governments.

The Governors and the Services, says the writer, have fully collaborated with the Ministers, notwithstanding the difficulties that formerly characterised relations between the British authorities and the Congress party. "In the main, the change over from bureaucracy to popular government has been made with great smoothness."

Far-reaching political repercussions there have been, and many serious and some dangerous problems await solution:

Under the new regime, old problems have been presented in a fresh guise. Communalism is intensified, agrarian discontent and labour agitation are growing. Extremists and socialists are tending more and more towards communism; moderates are becoming more conservative; the divisions within the Congress party are becoming more acute, and Left-wing elements would probably enter the political field on their own account if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were prepared to abandon his allegiance to Mahatma Gandhi, which is not likely. In recent years the Congress party has maintained a fluid homogeneity, chiefly because it has been the main medium for the expression of nationalism and theories of political liberty. The unity of the organisation has always surprised the outside observer, who failed to understand how industrialists and peasants, millowners and socialists, illiterates and intellectuals, communists and conservatives, could sink their individual political and economic differences in the interests of the broader cause of constitutional freedom.

The grant of provincial autonomy, says the writer, is disintegrating the Congress party along economic lines. The new trends are significant as indicating that in India, as elsewhere in the world, economic causes will ultimately create political parties.

As a whole, the provincial picture may be regarded with satisfaction. If Ministers can secure adequate financial assistance from the Central Government, there is every indication that they will settle down to constructive administrative policies. Political extremism, rife in so many parts of the country, is being toned down among those now wielding authority.

PROHIBITION IN INDIAN HISTORY

Now that Prohibition is introduced by the Congress Governments in different Provinces, it is interesting to learn that the experiment was tried with varying degrees of success in early days in the history of South India in particular. The early Dravidians were given to drink; but as Mr. B. Natarajan points out in his very entertaining article in the *New Review* for April, they were cured of the evil by the teachings of Buddha and Mahavira, and the impact of Buddhist and Jain reactions on the life of the Tamils is best revealed in the *Tirukural*, a highly ethical work which condemns the pleasures of the cup as being the origin of all sins.

Coming to historical times it was a happy thing for India, says Mr. Natarajan, that the Mahomedans who conquered her were themselves believers in teetotalism. Pious Mahomedans have always lived up to the ideal of the Koran to shun the cup that inebriates.

Among the emperors of Delhi, two names have gone down to history as examples of puritanical life: Naziruddin Muhammad and Aurangzeb were 'Royal Fakirs'. Naziruddin lived the simple life of a dervish and earned his way by transcribing the Koran and selling the copies. His royal spouse had to do her part by herself cooking his food. The story of how Aurangzeb spent his leisure hours in making caps is well known.

But there are two instances of Mahomedan kings of India, who enforced a public policy of prohibition. In the north it was Alauddin Khilji, and in the South Tippu Sultan.

Alauddin Khilji's motives for introducing prohibition seem to have been far from religious. It was a political move. The suspicious circumstances in which he succeeded a kind-hearted and popular uncle placed the nobles in opposition, and he devised measures to stamp out sedition. Drink generates the warmth for hatching many a revolutionary conspiracy. Alauddin realized this and prohibited the use of liquor.

A very different object from mere political and personal security actuated Tippu Sultan in the introduction of Prohibition. Tippu was a zealous Muslim, very unlike his father, who was addicted to this and other indulgences. To him

religion was something to be professed and practised, and the verses of the Koran were the beacon-light of political administration. Neither wine nor the excesses of the seraglio had any charms for him; and early in his administration he introduced the policy of prohibition among his subjects.

But he did not adopt a policy of total prohibition by 'one stroke of the pen, nor did he care for local option. His was the policy of controlled liquor, a policy that has stood the test of time and has found favour in most countries of the world. He regulated the number and conduct of liquor shops; he so stiffened up the excise tax as to curtail the supply of spirituous liquors.

In a dispatch to one of his Amildars (District Revenue Officers) enclosing the revenue regulations, he says:

There are vintners' shops in your district; whenever you find four of these shops, suppress two of them, and double the tax upon the remaining two.

Thus by slow degrees, the production and sale of liquor was almost completely extinguished by the end of his reign. But Tippu had in his pay a large corps of soldiers under the command of M. Lally. It is interesting to read that he permitted M. Lally, however, to open one shop in his camp for the exclusive consumption of the European soldiers. This special permission, observes the writer, reminds one of the recent words of Gandhiji that his concept of *ahimsa* does not allow him to extend prohibition to foreigners!

It is a remarkable coincidence, says the writer, that 150 years subsequent to this experiment,

in the very same part of the country which was finally and effectually rendered dry by a Muslim ruler, the hand of a Hindu Premier has come to effect the self-same reform. Salem and Baramahal formed part of Tippu's dominion, and the regulations of the Sultan were to be observed by the present and future Amils and Sheristadars of the Second District of Omalur (a town in Salem) dependent on the *cutchery* of Awulpatam. A more auspicious place could not have been chosen.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISLAM

Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin, writing in the *Islamic Review* for April on the status of women, says that one of the essential teachings of the Prophet was respect for womanhood.

In the Quran, there is one full chapter entitled the "An Nisa", especially devoted to women and women's rights. He stamped out female infanticide and elevated womanhood to such an extent that he proclaimed that "paradise lies at the feet of mothers". He also realised the necessity for women to be educated to the same extent as the men and enjoined that to acquire knowledge was the equal duty of both men and women. Such was the encouragement and respect accorded to this much-neglected half-section of human society that, in the early centuries of Islam, women rose to an exalted position in the different branches of learning and in various spheres of life.

It was as a result of the teachings of the Holy Prophet and of the reforms that he instituted with regard to the position of women that we find in the hey-day of Muslim civilization women playing a conspicuous part in history and in the diffusion of culture. To mention a few instances:

Zubaida, the wife of Harun-ur-Rashid, who was in addition to her several accomplishments a noteworthy poetess, founded several colleges, built homes for the poor, and the famous aqueduct of Mecca which bears her name. In the fifth century A.D., Shaikh Shubda lectured publicly on literature, rhetoric and poetry to large audiences at the Cathedral Mosque of Baghdad. She occupies in the annals of Islam a place of equality with the most distinguished Ulema. Zainab-Ummul Muwayyid was a famous jurist, having licence to teach law.

As regards the *purdah* system, the writer says that the seclusion of women is not an Islamic institution.

Ages before the light of Islam dawned on the world, that custom was in vogue among most of the nations of antiquity. In Greece, women of respectability lived a life of complete seclusion and their apartments were separate from those of men. From there it found its way among the Byzantines and thence descended to Russia until it was abolished by Peter the Great. In Corea, it prevailed in all its strictness. It was observed in China, in the Spanish colonies of South America, in Iran and in other Oriental countries. In fact, the *purdah* system, as it exists at present, came into vogue in the Muslim countries in the reign of the Umayyad Emperor, Walid II, under the influence of Persian usages and customs.

During the lifetime of the Prophet, women were accustomed to go about freely and always used to attend prayers in mosques; for the Prophet had explicitly enjoined: "Do not prevent women from coming to the mosque." There not only did they pray but also took part in religious deliberations. On one occasion, when the Caliph Omar was delivering his sermon, some unknown woman from among the assembly declared that the Caliph's remark was subject to correction. On finding that the woman was right, the mighty Caliph observed: "The women of Medina understand the Quran better than Omar," and made the necessary alteration. Moreover, during the early days of Islam, women accompanied the men to the battle-fields, nursed the sick and wounded, performed the Hajj pilgrimage and selected their chiefs or Caliphs. Such things would not have been possible had they remained in seclusion.

The writer concludes that Muslim countries like Turkey, Iran, Syria and Egypt are now in the grip of a spirit of Renaissance and are bestirring themselves and effecting radical improvements.

The revival is manifesting itself to a remarkable degree in the ranks of womanhood, and in no country is this spirit more dominant than in New Turkey where a persistent forward movement characterises the actions of its women who, to-day, occupy positions even as High Court Judges and diplomatic representatives—offices not yet enjoyed by the women of Great Britain.

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THE CURRENCY IN INDIA

Discussing the introduction of currency since the East India Company's days, "Emeritus" says in the *Indian State Railways Magazine* for March:

When the East India Company of London found that the only acceptable European coin was the Spanish dollar, it petitioned Queen Elizabeth to rescind her ban off this dollar and permit them to buy and export a yearly quota. This she refused, but in lieu had a special set of coins struck for the Company based on the values and appearance of the Spanish currency. On the obverse of all were the arms of English Crown, and on the reverse the portcullis from the arms of the City of Westminster, chosen for their resemblance to the reverse of the dollar. . . .

Consequently the coinage ceased and it was not until after the cession and occupation of Bombay by the Company, that coins having English devices and English and Latin legends were again seen in India. In 1672, the President at Bombay applied for sanction to establish an English currency of gold, silver, copper, and tin. These were: Carolinas equal to the local gold Mohur or ashrafi, Anglianas equal to the Surat rupee, Coperoons equal to the Surat pice, and Tinnies (of tin) equal to the Portuguese Buzerook or pio.

After the recapture of Calcutta, the right to establish a mint for the Company's own purposes was one of the conditions of the Treaty with Suraj-ud-Dawlah, dated 7th February, 1757.

Henceforth from 1790 at Bombay, Madras and the Bengal mints, regularly shaped coins fully inscribed and milled on the edges were minted. In 1795, the pice and pice were altered from the Anglo-Indian types of Charles II and James II, and issued with legends in the native languages and characters after the manner of existing native money. They had on the obverse "In the 37th year of Shah Alam" and on the reverse in Bengali, Nagri, and Persian, "one pice, (or pice) sicca". Sicca means standard weight.

The Madras Mint from about 1790 issued *dubs* or cash pieces valued at twenty, ten, five and one cash. The twenty cash piece has the Company's arms.

It had long been evident to the Company that a single currency for all India was very necessary and to that end the most up-to-date machinery was installed at the Calcutta mint in 1830, and for the next four years thoroughly tried out on copper coinage, i.e., half anna, pice and pice

all having the name of the reigning British sovereign with English legends, the only Persian left being coin values. In 1835, the silver coinage was issued. The smaller silver coins were similar in all but the value legend.

It may be noticed that the number of the sovereign is in single strokes. This was intentional as being better understood by the natives. In the same year was issued the gold Mohur. The obverse was like the rupee and the reverse designed by the famous sculptor Flaxman was intended to represent the British lion under a palm tree. This coin has long since ceased to be coined, but the fact of its once existence remains in the medical and legal charges of sixteen rupees or a gold mohur for a consultation. Since 1835, the Indian currency has undergone no radical changes save the introduction of the aluminium coins familiar to all and the dropping of the arms of the East India Company from the reverse of the copper pice after 1857.

GANDHIJI ON NON VIOLENCE

Answering critics of his recent statement on the Allahabad riots, Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of an article in the *Harijan*, repeats his view that "*Swaraj* cannot be obtained through non-violent means, unless our non-violence is such as to be able to deal effectively with violence."

He has no doubt about his present diagnosis and remedies. Here are some of them:—

(1) A solution for the Hindu-Muslim tension must be discovered.

(2) There must be a purging of the Congress registers so as to make them proof against bogus voters.

(3) Congressmen must not be afraid to find themselves in minority.

(4) Without delay every Provincial Committee should raise a proper corps of volunteers pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed.

Mahatma Gandhi concludes:—

"If we feel we shall not be able to displace the British Power without violent struggle, the Congress must say so to the nation and prepare accordingly."

MYSTICISM AND BHAKTI

The March number of the *Triceni* contains an article on the above subject by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar of Chittoor. Mysticism is the most successful form of religion, according to Dean Inge, while Prof. S. Radhakrishnan says that "it is not impossible for an average man to reach the mystic state when he can verify the truth of the absolutist vision". The moral prerequisites for spiritual experience or mystic life are: Ahimsa, Satyam, Astheyam, Brahmacharyam, etc. The culmination of all this is the highest *bhakti* utter absorption in Him. The writer deduces that the highest love to the Lord in turn breeds the highest ethical life. Thus, the ethical and spiritual aspects of man's life have direct relation to the mystic sense, *bhakti*. In trying to understand the mystic, says the writer, two main ideas which reveal the nature of the inner vision have to be borne in mind. They are:—

(1) that God gives Himself, and (2) that He is Love.

So mysticism and *bhakti* are intertwined. If the conception of God as Love is to be realised, one has to dwell on His immense Love; the capacity of God to love is as vast as the universe:

And if the soul can attain to that level of thought and of Love also in consequence of that thought, it will in time evolve itself into God-consciousness or God-bliss. Prahlada in his ecstatic condition felt that he had turned himself into *Para Brahman*, and that he was pervading all things; that he was All, and from him all things radiated.

The Divine Love is seen in the *Rasa* circle of Sri Krishna and the *Gopis*. The *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva relates the raptures of the soul in the presence of God. Vaishnava mysticism adopted these romantic songs of the love of the deified pair—Radha and Krishna—as the expression of the pain and rapture of the soul separated from God, yet ever conscious of, and yearning for, His infinite perfection and Love.

HIMALAYAS UNDER WATER

Prof. D. N. Wadia, writing in *Science and Culture*, gives this interesting account of the origin of the Himalayas:

At a period in the geological history of our earth, the geographical outlines of India were of the haziest description and it was not separated from Eurasia by the present formidable mountain ranges which so effectively barricade it from the West, North and East. One of the most closely established facts of geological science tells us of a sea, which girdled India along its north face through vast aeons of time—a true Mediterranean Sea which divided the northern continent of Eurasia known as Angaraland, from a southern continent of more or less uncertain borders, but which united within its compass the present disjointed peninsulas of Africa, Arabia, India and Australia known to geologists as Gondwana land.

Between the Deccan and the Siberian low lands as far as the Arctic Ocean, there was then no mountain barrier of any importance, save the stunted and broken chain of the Altai of Eastern Turkistan; and there then prevailed an Ocean way which provided in the beautiful words of the hymn "from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand" an uninterrupted intercourse and migration of marine animals unknown in the world of to-day.

The rise of the Himalayas from the floor of this Mediterranean Sea is an epic of the geological history of Asia. All the relevant facts of this event are well dated and documented in the rock-records of these mountains.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

We join the chorus of congratulations to the *Bombay Chronicle* on the completion of its 25th year. It has a record of which any institution may be proud. The Jubilee number with which the occasion is signalised contains messages of goodwill from Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders. There are, besides these messages, a number of eminently readable articles which indicate the progress of the country during the years that have intervened. The number is profusely illustrated.

Our best wishes to Mr. Brelvi and his colleagues, who have made the *Chronicle* what it is—a vigorous exponent of nationalist opinion in the country.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The last number of the *Asiatic Review* gives the substance of a paper read before the Royal Empire Society by Sir Frank Noyce. Sir Frank holds that England stands to gain more by the increased standard of living in India than by all the trade agreements and tariff preferences.

Gone are the days, if indeed they ever existed, when it was possible for this country, or any other, to dictate to India what form her industrialization should take. That being so, it follows, I think, that the second step to be taken by this country to improve the purchasing power of India so that that country may take more of her highly specialised manufactured goods is to purchase certain classes of Indian manufactured goods of a less specialised character and to maintain the large free market in this country for those goods. I cannot but think that, unless one takes a very short view, this is a step which it is in the widest interests of British manufacturers and consumers generally to take. There are certain manufactures for which India has special advantages, certain classes of cotton goods, jute goods, carpets, leather, both finished and unfinished, to mention only a few of the more important. Unpleasant as it may be, it would be very unwise to fail to recognize that the centre of gravity of the world's textile industry is moving steadily East, and though this fact may call for more replanning in the British textile industries, it offers some countervailing advantages to manufacturers of machinery, chemical manufacturers and a large number of other highly specialised industries.

Sir Frank is gratified to find that the new Provincial Governments in India are intent on rural development, which virtually means increasing the purchasing power of the peasants.

"It is heartening to those interested in Indian village welfare—and who that knows India is not?—that the new Provincial Governments, whatever their composition, have without exception placed the improvement of Indian village life in the forefront of their programmes. The world offers no fairer field for the exercise of wisely directed enthusiasm, and it may be doubted whether anything would have a more far-reaching effect in the prosperity of the Empire as a whole than the general raising of the standard of life in the Indian country-side."

THE ART OF G. N. TAGORE.

In the course of an article in the March number of the *Modern Review*, Mr. Nirod Chaudhuri points out how Gaganendra Nath Tagore's death removes a great figure in contemporary art and whose achievement will rank high among Bengal's many notable contributions to modern Indian culture. The late G. N. Tagore was a great painter. While he lived and worked, he was affiliated on the one hand with the school founded by his brother, Abanindra Nath Tagore, and on the other, with the Cubist School of Europe.

These two schools, observes the writer, approach the art of painting with moods and methods so irreconcilably opposed to one another that it is difficult to imagine a painter attempting to combine them except as a *jeu d'esprit*. Gaganendra Nath Tagore was too serious an artist to adopt mere displays of cleverness as his life-work.

"In them as in all his other drawings, Gaganendra Nath shows himself to be an instinctive master of the psychological implications of visual form. It is by virtue of this faculty that he could lay bare the spiritual physiognomy of a man or place with the utmost economy of brush-strokes.

This in its turn is connected with another quality of his genius as painter. He was a true painter, not only in the originality and intenseness of his vision and the ease with which he could transform any conventional form into a virile and significant composition but also in his rigid adherence to the possibilities and restrictions of his chosen medium of expression. In his works there is no irrelevant call for help to poetry, legend, or sentiment. Though he was no purist of the formal school, which he could not be by reason of his preference for psychological values, in him the profundity of the psychological content owed nothing to extraneous non-pictorial elements. His drawings were invoked as inspired visions and appeal through the eye alone. This is a hard test for any picture. All of Gaganendra Nath's work come through it triumphantly."

EMANCIPATION OF INDIAN LABOUR

Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas observes in the *Journal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber*, Bombay, that of recent years Labour has naturally assumed its rightful importance as one of the major problems of the country ripe for solution. As a result of the working of the Congress Ministries in the seven provinces, the Labour problem has been brought to the forefront. Mr. Dwarkadas quotes the Bombay Government's policy on the welfare of industrial labour.

Government are aware that they are in a special sense responsible for the welfare of the industrial worker. The process of industrialisation, which has gone farthest in this Presidency, takes away the independence of the worker, places him in a different environment and creates social and political problems of a peculiar and complicated character. Keeping these circumstances in view, the Indian National Congress has envisaged in its Election Manifesto a policy and a programme in respect of industrial workers which constitutes an understanding to "secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity as far as the economic conditions in the country permit with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form Unions and to strike for the protection of their interests".

The earliest resolution of the Congress on the fundamental rights generally states in addition that "the State shall safeguard the interests of the industrial workers" and makes special reference to women and children. "How can we expect the best of efficiency from an illiterate worker?

The Indian worker has to improve his earnings, which will enable him to improve his standard of living; he has to educate not only his children, so that they may turn out to be more happy and contented workmen than he has had opportunities to be, but also it is not too late for him to educate himself. The Indian workman has to get rid of a good many beliefs and superstitions, which are a drag on his energy and purse. The Indian workman has to improve his social habits and give up the habit of drink to which he is unfortunately accustomed. The Indian workman has to find ways and means for indulgence in healthy activities and recreations during the hours that he is not working. What these recreations

should be is a matter for the more educated classes and the Government, not only to consider and decide but also to provide for.

If the hours of work are reduced as they have been, if the workmen are to be kept away from the liquor shops, how are the working classes to spend their leisure?

It is not enough merely to provide for open spaces and gardens, provision for healthy activities must also be made, e.g., *akhdas* for physical exercises and wrestling. Radio sets must be installed in these places, not only for amusement and entertainment but also for educative purposes. Provision should further be made for interesting lectures and talks, not only through Radio but also by experienced speakers, who are experts on various subjects.

The city must be dotted with free reading rooms and libraries. There are not enough facilities in the city for the education of the children of the working classes and much human material is allowed to waste and not for want of such facilities. All this is the work of the State and the Municipality.

In conclusion, the writer points out that employers can also make provision for the supply of healthy food through canteens and eating houses.

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DATE OF THE MAHABHARATA WAR

"Five thousand years ago—the Mahabharata War" is the heading of an interesting article by Mr. D. S. Trivedi of Benares in the latest number of the *Journal of Indian History*. According to the Indian tradition, the Bharata War was fought before the Kaliyuga, of which 5038 years have already passed. This is not fantastic as many nowadays are likely to think. Scholars do not treat it as mere fiction, but they have actually made researches with internal and external evidences, and from inscriptions and other things that help to establish the date of the Great War.

Mr. Wheeler placed the Bharata War on astronomic grounds in 6000 B.C.; but Mr. Bentley dragged it down to 575 B.C. on the same grounds, whereas Pt. G. D. Shastri Chulait places it in 1800-10 B.C. Dr. Sitanath Pradhan on the basis of Magadhan chronology fixes it in 1250 B.C. Dr. Pargiter places it in 1810 B.C. whereas the late lamentable M. M. Satishchandra Vidyabhusana, the Principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, placed it in 1922 B.C. The late Balakrishna Dixit, the astronomer, and the distinguished orientalist, Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, place the war on astronomic grounds in c. 3000 B.C. The western Antiquarians do not even heed the astronomic proofs, not to say of criticising them. Dr. Radhakumuda Mukerji, the late Dr. Kashiprasad Jaiswal and Mr. Jayachandra Vidyalkara, etc., all place the war in c. 1450 B.C. They consider it a sin to go beyond this date.

Modern historians, concludes the writer, say that the inscriptions and literary evidences prove nothing beyond the fact that according to the traditions prevalent in these days, the Great Bharata War was supposed to have been fought 5000 years ago from to-day.

But due to the advancement of critical study, these evidences cannot be regarded conclusive for ascertaining the date of such a remote event. But it will not be out of place to point out that the whole Indian history is based on Alexander-Sandracottus synchronism and this is the only starting point to calculate backward and forward.

CHURCH AND STATE IN GERMANY

Under the Weimar Constitution of 1919, there was a general loosening of the ties between the Church and the State, while the principle of Church taxes and State subsidies to the Church was retained. The totalitarian Reich, according to Mr. Wells, in the *Political Science Quarterly* (March), brooks no opposition in the name of religion and has passed a stringent series of laws and decrees from 1935. By these laws a special court was created for deciding disputed questions of law arising out of the Evangelical Church struggle, a new Reich and Prussian Ministry for Church affairs has been created with power to enact decrees with legal binding force. There is a great deal of governmental pressure in matters of Church finance, while in both the Catholic and Evangelical Churches there is a growing recognition of the need for voluntary funds to offset the declining tax-revenues and diminished State subsidies.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES. By Kerala Putra. [The Twentieth Century, March 1938.]

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF INDIA AND THE SOUTH AND A SOLUTION. By G. Thiagarajan. [The Modern Review, April 1938.]

OUR HOMES IN INDIA. By Gayatri Devi. [The Message of the East, January, February, March 1938.]

THE VICEROYS OF INDIA. By M. Chalapettu Rao. The Triveni, April 1938.]

THE WEST MUST LEARN ABOUT INDIA. By William Norman Brown. [The Prabuddha Bharata, April 1938.]

INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. By K. R. R. Sastri. [The Bombay Law Journal, April 1938.]

DIVINITY OF WOMAN IN HINDI THOUGHT. By Sri M R. Lakshmamma, M.A. [The Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, April 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

+

NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE GANDHI-JINNAH INTERVIEW

Asking the public not to attach any exaggerated importance to his forthcoming interview with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, on the communal question in India, Mahatma Gandhi refers to his letter to Mr. Jinnah and says:

In that letter I clearly stated that all before me was darkness and that I was praying for light. If anything, the darkness has deepened and the prayer became more intense. Add to this the fact that for the first time in my private and public life, I seem to have lost self-confidence, I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and *ahimsa*. There is no need for any speculation as to the cause of my despondency. It is purely internal.

The Mahatma makes clear that the interview is not as between two politicians. He has divested himself purposely of any representative capacity; nor does he approach it as a Hindu, but as a life-long worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.

I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that the God of Truth and Love may give us both the right spirit and the right word and use for the good of the dumb millions of India.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

The following resolution urging the formation of linguistic provinces was passed by the Madras Legislative Assembly:

This Assembly recommends to the Government that the view of this Chamber of the legislature of Madras be communicated under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to His Majesty-in-Council that steps may be taken as early as possible for the constitution of separate provinces so as to place under separate autonomous provincial administrations the areas wherein the language predominantly spoken is respectively Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam.

THE VICEROY AND GANDHIJI

Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy lasting for over an hour and a half at Delhi on April 15. The following *communique* was issued:

"Towards the end of March, the Viceroy wrote to Mr. Gandhi to say that it would give him pleasure to renew their acquaintance before His Excellency moved to Simla and to suggest that it might be convenient for Mr. Gandhi to pay him a visit if he could pass through Delhi on his way from Calcutta. His Excellency added that he had no special business to discuss with Mr. Gandhi, but would welcome the opportunity of seeing him again. Mr. Gandhi replied that he had pleasure in accepting His Excellency's invitation and the interview took place recently. The meeting which was of a very cordial character dealt with general topics and lasted for about an hour and half."

DETENUS & PRISONERS IN BENGAL

Mahatma Gandhi's mission to secure the release of politicals in Bengal has been successful to a great extent this time. This was indicated by Mr. Satin Sen, Secretary of the Detenu Release Committee, who had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi immediately after his meeting with Sir Nazimuddin.

Gandhiji, however, requests that until the Government decide on the question, all agitations for the release of the detenues and other prisoners should be suspended.

GANDHIJI'S EXHORTATION

Mahatma Gandhi delivered the following speech at Wardhaganj on April 21, opening the C. P. Vidya Mandir Training School in the Normal School grounds:

You, Vidya Mandir students, have taken a solemn pledge, difficult to fulfil, promising service for 25 years on 15 rupees per month. The receipt of over 5,000 applications indicates the serious unemployment amongst the educated who are unable to secure even *dalbat* (rice and pulse), some with noble motives and others seeking some work for bread. Yours is a self-sacrificing lot. If you prove true to the pledge, you will set a noble example before the world. If you are unsuccessful, myself and the Hon. Mr. Shukla will be condemned. So the weaklings had better withdraw now.

The scheme is essentially Indian in ideal, born in Shegaon. The real India is onshrined in the seven lakhs of her villages, smaller and worse than Shegaon, and away from civic town amenities. I want you to drive out illiteracy and provide food and win independence through Truth and Non-violence. So your religious duty is to work in that spirit. I have presented my scheme after mature consideration. If it fails, the teachers will be blamed. Impart education and give instruction in geometry, history, geography and arithmetic through handicrafts.

Gandhiji added:

Cast off Western ideas and identify yourselves with villagers and live their lives.

LORD LOTHIAN ON INDIA

Lord Lothian, addressing the Indian Students' Conference in London on April 12, said that the most universal feeling he had encountered during his recent visit to India was that the attempt to marry the democratic provinces with states, some of which were still representative of undiluted aristocracy, would inevitably produce strains and stresses which, unless they were removed, would tear the constitutional fabric to pieces.

Europe's trouble, he said, was its many sovereign states. History would certainly show that one of the greatest services the Government of India had rendered to India was constitutional organic unity. Without that, India would get what Europe had.

MR. ATTLEE ON FREEDOM

The Leader of the Labour Opposition in the House of Commons, Mr. C. R. Attlee, speaking at the London Association of Engineers' dinner on March 26, said:

"I differ intensely from the Prime Minister (Mr. Neville Chamberlain) on the present situation, but it is a thing to be proud of in this country that although there are these deep and grave differences, we can meet together in the House of Commons on a friendly basis.

I should hate it if this country ever became a totalitarian state. We cannot barter our freedom for peace. We cannot have the peace of slavery. We are resolved to stand absolutely and firmly against any aggression and any attempt to reduce us to the level of a totalitarian state.

We have a great heritage of freedom won by our ancestors, and we must retain it although we may differ as to the way that should be done."

THE VICEROY ON FEDERATION

Replying to the Municipal Address at Peshawar on April 19, H. E. Lord Linlithgow said in regard to Federation:

"On a broad view, we can claim that the first year of provincial autonomy has worked well and that the provincial legislatures have shown imagination and responsibility in a high degree.

I am glad that a long period of work preparatory to implementing Federation is now drawing rapidly to a close. No effort will be spared on my part or on the part of His Majesty's Government to expedite the realisation of that great ideal, the achievement of which is calculated both to promote unity in India and advance the welfare of her interests."

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Muslim League, which met at Calcutta in the third week of last month under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, adopted the following resolutions:—

1. Appreciating the efforts of the Hug Ministry in Bengal and the Saadulla Ministry in Assam, particularly in resisting the "machinations" of the Congress to break through their fronts;

2. Calling upon the Mussalmans of India to take special steps to combat the Congress anti-Muslim activities in the Frontier Province;

3. Viewing with alarm the communal riots in Bihar, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bombay and other Provinces resulting in the loss of life and property of Muslims, opining that Congress Governments in these provinces had failed in protecting Muslim minorities and declaring that if immediate steps were not taken to protect Muslims by Congress Governments, the consequences to the country as a whole will be disastrous.

4. The following is the full text of the resolution on the Shahidgunj issue:

While endorsing the resolution of the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed at Delhi on March 20, 1938, this special session of the All-India Muslim League, in view of the fact that the Punjab Government has given an assurance to the effect that they are adopting every means for arriving at an honourable settlement of the Shahidgunj problem, assures them of its co-operation and assistance in bringing about the settlement and appeals to Mussalmans to create and maintain a peaceful atmosphere in order to facilitate that settlement.

CENTRAL ASSEMBLY'S TERM

In the Legislative Assembly on April 7, the President read a message from the Governor-General announcing that he had decided to extend the life of the present Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1, 1938.

MADRAS PENSIONS

"I want commutation of pensions to stop, and I am glad that the Chief Whip of the Justice Party is with me though its leader is against it," declared the Premier, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, replying to a cut motion in the Madras Assembly on March 28, to reduce the allotment under pensions.

"I welcome the motion," the Premier added, "but I request the mover to withdraw it with the full assurance that I am entirely with him. It is not because of the criticism raised in the House on the system of accounting that I want commutation to go, but because our revenues cannot stand this strain."

The motion was withdrawn and the entire demand voted.

FEDERATION AND C. P. ASSEMBLY

The Central Provinces Assembly concluded, on March 28, the debate which lasted three days on the Premier's resolution relating to Federation. The amended resolution reads as follows:

This Assembly recommends to the Central Provinces and Berar Government that the opinion of this House be communicated to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that, in view of the declared attitude of the opposition of the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League and other political organizations to the scheme of Federation as laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, the British Government should refrain from enforcing it and should convene a conference at an early date of representatives of the provinces and leaders of Indian opinion for the purpose of framing such a constitution as would be acceptable to the people of India.

PROVINCIALISING THE SERVICES

The Central Provinces Legislative Assembly has passed without a division the Premier's (Dr. N. B. Khare's) resolution recommending to the Government to request the authorities concerned to take steps to provincialise at an early date the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, and the Indian Medical Service.

THE LATE PROF. RANGACHARYA

Glowing tributes were paid to the late Prof. M. Rangacharya when a portrait of his was unveiled in the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, by the Rt. Hon'ble Dr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on April 7. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar presided over the function, which was attended by a large and distinguished gathering.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, who presented the portrait to the Ranade Library, said that to the galaxy of portraits that adorned the Ranade Library Hall, the portrait of Professor Rangacharya was a fitting addition.

The Professor, whom he knew well was a distinguished person in more than one respect. His versatility and brilliant achievements were known to all. He was a profound scholar and had written many treatises. Though a Government servant, he was a man of great independence. He was the first Indian to be appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College. He was also the Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library and Registrar of Books. From the Presidency College, he went to Trivandrum; while he was in Trivandrum, he met Swami Vivekananda who stated that the Professor's knowledge of things was encyclopædic. Mr. Rangacharya was an eloquent speaker. In fact, it could be said of him that he was an ideal student, an ideal professor, an ideal friend, and an ideal citizen.

After unveiling the portrait, Mr. Sastri said that he had discharged what he considered a pious duty to a great man. He had the privilege of knowing the Professor intimately when he (the speaker) was the headmaster of the Hindu High School, and Mr. Rangacharya was the secretary.

Mr. Rangacharya was a person whom one would never forget after seeing once. He was one of those rare people in whom bodily and mental excellence united in a good proportion. Mr. Rangacharya was held in the highest esteem and respect by all those who came into contact with him. He was also a gifted speaker and his eloquence was of a high order. Words came to him easily and his vocabulary was particularly rich in high thought. Though one listened to him for two hours, one would not come across a light word or a thoughtless epithet. His utterances were dignified and sometimes one might feel they were intolerably heavy. . . .

Mr. Rangacharya had a high respect for ancient Hindu civilisation. To him Hindu civilisation was the noblest heritage. In those days, the social

reformers did not show much respect for their ancient institutions, and Mr. Rangacharya was shocked to the very marrow of his bones when he found young people showing no respect for Hindu civilisation.

But the Professor was not against social reform, and the speaker knew how deeply the Professor felt about the degeneration of their ancient institutions. He was a rare type of person, who went deeply into each subject. His scholarship was, indeed, of a high order. He was a big man cast in a big mould. He always dwelt among the books of their great *rishis* and would not indulge in light conversation.

"I may forget many things," Mr. Sastri concluded, "but I cannot forget the esteem and friendship of Mr. Rangacharya. I cannot forget the majesty of this man's character which held me enthralled whenever I met him. Those who had met him felt that they were in the presence of a man of great thoughts who had no time to indulge in life's levities. It was a great privilege to have known such a man. To-day, I shall share with you a secret. My master, Mr. Gokhale, who had met the Professor for a few hours, told me that when he used to think of a successor as head of the Servants of India Society, he thought of the Professor as one of those who could take charge of that institution. The Professor was, indeed, a rare type of a man of singularly high ideals and character."

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar accepted the portrait on behalf of the South Indian National Association and Ranade Library and thanked Mr. Natesan for the gift.

INDISCIPLINE AMONG STUDENTS

In his speech to the Senate of Patna University, the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha drew attention to the difficulty experienced by him in maintaining discipline among students. "I regret to have to state," he said, "that whatever the cause might be, there has been a marked deterioration in the standard of discipline amongst the students of several colleges affiliated to the University." Accordingly, a committee was appointed by the Syndicate to consider the question of the maintenance of discipline.

FIFTY YEARS AT THE BAR

In the presence of a large gathering of members of the legal profession, the Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir John Beaumont, unveiled, on April 13, a portrait of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in the High Court Bar Library, which commemorates the golden jubilee of Sir Chimanlal's career at the Bar.

Mr. V. F. Taraporewala, a former Advocate-General and an ex-Judge of the High Court, requesting the Chief Justice to unveil the portrait, referred to the distinguished career of Sir Chimanlal at the Bar, who was the first to make headway against eminent English barristers. By his forensic ability, legal acumen and devotion to duty, he had set an example to the Indian members of the Bar.

He also referred to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's public services and freedom from communal bias.

The Chief Justice, unveiling the portrait, paid a tribute to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as a lawyer and pointed out that he enjoyed a unique and unprecedented position in that, while he was still practising at the Bar, his son, Mr. Motilal Setalvad, was now Advocate-General of Bombay.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

The *Associated Press* understands that the steps to be taken by the Government of Bengal in regard to the problems of detenus, political prisoners and Andamans-repatriated prisoners will include the following:

1. Release of the remaining detenus now in home or village domicile numbering 675;
2. Removal of all restrictions now in force on those who were released in November last;
3. Release of all the 14 Regulation III prisoners now detained in Hijli; and
4. Release of all the women political prisoners numbering 6.

THE CHIRALA SHOOTING

The Government of Madras have accepted the finding of Mr. Justice Horwill that the Police were justified in opening fire on the crowds gathered outside the Chirala tobacco factory, on February 14, after a strike of workers followed by disorderly scenes. They reject the claim made on behalf of the Labour Union that the workers were running away when the Police fired, and that it cannot be believed that the Police, with sheer homicidal intent, fired at them from behind. The Government also state that the firing was not excessive, but was such as only to impress the mob.

Mr. Justice Horwill in his report criticises the action of Mr. Yagnanarayana, the leader of the Union, in that he took no step to acquaint himself with the seriousness of the position, or to prevent the riot by persuasive measures and Government agree with him.

The Government draw three lessons from this unfortunate incident to be applied in dealing with similar situations in future. Where reason and persuasion fail and it becomes necessary to resort to unpleasant and coercive measures, tear gas bombs should be used. They also advise caution and restraint by employers and employees in the exercise of their respective rights and suggest that where disputes occur, factory premises might be kept closed until a solution is found to the trouble.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS IN C. P.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, former officiating Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, has agreed to inquire and report to the Working Committee regarding the release of two non-political prisoners in C. P. about which the Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution deciding a judicial inquiry.

W. I. LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

Opening the new six-storied premises of the Bombay branch of the Western India Life Insurance Company at Sir P. M. Mehta Road, Bombay, on April 11, Mr. Ganshyamdas Birla said:

"In insurance as in so many other fields, success depends on service. Indian companies must be guided by the ethical code, which enjoins rendering of the very best service possible to the public, and which tolerates no deviation from the path of rectitude."

The speaker expressed the hope that the new legislation would be given a fair trial and worked in a real spirit of co-operation to extract the utmost good out of it. Proceeding, he said:

Let them (the Government) not forget that interference may easily overstep the proper limit and let them take care to see that it is really kept at a minimum. The Western India Life Insurance Company claims for its management some of the features which it is the aim of the legislation to secure and is rightly proud of the tradition it has maintained for the last 25 years. Both its ideals and achievements are worthy of all praise. If Maharashtra has added pages to India's political history, it has some pages to add to India's economic history too.

Sir Homi Mody, commenting on the figures supplied by Mr. Apte, said the Company was run on very sound lines. Both he and Mr. Gordhandas Morarji, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, complimented the Board of Directors of their excellent management.

INSURANCE REPRESENTATIVES' ASSN.

An association of insurance representatives in the Union of South Africa has been formed in Johannesburg under the name "The Assurance Representatives Association of South Africa" and is constituted on the lines of the Canadian Life Underwriters' Association.

THE GUARDIAN OF INDIA

"According to the latest Indian Insurance Year Book, 215 Indian Companies carry on Life Assurance Business, and of these the Guardian of India occupies in point of new business a rank within the first 20 companies. Among the companies having head office in South India, the new business done by the Guardian of India is the second largest," thus observe the Directors of the Guardian of India Life Insurance Company in their report on the operations of the Company for the third year of its working ended December 31, 1937.

The new business of the Company during the year represents an increase of Rs. 4,13,775 over that of the previous year, and the total premium income excluding reassurances represents an increase of 55 per cent. over that of the previous year. The Life Assurance fund of the Company has increased from Rs. 75,259 to Rs. 2,00,421. The claim experience of the Company is below normal expectation. The minimum deposit of Rs. 2 lakhs required under the law has already been made.

INSURANCE BILL CRITICISED

Pundit K. Santanam, presiding over the tenth annual general meeting of the Indian Life Assurance Offices' Association at Lahore, on March 15, criticised the Indian Insurance Bill and said it bore the stamp of amateurish handling of a technical subject. It did not do for the cause of Indian insurance even one-half of what it professed to do and what members of the Legislature with the greatest goodwill in the world intended to do.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

India's favourable trade balance for the year ended March 31, 1938, is expected to be Rs. 10 crores against Rs. 77½ crores at the end of the previous year. The year just ended was marked by a phenomenal increase in imports coupled with a fall in exports. Madras, says a local contemporary, has suffered as a result of a sharp fall in the exports of ground-nuts, the ground-nut exports being Rs. 75 lakhs less than in 1936-37. It is difficult to indicate precisely the cause of the phenomenal increase in imports, but the extraordinary expansion in the imports of Japanese miscellaneous goods into India suggest that that country has been unloading vast quantities of cheap goods on this country, thus upsetting the normal balance of trade and adversely affecting India's minor industries. Possibly the Government of India will deem it desirable to prepare and publish an exhaustive review of the extraordinary position revealed by the year's trade returns.

WHAT IS A "SWADESHI COMPANY"?

The following is Mahatma Gandhi's definition of a Swadeshi Company as given in *Harijan*:

"As regards the definition of a Swadeshi company I would say that only those concerns can be regarded as Swadeshi whose control, direction and management, either by a managing director or by managing agents are in Indian hands. I should have no objection to the use of foreign capital or to the employment of foreign talent when such are not available in India or when we need them, but only on condition that such capital and such talents are exclusively under

the control, direction and management of the Indians and are used in the interests of India. But the use of foreign capital or talent is one thing and the dumping of foreign industrial concerns is totally another thing. The concerns you have named cannot in the remotest sense of the term be called Swadeshi rather than countenance these ventures. I would prefer development of the industries in question to be delayed by a few years in order to permit national capital and enterprise to grow up and build such industries in future under the actual control, direction and management of Indians themselves."

THE TRADE OF MADRAS

The statement showing the principal articles of imports and exports of the Madras Presidency from and to foreign countries during January 1938 issued by the Collector of Customs, Madras, shows that the total value of imports amounted to Rs. 2,22,01,632 as compared with Rs. 1,43,11,157 in the corresponding month of the previous year; while the total value of exports amounted to Rs. 2,85,80,828 as compared with Rs. 3,14,10,229 in January, 1937.

Larger imports from Burma accounted for a rise of Rs. 2760 lakhs in rice not in the husk; while imports of machinery and millwork rose in value by Rs. 746 lakhs mainly due to larger imports from the United Kingdom. Larger imports from the United Kingdom also accounted for a rise of Rs. 511 lakhs in the value of iron and steel.

The only item which showed a fall in the import value was fuel oils, which were down by Rs. 392 lakhs owing to smaller arrivals from the Straits Settlements.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLITICS

"Women should take full advantage of their right to vote at elections in order to send representatives to the legislatures to safeguard their interests; they should not ask for separate electorates as political questions are common to all. They can, of course, fight for their special problems, viz., rights of inheritance, marriage and divorce," declared Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale, Deputy Speaker of the C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly, presiding over the Second Session of the Thana District Women's Conference held at Thana on April 4.

She advocated the abolition of religious organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the like, and said that the solution of the communal, economic, and social problems depended totally on the solution of the political problem.

Referring to the ludicrously low percentage of education in the country, she said that at present one girl in every 100 received primary education and one in every 1,000 secondary education. At this rate 1,000 years would be required to make the whole country literate. She advocated the Wardha scheme of education with some modification and advised women to take more interest in educating the masses.

Concluding, she said that while doing public work, women, like missionaries, should be silent workers and avoid publicity as much as possible. Women could not participate in the battles fought in the past as they were armed battles. But in Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent fighting, many women participated and paid the price. Women should not be indifferent to politics in these days.

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN COLLEGE

The Governing Body of the Women's Christian College, Madras, have appointed as Principal, in succession to Miss McDougall, Miss Eleanor H. Rivett, M.A., of the London Missionary Society. Miss Rivett took her M. A. degree in the University of Sidney, and is the sister of Sir David Rivett of the University of Melbourne. She has been for many years the Principal of the United Missionary Girls' High School in Calcutta, and is well known throughout Bengal as the Leader of the Bengal Women's Education League. She is expected to arrive in Madras from Australia at the end of June.

MISS M. KORAH

Miss M. Korah, lady health visitor attached to the Kumbakonam branch of the Indian Red Cross Society, who has been awarded the Florence Nightingale International Foundation Scholarship, is proceeding shortly to England.

This scholarship is awarded once a year by an international board, and students from all parts of the world are selected for training in Public Health and Nursing at the Bedford College, London. This year India has been awarded two scholarships, and one of them to Miss Korah.

MRS. SUBBAROYAN, M.L.A.

Following the scrutiny of nomination papers on April 6, Mr. A. R. C. Westlake, Collector of Madura, declared Srimathi Radhabai Subbaroyan elected as a member of the Central Legislature for the Madura-Ramnad-Tinnevely non-Mohammadan constituency, there being no other nomination. Mrs. Subbaroyan took her seat in the Assembly on Monday the 11th April.

LITERARY

JOURNALISTS IN CONFERENCE

The snares that beset the path of Indian journalists and the various factors that militate against their functioning as faithful servants of the public were outlined in great detail by Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, editor of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, Calcutta, and Mr. N. S. Ramanarasu, in their presidential addresses at the Andhra and Tamil Nadu Journalists' Conferences held on Thursday the 21st April at Guntur and Salem, respectively.

Speaking of the responsibilities of the Press, Mr. Ghosh pointed out that it had the sacred mission of liquidating illiteracy in the country and giving a correct lead to the people without hope of favour or fear of frown.

Mr. S. Ramanathan, Minister for Public Information, Madras, in declaring open the Conference at Guntur, observed:

"It is unfortunate that the finances of our Province do not warrant the immediate institution of an Information Bureau on the lines of the bureaux functioning in the various other provinces and in the centre. The imminent need for extending prohibition and adding to the all too few amenities of the people in our villages have a superior claim on our resources.

But I do hope that the institution of a Ministry of Public Information in our Province would lead to greater co-operation between the Government and the Press in the service of the people."

Mr. Ramanarasu, addressing the Salem Conference, deplored the absence of a closely knit organisation among the Indian journalists to safeguard their interests and stressed particularly the claim of mofussil correspondents to be treated as regular members of the newspaper office.

SIR HENRY NEWBOLT

The death has occurred of the poet, Sir Henry Newbolt. Sir Henry, aged 76, was the official War historian of the British Navy. After a brief career at the Bar, he took to literature. Among his works the best known are: "Song of the Sea", "Admirals All", "A New Study of English Poetry". His poems have found instant popularity and are included in many anthologies.

PERSONAL

MR. H. V. KAMATH

Mr. H. V. Kamath, I.C.S., has been permitted by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to resign the Indian Civil Service with effect from the 19th April 1938.

Mr. Kamath tendered his resignation on the Independence Day (26th January) and had been awaiting its acceptance.

Mr. Kamath is expected to see Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi to chalk out his future programme. He proposes to devote his life to the service of the country.

LORD BRABOURNE

Lord Brabourne has been appointed to act as Viceroy of India during the absence of Lord Linlithgow on four months' leave. Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, will act for Lord Brabourne in Bengal, and Mr. G. P. Hogg, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, will become Acting Governor of Assam.



SIR HENRY CRAIK

Home Member to the Government of India and now Governor of the Punjab.

SIR HYDE GOWAN

Death has occurred of Sir Hyde Gowan. It may be recalled that Sir Hyde Gowan, former Governor of the Central Provinces, retired from that office barely a month ago for reasons of health. He had been ailing from leg trouble for some time before and was compelled to leave for England immediately under medical advice. Sir Hyde, it will be remembered, had served the Province for nearly 35 years with conspicuous zeal and distinction.

INDIAN ART

Appeal for the establishment of a gallery of Indian Art housed in a suitable building in the Imperial capital of India was made by the Hon. Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy who opened, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, the Seventh Annual Art Exhibition organised by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society at the Ukil School of Art, New Delhi. The Exhibition consisted of about 210 exhibits in different styles and techniques by some 40 artists from different parts of India, including some paintings from the brush of famous artists like Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mukul Dey, Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta, Sarada Ukil, Miss Amrita-Sher-Ali, Atul Bose and Ranada Ukil.

INDIAN FOLK DANCE

"We, too, of the Indian States have something to contribute to the cultural life of our country and some day, perhaps, the rest of India may recognise and appreciate it," said Kumar Bijoy Pratap Deo, the brother of the Ruling Chief of Seraikella, who accompanied a troupe of Chhan Dancers of Seraikella, who have just left for Europe. According to their present programme, they open their first show at Naples. Their tour of Europe and America is expected to extend over six months. They will interpret the folk dances of this country and make Indian dancing better known to the world.

DIPLOMA COURSE IN FINE ARTS

The Committee of Fine Arts, University of Travancore, has recommended that the Department of Fine Arts should proceed with the establishment of a diploma course, leaving the question of a degree course to be considered in the future, with the scheme put forward by Dr. J. H. Cousins, Organiser of Studios in Fine Arts in the University as the basis.

The Committee has also recommended that a sub-committee be appointed to advise on the details.

THE CRICKET BOARD

A well-attended meeting of the Board of Control for Cricket in India was held at Delhi on April 17, with Mr. R. E. Grant-Govan, Senior Vice-President, in the chair. After adopting a resolution regretting the death of H. H. the late Maharaja of Patiala and accepting with regret the resignation of H. H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar from the presidency, the meeting dealt with the resignation of Mr. de Mello. A resolution expressing appreciation of Mr. de Mello's services to the Board was passed, and it was decided to present Mr. de Mello with a suitable memento as a token of the Board's appreciation of his services.

Thereafter the meeting proceeded with the election of the new office-bearers for the ensuing year and the following were elected:

President: Dr. P. Subbarayan.

Vice-Presidents: Mr. E. Grant-Govan, Dr. H. D. Kanga and Nawab Sir Liaquat Hyat Khan.

Honorary Secretary: Mr. K. S. Ranga Rao.

Honorary Treasurer: Mr. Z. A. Irani.

BOAT RACE: OXFORD vs. CAMBRIDGE

After one of the most thrilling races in the history of the Boat Race series, Oxford repeated their last year's success over Cambridge, winning by two lengths in 20 mins. 30 secs.

It was a good time considering the adverse conditions under which the race was rowed.

Cherry, President of the Oxford Boat Club, interviewed, said: "I hope our success this year will show that our win last year was not a flash in the pan. This year's race will rank as one of the finest since the historic series began over a hundred years ago."

COCHET'S RECORD

Henri Cochet, the last of the "Three Musketeers" who carried the French banner to the very top of the tennis ladder, was the most consistent winner of the three, says *Field-Madras*. Lacoste was, perhaps, more methodical in his play and Borotra more brilliant, but Cochet was the wheel-horse who was always to be relied on for the winning points year after year.

SIR SULAIMAN SHAH ON GRAVITATION

Hon. Sir Shah Mahomed Sulaiman, Kt., Judge of the Federal Court, addressed the Tenth Indian Mathematical Conference, held in Lucknow on March 15, on the "Theory of Gravitation".

He said:

Newton's Mechanics was designed for a superman, who is himself at rest and can observe distant bodies instantaneously and measure absolute space and time exactly. A poor human observer is not aware of his own motion through space and can only employ a messenger like light which travels with a finite velocity only. Nevertheless, Newton's Law of Gravitation had signal triumphs when, after explaining the motion of the moon round the earth, and of the earth and other planets round the sun, it led to the discovery of unknown planets. The position of the planet Neptune in the Heavens was calculated by two astronomers independently from its effect on Uranus and was observed at the predicted spot. As recently as 1930, Pluto was discovered as a result of calculations made by Lowell, though it is really doubtful whether on account of its small mass it could really have been predicted on these calculations.

But in some other respects, Newton's law was undoubtedly broken down and has been dethroned by Einstein's theory. But relativity in turn has certainly failed at least in one respect. According to it, there is in the universe so to speak some cosmic form of repulsion which increases with distance, that is to say, bodies repel each other more if they were farther apart—an unnatural result. The consequence is that everything must be scattering away and heading towards swift disintegration. The whole universe is expanding or rather exploding away at a terrific pace. It was Dr. Hubble who definitely observed this effect and laid down what is called the linear proportionality law. But Dr. Hubble himself in his Rhodes Lecture at Oxford delivered in 1936 showed that an examination of the statistical observation of the nebula demonstrates that there is no such expansion of the universe at all. The apparent expansion of the nebula can be explained far more satisfactorily by an inherent loss of energy as light travels through the vast space during millions of years before reaching the earth. In a few months we may know whether relativity is at all confirmed as regards the deflection of light from stars.

His symposium lecture was illustrated by over a dozen slides, showing how his theory lay mid-way between Newton's Law and Einstein's Relativity, and how his equation was derived without Relativity postulates.

DR. MEGHA NATH SAHA, F.R.S.

Dr. Megha Nath Saha has accepted the post of Palit Professor of Physics in the University of Calcutta.

FILM INDUSTRY IN SOUTH INDIA

An appeal to the Government to support the film industry in South India and to appoint a Critic Board in addition to the present Censor Board, with talented and capable men and women and to eschew revolting and bad elements from the pictures that were produced, was made by a number of speakers at a public meeting held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, last month. Mrs. Kothamayaki Ammal, member of the Censor Board, presided.

Mr. F. G. Natesa Ayyar speaking first deplored that even though many Tamil pictures had been produced, so far he had yet to see one good picture devoid of revolting elements. At a time when the cinema had been considered as a potential factor to arouse the mass consciousness of the people and to improve the condition of society as a whole, it was pathetic that in India, especially in Tamil Nad, the State had not yet come forward to support the industry and produce pictures with good and true historical backgrounds and of highly educative value. The Government should not entirely depend on the radio to do rural reconstruction work. They should realise that cinema would be much more effective to do that work than radio, and must soon come forward to help that industry in all possible ways.

INDIAN FILMS

The popularity of Indian films in India may make it difficult for British and American producers to extend their market there. This opinion was expressed by Mr. W. A. Bach in an interview with *Reuter*, after carrying out a survey of India and the Near East. He is Managing Director of a big firm which markets cinema equipment. Mr. Bach continued: "I was told, however, that British films in India are expected to have their biggest showing this year. At the moment, only one per cent. of India's 300,000,000 inhabitants are cinema patrons. As the habit grows, it needs only a two per cent. attendance to make the country a veritable treasure cave for the film industry."

THE MOTOR VEHICLES BILL

The Motor Vehicles Bill was introduced in the Central Assembly by the Communications Member on March 18.

The Bill contains 137 clauses and 11 schedules and is divided into 10 chapters relating to the licensing of drivers of motor vehicles, registration of motor vehicles, control of transport vehicles, construction, equipment and maintenance of motor vehicles, control of traffic insurance of motor vehicles against third party, risks, offences, penalties and procedure.

The Bill seeks to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the motor vehicles and repeals the 1914 Act. Its main object is the co-ordination of the railways and road transport.

A Bill was introduced in August 1936, to amend the 1914 Act. It was then recognised that a more comprehensive measure would have to follow. The Legislature decided that the Bill should be circulated and this was done, but before any further action could be taken on it, the reports of the Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee and of the Wedgwood Committee were received. The Government decided that in the circumstances it was preferable to drop this partial measure and to present a more comprehensive Bill. The present Bill incorporates the main recommendations of both these Committees and is the outcome of consultations with the Provincial Governments and the third Transport Advisory Council which deliberated on it in December last. The principle of compulsory insurance has been approved by almost all the Provincial Governments, though there are differences of opinions as to whether its adoption should be entirely optional or whether in the interests of uniformity, its adoption within a certain period of time should be obligatory.

MR. BEPIN BEHARI DAS

Mr. Bepin Behari Das (55), who earned distinction as the only Indian manufacturer of a motor car in this country, died in Calcutta. Mr. Das who built a motor car in Gwalior State was entrusted with the construction of a car for the Corporation of Calcutta. After great delay the car was ready but minor troubles dogged its trial and subsequently it was burnt to ashes in a fire in an exhibition.

SKY-WRITING

By the enterprise of the Lever Brothers, the Proprietors of the Pears Soap Manufactories, Madras was privileged last month to witness sky-writing displays given by Captain Barber. It is understood that the actual writing is formed by a series of evolutions carried out exactly according to a plan worked out mathematically on the ground and practised over a considerable period. The sky-writing pilot can at no time during the writing see his words as such. A periscopic sundial in the cockpit of the aeroplane enables the pilot to fly accurately to the necessary angles required for the formation of the letters.

The aeroplane, flying at 190 m.p.h., expels smoke formed by the action of heat on chemicals and is flown in the shape of the letters required.

AIR MAIL FLIGHT RECORD

Imperial Airways' flying boat "Coogee", which flew from Dum Dum aerodrome to Singapore, shares a great achievement with another Imperial Airways' flying boat "Centaurus", namely, of covering the distance between Southampton and Karachi in two days, seven hours and five minutes. "Centaurus" left Southampton on Sunday the 10th morning and landed at Karachi on Tuesday evening.

It is stated that by flying from Tiberius to Karachi, a distance of 2,169 miles in one day, she has established a new long distance record. "Coogee" took 9 hours, 29 minutes to reach Calcutta from Karachi.

GAS MASKS FOR CITIZENS

The population of the whole of Great Britain will be supplied with gas masks in an emergency within eight hours under the comprehensive Home Office scheme, details of which are being sent to local authorities all over the country.

Every house is to be visited by the air-raid warden and gas masks are to be tried by every one to discover the number of the sizes required. A special type of respirator for infants has been designed, and for babies in arms there will be a protective device to keep out all poison gas.

BOMBAY MINOR INDUSTRIES

The Government of Bombay have appointed a Committee consisting of the following members to carry out an economic and industrial survey of the Bombay Province:—

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas .. Chairman.
The Director of Industries .. *ex-officio*.
C. N. Vakil, Esquire, M.A., M.Sc., F.S.S.,
Dr. P. U. Patil, Sugar Technologist (U. S. A.)
Mahomedally Habib, Esquire, and
Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.),
who will act as Secretary.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows:

1. To examine the present position of small industries in the Province and to report on their place in the provincial economy in relation to agriculture and large industries.

2. To survey the work done by the Government of Bombay in the realm of economic development within the Province during the last 17 years, with special reference to agriculture, large industries and small industries.

3. To report on the measures which Government can undertake to promote economic development within the Province and to suggest methods for financing the same.

4. And, finally, to make such other recommendations as pertain to State policy with regard to economic development within the Province.

The Committee have been requested to submit their report as early as possible.

MR. JAYAKAR ON INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court, opened recently the Sixth All-India Industrial Exhibition.

Mr. Jayakar said: "We have in India the advantages of vast material being available, agricultural and mineral. With a people comparatively sober and thrifty and dimly conscious even now of their inherited talent in skilful undertakings, there are also uncommon facilities of cheap labour." With greater support and co-operation from the Government of India, one saw no reason why in the course of time complete self-sufficiency should not be reached in many departments, which were at present dependent upon foreign products. Increasingly modern methods of organisation were coming into vogue and there was a keen and wide-spread desire that India should be rapidly transformed from a purely agricultural into a semi-industrial country.

ALIENATED LANDS IN BOMBAY

"The question of alienated lands is at present under the consideration of the Government. Those in possession of such lands will have to give better justification for the continued possession of them than the mere fact that their forefathers owned the lands, or rendered certain services to the Government," said Mr. A. B. Lathe, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget to the Bombay Legislative Council.

It was essential, he added, that *inamdars* should think in terms of what service they were rendering to the present structure of society, and he hoped that they would consider how best to serve the public. If not the Government would have to bring in legislation to impose some burden on those who possessed alienated lands.

U. P. IRRIGATION

During a debate on Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh's cut motion to discuss Government's general policy in regard to reduction of irrigation rates, charges and counter-charges were hurled at each other by the Opposition and the Government benches in the U. P. Assembly.

Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, Minister for Irrigation, replying to the debate challenged the Opposition to suggest ways of reducing expenditure incurred on the department.

The Minister assured the House that the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Congress Government would soon submit its report for consideration.

MADRAS AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

A *communiqué* states that the Madras Government have sanctioned the reorganization of the Agriculture Department and reduced the number of circle charges in the department from eight to four with a corresponding reduction in the number of officers in charge of circles.

The Government have also sanctioned an increase in the number of assistant directors from 10 to 13. The saving in expenditure as a consequence of the reorganization will be Rs. 12,500 per annum.

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The Bill contains 137 clauses and 11 schedules and is divided into 10 chapters relating to the licensing of drivers of motor vehicles, registration of motor vehicles, control of transport vehicles, construction, equipment and maintenance of motor vehicles, control of traffic insurance of motor vehicles against third party, risks, offences, penalties and procedure.

The Bill seeks to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the motor vehicles and repeals the 1914 Act. Its main object is the co-ordination of the railways and road transport.

A Bill was introduced in August 1936, to amend the 1914 Act. It was then recognised that a more comprehensive measure would have to follow. The Legislature decided that the Bill should be circulated and this was done, but before any further action could be taken on it, the reports of the Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee and of the Wedgwood Committee were received. The Government decided that in the circumstances it was preferable to drop this partial measure and to present a more comprehensive Bill. The present Bill incorporates the main recommendations of both these Committees and is the outcome of consultations with the Provincial Governments and the third Transport Advisory Council which deliberated on it in December last. The principle of compulsory insurance has been approved by almost all the Provincial Governments, though there are differences of opinions as to whether its adoption should be entirely optional or whether in the interests of uniformity, its adoption within a certain period of time should be obligatory.

MR. BEPIN BEHARI DAS

Mr. Bepin Behari Das (55), who earned distinction as the only Indian manufacturer of a motor car in this country, died in Calcutta. Mr. Das who built a motor car in Gwalior State was entrusted with the construction of a car for the Corporation of Calcutta. After great delay the car was ready but minor troubles dogged its trial and subsequently it was burnt to ashes in a fire in an exhibition.

SKY-WRITING

By the enterprise of the Lever Brothers, the Proprietors of the Pears Soap Manufactories, Madras was privileged last month to witness sky-writing displays given by Captain Barber. It is understood that the actual writing is formed by a series of evolutions carried out exactly according to a plan worked out mathematically on the ground and practised over a considerable period. The sky-writing pilot can at no time during the writing see his words as such. A periscopic sundial in the cockpit of the aeroplane enables the pilot to fly accurately to the necessary angles required for the formation of the letters.

The aeroplane, flying at 130 m.p.h., expels smoke formed by the action of heat on chemicals and is flown in the shape of the letters required.

AIR MAIL FLIGHT RECORD

Imperial Airways' flying boat "Coogee", which flew from Dum Dum aerodrome to Singapore, shares a great achievement with another Imperial Airways' flying boat "Centaurus", namely, of covering the distance between Southampton and Karachi in two days, seven hours and five minutes. "Centaurus" left Southampton on Sunday the 10th morning and landed at Karachi on Tuesday evening.

It is stated that by flying from Tiberius to Karachi, a distance of 2,169 miles in one day, she has established a new long distance record. "Coogee" took 9 hours, 29 minutes to reach Calcutta from Karachi.

GAS MASKS FOR CITIZENS

The population of the whole of Great Britain will be supplied with gas masks in an emergency within eight hours under the comprehensive Home Office scheme, details of which are being sent to local authorities all over the country.

Every house is to be visited by the air-raid warden and gas masks are to be tried by every one to discover the number of the sizes required. A special type of respirator for infants has been designed, and for babies in arms there will be a protective device to keep out all poison gas.

BOMBAY MINOR INDUSTRIES

The Government of Bombay have appointed a Committee consisting of the following members to carry out an economic and industrial survey of the Bombay Province:—

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas .. Chairman.
The Director of Industries .. *ex-officio*.
C. N. Vakil, Esquire, M.A., M.Sc., F.S.S.,
Dr. P. U. Patil, Sugar Technologist (U. S. A.)
Mahomedally Habib, Esquire, and
Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.),
who will act as Secretary.

The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows:

1. To examine the present position of small industries in the Province and to report on their place in the provincial economy in relation to agriculture and large industries.
2. To survey the work done by the Government of Bombay in the realm of economic development within the Province during the last 17 years, with special reference to agriculture, large industries and small industries.
3. To report on the measures which Government can undertake to promote economic development within the Province and to suggest methods for financing the same.
4. And, finally, to make such other recommendations as pertain to State policy with regard to economic development within the Province.

The Committee have been requested to submit their report as early as possible.

MR. JAYAKAR ON INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court, opened recently the Sixth All-India Industrial Exhibition.

Mr. Jayakar said: "We have in India the advantages of vast material being available, agricultural and mineral. With a people comparatively sober and thrifty and dimly conscious even now of their inherited talent in skilful undertakings, there are also uncommon facilities of cheap labour." With greater support and co-operation from the Government of India, one saw no reason why in the course of time complete self-sufficiency should not be reached in many departments, which were at present dependent upon foreign products. Increasingly modern methods of organisation were coming into vogue and there was a keen and wide-spread desire that India should be rapidly transformed from a purely agricultural into a semi-industrial country.

ALIENATED LANDS IN BOMBAY

"The question of alienated lands is at present under the consideration of the Government. Those in possession of such lands will have to give better justification for the continued possession of them than the mere fact that their forefathers owned the lands, or rendered certain services to the Government," said Mr. A. B. Lathe, Finance Minister, in presenting the Budget to the Bombay Legislative Council.

It was essential, he added, that *inamdars* should think in terms of what service they were rendering to the present structure of society, and he hoped that they would consider how best to serve the public. If not the Government would have to bring in legislation to impose some burden on those who possessed alienated lands.

U. P. IRRIGATION

During a debate on Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh's cut motion to discuss Government's general policy in regard to reduction of irrigation rates, charges and counter-charges were hurled at each other by the Opposition and the Government benches in the U. P. Assembly.

Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, Minister for Irrigation, replying to the debate challenged the Opposition to suggest ways of reducing expenditure incurred on the department.

The Minister assured the House that the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Congress Government would soon submit its report for consideration.

MADRAS AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

A *communiqué* states that the Madras Government have sanctioned the reorganization of the Agriculture Department and reduced the number of circle charges in the department from eight to four with a corresponding reduction in the number of officers in charge of circles.

The Government have also sanctioned an increase in the number of assistant directors from 10 to 13. The saving in expenditure as a consequence of the reorganization will be Rs. 12,500 per annum.

MADRAS MINISTRY'S LABOUR POLICY

The Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Industries and Labour, Madras, opened on 1st April the Eleventh Annual Conference of the M. & S. M. Railway Employees' Union, Perambur. The Conference was attended by a large number of workers.

After the hoisting of the Labour flag by Mr. Syed Hamid, Mr. Giri said that the Railway Employees' Union was better organised than most other unions he had come across. He was certain that other trade unions would draw inspiration from them and render good service to the workers' cause. As he had always said, whatever demands the workers put forward should be just and reasonable. Before they took any action, they should represent their grievances to the employers. If they were not satisfied, they should make the Government understand their position. If the employers did not concede their just and reasonable demands, they should place their grievances before the public and convince them of the justness of their cause. Their principle should be, whatever others might say, that direct action or strike should be resorted to only when all other methods of settlement failed. The Minister hoped that their Union would be fully recognised by their employers. The Government had recognised all unions in the industries under their control. They had granted the fullest right of freedom of association to the workers in the Government industries. He would like the Government of India to copy the example of the Congress Government in this respect. He would tell the Government of India that it would pay them if they directed the Agents to recognise fully the railway trade unions.

He had been thinking, Mr. Giri said, of a reasonable labour legislation. He could assure both employers and the representatives of the workers' organisations that both would be taken into the confidence of the Government. The Government would place all their cards on the table. After hearing both parties, they would do what was necessary in the interests of the workers, the country and the employers.

DR. RAJAN'S REMINISCENCES OF GANDHI

Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Public Health, Madras, was in reminiscent mood when he addressed a gathering of students in Vellore. Recalling his own student days in England, he gave some startling revelations of his association with Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. Rajan said

that there were a few traits of Mahatmaji's character which, in spite of the numerous books written about him, history had yet to record. He appeared great on small occasions even and in small things which showed the true measure of his greatness.

Proceeding, Dr. Rajan added

that Mahatma Gandhi was to him a friend, a comrade, a guide, and an ideal, and more than all that, a Saviour; when he was a student in England, the free life of England, the democratic nature of the institutions, the belief in the power of might, which was all a part of environment, deeply imprinted themselves on his youthful imagination, and he swore by the cult of violence. He belonged to a galaxy of revolutionaries in England at the time. It was at this point in his life that he came into contact with Mahatma Gandhi; he was then simply Gandhi and not a Mahatma.

When Gandhiji was sojourning in England, having come there as a barrister from Africa, the speaker was privileged to share his company for a night, which made him a different man. If there was one who had softened his heart, turned his vision and implanted in him love of humanity, he owed it all to the inspiring contact of Mahatma Gandhi, whom he venerated to-day as his guru. In periods of his darkest trial, Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the horizon of his thought and the loving hand of the saint pulled him and guided him.

Continuing, the speaker said

that there were no miracles about Gandhi, no sophistry and no philosophy, but it was all a life lived in terms of eternal law. Great men, politicians, statesmen and administrators had listened to the call of Gandhiji, and strong men also. A Viceroy, giving advice to another high personage, warned him not to see Gandhiji. That Viceroy was no fool, but was an astute politician, conscious of the might of Empire. It was a recognition of the power of the saint over the politician.

POPULARITY OF TEA

A contributor to *Agriculture and Live-stock in India*, writing on the every-day life of the Bengal cultivator, observes: "The cultivator in Bengal is not addicted to intoxication. On special occasions cocoanut water is used as a sweet and harmless beverage and tea is rapidly becoming popular."

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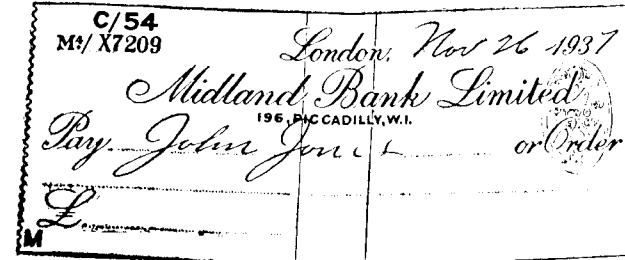
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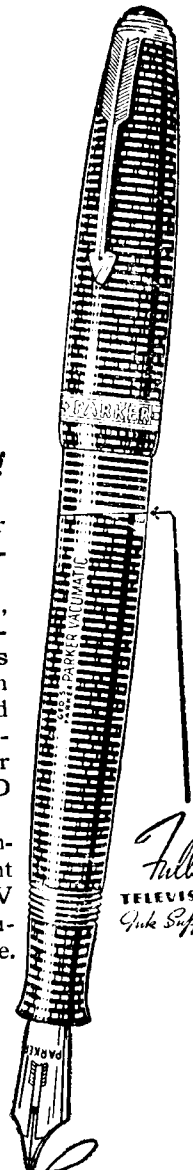
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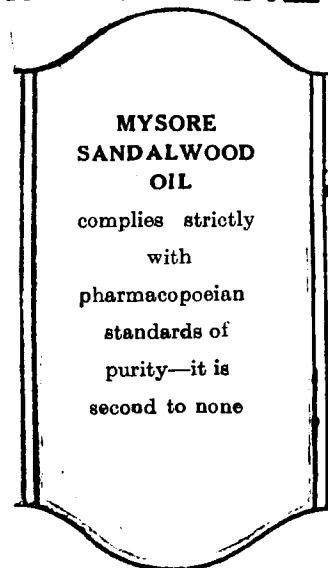
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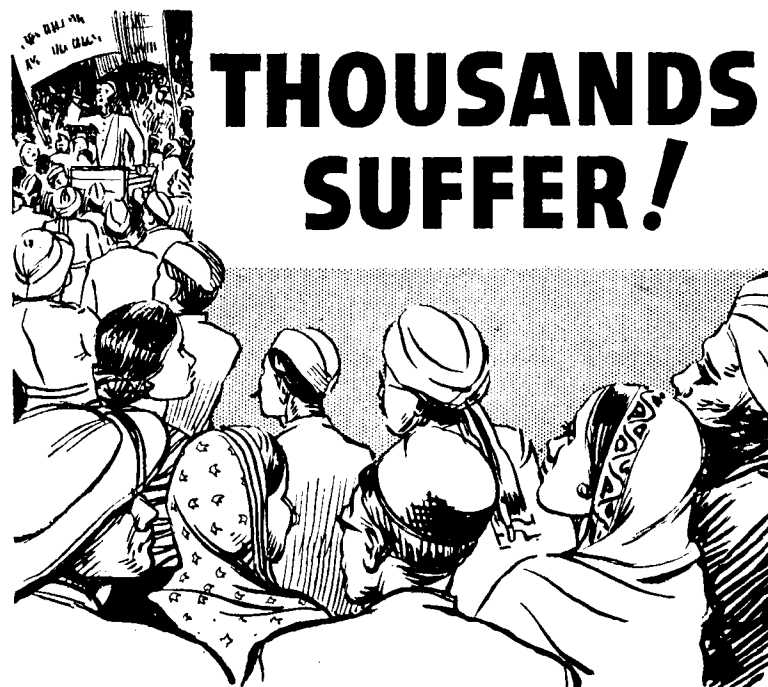
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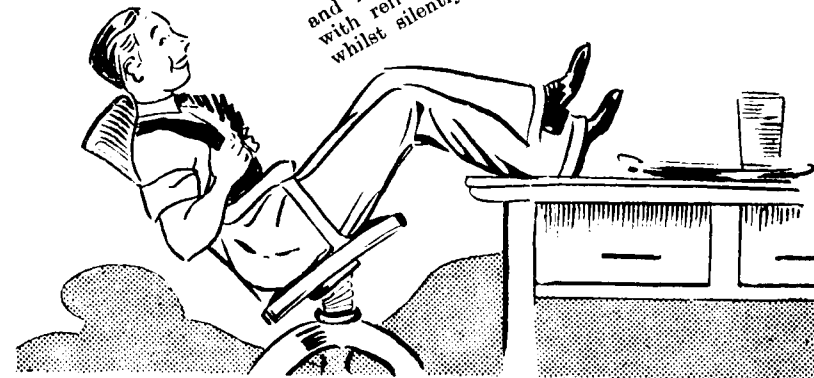
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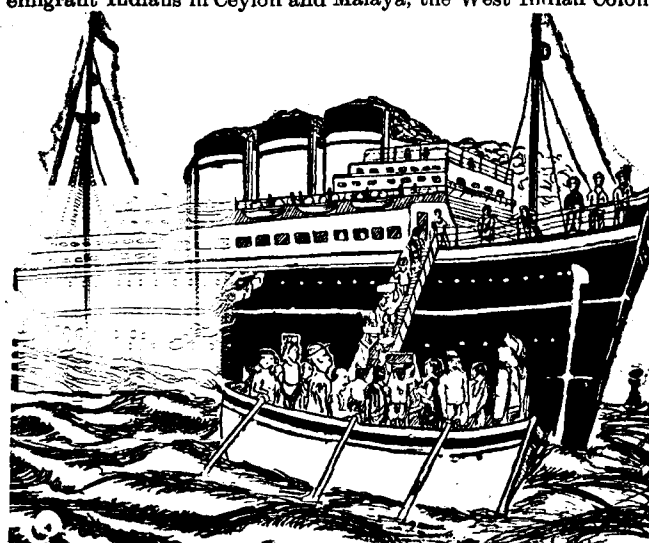
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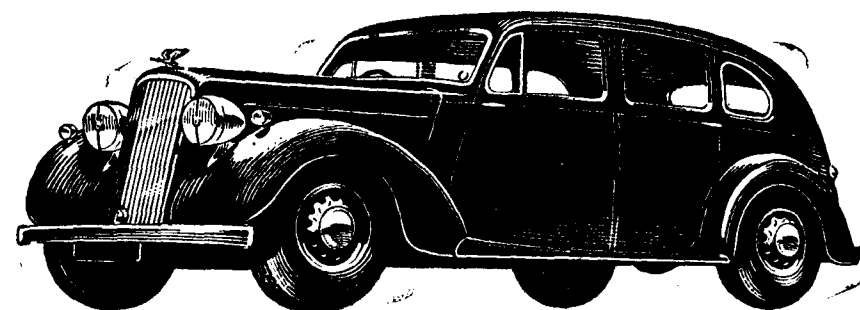


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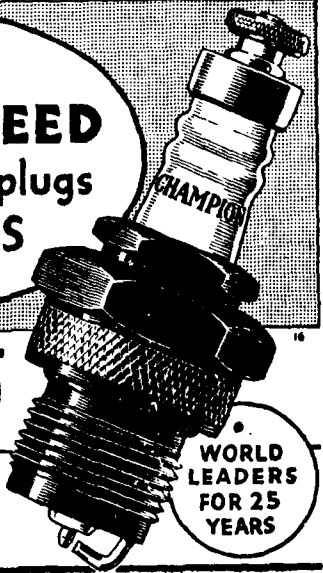
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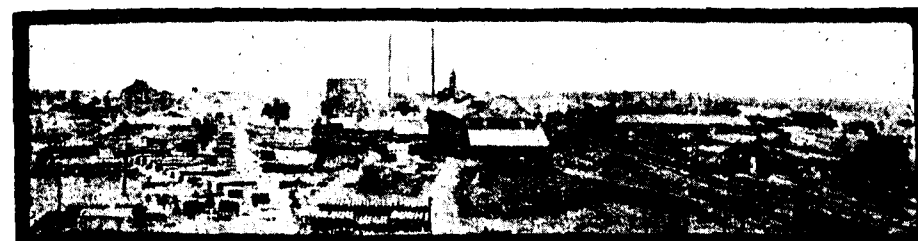
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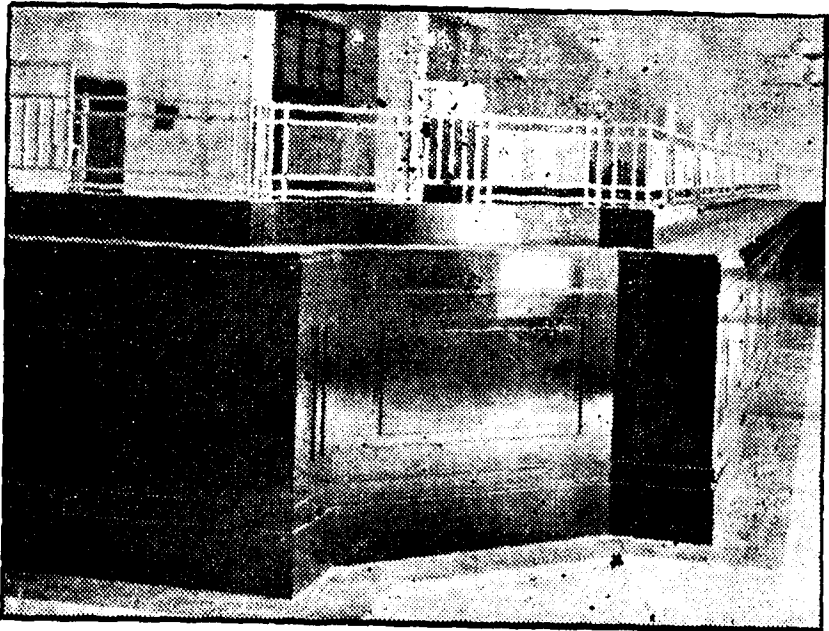
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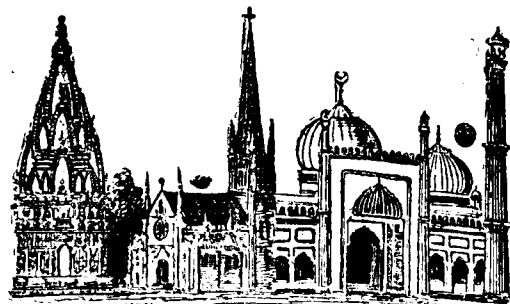
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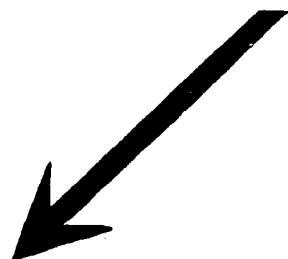
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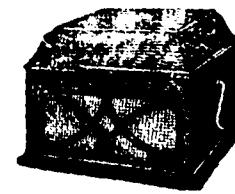
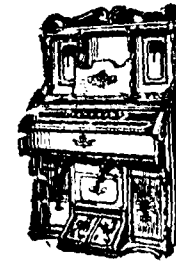
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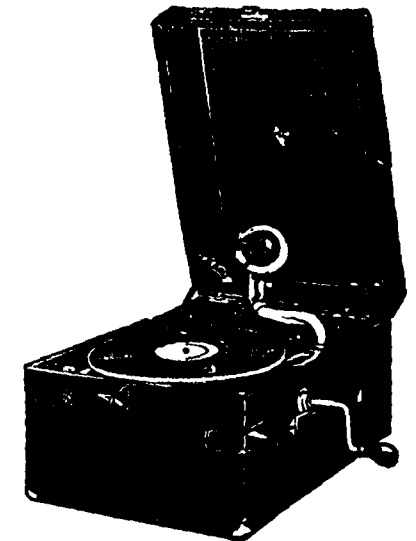
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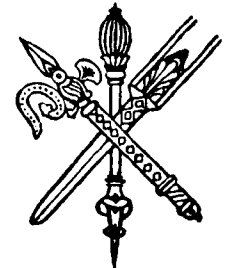
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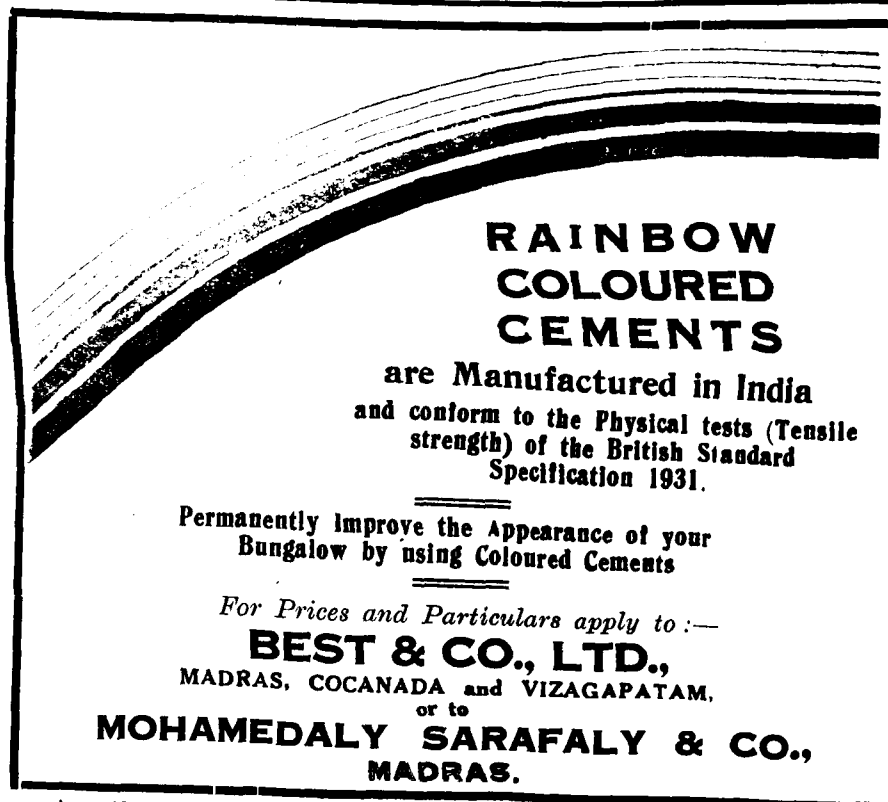
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	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL
SUN.	... 2 9 16 23 30	... 6 13 20 27 ...	... 6 13 20 27 ...	... 3 10 17 24 ...
MON.	... 3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28 ...	... 7 14 21 28 ...	... 4 11 18 25 ...
TUES.	... 4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 ...	1 8 15 22 29 ...	... 5 12 19 26 ...
WED.	... 5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...	... 6 13 20 27 ...
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SAT.	1 8 15 22 29 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...
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SAT.	7 14 21 28 ...	4 11 18 25 ...	2 9 16 23 30 ...	6 13 20 27 ...
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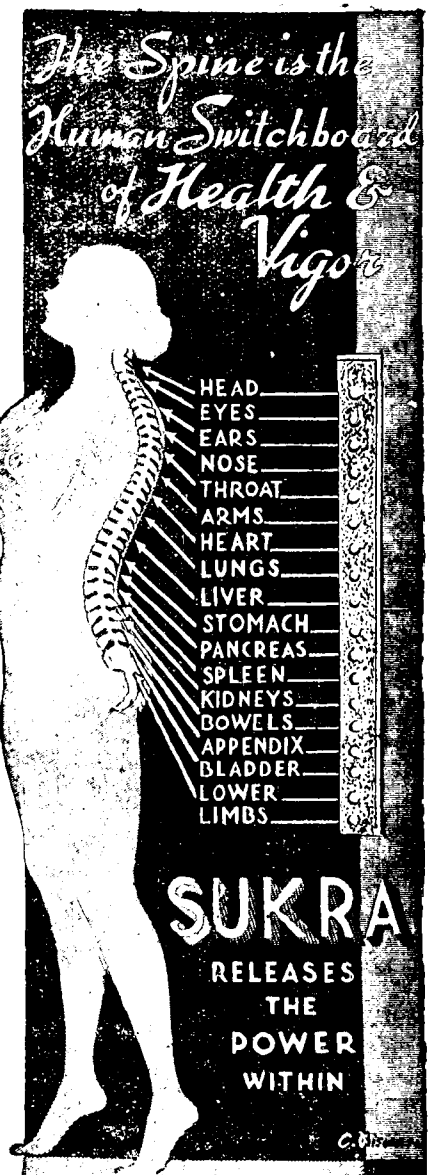
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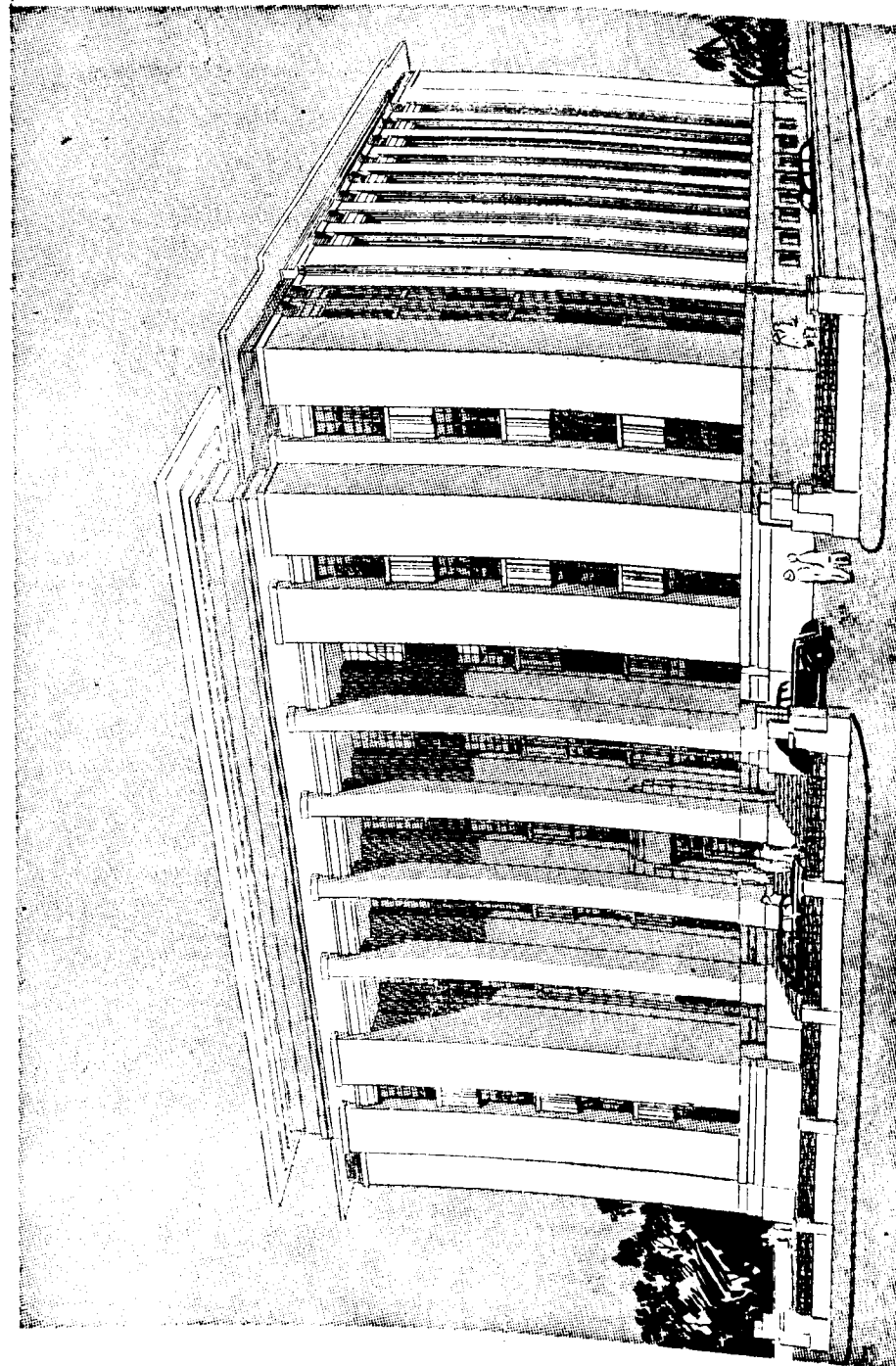
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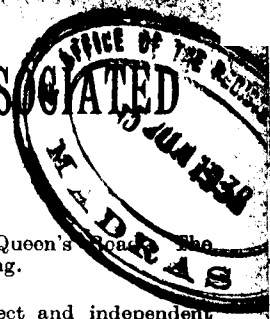
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The site is immediately to the East of the Churchgate Station and facing Queen's Road. The block is so arranged that there is an uninterrupted roadway right round the building.

The layout is planned on the principle that all Departments should have direct and independent access from the main staircase and lift, no unnecessary space being wasted on corridors.

The building is planned apart from its utilitarian purposes so that not only the exterior elevation but also the interior treatment is up to date in every way. There is a fine entrance hall and main staircase and the arrangement of the various Departmental offices is as regular in shape as possible, making the building imposing internally as well as externally. All lavatories are accessible from the main staircases.

In the basement floor there is a Garage for 30 cars and a lock-up for 4 cars, ample storage space, and Pump Room. In addition there will be an excellent Sports Dressing Room for use of the staff.

The building will have many interesting features for the engineer. It is proposed that the foundation should consist of an inverted reinforced concrete raft, the panel slab of which will form the floor of the basement. The building is designed to have a reinforced concrete frame, all loads being carried on this. The column spacing has been so arranged that in the case of the majority of bays it will be possible to reinforce the slab in both directions, thus ensuring an economical design.

It is intended that all walls and partitions should be constructed with hollow cement concrete blocks in order to lighten the dead load of the structure and in the case of external walls to provide weather protection and heat insulation. The exterior finish will be made with coloured cements. The walls, columns, beams and ceilings will be cement plastered. Important rooms such as the main entrance hall and staircase and the Board Room will receive special treatment. All floors and staircases will be finished with polished coloured cement or polished terrazzo. The windows will be steel casements and modern flush doors will be fabricated from suitable timbers.

Wherever possible rain water pipes will be of Asbestos cement which are now being manufactured in India.

A space has been reserved in the basement for air conditioning plant. The walls and partitions will be constructed of hollow concrete blocks which will give the greatest possible facilities for distributing ducts and cut down the amount of metal and other ducting required.

An interesting feature in the basement will be two turn-tables to facilitate the rapid marshalling and parking of cars.

In order to illustrate what can be achieved by reinforced concrete technique in carrying out a truly modern design, the main staircase has purposely been made of somewhat intricate construction. The flights will be cantilevered from reinforced concrete wall beams, the torsion in which will be taken up by reinforced concrete columns concealed in the thickness of the wall. The big semi-circular beams will form the lintel of the continuous staircase window which will run right through this system of wall columns. Advantage will be taken at each floor level of the adjoining floor beams and slabs.

The high plinth on which the structure will be placed will add to the dignity and the importance of the building. The car ramp to the basement will be entirely under cover and the drainage problem will be greatly simplified.

Another important feature of the design in the exterior is the provision of a Chajja which will project sufficiently far out to protect the face of the building from weather stains so often imparted to buildings in Bombay by the South-West Monsoon.

Opposite is one of the 3 Winning Designs of the Architectural Competition which was conducted under the rules of the Indian Institute of Architects and was open to the Architects throughout India.

In all, 35 designs were received and in accordance with the terms governing the competition, these are to be exhibited in the Town Hall, Bombay, on the 26th, 27th and 28th of this month.

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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

VOL. XXXIX.]

JUNE 1938

[No. 6.]

THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

BY PROF. HRISHIKESH ROY, M.A.

THE Anglo-Irish Agreement recently concluded between Great Britain and Eire has been received with great satisfaction among political circles both in London and Dublin. The Prime Ministers of both the countries—Mr. de Valera of Eire, and Mr. Neville Chamberlain of Great Britain, deserve high praise for the success of the negotiations which many a time were threatened with break-down. The Agreement will undoubtedly go down in history as an event of great historical importance; for it marks the close of a long period of bitterness, hatred and bloodshed that unfortunately widened the gulf between the two countries in the past and opens a new era of goodwill, friendship, and co-operation. An attempt has been made in this brief article to trace the origin of the misunderstanding between Ireland and Great Britain, which had hitherto baffled solution and to show how far this Agreement seeks to solve them.

To understand the Irish situation in all its bearings, one has to go back to the past; for the roots of the problem lie embedded in it. The Freedom Movement in Ireland gathered great force during the Great War, because the extremist politicians wanted to take advantage of England's difficulties to press home their demands. Some of the extremists under the leadership of Mr. Padrick Pearse

declared an Irish Republic which lasted only for three days. This rebellion, known as the Easter Rebellion of 1916, was ruthlessly suppressed and most of the leaders implicated in it were either executed or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. To conciliate Irish Nationalists, the Government of Ireland Act was passed at Westminster in 1920, but the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament elected in 1918 had never gone to Westminster—they had set up the Republican Dail in Dublin. Thus the Act was devised by British statesmen and carried solely by British votes—it had no Irish sanction.

The new Act was carried into force in the Northern Ireland and its Parliament, opened in 1921 by King George V, was given six counties as its area of jurisdiction—an area not coincident either with the historic province of Ulster or with the Unionist block round Belfast. The refusal by the Irish Nationalists to work out the Act created a tense atmosphere, and discontent grew apace. It was then that Mr. Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister of England, decided to summon the representatives of the Dail to a conference in England to draw up a constitution consistent with Irish national aspirations. After a protracted negotiation, a political truce was concluded between the two countries, and the Irish Free State was brought into being in

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1921. But it failed to satisfy the Republicans, because there were clauses in it which outraged their long-cherished ideal of a free and united Irish republic. First of all, the new constitution brought about the Partition of Ireland and introduced two separate Governments—one in Northern Ireland consisting of six counties only, and the bigger one in Southern Ireland consisting of twenty-six counties, known as the Irish Free State. This rankled in the minds of ardent nationalists; for no Irishman having any patriotism in him could ever brook the idea of a dismembered Ireland. Yet the Welsh Wizard, with his clever wiles, duped staunch nationalists like Mr. Arthur Griffith and Mr. Michael Collins who fell easy victims to his tricks. Mr. Lloyd George gave solemn oral assurance that the six counties would be reduced in area by the transfer of the nationalist districts; this would make the area ruled by Belfast so small that the Northern Unionists would be too glad to throw in their lot with the nation. Alas! Griffith and Collins knew not that politicians like Mr. Lloyd George cannot be relied upon; for they make promises only to break them. Had they been aware of it, they would not have agreed to a partitioned Ireland.

Moreover, Irish Republicans staked their all for a free Republic, but instead of that, they were provided with a constitution which, strongly tied as it was to the British Crown, was far from that ideal. They wanted to be 'externally associated' with Great Britain without owing any allegiance to the British Crown. Mr. de Valera, as their spokesman, brought this fact home to the British Government in the Treaty negotia-

tions in 1921 in what is known as Public Document No. 2; but Mr. Lloyd George vehemently opposed this idea and by clever manoeuvres made Mr. Collins and Mr. Griffith agree to the Dominion ideal.

But this was not all. According to the financial clauses of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the Irish Free State was required to pay some £5,000,000 annually to the British Treasury. This payment, known as the Land Annuities, was resented by the Irish Extremists who averred that it had neither any moral nor legal sanction behind it and its payment, therefore, should be totally withheld.

Furthermore, the Irish Free State had no control over the defence of the country, and the coastal defence stations were exclusively under the jurisdiction and authority of the United Kingdom. Under the Treaty of 1921, the defence by the Sea of Great Britain and Ireland was to be undertaken by the Imperial Forces until an arrangement had been made by which the Irish Free State undertook her own coastal defence, and the Government of the Free State agreed to give the necessary harbour facilities to the Navy. In matters of Foreign affairs too, the Free State had no power to negotiate independently with other nations without the express sanction of the British Government.

So long as the Cosgrave Government was in power, everything went on smoothly and all the Treaty conditions were faithfully carried out. But a new situation developed when Mr. de Valera decided to contest the elections. As a staunch Republican, he kept himself aloof from the new constitution and offered armed opposition to the new regime resulting in a protracted Civil War. But later on he changed his mind and

decided to end or mend the constitution by working from within. The triumph of his Party in the Irish elections of 1932 put him at the head of the Irish Free State Government, and he began to carry out his ideal of the Irish Republic slowly and steadily by taking advantage of the powers already provided in the constitution. No sooner had he been in the saddle than he eliminated the Oath of Allegiance which was quite repugnant to the Irish Republicans, because it smacked of subordination to the Crown. The Crown's representative was done away with as an anachronism and the whole constitution was thoroughly overhauled.

The new constitution, passed in December 1936, and brought into force on December 29, 1937, is known in Gaelic as 'Bunreacht Na h-Eireann' or the Fundamental rights of the Irish and is claimed to be a free constitution, "founded on the basis of the full international personality of the Irish State". While providing for the machinery of friendly co-operation with other nations in matters of common concern, it is unfettered by any commitment whatever in the domain of external affairs. This constitution was declared by many to be an unilateral breach of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, but the British Government, which had already granted sovereign rights to the Dominions by the Statute of Westminster, recognized the validity of the new constitution and declared that the State's position in the British Commonwealth was not thereby affected.

Mr. de Valera was, however, not satisfied with changing the constitution only. He repudiated in the meantime the Land Annuities which were unjustly forced upon the Irish Free State and withheld its payment to the British Treasury. The

British Government could not take this lying down and increased the tariffs on the Irish farmers' produce imported into Britain to realise the money. The Irish Government, too, retaliated by levying heavy tariff duties on British manufactured goods imported into the Irish Free State. Thus a fierce economic war ensued with bitter consequences to both the countries. The recent complications in the European situation, however, brought about a change in the outlook of the two countries and a rapprochement was made culminating in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the subject-matter of this article.

The Agreement, as finally ratified by the two Governments, consists of three main agreements on such important matters as defence; the financial and economic dispute which originated with the withholding of the Land Annuities, and a comprehensive trade treaty. Under the first of the three agreements, the United Kingdom Government will transfer to the Government of Eire the Admiralty property and rights at Berehaven and the harbour defences at Berehaven, Cobh, and Lough Swilly. The transfer is to take place not later than December 31 next, and in the meantime the detailed arrangements for the transfer will be the subject of discussion between the two Governments. The Eire Government guarantees that Irish ports will be available to the British as naval and air bases in war time and will undertake to spend the greater part of £2,000,000 a year saving from the cessation of economic war towards the defence of the country.

The second of the three agreements provides that the sum of £10,000,000 shall be paid by the Government of Eire by the end of November as a final settlement.

of all financial claims of either of the two Governments against the other arising out of the matters occurring before the date of the agreement. This does not, however, affect the continuance of the annual payment of £250,000 a year by the Government of Eire in respect of damage to property under the 1925 Agreement. The Agreement also provides for the abolition of the special duties imposed by the United Kingdom Government in 1932 in retaliation for the withholding of the annuities and of the Customs (emergency) duties imposed by the Government of Eire.

The subject-matter of the third Agreement is a comprehensive trade treaty which will come into force as soon as the necessary legislative measures have been passed. It provides for the admission of Eire goods free of Customs duties (other than Revenue duties) into United Kingdom markets with certain provisions for quantitative regulation of imports of agricultural products. Eire undertakes to make immediate reductions in the protective duties on United Kingdom goods and guarantees to continue the right of free entry for a considerable number of United Kingdom goods which now enter free. A Prices Commission of Eire will undertake to review the protective duties against United Kingdom goods, and the Government of Eire will undertake to reduce these duties as far as they operate against United Kingdom goods to a level which will give the United Kingdom producers full opportunity of reasonable competition, while giving the Eire industries adequate protection, having regard to the relative costs of economic production. Special consideration will be given to Eire industries not fully

established. Undoubtedly there will be heavy reductions in the tariffs on United Kingdom goods, and the United Kingdom Government can ask the Eire Government to request the Prices Commission to give priority to any duty, and the British manufacturers can argue before the Commission. The existing preference margins for United Kingdom goods will be preserved.

The Government of Eire also undertake to abolish the present control by licence of the importation of coal, to maintain the existing entry free of duty accorded to United Kingdom coal and to impose a duty of not less than 3 shillings a ton on foreign coal.

The Government of Eire recognise that it is the policy of the United Kingdom Government to promote the orderly marketing of agricultural and fishery products and declare their readiness to co-operate to that end. They will consult from time to time as to the quantities of eggs and poultry to be exported to United Kingdom. If, however, imports from Eire increase to such an extent as to endanger the stability of the United Kingdom market, quantitative regulation may be applied or duties may be imposed, if the Governments agree that this is a more convenient method.

This trade agreement will last for three years from the date on which the two Governments agree to put it into force and after this period it will be subject to six months' notice by either side. The agreement will be subject to confirmation by both Parliaments.

From the foregoing provisions of the Agreement, it is clear that almost all the main disputes between the two countries have been finally settled except the Partition question which is still a great

obstacle in the path of Anglo-Irish understanding. The Partition has outraged national sentiment and is regarded as disastrous for trade and industry. How much the Irish Nationalists feel for the Partition question has been very well described by a writer in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*. He writes: "Any one who has studied nationalism knows that to partition a country is as great a hurt as to subject it. I go further. I say that Partition hurts more than the Union; for we were a nation if we were not a State under the Union; but now we have a State at the awful cost of the alienation of one-third of our people and a quarter of our land." It is now high time that British Government should be a mediator between the two parts of the country and should express its anxiety for some form of reconciliation between the two countries which would at least recognise the judicial unity of all Ireland under the Crown. Mr. de Valera in a special interview granted to *New York Times* on January 27, 1938, suggested a way out of this impasse. His plan was to set

up over the existing Parliaments in Dublin and Belfast, an All Ireland Parliament based on proportional representation which would exercise the reserve powers at present retained by the British Parliament over Northern Ireland. But it did not meet with approval either of the Ulster Government or the Government of the United Kingdom. The Partition question is now the pivot on which hangs the real and lasting solution of the Irish problem and so long as this question is shelved and postponed, there can be no hope of any permanent peace between the two countries. In the present complicated situation in Europe, a contented Ireland will be a great asset to the British Government, but a dissatisfied Ireland will give a handle to the enemies. Mr. Lloyd George rightly said that "the security of Great Britain depends on what happens on this breakwater, this advance post, this front trench of Great Britain". Some of the long standing disputes have been already settled by means of negotiations and mutual agreement. Will it be too much to expect a similar agreement on the Partition Question?

GAUTAMA BUDDHA

BY SIR MANMATHANATH MUKERJI

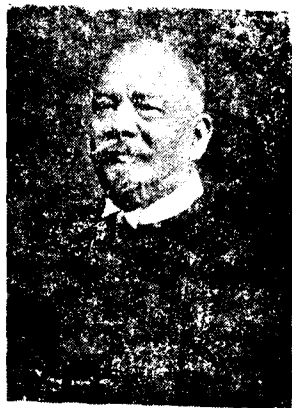
WHEN numerous books have been written in recent times on the life of the Buddha, one may reasonably ask the question: "Why another?" The answer to the question has been given by the author himself.* The manner in which the life of the great Indian Teacher had been treated by previous writers has

* GAUTAMA BUDDHA. By Mr. Iqbal Singh. Published by Boriswood, London. Price 15s. 6d.

left our author with a "sense of frustration", and it is to discover the historical Buddha that he embarked on his task. The method he has adopted to reach this goal is the critical method which, according to the author, is also "the highest compliment one can pay even to a Tathagata". A careful reading of the book leaves one in no doubt as to the method employed, but it may pertinently

be asked, in getting rid of his "sense of frustration", has he not landed his reader in very much the same position he had attempted to avoid?

The book is divided into five parts, each part being sub-divided into several chapters.



SIR M. N. MUKERJI

Part I discusses the religious, social and political condition of the world into which Buddha was born. Part II is the main section of the book as it deals with the life of the Buddha. Part III states, in brief, the teaching of the Buddha. Part IV, called "The word made flesh", is a critical study of Buddhist art, and Part V deals with the critics of Buddhism and its position today.

It must be said at once that the Buddha, who emerges out of the critical analysis of the gifted author, is a unique figure in the religious history of mankind. But the author does not call him a superman as according to him such or similar descriptions would prevent one from knowing him correctly. He discovers him with all the traits of a human being: kindly, reasonable, courageous detached and dispassionate, but sometimes sad. The author rightly rejects the legends and myths which have grown round his

personality for the last two thousand years, though he has, at the same time, to depend largely on the same records for his own materials. The ingenuity with which he has succeeded in eliminating the irrelevant accretions of ages is, indeed, praiseworthy. As the problems that beset the mind of the Buddha are the same problems that we have to face, the author's treatment of the subject brings Buddha, as it were, face to face with us. Hence his message also becomes clearer and of significant meaning to us. For having achieved this end to a remarkable degree, the author is to be highly congratulated.

There are, however, some statements to which objection can reasonably be raised. To take one or two examples. Writing about Buddha's physical strength, the author says that he was never distinguished for it and that he had a "ruined liver"! The only justification for making this statement is the doubt expressed by some of his relations at the time of his marriage. But the author does not rely on the latter part of the same story which says that Siddhartha dispelled all such doubts by defeating his rivals at a tournament. One can allow his rejection of that part of the story, but it sounds strange that a critical mind like that of the author fails to realise the impossibility for Buddha to have led a life of strenuous activity and constant travel right up to the age of eighty without possessing sufficient physical strength. As for the "ruined liver", his extraordinary patience under trying circumstances and his quiet humour, which the author often acknowledges, are enough evidence to prove that his liver was in a most excellent condition.

As it is the case with many writers, the Order of bhikkhus who had tried to live and also interpret to the world the Way of the Buddha, receives severe chastisement at the hands of the author. Though none will deny that the order did make mistakes, it should also be admitted that even the little we know about the Buddha is due to their devotion. Mr. Singh could not have written his admirable life of the Buddha if the much-criticised monks had not left a record of their impressions,

however inadequate and misguided those impressions might have been.

Neither can one really accept the author's standpoint when he writes: "In view of Gautama's categorical denial of the permanent nature of the soul, it is difficult to understand how anybody could justifiably credit him with belief in transmigration." Transmigration of a permanent soul was certainly rejected by him; but, at the same time, there is no doubt at all that he did believe in some form of rebirth. It is impossible in a review like this to fully discuss this intricate problem, but it must be stated that the authority of the Tripitake on this point could not be so lightly dismissed as the author has done. It is here that the author leaves us in that same "sense of frustration" which he wished to avoid. We can only repeat with Buddha that the doctrine he had discovered was "profound, hard to perceive, hard to know, tranquil, transcending beyond the sphere of reasoning, subtle, to be known only by the wise".

If not for such lapses as the above, the author has dealt with his subject with great understanding. What is most

pleasing in the book is his sense of humour and the desire to probe into all facts with strict impartiality. He does not create confusion in one's mind by reading into the words of the Buddha his own predilections, which is such an indefensible feature of the works of Mrs. Rhys Davids and others of her type. Mr. Singh is honest and straightforward in his treatment; and this adds to the value of his conclusions, even though one may not agree with them. His criticism of the views of several eminent writers who are in some places looked upon as authorities is both timely and valuable. He explodes the pretensions of Mr. A. B. Keith in a convincing manner.

It is hardly possible to do justice to a work of such importance as that of Mr. Singh in a short review like this. It is undoubtedly one of the cleverest books on the subject so far written; full of valuable and rare information, brought to light by skilful research of a very high order and placed in proper setting by a gifted and cultured mind; and no one interested in the development of religious thought in India can afford to ignore it.

TRENCHES ACROSS EUROPE

THE situation in Europe to-day is one of anarchy and gloom. Spain is in flames. Austria has been absorbed. France is threatened with the disruption of the *front populaire*. Italy is running with the foxes and hunting with the hounds. Poland and Rumania are building up an axis as a bulwark against Russia. Every vestige of collective security has disappeared. Honesty and loyalty to the Covenant have been struck out of the dictionary of the Powers. The mailed fist has become the only reality in European politics.

The most inflammable spot in Europe at the moment is Czecho-Slovakia. The *Anschluss* has rendered her position precarious. She has now become a salient on Germany's south-eastern frontier. Sprawling in the very centre of Europe, she

lies across the path of German advance into the Balkan peninsula and is like a pistol aimed at the heart of Germany. If German plans for a *mitteleuropa* are to be realised, Czecho-Slovakia must be reduced to vassalage. She commands like Austria the gateways to the south and the east, and her armament firms would be invaluable in case of a war with Russia or France. As Bismarck said, the master of Bohemia would be the master of Europe.

No wonder then that the Nazis are now training their guns and loudspeakers on the Bohemian frontier. They will never rest content till Czecho-Slovakia has denounced her alliances with Russia and France and Prague has become the diplomatic suburb of Berlin. Half the battle has already been begun by the

Sudeten Germans who form a powerful minority in Czecho-Slovakia and who provide the Nazis with an excuse for intervention on their behalf. The Sudeten Germans are being forced to demand measures of autonomy, which would mean the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia. And Herr Henlein is being cast for the role of a General Franco.

But the Czechs are not likely to submit to threats. They are capable of an initial resistance for at least two to three weeks; then they would secure aid from their allies. Russia would create a corridor and advance through Rumania or Poland. France would create a diversion for Germany in the Rhineland. And if France entered the War, England would automatically be forced to enter also. Czecho-Slovakia would then become another Belgium. The invasion of the Republic would precipitate a general war in Europe.

The prevention of such a catastrophe is, therefore, the most urgent issue in Europe now. But, perhaps, the Nazis themselves realise that their bluff would be called and that the Czechs are determined to fight if attacked. They would probably change their tactics and try to emasculate Czecho-Slovakia by slow economic pressure. But that would be making the fall of Czecho-Slovakia even more certain. And the Democratic Powers, unless they take immediate counter-steps, would find themselves in a greater quandary than now.

Meanwhile, the shadows are closing in on what remains of Republican Spain. General Franco has started a new offensive with fresh reinforcements from Germany and Italy and is driving a wedge between Barcelona and Valencia. For the first time, the Spanish Government is in a desperate state, gasping for breath and arms and supplies. It is not too late for France and England to scrap non-intervention and allow the Government its legal right to buy War material. The Government can even yet regain the ground it has lost, and, with it, retrieve the defeat which democracy has sustained. The fight for international law and the integrity of

Czecho-Slovakia could still be fought on the battle-fields of Spain.

Such a policy would involve the building up of London-Paris-Moscow axis; at the least it would mean the acceptance by England of the Franco-Soviet pact. It would mean the revival of the League, and the idea that aggression against one member would be interpreted as aggression against all. It would mean also the rallying of the wavering smaller powers in Europe to the Covenant and on to the side of the Western Powers. It would mean finally the bringing of Germany and Italy back to the League on terms acceptable to the democracies and based on a fair examination of colonial and economic claims.

But as long as the National Government holds the reins in England, there is no hope of such a policy being even initiated. Mr. Chamberlain has frankly given up the fundamental idea of the League and is pursuing the pre-War policy of *entente* and understanding. He has taken the lead in recognising the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. He has made an Agreement with Italy, but it is contingent upon the withdrawal of Italian volunteers from Spain, which means, in effect, upon the victory of General Franco. He has drawn France closer to England in military matters, but he has discarded every principle of law and morality. His policy is the traditional policy of England, of retaining a free hand and of honouring obligations only if it is in her interests to do so. And what is worse, judged by the standards even of imperial interests, his policy seems to be short-sighted and delusive.

Until England, together with France and Russia, takes the initiative in enforcing the principle of collective security, Europe will be stricken with a life of international and national anarchy, which will inevitably lead up to a final crisis. Unless there is a great resurgence of reason and the hands of the Left are strengthened, the face of Europe will soon be altered, as in 1914, gashed by a criss-cross of trenches.

ART APPRECIATION IN OUR TIMES

BY MR. BAL S. MARDHEKAR

THAT certain factors in our modern environment and, therefore, in our intellectual attitude are not particularly propitious to the appreciation of good art is a proposition which not many would contest. But, men differ in their opinions as to the nature of these factors and their relative importance. I wish in this article to point out some of those impediments whose very existence is as completely unsuspected as it is fundamentally ruinous of true aesthetic understanding, premising that the correction of our attitude thus achieved is of immense value as a necessary condition to evoke the production of really great art.

To begin with 'organisation' has been the key-note of civilisation and is the watchword of modern thought. This ruling concept and the predisposition to find it in or impose it upon environment should, so far from hindering aesthetic reactions, have naturally facilitated them. For, art is nothing but organisation in accordance with formal principles, realised in terms of a particular medium, such as sounds, colours and lines and masses, etc. And organisations should be grasped the more readily when there is already a predisposition to trace them. That this does not happen is due to the fact that people are more accustomed to non-aesthetic organisations than to aesthetic ones.

An aesthetic organisation differs from a non-aesthetic organisation by being its own end, its own fulfilment. A non-aesthetic organisation serves an end that is outside the organisation itself; it is materially, primarily, conceived for its use and derives its whole significance by the extent of its utility for an extraneous purpose. An aesthetic organisation satisfies immediately; a non-aesthetic one ministers to a satisfaction that results from the fulfilment of a need which is remote from the immediate perceptual experience. To illustrate: a machine is an organisation of parts. The parts are so adjusted as to serve a purpose, say, to drive a railway train. A particular wheel is in a particular position, not because it *must* be just in *that* position

if it is to please our eyes at all, that is to say, not because it achieves a satisfying visual form, but because it must be in that position if the engine is to work at all. In fact, for all one knows, that one wheel in that particular position might be the one solitary thing most offensive to the eye and alone destructive of the otherwise satisfying formal effect of the machine. The true artist may have to omit that wheel in his picture of the machine or distort the engine so as to eliminate the jarring note, if he insists on retaining the wheel. Briefly, then, the engine *without* the wheel is a satisfying *formal* organisation, that is to say, an *aesthetic* organisation; the engine *with* the wheel is a satisfying *useful* organisation, that is to say, a *non-aesthetic* organisation. Religious rites and ritual involve bodily movements organised into actions which are supposed to propitiate supernatural beings. Bodily movements are here significant only in so far as they relate to this end; they satisfy strictly because, although otherwise unpleasant or even obnoxious, yet they win divine favour or avert divine wrath. The moment they begin to be significant in themselves, the moment, that is, they begin to satisfy simply because they form patterns which achieve a rhythmical energisation of the body and limbs, that very instant they are transformed into dance and become aesthetic organisations. The differentiating quality of non-aesthetic organisations, then, is their direction towards an end. The parliamentary organisation of political life aims at making the will of the majority effective. Economic planning proposes to restore the equilibrium between production and description or consumption. And so on; the reader can easily supply more instances from spheres with which he is familiar. The point I wish to insist upon is that an organisation is aesthetic precisely to the extent to which it succeeds in absorbing the attention of the beholder to itself and by itself, that is, in its own right, by virtue merely of the fact that it is an organisation obeying certain formal principles, and to the extent to which it succeeds in withdrawing that attention from all extraneous considerations. An

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An aesthetic organisation differs from a non-aesthetic organisation by being its own end, its own fulfilment. A non-aesthetic organisation serves an end that is outside the organisation itself; it is materially, primarily, conceived for its use and derives its whole significance by the extent of its utility for an extraneous purpose. An aesthetic organisation satisfies immediately; a non-aesthetic one ministers to a satisfaction that results from the fulfilment of a need which is remote from the immediate perceptual experience. To illustrate: a machine is an organisation of parts. The parts are so adjusted as to serve a purpose, say, to drive a railway train. A particular wheel is in a particular position, not because it *must* be just in *that* position

if it is to please our eyes at all, that is to say, not because it achieves a satisfying visual form, but because it must be in that position if the engine is to work at all. In fact, for all one knows, that one wheel in that particular position might be the one solitary thing most offensive to the eye and alone destructive of the otherwise satisfying formal effect of the machine. The true artist may have to omit that wheel in his picture of the machine or distort the engine so as to eliminate the jarring note, if he insists on retaining the wheel. Briefly, then, the engine *without* the wheel is a satisfying *formal* organisation, that is to say, an *aesthetic* organisation; the engine *with* the wheel is a satisfying *useful* organisation, that is to say, a *non-aesthetic* organisation. Religious rites and ritual involve bodily movements organised into actions which are supposed to propitiate supernatural beings. Bodily movements are here significant only in so far as they relate to this end; they satisfy strictly because, although otherwise unpleasant or even obnoxious, yet they win divine favour or avert divine wrath. The moment they begin to be significant in themselves, the moment, that is, they begin to satisfy simply because they form patterns which achieve a rhythmical energisation of the body and limbs, that very instant they are transformed into dance and become aesthetic organisations. The differentiating quality of non-aesthetic organisations, then, is their direction towards an end. The parliamentary organisation of political life aims at making the will of the majority effective. Economic planning proposes to restore the equilibrium between production and description or consumption. And so on; the reader can easily supply more instances from spheres with which he is familiar. The point I wish to insist upon is that an organisation is aesthetic precisely to the extent to which it succeeds in absorbing the attention of the beholder to itself and by itself, that is, in its own right, by virtue merely of the fact that it is an organisation obeying certain formal principles, and to the extent to which it succeeds in withdrawing that attention from all extraneous considerations. An

aesthetic experience evoked by an aesthetic organisation is an attainment; a non-aesthetic experience evoked by a non-aesthetic organisation is a means to an attainment. The former never looks beyond itself; the latter, being always instrumental, does: it is a pointer.

It is out of the tendency to be always looking for the serviceability of an organisation, to be always linking it with some purpose or other, a tendency, thrown into a false and somewhat adventitious prominence by its usefulness in the struggle for existence and especially intensified in our times by the exceptional keenness of that struggle, that almost all the fallacies in the modern attitude towards art arise. To recognise that an organisation (say, of lines, colours and masses in painting and of sounds in music, for instance) can be formally significant without being necessarily usefully significant, is to solve all the problems regarding art and morality, art and representation, art and truth to Nature, beauty and ugliness, etc. All these problems arise out of the notion derived from every-day experience that as certain (non-aesthetic) organisations,—and these are more frequent in experience,—lead to certain ends, so all organisations must lead to ends. Art must ennoble man, that is serve a moral end. Art must represent Nature, that is, serve a photographic purpose. Art must give expression to the spirit of the age, that is, serve a historical or illustrative end. And so forth endlessly! This habit, deepening almost into an obsession, to read practical or utilitarian purpose into an organisation is the first and apparently invincible obstacle to the proper understanding and appreciation of art.

Connected with 'organisation' is the second characteristic of civilised environment, and consequently of civilised thought, namely, 'specialisation'. Differentiation and specialisation have given man the physiological structure and the bodily organs he possesses. Since the contact with the West in India, and since the Renaissance in the West, and more particularly after the rapid progress of the various sciences and the practical application of their results which, in the

sphere of industry, worked a revolution in the last century, the increasing complexity of the conditions of human life and environment have demanded greater and greater specialisation until to-day the gibe is familiar that a specialist is one who knows more and more about less and less. This second key-note of civilisation, which gives direction to our thought and determines our general outlook, should properly speaking, like the first, have had a wholesome effect on our approach to art. The necessity of specialisation in other spheres of human endeavour should have brought home to men's minds the fact that in the sphere of art also only some persons and not every one can either enjoy artistic production fully or interpret it truly. But instead of any such beneficent effect, specialisation in the art sphere has in our times meant nothing more than a compartmental or museum conception of art against which Prof. Dewey has so much to say in his recent book on *Art as Experience*. Prof. Dewey's remarks, however, would not be applicable to the right kind of specialisation. They would not be applicable to that kind of specialisation which bases itself upon the possession of a special and peculiarly keen aesthetic sensibility. We have failed to recognise the relevance of this kind of specialisation in art criticism for this reason. Specialisation has removed one sphere after another of human activity from the judgment of the average man. He feels, therefore, tenaciously to the sphere of art and claim a particular value, if not absolute validity, to his judgments on art. He may not be able to grasp the theory of Relativity or the Quantum theory; he can accept, with perfect equanimity his bewilderment when two economists argue; in huge factories or industrial houses, he will look awestruck but never indignant at those who know their jobs; but, if you tell him that he is admiring the wrong kind of pictures or music, or the right kind of pictures or music but for wrong reasons, you will only provoke him to violent opposition and a dogmatic assertion that in matters of art the authority of the average man is unimpeachable. This arrogation of authority has been reinforced

by the tendency of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence which ascribes peculiar weight to the standard and deliverances of the 'ordinary man'. It has been supported by the ideas of democracy. Now, this fiction of the 'ordinary man', whatever its utility in law, merely confuses aesthetic thought and puts a premium on mis-interpretation of art. The sooner art criticism emancipates itself from this appeal to common men and begins to derive its authority solely from the satisfaction of those who are endowed with profound and pure aesthetic sensibility, the better both for art and for common men.

The third vitiating element in our enjoyment of art is the temptation to make art interpretation a vehicle for propaganda. I am quoting Sir Michael Sadler who quotes Mr. Robert Byron, who wrote in the *Architectural Review* for May 1932, that there is in Moscow one of the finest and most representative collections of modern French pictures that has ever been assembled. Over the entrance of each room are printed notices which are designed to assist the appreciation of less sophisticated visitors.

Monet.—Age of transition from capitalism to imperialism. Taste of the industrial bourgeoisie.

Cezanne.—Age of the preliminary period of imperialism. Taste of the industrial bourgeoisie.

Gauguin.—Taste of the rentier.

Van Gogh.—Taste of the small bourgeoisie.

Signac.—Taste of the lower and middle bourgeoisie under the influence of the larger industrial bourgeoisie.

Matisse.—Age of distorted imperialism. Taste of the rentier.

That might appear somewhat crude to many; but before they indulge in the familiar derision of the Red official critic, they should examine their own aesthetic reactions and the habitual judgments of a large section of the professional art critics. Indeed, if we widen the meaning of the term propaganda to include not

merely political tub-thumping but every kind of preachiness, we shall have to admit that propaganda has been, and still is, the dominant note of almost all art criticism. At its most refined, it becomes 'lyrical interpretation' and is applauded by every one without even so much as a suspicion that that is making nonsense of art. Even those who would loudly disparage the Red critic and his communistic ideology, hardly ever seem to be conscious of the fact that they are the victims of the same temptation and commit the same sin when they try to interpret art in the light of their own personal ideological preconceptions about religion or morality. Such an ideological interpretation is particularly mischievous, because it wears the colour of something uplifting or ennobling. Crude political propaganda betrays its own irrelevance. But the praise of the mystic element in Bengali art or its religious symbolism passes without being detected as mistaken art criticism because there is something fine about mysticism or religious or moral sentiments. Subtly poisoning the deeper springs of aesthetic delight, while seeming to enrich them, these non-aesthetic predilections have permeated art criticism to the extent of setting up an ultimate art criterion. The torrent of fine phrases and eloquent prose, which is invariably the vehicle of this 'lyrical interpretation', flows sublimely unmindful of the utter irrelevance of its judgments, throwing up a foam of inebriating self-gratulation and transient spiritual exaltation. A reviewer has gone to the length of indicting a book on aesthetics because it contained abstruse matter and not a page of 'aesthetic prose'! The jingling talk of emotions as portrayed in art drowns all protests about their irrelevance and men seek poetry where they ought to seek painting or music or sculpture or dancing or architecture. A glance at the titles of most of the popular pictures or sculptures, or a scrutiny of the involuntary expressions of judgments of most of the spectators of a work of art, will reveal that there is a tinge of the Red in us all.

So far, I have considered factors in the outside environment which being transferred to the mental plane affect its proper functioning in the sphere of art

enjoyment and aesthetic interpretation. But the main source of mischief resides in the intellectual and emotional limitations of those who essay art criticism. To echo Coleridge: "It is neither possible nor necessary for all men, or for many, to be Philosophers (or, art critics). There is a *philosophic consciousness* (and an aesthetic consciousness) which lies beneath or—as it were—*behind* the spontaneous consciousness natural to all reflecting beings (and perceiving or sensing beings." (Words in the brackets are mine). Yet modern critics have done not a little to distort our attitude to art. Their primary sin is the use of glib phrasology whose precise meaning they never try to determine. They never bother about finer logical or psychological distinctions and entertain or appear to entertain the idea that vagueness is the essence of aesthetic rapture. They use ready made concepts without any analytical examination of their contents and mistake traditionalism or profuse citations of authority for profundity. Most art criticism discovers a lack of the power to discriminate relevant from irrelevant factors and tries to beguile or attract the notice of the reader by a sprinkling of quotations from Shakespeare, Shelley, Keats, Browning and less often from Dante or Goethe, etc. 'Nature', 'experience', 'beauty', 'truth', 'medium', 'spiritual', 'intuition' are only some of the terms which are employed as if their meaning was clear and simple and easily as well as universally understood. Lest I should seem too hard upon the non-analytical and wobbly character of modern art criticism, I shall cite a professor who wrote this sentence: 'Art is the translation of beauty in a form that satisfies our aesthetic sense.' Consider that. Art is a *translation* of beauty: so beauty existed prior to its being translated into art. Where? Art is the translation of beauty *in a form, etc.* So beauty existed, before its being translated, in a form that *did not* satisfy our aesthetic sense. What is beauty, then? . . . And yet the writer claims: 'To that definition all are agreed'! I should hope not. Elsewhere, in more than ordinary dissertations, the same inclination to use explanations that merely cloak un-analysed ideas is evident. This type of writing does grave harm by

deluding people into supposed clarification of notions and has succeeded in imposing upon them a barren aesthetic. . .

I have tried to set down some of the more important considerations which have, in my opinion, made it impossible for the moderns to apprehend or perceive beauty directly. Art appreciation will be spurious unless these obstacles now imbedded in our thought are removed and we become capable of spontaneous reactions unimpeded by them. Whether I am right or wrong in my contentions, it is for my readers to decide; and they can easily do so by an introspective analysis of their own response to works of art, why they think one work of art better than another, as well as by sharing their aesthetic experience with their friends and noting the factors operative in cases of divergence of judgments. It is out of such analysis and such exchange that the considerations above detailed have impressed themselves upon me.

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HINDU ASTRONOMY

BY MR. ASOKA C. DUTT

(Honorary Secretary, Chaitanya Library, Calcutta)

FOR a long time a fierce controversy had raged over the history of Hindu astronomy. Its origin was in dispute. The antiquity was questioned. Eminent scholars found themselves arrayed in hostile camps, one party alleging it to be of ancient and indigenous origin, the other, that it was of exotic and, therefore, necessarily of a later growth. The great protagonists of this mighty contention are dead. Now that the heat and dust of the controversy are allayed, the truth emerges and, as is so often the case, it is found to lie mid-way between the opposing theories of the two rival schools. That it originated in this country has now been proved beyond the shadow of doubt, its subsequent development under foreign influence cannot be denied, and its antiquity has been completely vindicated. Such was the conclusion arrived at long ago by our late distinguished countryman, Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, I.C.S., C.I.E., in his "Civilisation in Ancient India". It receives ample corroboration from a scholarly account of Hindu astronomy given by Mr. G. R. Kaye in a memoir published a few years ago under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India. It is mainly from these two books that the following facts are collated.

The attention of Europe was first drawn to this subject in 1691 by the publication of certain astronomical rules brought from Assam by M. de la Loubiere. He was followed by T. S. Bayer and E. Euler. Le Gentil also published an account of Hindu astronomy in 1769. It was not, however, till 1787 when the illustrious Bailly (Mayor of Paris, President of the First National Assembly, and guillotined in 1793) published his 'Treatise on Indian and Oriental Astronomy' that the attention of Europe was aroused in the subject. According to him, Hindu astronomy was of great antiquity, the Hindus were its inventors, their observations were direct and original, their calculations more simple and natural than those of Ptolemy, and that the Greeks of Alexandria had profited by the Indian notions. The work caused a deep

stir in scientific circles. Laplace and Playfair were struck by the novelty of the subject and the extraordinary advance made in it by the Hindus. A reaction, however, soon set in, and Playfair himself stated that a more minute examination led enquirers to doubt "the pretensions to high antiquity that they found in the astronomical books of the Hindus".

Scholars versed in Oriental lore took a different view. Sir William Jones says: "I undertake to prove that the Indian Zodiac was not borrowed mediately or directly from the Arabs or Greeks." And again: "The Brahmans were always too proud to borrow their science from the Greeks, Arabs, Moguls, or any other nation of Mechehas as they call those who are ignorant of the Vedas, and have not studied the language of the Gods." Of the idea of indebtedness to the Greeks, they "all seemed to think it a notion bordering on frenzy". Colebrooke was of opinion that the Hindus arranged the lunar mansions from their own observations and had an ecliptic "seemingly their own". He also suggested "that the Hindus were in some ways indebted to the Greeks", particularly in their later development of this science.

"The eminent French savant Biot, writing in 1860," says Mr. R. C. Dutt, "described the Chinese system of *Sieu* as an indigenous Chinese institution, and the inference was that the Hindu *Nakshatras* and Arab *Manazil* were borrowed from the Chinese. The German scholar Lassen was led to adopt this opinion." Weber has demolished this theory, but, unfortunately, he propounded one of his own which, however, has received very faint support. According to him, the Indians derived their astronomical notions from the Chaldeans. He received partial support from Prof. Whitney, but the Professor himself says the argument "is not of such a character as to compel belief". Prof. Max Muller has demonstrated this theory to be ill-founded and untenable. He says: "The Babylonian Zodiac was solar, and in spite of repeated researches,

no trace of a lunar Zodiac had been found. . . . But supposing even that a lunar Zodiac had been discovered in Babylon, no one acquainted with Vedic literature, and with the ancient Vedic ceremonial, would easily allow himself to be persuaded that the Hindus had borrowed that simple division of the sky from the Babylonians." It is surprising to find that the successor of Prof. Max Muller in his Chair at Oxford assert without assigning any reason whatsoever: "It is probable that they (the Hindus) derived their early acquaintance with the 28 divisions of the moon's orbit from the Chaldeans through their commercial relations with the Phoenicians." Why the Indians must needs borrow it is not known. It only illustrates the adage that 'if a lie gets a start, it is difficult for truth to overtake it'.

After the middle of the last century, a few works bearing on astronomy came to be translated; thus the *Jyotisha Vedanga* (Weber), *Surya Siddhanta* (Whitney), the *Panchasiddhantika* (Thibaut), and Alberuni's *India* (Sachan). "These contributions," says Mr. Kaye, "settled definitely the question of the connection between the later Hindu astronomy and that of the Greeks; and the attention of the Orientalists was consequently directed to the earlier periods that had been designated Vedic and post-Vedic," which may be held to have been settled equally definitely to be of Indian origin. If, however, the Hindu system received an impetus from Greek influence at one stage of its development, India has paid back the debt she owed to Europe. The Mahomedans owe the first scientific elements of astronomy to India, for they gathered these from the Hindus in the eighth and ninth centuries. The writings of Aryabhatta and of Brahmagupta were translated and adopted by the Arabs, and the Khalifs of Bagdad sent for Indian astronomers to their Court to supervise the work of the Arabians. Through the Arabians, Indian astronomy migrated to Europe. Thus, in the Middle Ages, when Europe was enveloped in darkness and the Arabs held up the torch of learning, this particular lamp of knowledge was re-kindled from light that originally had come from India.

The question of age has revived a fresh controversy. To put the matter short, I may quote the following from Mr. Kaye:—"In 1893, Jacobi and Tilak independently suggested that the Vedic works contained important astronomical evidence of their own antiquity; but their views were strongly opposed by Whitney, Oldenburg and Thibaut. Thus was started another controversy which, like the earlier one, was also flavoured with a certain amount of personal virus; for Whitney, whose knowledge of Sanskrit literature and of astronomy was unrivalled, accused Jacobi of disingenuousness. The general result is that while many European Orientalists reject Jacobi's and Tilak's hypotheses, in India itself they are popular."

Geometry is said to have been evolved out of the necessity for the solution of problems arising out of the construction of altars. It is no wonder that the various rituals from very early times for their due performance and accurate forecast demanded some observation of celestial phenomena. It was necessary in order to fix the time for worship and for sacrifices and also to establish a sacred calendar. The stars served as calendars. The term 'Vedangas' implies that some of the sciences at any rate, and rules on a few other subjects grew up under the dominating influence of religion and were ancillary to it. It was several centuries afterwards that they freed themselves from its trammels. The intimate connection between the two is thus pointed out by Colebrooke: "The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and sun; and the motions of these luminaries were carefully observed by them, and with such success that their determination of the moon's synodical revolution, which was what they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved The adoration of the sun, of the planets, and of the stars, in common with the worship of the elements, had a principal place in their religious observances enjoined by the Vedas; and they were led constantly by piety to watch the heavenly

bodies. They were particularly conversant with the most splendid of the primary planets, the period of Jupiter being introduced by them, in conjunction with those of the sun and moon, into the regulation of their calendar, sacred and civil, in the form of the celebrated cycle of 60 years."

In the age of the Rig Veda, the year consisted of 360 days. There is allusion also to 12 savana or civil months of 30 days each with a thirteenth intercalary month of 30 days in cycle of 5 years. The year was divided into 12 months, into 6 seasons, into 4 quarters of 90 days each. The 7 planets and 27 nakshatras are also referred to. The solstitial divisions were probably known, and Tilak detests a reference to the heliacal rising of Sirius at the vernal equinox (4500 B.C.). According to Tilak, the astronomical statements in the Vedas "unmistakably pointed out that the vernal equinox was in the constellation of Mriga or Orion (about 4500 B.C.) during the period of the Vedic hymns, and that it had reached to the constellation of the Krittikas, or the Pleiades (about 2500 B.C.) in the days of the Brahmanas". The Atharva Veda gives a list of 28 asterisms and mentions eclipses. The Upanishads refer to the fixed pole star which Jacobi identifies with Draconis and so deduces a date of 2780 B.C. The Buddhist Jatakas refer to conjunctions of planets. According to Bentley, the lunar Zodiac was fixed in 1426 B.C. and the months were named in 1181 B.C.

Astronomical references are to be found in the epics. The lunar Zodiac was fixed, the position of the solstitial points were marked, there is evidence of some knowledge of precession, and the planets are mentioned by name. But as Prof. Hopkins has observed: "The most surprising astronomical statement in the epic (Mahabharata) is to the effect that the stars are really large and only appear small on account of their distance." The fanciful cosmological notions of the Puranas conflicted with the teachings of astronomers of the time, but the former were more popular.

Mr. Kaye gives the following list of tests on Astronomy in the post-Vedic age:—The Paitamaha Siddhanta (80 A.D.), the Jyotisha Vedanga, the Suryaprajnapati

(Jain), and certain sections of Kantilya's Arthashastra. The Jyotisha Vedanga explains the quinquennial cycle which Mr. Kaye says consists of $5 \times 366 = 1830$ savana or civil days, $5 \times 367 = 1835$ sidereal days, $5 \times 366 - 62 = 1768$ lunar days, $5 \times 372 = 1860$ tithis. The sidereal day dropped out and the lunar day was replaced by *tithis* of which there were 30 to the synodic month.

The 18 Siddhantas constituted a link between the early and later astronomical works. Most of them are lost, a few only are partly extant in revised redactions and quotations. Varahamihira compiled 5 of these in his well-known Panchasiddhantika, viz., the Paulisa, Romaka, Vasishttha, Saura and Paitamaha, the first two betraying by their very names their foreign origin. The most famous among the authors of these Siddhantas were Parashara and Garga.

In the golden age of Sanskrit literature, astronomy shared in the general revival of learning and great strides were made in this science. But there can be no doubt that astronomers of this brilliant epoch profited by the researches of Hipparchus and other Greek writers, or as Colebrooke has said "received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks". Mr. Kaye sums up the evidence on the introduction of Greek teaching in one sentence. He says: "Of particular evidence that can be conveniently marshalled, we have explicit statements of early Hindu writers, the employment of Greek technical terms in Hindu works of the critical period, and the introduction of ideas entirely new to India, but which had been for some time taught by Greek astronomers." This period, according to Mr. Kaye, lasted from 400 A.D. to 700 A.D., and according to Mr. Dutt, from 500 A.D. to 800 A.D. The works of this epoch differ so fundamentally from the older works "that continuity of development appears to be altogether out of the question". Mr. Kaye notes the following changes consequent upon the introduction of Western methods and ideas:

(a) The Nakshatra divisions of the ecliptic were almost altogether superseded by the signs of the Zodiac.

(b) The motions of the planets, which in the early period had not been dealt with at all, were examined in detail

and explained by the method of epicycles after the Greek fashion.

(c) The notion of parallax and methods of calculating it were introduced.

(d) Methods of calculating eclipses, entirely new to Indian works, were introduced.

(e) The notion of heliacal settings and risings of heavenly bodies was introduced, chiefly with astrological applications.

(f) Correct rules for calculating the length of the day and night and oblique ascensions, etc., were introduced.

(g) The length of the year was revised. (It was 17 hours too long).

(h) The planetary week-day names were introduced."

Three illustrious names stand out prominently in this age.

I. Aryabhatta. He was born at Pataliputra in 476 A.D. He was no blind follower of tradition but a respecter of truth irrespective of its source. As Mr. Kaye says: "Aryabhatta is chiefly notable as an opposer of certain aspects of the orthodox Hindu teaching of his time. He demonstrates that Mount Meru is not high. He teaches that the Earth is a sphere and that it rotates on its axis. This revival of a Greek hypothesis, however, did not flourish in India any more than in the West. If the Earth rotated, "falcons, etc. could not return from the sky to their nests . . . and flags and similar things would, owing to the quickness of the revolution, stream constantly to the west".—(Brahmagupta). Aryabhatta maintains that eclipses are not caused by Rahu but by the Moon and the shadow of the Earth "in direct opposition to all and from pure enmity" according to Brahmagupta . . . His scheme was more or less the usual one of the time but, perhaps, more emphatically Greek. For his progressive outlook he has been vilified by the orthodox teachers and, perhaps, by none more strongly than by Brahmagupta.

II. Varahamihira. He was born in Avanti probably in 505 A.D. and died in 587 A.D. His Panchasiddhantika has been referred to, and he wrote other works on

Astrology, the best known being the Brihat Sambhita (edited by Dr. Kern). He appears to have sought to bring about a reconciliation between Western and Eastern teachings. Alberuni praises him as an honest man of science except when he dabbles in astrology which "does not well suit his deep learning".

II. Brahmagupta. He was born in 598 A.D. He represented the orthodox view. As quoted by Alberuni, he says: "All heavy things fell down to the earth by a law of nature, for it is the nature of the earth to attract and to keep things." Besides his commentary on Aryabhatta's doctrines, he wrote a book called the Brahmasphutasiddhanta comprising 21 chapters. "The first 10 contain an astronomical system, describing the places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars, etc."—(Mr. Dutt). Alberuni considers him to be the most distinguished of Hindu astronomers although, according to Alberuni, "he shirks the truth and lends his support to imposture."

The last Hindu astronomer of eminence was Bhaskaracharya, born in 1114 A.D. His work the Siddhantashiromani along with the Suryasiddhanta are regarded as the most authoritative text-books on the subject in this country, although there are reasons to believe that the extant edition of the latter book differs materially from the text of the old work of the same name.

Here I may fitly conclude the subject without tiring the reader's patience any further. Mr. Kaye deals with various other topics in his memoir, such as mathematical astronomy, astronomical instruments, astronomical deities. It is a work of absorbing interest. It is 25 years since I last looked into a text-book of astronomy. I am, therefore, perfectly conscious of my own imperfections in dealing with this topic. If I have induced some of the readers to turn over the pages of Mr. Kaye's book, my purpose will have been served. There is room for a bigger work than Mr. Kaye's. Here is a field for Indian scholars with a taste for research work in this branch of study.

The Income-tax Bill in the Assembly

BY PROF. M. H. VASWANI

(Shikarpur College, Sind)

A RESULT of the investigation of the Income-tax system conducted by Khan Bahadur J. B. Vachha, C.I.E., Commissioner of Income-tax, Bombay, and Messrs. C. W. Ayers and S. P. Chambers of the Board of Inland Revenue in the United Kingdom, was submitted to the Government of India last year. On the basis of that report, with some significant alterations, Sir James Grigg has brought a Bill in the legislature to amend the existing Income-tax law. It is worth while examining the Bill in detail.

The Bill substitutes slab system for the present "step" system, prescribes compulsory returns of income and seeks to tax aggregate income of husband and wife. Under the present system of rates of income-tax, tax is charged at the same rate on the whole income. Under the slab system, progressive rates are applied to successive slices of income. This is the system now in operation for the charge of super-tax. The earners are to make returns, of their own accord, to the income-tax officer concerned, subject to a heavy penalty for failure. Penalty is increased from the amount of the tax avoided to twice that amount. It is to include super-tax as well as income-tax and it is to be impossible for failure to file a return or to submit accounts or to submit other evidence in support of return. To prevent hardship in case of a person with no income liable to tax, the penalty is limited to Rs. 50, and in the case of an agent of the non-resident, the penalty for failure to file return can only follow the issue of a specific notice calling for return. Those people who after scenting penalty

proceedings, lodge a return are also to be effectively dealt with. Regarding taxation of married people, a husband and wife will be assessed separately at a rate applicable to total income, both subject to an allowance up to Rs. 500 in the case of income earned by personal exertions of the wife.

The Bill abounds in provisions intended to check many forms of evasion. The Bill deals with measures to defeat evasion by postponing the drawing of salary or by taking advances or loans. Advances and loans on such income are now to be deemed as salary due on the date when received. Allowances for depreciation amount are to be restricted, as they are largely written off in the assessee's accounts. The Bill further prevents avoidance of tax by the simple device of settling the income upon another person whose rate of tax is lower than that of the settler, or to transfer the assets so that the income therefrom arises to such other person. Now, the income in such case is to be treated as the income of the settler or the transferer. If, however, the assets are irrevocably transferred to another person in other than specified circumstances, the income therefrom shall not be deemed as the income of the transferer. One of the usual methods of avoiding the payment of tax without violating the law is to transfer the assets, from which income arises, to a company which is resident outside British India and then to receive payments from that company in a form and in such circumstances that the amounts received from the company are never in fact repayable or repaid to it. The effect of these arrangements is that

the real owner of the assets receives income therefrom indirectly and in capital form. The Bill says that wherever an income which really belongs to a person liable to income-tax or super-tax or both, becomes by means of an arithmetical set of transactions the income of somebody liable to pay less or no tax at all, such income of the person to whom it really belongs will be taxed. The Act, at present, taxes income which accrues or arises or is received in British India and, in addition, in the case of a resident, income accruing or arising outside British India if received in or brought into British India. The Bill now enlarges the scope of this Section by including the whole foreign income of a person resident and/or domiciled in British India, whether brought into British India or not. The Bill is further designed to prevent the abuse of exemption given to income of religious trusts. According to the Bill, exemption is not to be given to income of private religious trusts which does not ensure benefit to the public.

Sir James Grigg is of opinion that at least a crore would accrue from checking legal evasion alone and this crore would accrue almost immediately. Another crore is expected by giving effect to anti-tax dodging clauses of the Bill. The provinces will get a share in this increased revenue. The effect of the Bill would be, in the words of Sir Grigg, that two-thirds of the number of taxpayers who were now subject to income-tax would pay less and one-third would pay more. Thus there would be a fairly equitable distribution of income-tax burden.

As the Bill is intended to introduce a more equitable distribution of wealth, the rich people are to be taxed to a greater

extent. On the top of that, all ways of evasion will be stopped. There is, therefore, an apprehension in Indian commercial circles that the cumulative effect of several sections of the Bill will amount to a capital levy which is not justified as a normal measure of finance. They feel that there is a deliberate attempt in drafting the Bill to discourage joint-stock enterprise in this country. This apprehension, however, is not justified. As Mr. N. M. Joshi pointed out in the Assembly, trade and industry flourished in England in spite of the incidence of income-tax being heavier there. He, therefore, expressed himself in favour of the State taking away a good deal of the surplus wealth from the rich, because there would then be so much less temptation for people to squander their money.

The Bill, however, is not free from defects. There are various objections to the Bill as it is drafted. The Bill does not subject to Indian income-tax the interest on sterling loans and the salaries and pensions paid in England out of Indian revenues. The Income-tax Committee had recommended for submission of pensions paid in England to Indian income-tax, but this important recommendation has been set aside by Sir James evidently to protect his own countrymen at the cost of India. The Bill further gives differential and preferential treatment to foreigners. According to the Bill, a foreigner could spend all his life in India and yet be *not* a domicile and, therefore, be exempted from taxation on investment abroad, where the Indian would be taxed on incomes earned both abroad and at home. The Committee had recommended that foreign incomes of foreigners resident in India should be assessed. It is significant to note that Sir James Grigg has omitted this clause in the Bill. Over this point

there was a passage-at-arms between the Finance Member and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in the Assembly. The Finance Member accused the rich people of India of stirring up racial prejudice. Mr. Desai retorted saying that if exceptions for concessions now allowed to foreign residents in India were only withdrawn, it would yield infinitely larger money than all the tax-dodging devices. Section 60 investing power of exemption with the Government must go forthwith. As Mr. B. D. Pande pointed out in the Assembly, the exemption section let go the mightiest in the land and caught hold of beggars. Then, again, the provision that earners should make returns of their own accord is very mischievous. About 80 per cent. of our people are totally illiterate and they will almost always fail in sending returns. This provision will create restlessness in people, cause oppression, give authority to income-tax officers, which can be misused and increase administrative work for hunting down evaders. But Sir James does not agree with this point of view. He said in the Assembly that the system of compulsory returns had been introduced in Ceylon where it was working perfectly well. This showed that it was not a system only suitable to the West. He gave an assurance that clear executive instructions would be given to see that the penalty imposed fitted with the offence and that, particularly in the case of small illiterate assesseees, new provisions did not work harshly. But one cannot say how far the spirit of this assurance given by the Finance Member will be carried out in practice. Instances of malpractices by the income-tax collectors in villages and districts are so numerous that one must

not swallow the Finance Member's Assurances easily. Lastly, no allowance has been made for children and no distinction is drawn between earned and unearned income. This provision regarding the aggregation of income of the husband and the wife will discourage independent earning by women at a time when women are taking an increasingly important part in our social and economic life. Moreover after passing of the Women's Right to Property Act, this proposal is iniquitous. The other proposal relating to undivided Hindu joint family was equally objectionable. Supposing that 10 members of a joint Hindu family, said Mr. S. K. Som, earned 40 or 50 rupees in different places and did not, therefore, live together but occasionally took help from the joint property, was it right that the total amount of their salaries should be assessed on the plea that it exceeded the maximum tax-free income of Rs. 2,000? In effect it takes away from these individuals the benefit of exemption of incomes below Rs. 2,000. It means taxing the poor clerks drawing Rs. 40 or Rs. 50. In England, where our Finance Member has received his training, a distinction is made between total income and assessable income, and assessable income and taxable income. The taxable income on which tax is charged in England is much less than the assessable income and is found out by making certain deductions from the assessable income due to marriage, children and other dependents. Thus while relief is given in England to persons who are married and have children or other dependents, in India no such relief is given though its need is greater here than anywhere else.

It is very sad to see that at every turn "experts" are brought out in India from England. Messrs. Ayers and Chambers are junior officers of the Board of Inland Revenue, England, and they were brought here at about three times their salary. Not a single non-official Indian or Indian businessman or one who knew the law of the land had a place on the Committee. In an atmosphere like this when India is being denied a share in shaping her future policy, Reforms cannot be a success.

Viscount Nuffield: Prince of Benefactors

BY MR. A. E. B.

WRITING on the subject of Philanthropy in the issue of "Great Thoughts" for January 1937, E. A. Abbott states: "Speaking roughly, we might say that the characteristic difference between ancient and modern philanthropy is that the former aims at curing, while the latter aims at preventing; the former is moral, the latter intellectual as well as moral. Thus, if it was the task of the early Christians to relieve disease, it is



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ours to use our new knowledge of sanitary laws for the prevention of disease; if it was theirs to assist the poor, it is ours to destroy the causes of pauperism; if it was the privilege of the first disciples in one emotional shock to convert a sinner from darkness to light by the mere mention of the name of Jesus, it is our

less startling duty to remove from our poorer brethren the irresistible temptations to crime, taught by sad experience, that the want of food frequently means the want of spiritual as well as bodily strength, and the absence of education means the presence of brutality, and the absence of the physical decencies of life means the presence of moral indecency; and, in a word, that man's unpitied misery means Satan's opportunity. It would doubtless be unnecessary for one to venture to observe under what category the subject of this sketch comes. The reasons are so self-evident that to state them would appear almost a platitude. On being asked why he is giving away his money, his Lordship replied: "I feel that those who have more than they need should give to those who are less fortunate, especially those who are in bad health."

Born on the 9th October, 1877, of poor parents, William Richard Morris left school at the comparatively early age of 14, and started life in a bicycle repairer's shop in his home-town in Oxford. Dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to him by his employer after nearly a year's apprenticeship, the lad decided to strike out for himself with his hard-earned savings—a paltry five pounds. Opening out an establishment of his own, he put up a sign-board "William Morris, cycle maker and repairer." By dint of hard labour, he persevered and built up a steady business. He next launched into the motor-cycle trade where he was equally successful. Nothing daunted, his one ambition being to show to the world what a poor lad could do, given the opportunity, he finally turned his attention to the major industry, in which

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business he was destined to play an important part in the life of the British nation. Running the business on sound principles, he established a reputation for Morris Cars and soon earned a name for himself in the industry. In the very first year of this new business, he sold 400 cars and on they went till later the sales continued to rise by leaps and bounds.

The hard struggle for existence in his early years had stood him in good stead. A firm believer in the school of experience, Britain's wealthiest self-made man has made the startling confession: "My first desire in life was to be a Surgeon, but there was no money in being a Surgeon, so I had to take on the next thing—a mechanic's job." He has also admitted that he can never read a book to the end as he is always too anxious to "get out and see for himself". "Do not seek for ease which is the portion of babes, not of men. Seek for tasks, hard tasks, for the doing of which strength is needed, and in the doing of which strength will come," seems to have been his motto in life.

With the declaration of War in 1914, the Morris factories at Cowley were taken over by the War Office for conversion into munition factories, and with their return (at the close of the Great War) to the owner, Morris had to start all over again. It, however, did not take him long to re-establish his business on a firm footing and regain his former position in the trade. The Morris organisation continued to thrive so much so that he was compelled to resort to what became known as "mass production", which created a sensation in the motor trade. When the opportunity presented itself in 1927, he bought up the Wolseley concern

and proceeded with characteristic thoroughness to remodel entirely the manufacturing plant of this old-established organisation, so as to represent the last word in modern automobile production. Though business continued to show distinct signs of prosperity, he was determined not to draw any dividends until there was a reserve fund of £2,000,000 which was eventually reached in 1929. In the following year he was able to show a record profit of £1,250,000. On being offered the tempting sum of £11,000,000 to buy over from him the Morris concern, he refused point blank saying: "I am not selling the old country."

In recognition of his eminent services to the nation, he was Knighted in 1927, created a Baronet two years later and on his elevation to the Peerage in 1934, took the title of Lord Nuffield of Oxford. By now his name had become a household word, not only wherever the Morris organisation exists, but throughout the world. His generous gifts, so unostentatiously given, readily find in him a benefactor of every deserving charitable object which has earned for him the epithet "Prince of Benefactors". It was, therefore, only fitting that such invaluable services should have been further rewarded by the bestowal of a Viscounty in this year's New Years Honours List. The Albert Medal for 1937, awarded annually for distinguished merit in promoting arts, manufacture or commerce, was also awarded to him by the Council of the Royal Society of Arts for services rendered to industry, transport, and medical science. Even the Society of Apothecaries in London conferred upon him the honorary freedom of the Society for the great services he has rendered to medical progress.

With characteristic munificence, his Lordship has made an endowment of £2,000,000 to Oxford University. This bequest which in his own words "will give reality to a dream", is to go towards the founding of a Nuffield Institute for Medical Research. With becoming modesty, so typical of him, Viscount Nuffield, besides his numerous benefactions to Oxford, continues to use his fabulous wealth to good purpose. His care for the welfare of the blind is clearly apparent in his spontaneous gift of Rs. 70,000 made on the occasion of his visits to the Deaf and Blind School (Mount Lavinia), Ceylon. He has also contributed liberally towards the provision of "Talking-Books" which are being produced by a Sound Recording Committee set up by the National Institute for the Blind and St. Dunstons. His gift of £2,000,000 heralding the new reign, is to be devoted to the benefit of areas suffering specially severely from changes in industrial employment in the last decade. A scheme has also been formed whereby £2,125,000 of his interests in the Morris and Allied Companies at Oxford, Coventry, and Birmingham will be utilised for the creation of a fund for distribution among his employees. "I was becoming tired of working for myself. Now I have the incentive to work for shareholders. There is no responsibility in looking after one's own money. Money means nothing to me. I could just as easily go back to where I started, in fact, I might be happier if I did. But having earned the money, I want to see that I use it for the alleviation of suffering. My opinion is that in medicine and surgery this country ought to lead the world," said Viscount Nuffield in referring to this striking act of munificence.

It is significant that while Viscount Nuffield is a staunch benefactor of Oxford University, Lord Austin, another motor

magnate, has been the benefactor of Cambridge. A honorary Doctor of Civil Laws of Oxford, Viscount Nuffield is as active and energetic as ever and still persists in attending to work at eight in the morning. The worries and difficulties besetting one whose generosity knows no bounds, have now been revealed in that his Lordship's mail for the past year consisted of 70,000 "begging-letters" from big institutions, hospitals and individuals from all over the globe. They are so inundated with the daily rush of letters, telegrams and cablegrams, besides telephone calls and personal callers that Secretary Hobbs and the special staff of assistants are hard put to it to cope with them from early morning that their employer is unable to get to work on his own personal and business correspondence till close upon mid-day.

His Lordship married in 1904, Miss Anstey, also of Oxford. They both live a retired life at their manor-house at Nuffield place, Ur, Henley-on-Thames. There is no heir to the Nuffield fortune estimated to be in the region of £20,000,000. Save for Golf, his life interest is in his work. How deeply attached he is to his country is evident in the recent unfortunate controversy with the Air Ministry, when he declared: "If the country wants me, I shall be there." Politics are taboo with him; for he holds to the view that most politicians who deal with industry are "fat-heads".

Viscount Nuffield has been so lavish in his gifts that it is estimated he has given away at the rate of eight pounds a minute during the past three years. He now joins the select band of such philanthropists as the Americans: Andrew Carnegie, Edward Harkness, and John Rockefeller. No philanthropist or millionaire has rendered a wider service than his Lordship for the alleviation of suffering humanity by his numerous bequests to hospitals and charitable institutions in England, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Ceylon. In the words of Bacon: "Money is like muck, no good except it be spread—therein lies the secret of Viscount Nuffield's benefactions. Such princely gestures only serve to emphasize the greatness of this perfect self-made man.

SOUTH INDIAN RULERS OF CEYLON

BY MR. D. T. DEVENDRA, B.A. (Lond.)

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ONE hundred and six years ago, there passed away at the historic city of Vellore a prisoner of state, whose identity must have been known to but a handful of the Indians of his time. He was Sri Wickrama Rajasingha, the king of the Kandyan Provinces of Ceylon and the last ruler of the Lion Race, as the Sinhalese are styled.

But Sri Wickrama, strange though it may seem, was not of the race over whom he was king. He came from Madura and belonged to the dynasty called the Nayakkar.

The first ruler of this dynasty ascended the throne in 1739, adopting the high-sounding Sinhalese title of Sri Vijaya Rajasingha. The Madura kings held unbroken sway for 76 years. With the deposition of Sri Wickrama on the 18th of February, 1815, by the English, an independence which had lasted two millenniums and a half was extinguished but it is hoped not for ever.

It was early in the seventeenth century that a Kandyan king looked to India to procure a suitable bride for his son, and this practice was continued by his successors. The last king of the Sinhalese race, who was dying childless, nominated his Indian queen's brother as his successor. There had not been any direct descendant of Sinhalese royalty for some time, and the people acquiesced in this innovation. Further, the new ruler and his kinsfolk became one with the people of their adoption by embracing the national Buddhist faith.

Foreign influence became paramount in the court, but not in a way antagonistic to the people. For instance, although the

royal kinsmen had the king's ear, Sinhalese chiefs ruled the provinces, and it was the same Indian ruler who became aggressively Buddhist to adopt a harsh policy towards the Christians, who had been tolerated by his Sinhalese predecessors. The Portuguese first, and then the Dutch had mulcted the Island of a goodly portion of its resources, and the ruler of the Kandyan dominions was regarded as the centre of nationalist resistance to the cultural and religious influence of the alien.

Conscious of the trend of public opinion, and chafing under the restraints necessarily imposed, Sri Vijaya, the first Madura king, initiated repressive measures against the Christians, who had been allowed the free exercise of their religion in his new dominions. This at once won the people's heart. Moreover, Buddhism itself had decayed to such an extent that there were not even ordained Buddhist monks in Kandy. He, therefore, sent two embassies to Buddhist Siam, inviting ordained monks to establish ordination in Kandy. Besides, he zealously displayed a love of Buddhism by erecting religious buildings and holding magnificent festivals.

A new rule of succession had been introduced by the foreign dynasty. According to it, the throne next devolved upon Kirti Sri Rajasingha, the brother-in-law of Sri Vijaya, while he was yet in his early teens. Kirti Sri reigned for 31 years. His rule, from the point of view of religion and culture, forms one of the most splendid chapters in the history of Lanka.

It was under him that the long hoped for mission to Siam was consummated,

and in 1753, Buddhist ordination was established by monks from that country. Saranankara, the last Sangha Raja, a man of great piety and devotion, was the moving spirit and the religious mentor of the king. Arts and literature flourished and the hoary chronicle of the Island, the "Mahawansa" was collated from the records of the monastic libraries and continued under his patronage from where it had been left off in the 14th century. Nearly five hundred verses of it, in fact, are dedicated to Kirti Sri. The two chapters devoted to him are a panegyric on the virtues of his meritorious work. *Amhakam rajarajanam*, "our king of kings", says the priestly chronicler of this Indian king, an expression never before used in the annals of his predecessors.

Politically speaking, however, the reign was a failure. The Dutch, who had tamely suffered all insults and indignities for mercenary reasons, now attacked the kingdom, and the king fled to the mountain fastnesses of the interior, leaving his capital to be sacked by the invader. Even to his refuge at Hanguranketa they pursued him and he was compelled to come to terms with them in 1766 by a treaty which granted undisputed sovereignty over the entire coastal strip of the Island. This was a concession never before hoped for by any foreigner.

It was in an endeavour to stem the rising power of the Hollanders that Kirti Sri applied to the East India Company for an English mission to his country. The result was the despatch of John Pybus from Madras. The mission bore no fruit, but Pybus has left valuable observations on the life of the people.

Audience was always given to foreigners in the night and by torchlight, and

the ambassador thus describes the scene:

The hall is about 50 feet long and 30 feet broad; but being very badly illuminated, I had a very indifferent view of the king, to distinguish particularly his dress; but the upper garment seemed an open robe of gold tissue with a close vest underneath, and a broad belt richly embroidered with gold round his waist. He had upon his head a cap of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, much in the form of an Armenian's cap, upon the top of which was a small crown set with precious stones; several rings on his fingers; a short dagger in his left hand, the hilt of which was gold set with precious stones; and on his right side was a large broad sword, not girt upon him, but resting against the chair of state; its hilt, likewise, was of gold richly set with precious stones. His shoes were in the manner of the Chinese sandals, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, and a plate of gold seemed to run round the outsides of the soles and there was a canopy of white silk, four or five feet above the chair of state.

For Buddhist Ceylon, Kirti Sri's time was spacious and his person was dazzling in glory. Visitors to the Kandyan Provinces will often hear music accompanying the ritual in the temples of every town and village. Every one of these has its origin in a decree of this pious king. Indian though he was, he has done, as no previous king had done, to ensure the permanency of the national faith in Ceylon.

Kirti Sri was succeeded by his brother Rajadhi Rajasingha, whose "breeding and education was Kandyan and Sinhalese". This king's reign was noteworthy for the break-up of the Dutch power in the Island, the attempt of the French (their allies) to gain a foothold in it, and the final establishment of English suzerainty on the sea-coast—events which followed in the wake of American War of Independence. Two English embassies were sent to the king, one in 1781 led by Hugh Boyd on instructions from Admiral Hughes, and the other by Robert Andrews of the Madras Civil Service.

The surging tide of English colonisation was soon to engulf the entire Island in

English ambitions, and the Rajadhi was not destined to play any part to stem it. He furthered the traditional policy of piety, but himself became unpopular and, according to some accounts, was deposed by the people.

The fact was that a Sinhalese faction headed by the ambitious and powerful Prime Minister, Pilima Talauwa, was striving to shake off the influence of the Nayakkars. To the vacant throne, he nominated Kannasamy, the son of one of the late king's queens. He hoped to use the young lad as a puppet until he himself could ascend the throne, to which he dared not openly aspire on account of his general unpopularity with the other Sinhalese nobles.

The great Kandyan families were in the debt of the Nayakkars whom they hated but feared. They were torn among themselves by petty jealousies and would rather obey the Indian than allow royal precedence to the chief minister. Their leaders in the meantime were in secret communication with the English Governor at Colombo. They were even willing to provide justifiable *casus belli* against their king. But Pilima Talauwa's guilt was discovered and he paid the penalty due from a traitor.

Surrounded by treachery, harassed by the English who did not mean to let the internal kingdom exist, alternately protecting his subjects against the oppressions of the chiefs of their own blood, and oppressing them himself, Sri Wickrama Rajasingha lived a life of pathetic discomfort.

On the death of the minister, the traitor's mantle had fallen on his kinsman Ehelepola whom the king, most foolishly,

advanced to high position. The machinations of this minister led to the inevitable fall of Kandyan independence. Sri Wickrama was captured on the 18th February 1815, and at long last the alien lorded it over the whole land.

Of Sri Wickrama, woefully sinned against by native and foreigner, curiously conflicting tales have been told. Cordiner gives the following picture in the course of an embassy in 1800:

The king seemed very vain of his cress and very uneasy on his throne; he kept constantly shaking his head to display the precious stones in his crown and pulled down his vest or armour to show off his jewels with which it was studded.

This, in the words of William Knighton, an early English historian "is the portrait of an idiot". Oddly enough, another officer of the same embassy, and the writer of an authoritative work on the Island, makes the following contradictory observations:

He was in appearance a young man, very black with a light beard. In appearance his majesty much resembled the figures we are accustomed to see of King Henry VIII. The present king is by far the mildest prince that has ever hitherto reigned over the Kandians.—(Percival).

Still another writer says the following:

Wickrama Rajasingha is, in his person, considerably above the middle size; of a corpulent yet muscular appearance, and with a physiognomy which is at all times handsome and frequently not unpleasing. His claim to talent has been disputed by many who have had an opportunity of conversing with him, but he is certainly not deficient in shrewdness or comprehension.—(Egerton, quoted by Knighton.)

After his removal, the king's character was deliberately and systematically blackened by prejudiced parties, for the real conquest of Kandy had yet to be. It took place four years later, after a formidable rebellion in which the arch-villain Ehelepola, who cherished royal ambitions, was implicated and justly banished to Mauritius where he died in exile.

Among the last king's contributions to Kandy are the beautiful Octagon in the

Temple of the Tooth, and the picturesque and lovely Lake. This latter was declaimed as a useless and iniquitous piece of work, in that forced and oppressive labour was exacted for its construction. But it is this self-same Lake that regularly saves the inhabitants during times of severe drought.

Sri Wickrama was removed to Vellore where he lived for 17 years, finally dying of dropsy, a maligned and tragic figure. His only son, who was born in exile, died in 1813. There are, however, several pensioners of the Ceylon Government in South India. But these are the descendants, by adoption, of various

relatives of the last Indian king of Kandy.

The rule of the Nayakkars saw a revival of learning in the Kandyan provinces, especially in the time of Kirti Sri, its greatest patron. The two later kings are said to have been no mean poets and several compositions are attributed to them. Dravidian influence is also noticed in the Kandyan literature of the period, in which is a generous sprinkling of Tamil words. There are also marked Dravidian touches in some of the customs, ceremonials, dress and other social aspects, which are survivals of this, the last phase of Indian rule in Ceylon.

BANKER'S ADVANCES

BY MR. G. BALASUBRAHMANIA AIYER

THE advances made by a banker to his customers are mainly of two kinds, i.e., secured and unsecured. This article will deal with the various classes coming under the above two heads.

SECURED ADVANCES

Government and other securities, shares of joint stock companies, jewellery, and agricultural and industrial commodities are generally taken as collateral securities against the advances made by a banker.

For the period these securities are held as cover by the banker against the advances made, they are completely in his possession and will be open to be disposed of by him for the recovery of the amount he has advanced at any time either in the event of non-payment on the due date or under any other peculiar circumstances that may arise in the meanwhile. To be in complete possession of the securities, the banker obtains the endorsement of the borrower on the

Government securities in his favour and takes a blank transfer deed duly executed in respect of the shares of the joint stock companies. In the case of jewellery and commodities, they are held in his entire possession and control.

The officer in charge of a bank should be well versed with the technicalities pertaining to the endorsement of Government securities and of the filling up of the blank transfer forms. Before deciding to make an advance against the above securities, he should take into consideration whether the particular security proposed to be pledged will have a quick and ready sale in the market, whether the amount advanced by him will be realised by such sale, and whether the person pledging it is the *bona fide* holder of the instrument. He should keep a close watch over the daily market report of the securities and shares and should be in a position to judge of the desirability or otherwise of

accepting them as cover for any advances that may be applied for by the holder.

Generally no loans will be advanced against diamond and ruby jewels as they are not easily marketable, and so advances against jewellery will only have to be confined to the gold jewels. The fineness of the gold will be tested and the jewels appraised by a competent appraiser according to its fineness and an advance equivalent to, say, 75 per cent. of the appraised value made against the same. Great care should be taken with regard to the genuineness of the quality, for successful imitations are coming into the market which will be offered as genuine ones, and the appraiser estimating the jewel should be held responsible for any such deceit. The *bona fide* ownership should also be satisfied and the circumstances which necessitate the individual to apply for a loan against the jewel enquired into and noted.

We now come to loans against commodities. If a banker can rightly claim to contribute anything towards the economic development of a country, it is only by means of the advances that he makes against commodities. The methods adopted by the banker to advance against commodities are varied, as described below, and it will be seen how he will thus be helping the people to increase both the production and the sale of the commodities.

Commodities may be classed under two heads, i.e., agricultural and industrial. Food-stuffs such as paddy and other grains may be classed as agricultural commodities, while cotton and minerals may come under industrial commodities. But cotton is generally grouped under agricultural commodities in a line with food-stuffs and accepted as cover for advances by bankers.

While accepting the commodities as cover for the advances, care should be taken with regard to the easy marketability of the stuff. The quality of the commodity and the duration of its perishability should likewise be considered. Here also the banker should be in a position to understand the fluctuations of the market in respect of the commodity dealt with by him. He should be in a position to know whether the merchant pledging the stuff will be able to realise any profit in the deal.

These commodities are usually stocked in the godowns properly secured under the lock and seal of the Bank and then alone the advance is made. Even the agriculturists avail themselves of the produce loans soon after the harvest, so as to enable them to wait till the prices increased in order to realise a better return for their stock. These are called Key loans.

Some good constituents are also granted open loans upto a stipulated amount. These are advances made against the security of the stock-in-trade in the possession of the merchants concerned. They are required to show sufficient stock in their business places at any time of inspection by the bank authorities as to cover the advance made to them. This is done more out of trust and the reliability of the constituents, who are required to submit a periodical return of the goods held by them against which they have taken the open loan advances. These returns are insisted upon, irrespective of the fact of the goods being subjected to inspection by the bank authorities.

The discounting of documentary bills by the bankers also forms one of the methods of the secured advances by the banker. A bill is drawn for the value of

a particular quantity of goods by the consignor on the consignee and is presented to his banker along with the relative railway receipt to be discounted. The holding of the railway receipt duly endorsed in his favour by the banker entitles him to take delivery of the goods which are thus practically in the possession of the banker. The discounting of the relative bill would, therefore, mean that an advance has been made by the banker against the particular commodity of goods consigned, whose railway receipt or the bill of lading, as the case may be, he holds. The banker sends both the bill and the relative railway receipt to the place of destination where the consignee resides and arranges for the recovery of the amount through his agent at that end. The railway receipt will be given to the consignee only on his discharging the bill to the last pie, as per conditions previously arranged. While dealing with these bills, the banker should see if the consignor and the consignee are different persons doing business independent of each other. He should also see what kind of commodity has been consigned, whether the price quoted in the relative invoice corresponds to the prevailing market price of the commodity and whether he holds sufficient margin in respect of the advance made by way of discount. The railway receipt attached to the bill should also be scrutinised as to whether the weight corresponds to the number of bags stated in the receipt. Even the genuineness of the railway receipt should carefully be examined and satisfied with. There have been cases where the consignor draws the bills on his own agents at the other end against the consignment of the goods to be sold by the agent on his behalf.

Even these bills are presented to the banker for discount. In these cases the respectability of the parties should be taken more into account. The relative goods will be some finished industrial product which would be sent to the agent of the consignor to be sold at the place of destination. The price quoted for such finished product cannot be very much relied upon, as the prices are fixed by the consignor himself. The discounting of bills of this nature should be avoided, as there is great risk in the due realisation of the amounts.

Again, the banker is obliged to re-discount a bill received by him from another place on account of the inability of the individual, *i.e.*, the drawee, to discharge the same. Here also the banker should see to the *bonafides* of the instruments, and retire the bill received by him, on behalf of his client, taking delivery of the relative goods himself and keeping them in his godowns. He will, after verifying the market prices with reference to the relative invoice, take such reasonable margin from the drawee as he considers desirable and then retire the bill on his behalf. This forms another method of the secured advances made by the banker.

Thus the facility granted by the banker by way of produce loans enables the customer to stock the commodity in which he deals at a time when the same can be had at a low price and to make some profit when the prices go up. With a small capital at his command, the merchant is enabled to do a large volume of business on account of this facility.

UNSECURED OR CLEAN ADVANCES

We now come to the unsecured or clean advances as they are usually called. Credits

are granted on the personal liability of the constituents. Generally, a banker will not make any advance against the liability of a single individual. However rich one may be, it is always prudent to make advances on joint liability of two or more persons. This is done with a view to assure the easy realisation of the amounts advanced. All commercial credits are restricted to short periods and as such all possible legal complications are attempted to be avoided. In the case of an advance on a single signature, if the party dies—let alone other contingencies—the legal heirs of the deceased will have to be approached for the recovery of the bank dues, and the banker will be obliged to wait for an undue length of time even in the cases of easy possibilities of the recovery. If the advance had been made on the joint responsibility, the amount will be arranged to be made good by the joint signatory in time, relieving the banker of the need to wait till the legal heirs of the deceased arrived at a proper understanding among themselves and paid the bank dues.

In granting clean credits, one should take care whether such credit is really needed by the party. Credits should not be sanctioned merely because of the solvency of the parties. The purpose for which the credit is applied for should be taken into consideration. And, again, the ability of the party to maintain punctual credit should also be considered. It would even be necessary to see whether the amount obtained on such credit is utilised for useful purposes.

Clean credits are allowed by way of overdrafts, short term loans and also by discounting bills, cheques, etc.

The system of overdrafts is a privilege granted to the customers to overdraw on

his current account upto a stipulated limit. This privilege is intended to help the parties who may require accommodation for a temporary period. Generally, merchants and other businessmen alone would require this kind of accommodation. From the nature of transactions in the overdraft account, one would be in a position to understand the business capacity of a constituent. The frequency of the transactions thereon and the turn over in the account will have to be closely watched and the privilege of overdraft allowed to be continued, curtailed or cancelled according to the nature of the account. There may be cases where overdrafts will be treated as more or less permanent loans. For instance, a party who has been allowed to overdraw upto Rs. 5,000 would have availed himself of the full limit and will be paying and drawing Rs. 500 at quick intervals, just to show that he has been frequently operating on the account, while a sum of Rs. 4,500 will always be a permanent debit balance in his account. This kind of account should be turned down as unsatisfactory and should be closed immediately and any delay to recover the dues would result in a loss to the Bank. In certain other cases the full amount would have been availed of and the entire amount paid back for being withdrawn almost immediately. This may be a temporary makeshift, just to deceive the banker. Overdraft is a running account and should be more or less self liquidating. From the daily transactions in the account, the agent should be in a position to observe whether the moneys received towards that account have been obtained by the party concerned in the usual and ordinary course of business, or whether

he is playing a confidence trick on his banker. Much depends on the vigilance and integrity of the agent to find out the nature of an overdraft account.

CLEAN LOANS

Loans for short periods during the busy season may be required by the merchants. Even persons not in business line would also require such advances for payment of *kist*, for the performance of a marriage, etc. A commercial bank may not care to invest its funds to the non-business public. Still if the banker is convinced of the solvency of the applicant and if he is satisfied that the particular loan would be paid back in a short period—generally three months—such advances may be made. A prudent banker will not indulge in this kind of short term loans to a very large extent. It is not possible for him to completely deny this facility to the constituents, but he will usually restrict this kind of clean advances as far possible. Even here double signature will always be insisted upon.

DISCOUNTING OF BILLS

The system of discounting documentary bills was dealt with previously under secured advances. Now the discounting of clean bills, which forms part of clean advances by a banker, will be taken up. Here also some of the bills will be accompanied with the documents, *i.e.*, with the railway receipt or the bill of lading as the case may be. As long as the banker holds the railway receipt or the bill of lading along with the relative bill presented to him for discount, the advance made by way of such discount is covered by the goods pertaining to the document. The banker alone is not a dispenser of credit. Credits are also

allowed as between two merchants. A wholesale dealer in a commodity usually allows some credit to his retail customer. He draws a bill for the value of the goods on the retail customer and presents it along with the relative document for the consignment of goods to his Banker for being discounted. This bill will be drawn payable after a stipulated period as may be agreed upon with his retail dealer. This kind of bill is called usance bill, *i.e.*, a bill drawn and made payable after a stipulated period. Generally the maximum period of these bills will be allowed for the discharge of these bills unless it is expressly stated that they are "without days of grace". But the banker cannot retain the relative document with him until the date of the maturity of the bill, when alone he can realise the amount. He, therefore, gets the acceptance of the drawee on the bill and delivers over the document (railway receipt or the bill of lading) to him. This kind of bill is called D'A bill, *i.e.*, delivery on acceptance, while those referred to under secured loans are called D.P bills, *i.e.*, delivery on payment. The moment the acceptance of the drawee is obtained and the relative document delivered over to him, the bill becomes a clean one and the banker who has discounted the bill for the drawer has his claim both on the drawer and the drawee or acceptor of the bill. The bill is collected on the due date in the usual course. Here also the vigilance of the agent with regard to the reliability of the drawer and also of the drawee at the other end is essential.

Apart from the documentary D A bills, as explained above, even clean bills without documents are drawn and presented to the banker for discount. These bills are drawn payable either on

demand or after a stipulated period. Evidently they are for amounts due by the drawee to the drawer. The status of both the parties to the bill will be ascertained and a limit fixed for this purpose consistent with the status of the parties and bills up to that limit will be accepted for discount. In certain cases parties are accustomed to present bills on their friends under previous arrangement with them, just to meet any emergency that may arise in the course of their business. Such bills are called accommodation bills. A shrewd banker will be able to understand whether a particular bill is drawn in the usual course of business or if the same is a mere accommodation bill. It is not prudent for a banker to indulge in the discounting of accommodation bills.

DISCOUNTING OF CHEQUES

Cheques on other banks presented by the parties are also accepted for discount. Inasmuch as the banker grants his customer unrealised credit, by the discounting of his cheque, that also forms part of a clean credit, however short the duration of that credit may be. The banker should satisfy himself with regard to the genuineness of the cheque presented to him for discount, the solvency of the drawer and also of the holder presenting it before he decides to discount the cheque.

GENERAL

In dealing with the various credits above mentioned, the banker or the agent should bear in mind that he deals in other people's moneys and that he cannot recommend any credit merely to favour or satisfy a customer who may be one of his intimate friends. He has merely to follow the instructions he may have received from his superiors. He should be well versed with the provisions of the

Negotiable Instruments Act in order to enable him to see if the cheques or bills presented to him are properly drawn. He should likewise have an up-to-date knowledge of the Stamp Act in order to get the usance bills executed on proper stamp paper. In short, his whole interest should be so much centred in the welfare of the institution which he serves that it is not made to lose anything on account of his ignorance or dereliction of duty. He should work in harmony with his assistants and should also guide them in the right direction and be guided by them in all and sundry matters. Any the slightest derangement of the machinery in a credit institution like a bank will lead to a sort of topsy-turvydom which would play a havoc among the public. It is the shrewdness, care and vigilance on the part of the agents that will contribute towards the progress, popularity and prestige of a Bank.

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Authorised Capital	Rs. 60,00,000
Issued and Subscribed Capital	Rs. 47,92,800
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Total Working Funds on 31-12-'37	Rs. 3,94,52,806

All kinds of Banking Business including Foreign Exchange done.

For particulars, please apply to any of the Offices.

S. GURUSWAMI PILLAI, B.A.,

Secretary.

June '38.

EDUCATIONAL FILMS

BY MR. BANKEY BEHARI

IN order to appreciate the scope and value of the educational film, it is necessary to analyse its manifold functions in the modern public life.

To begin with, the Cinema film through its vast popular appeal can be profitably and effectively employed in educating the illiterate masses in the latest and most modern methods of sanitation and domestic hygiene. By means of the talking picture they can be educated in the latest methods of farming and manufacturing. The minute details of a surgical operation can be demonstrated with the utmost precision and clarity and the whole process shown to thousands of professionals and students at a cost which is almost negligible.

To the tourist and the globe-trotter an Indian travelogue film should open up great opportunities of seeing the picturesque, multiform and multichrome life of India with its unique aggregation of objects of antiquarian, historical and archaeological interest. These and numerous other oriental attractions have always excited the wonderment and delight of the foreign visitor.

To come nearer home, it is a well known fact that many of our educated and artistically-minded Indians have, through lack of funds or other reasons, missed much of the enjoyment that goes with sightseeing and travelling and which should form part of our education. It seldom falls to the lot of an average well-to-do Indian to visit the beautiful show places in this vast sub-continent, such as Tajmahal, Ajanta, Ellora, Old Delhi, Lahore, etc.

In its application to the requirements of the class-room, the use of the motion picture in the American and European educational institutions has produced results which are highly satisfactory. The reason is not far to seek. In contrast to the tedious and monotonous method of teaching History in the traditional class-room style, the motion picture by its direct approach to the subject can produce the same results with practically no labour and waste of energy on the part of the class teacher. The fear that the screen may

at a later stage displace the agency of the teacher, is quite unfounded and ridiculous, inasmuch as human agency is very necessary for a clear and fuller exposition of ideas and impressions conveyed by the movie film and for guiding the students in the correct appreciation of historical values. The same may be said of Geography, Chemistry, Botany, Medicine, etc.

Again in the commercial sphere, the part played by Cinema film is tremendous. A commercial film brings before our view in a compact and coherent form the various processes in a huge manufacturing concern like the Tata Steel Works or a cotton mill, right from the initial stage of handling the raw material to the final stage of packing and placing on the market of a finished article.

In order to achieve the best results in this particular branch of our film industry, it is essential that the Government should extend all facilities in the form of reduction of duty on raw films for educational purposes, reduced rates for railway transport, co-operation of the Military and Navy departments to permit shooting of army and navy scenes and subsidies for social propaganda work through films. There is no doubt that with all round co-operation on the part of Government and the producing interests the motion picture industry, which is the most paying as also the most useful industry in this country, will perform its legitimate function of educating the masses in their social problems and developing their sense of appreciation of the indigenous arts and sciences.

If we have, therefore, any desire to rise in the scale of international importance, we cannot afford to neglect the educational aspect of our indigenous film industry. It is pertinent to observe here that the Soviet film industry is entirely controlled by the State, that the production policy and even the star values are determined by the State. Besides, the prime function of the Soviet films is to promulgate the doctrines of the Red regime and carry the message of U. S. S. R. to every nook and corner of the world.

PRIME MINISTERS OF CONGRESS PROVINCES

SRI KRISHNA SINHA
BIHARDR. KHAN SAHEB
N. W. F.B. G. KHER
BOMBAYC. RAJAGOPALACHARI
MADRASB. VISHWANATH DAS
ORISSAN. B. KHARE
C. P.GOBIND VALLABH PANT
U. P.

MYSORE POLITICS

WHEN during the closing week of April last it was reported that a clash between the police and the people at the village of Viduraswatham resulted in the death of 32 persons and twice that number seriously injured, public feeling in the country was deeply stirred. The Government *communique*, however, gave a more modest figure and the disparity in the report led to an insistent demand for a public enquiry into the tragedy. That such an unfortunate occurrence should have happened in what is decidedly one of the most progressive and enlightened States in the country was greatly disturbing the public mind. Both His Highness the Maharaja and his trusted Dewan are reputed alike for their progressive views and generous sympathies. The Dewan lost no time in personally inspecting the spot and announcing a Commission of Enquiry.

Now that the Commission is at its labours, it would be improper to anticipate its findings. But the fact of the tragedy, and the circumstances attending the people's persistence in the use of the Congress flag, leave no doubt that the causes of the struggle lie deeper. The Mysore Congress and the State Executive have seldom seen eye to eye. And Mahatma Gandhi, while deploring the tragedy, felt constrained to add:

I suggest that the best and only remedy for the Maharaja of Mysore and his adviser, Sir Mirza Ismail, is to divest the Government of its autocracy and make popular representatives responsible for the administration of Mysore.

To the people of Mysore, Gandhiji said:

If I were a Mysorean, I would not lay emphasis on personal gain. I would use the sacrifice made voluntarily or involuntarily for gaining liberty. They must also remember that the one condition of success is the retention of a truly non-violent spirit.

Thus the incident has been lifted to a higher plane, and one is glad to find that the Durbar has risen to the height of the occasion and discussed methods of final settlement of outstanding disputes. The settlement takes cognisance of the State people's desire for progressive administration and their kinship with the rest of the country in their national aspirations while their loyalty to the State itself will remain above suspicion. That is the key-note of the settlement.

The Government recognise the Mysore Congress, give adequate representation to the Congress in the Reforms Committee, withdraw all the prohibitory orders, release all the political prisoners, withdraw all the pending cases against Congressmen, give an assurance that the Reforms Committee is not precluded from discussing the question of responsible government and permit hoisting of the Congress flag along with the State flag on all ceremonial occasions.

That is a victory for common sense. Sardar Patel's tactful guidance has helped the Mysore Congress to steer through a difficult situation. Nor could such a result be possible without the patient and considerate attention that Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan, has given to the Sardar's plea. We are glad the official *communique* of the Mysore Government carries out the settlement in letter and in spirit. His Highness's Government, says the Government order,

are happy to feel that these misunderstandings are now being cleared away, and the time has come when with renewed vigour, the Government and all subjects of His Highness may, together, approach the task of determining how best the people may further be associated in the work of Government—a task which will require the sustained and devoted labour of all who are anxious to promote the welfare of the State.

It is hoped that this amicable settlement will be the precursor of Mysore's march to constitutional freedom under the aegis of H. H. the Maharaja.

The Prime Ministers' Conference

THE calling of a Conference of Congress Prime Ministers was a notable step taken by the new President of the Congress, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose. Congress has been in office in seven Provinces now for a year and it is appropriate the Premiers should meet to take stock of their doings and to plan unified policies for all the Provinces under their control. In the absence of an authoritative summary of the proceedings of this gathering which met at Bombay in the third week of May, we have to be guided by the reports in the Press. What has so far appeared in the Press points to some very valuable work done by the Conference.

It is common knowledge that Congress in office has done some excellent work by way of agrarian reform and rural reconstruction and thereby enhanced its prestige for efficient administration. But experience has taught the Ministries the difficulties in the way of accomplishing the desired end in respect of civil liberties, the repeal of repressive laws, the release of political prisoners and the lifting of bans on publications and books. On these and kindred matters, it is desirable to follow a unified policy and programme in all the Provinces, and the Premiers' Conference seems to have come to some fruitful decisions after careful discussion of all the issues involved.

It appears that opinion was unanimous that the present classifications in the jails should be abolished. It was also decided not to make any difference between political and non-political prisoners for fear of complications.

The status of Parliamentary Secretaries, which was giving rise to friction between the Secretaries and the Ministers, was also considered. Their functions, it was decided by the Conference, are to be only in the legislative sphere.

It was generally agreed that the Congress Ministers should be given complete liberty to check the tendency to foment communal trouble and to preach violence under the guise of civil liberties. It was also agreed that they should have power to deal effectively with communal trouble even if this meant a certain amount of curtailment of civil liberties.

An important move of the Conference was the appointment of expert Enquiry Committees to study the possibilities of co-ordinated industrial development in the Provinces.

We have no doubt that similar periodical Conferences will facilitate inter-provincial co-operation and co-ordination of activities, not only in regard to measures of reform but in methods of improving the machinery of administration as well.

It will be recalled that 53 years ago, when the first Congress met in Bombay, it was a gathering of some leading people in the country appealing to the Government of the day for the grant of certain concessions. The present Conference at the same place, on the other hand, was a gathering of the Premiers of seven Provincial Governments, meeting to concert measures which it is in their power to carry out for the good of the people. The change is significant.

Justice Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao

It was a fine and well deserved tribute that the Advocate-General Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar paid to Justice Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao on the eve of his retirement from the Madras High Court. Sir Venkatasubba Rao was a treble first; he was the first Indian lawyer practising on



SIR M. VENKATASUBBA RAO

the Original side to be raised to the Bench; he was the youngest Indian to be so elevated being only 43 at the time of his appointment; and he has served on the Bench for 17 years—a period longer than the record of any of his predecessors in the High Court of Madras. It is a career, as the Advocate-General aptly put it "full of achievement and expectations realised".

Sir Venkatasubba Rao's valedictory address was in perfect accord with the high idealism that has inspired his career

on the Bench and in the Bar. His great learning and experience have always been touched by a sure social purpose. True to the spirit and genius of the ancient Hindu law-giver he realised, said Sir Alladi, that

the highest courts in the land need not merely be the custodians of the customs and traditions of a bygone age. While it may not be right for a judge to trespass upon the province of a legislator, a judge cannot be oblivious to the changing social conditions, to the structure of a new political society and to its new tendencies.

His judgments on questions concerning women's rights and the rights of the untouchables have thus helped to promote social progress "to the extent to which it is possible for a judge to play the role" of a social reformer. Sir Venkatasubba Rao himself quoted Lord Macmillan in reinforcing his view that the law of the land "is a living organism constantly readjusting itself to its environment", and pleaded for a little more human touch and moral vision in the decisions of the courts.

Sir Venkatasubba Rao's services to the State have by no means been confined to the Bench. He has shown great devotion to social and humanitarian causes in which Lady Venkatasubba Rao has also taken a conspicuous part. It is difficult to think that for one of his intellectual alertness and wide sympathies retirement from the Bench would mean cessation of public activities. In wishing him many more years of health and happiness, we have no doubt that his vast experience and mellow wisdom will yet be available in other spheres of national service in the future.

The Appointment of Governors

Now that the constitutional crisis in Orissa has been overcome in a statesman-like manner, it would be pitiful if no lesson is learnt from such an experience. For one thing the innovation allowing Governors to take leave during their short term of office has led to the wholesale adoption of a practice which has become a disturbing factor in the administration. If a privilege which should be restricted to exceptional occasions should be deemed a right to be claimed by every Governor as a matter of course, the difficulties are bound to be insuperable.

And then as Lord Lothian said the other day the appointment of subordinate officials to serve as acting Governors is a fit subject for discussion with the Viceroy "with a view to arriving at an understanding for the future". There is need for laying down a rule or practice which would avert a dead-lock as in Orissa. We had looked forward to a clear statement of policy on the subject from His Majesty's Government, but Lord Stanley's reply in the House of Commons gives no indication of such a policy. He seems anxious to isolate the Orissa issue. Though he averred that the difficulties of a provincial government in such circumstances are appreciated and will not be lost sight of in making future appointments, he hastened to add that "this does not imply any change in the Government's view regarding the suitability of members of the Indian Services for Governorships".

Such a statement takes us nowhere: while the wave of Civilian appointments has only served to draw public attention to the danger of Governorships being regarded as prize posts for Civil Service

men—a situation prejudicial in all conscience to impartial administration. Why should the Indian Civil Service alone be treated differently from the Services elsewhere—say in Britain, where they do not look up to such preferences. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal Leader, is emphatic in his warning:—

Indian public opinion is not going to rest quiet over the question of I. C. S. Governors by the fiat of the Under-Secretary of State for India (Lord Stanley) and there will be country-wide agitation against such appointments till the British Government yields.

And now that this particular crisis has been settled, we must face the broader issue arising from similar situations in the future. Is it essential, asks the *Capital* of Calcutta,

that the Minor Provinces should always have a Governor who is an official? There are many non-officials competent and experienced in public life to whom the destinies of Orissa might have been entrusted so as to permit Sir John Hubback to have had his short leave.

We hold that in all such cases, the practice in the Dominions of choosing their Governors from among the ranks of public men, with due regard to the will of the people, has much to commend itself. It has conduced to the smooth working of the Constitution in Ireland and other Dominions and might certainly be followed in India with equal advantage. There is no dearth of such competent men in non-official India and it would be in accord with the spirit of the times to put India also in line with other self-governing units in respect of the appointment of Governors.

Hindu-Muslim Talks

After prolonged conversations, first between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah and later between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Subash Bose, the President of the Congress, it is announced that the question of the Congress-League Settlement is postponed to a later date. It is but proper that all leading personalities on either side should be consulted in any effective or far-reaching settlement of outstanding issues. The one pleasing factor in the situation is that this baffling problem of generations is now being tackled with a proper sense of responsibility and in a spirit and temper altogether admirable.

The issue between the Congress and the Muslim League is a very simple one. On what terms will the League agree to joint electorates with seats reserved for Muslims? On this particular question, apart from the general need for unity and co-operation over which every one is agreed, the *Indian Social Reformer* has some pertinent observations which deserve to be quoted:

Consistently with the position which he has taken all along, Mr. Jinnah can agree to joint electorates only if the Muslim ratio of reservations in the Legislatures, in local boards and the Services, is approximately the same as that of the majority community. Like the Sudeten Germans, he cannot agree to be treated as a minority community. . . . From Gandhiji's point of view, there can be no difficulty in agreeing even to a 50 per cent. ratio for Muslims. There can thus be a ready agreement if the only parties concerned were Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji and the Muslim League and the Congress. But this will be a tremendous mistake, as it will be a violation of political principles. And principles have a way of avenging themselves. Joint electorates and Hindu-Muslim unity are not linked together as cause and effect. Hindu-Muslim co-operation in public affairs can be more easily

secured by ceasing from persistent nagging at separate electorates, which only makes Muslims suspicious of Hindu motives. Weightages of any kind are really a slur on the political capacity of those to whom they are accorded and, as they can be given only at the expense of others, they involve an injustice which must come in the way of co-operation.

It will not do to precipitate a settlement. For any forced settlement will be shortlived. Experience should also warn us that a settlement, in a bargaining spirit to gain a temporary advantage in a particular issue like Federation, in which a third party may be involved, will be equally shortlived. The settlement should be a magnanimous gesture of goodwill and complete mutual understanding. Will the negotiations be fruitful of such a lasting settlement?

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Hitler and Mussolini

HITLER and Mussolini have met again—this time on Italian soil. Nothing in history or fable could exceed the magnificence of the Fuehrer's triumphal tour to Italy—an affair made even more magnificent by all the arts of modern publicity. Three million men greeted the Nazi leader on the 500 mile route—at the end of which the Fuehrer is treated to a pageantry of Fascist display of arms on land and sea and air.

It cannot be said that the Fascist leader is particularly pleased with Hitler's conduct in Austria, which in fact is a snub to him. Nor can Hitler be blind to the effects of the Anglo-Italian agreement on his own ambitions. Is it to cover up their chagrin they indulged in this stage thunder? At the resplendent banquet in the Royal Hall of the Palazzo Venezia, the two dictators spoke in each other's admiration. Signor Mussolini turning to Herr Hitler said:

Your visit has sealed the understanding between our two countries. We have constantly affirmed that the premises and objectives of our collaboration have consecrated the Rome-Berlin axis.

Herr Hitler in his speech said:

I am happy to be in Rome, the heart of young Fascist Italy. Italy and National Socialist Germany have created two powerful States with common interests and inspired with a common purpose.

Between Germany and Italy in the past two thousand years there have been many struggles but now complete harmony prevails.

Herr Hitler further declared: "It is my unshakable will that the Alpine frontier will never be touched. Germany will assist Italy in the hour of her need just as Italy has helped Germany in the past." That strain again. The Rome-Berlin axis has thus been reaffirmed on a stronger basis as the result of the conversations between Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. If they are wise, they will use their new cemented friendship to the furtherance of European peace.

Czecho-Slovakia

After Austria, Czecho-Slovakia. So it was feared, and so, it seems, events are tending. Since the absorption of Austria by Germany, the Czech Government have done everything to placate the Sudeten German minority in Czecho-Slovakia. But backed by Hitler, they are intransigent. Thus says the *News Review*.

So as to give the Nazis no excuse for offering these Germans "protection", Benes (Dr. Benes, the President) is making all kinds of concessions to them. But the Sudeten Germans have been ordered from Berlin to press for nothing short of complete local self-government in federated cantons on the Swiss model. If Benes refuses, the minority will revolt and Hitler will be asked to step in and keep the Czech Nazis from plunging the whole country into Civil War. Even if Benes did grant autonomy, he would be just as badly off, for then the Sudeten Germans would promptly declare their secession from Czecho-Slovakia and union with Germany.

As we write, there is a general election going on in Czecho-Slovakia. While every effort is made to secure a peaceful atmosphere, more than one incident is reported to have occurred in the frontier, which might serve as an excuse for German interference. The army on either side is kept in readiness. The situation is described in foreign diplomatic circles as "extremely critical and at the mercy of any incident".

Japanese Cabinet Changes

As we go to Press, sensational changes in the Japanese Cabinet are announced as the result of the Premier Prince Konoye's audience with the Emperor on May 26.

Mr. Koki Hirota, Foreign Minister, has resigned and has been succeeded by General Ugaki, whom the Army refused to accept as Premier in 1936.

The Portfolio of Education, now regarded as the Key Ministry by the Army, has been assumed by General Araki, who was Minister of War in 1932 when the Japanese invaded Manchuria, now Manchukuo.

The South African Elections

There is practically no change in the composition of the new Union Parliament in South Africa. The United Party should be well satisfied with their 111 seats against 116 in the last Parliament. The Nationalists have increased from 21 to 27; the Dominion Party now hold 8 seats against 5 formerly; Labour representatives have been returned in three constituencies.

Although Indians in South Africa have no reason for satisfaction with the record of the Hertzog-Smut's Government, they have little to hope for from any change, observes the *Madras Mail* in its note commenting on the results of the recent elections to the Union Parliament of South Africa. "Indeed, it is plain that if the dissident Nationalists, led by Dr. Malan, came into office, their condition would be very much worse." They, therefore, have reason to be pleased with the direction the elections have taken.

British Cabinet Changes

Changes in the British Cabinet announced as a consequence of the resignations of Lord Harlech and Lord Swinton are as follows:

Lord Stanley: Secretary for Dominions.

Mr. MacDonald: Secretary for Colonies.

Mr. Kingsley Wood: Secretary of State for Air.

Mr. Colville: Secretary of State for Scotland.

Mr. Elliot: Minister for Health.

Mr. Evan Wallace: Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

Mr. Muirhead: Under-Secretary for India and Burma.

Mr. Balfour: Under-Secretary for Air.

Mr. R. H. Cross: Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.

British Concern for the Negus

"People in Britain, including Archbishops and Bishops, will not allow the exiled Negus to live in peace. To satisfy their own disturbed conscience, they make Negus the victim of their kindness," says the *Guardian* commenting on the Lords' debate on the Rome Pact. The exiled Emperor is now in Geneva—a silent accuser. Now the Archbishop of Canterbury has eagerly come forward to commend Lord Lugard's proposal that Signor Mussolini should be induced to offer Haile Selassie some limited area in his own land with internal autonomy under the suzerainty of Italy. Mark the terms however. Haile Selassie should be prepared to forego his title of Emperorship and undertake to do his utmost to restrain organised fighting under recognised chiefs.

A simpler and more straightforward way of obliging Mussolini would have been for the Archbishop to recommend to its Government that they should offer military help to the Duce to put down the Abyssinian chiefs who are fighting for their liberty with unquenched ardour. The Negus in his affliction might be spared the indignity of obliging Britain's ally by suppressing his own countrymen.

Fascist Revolt in Brazil

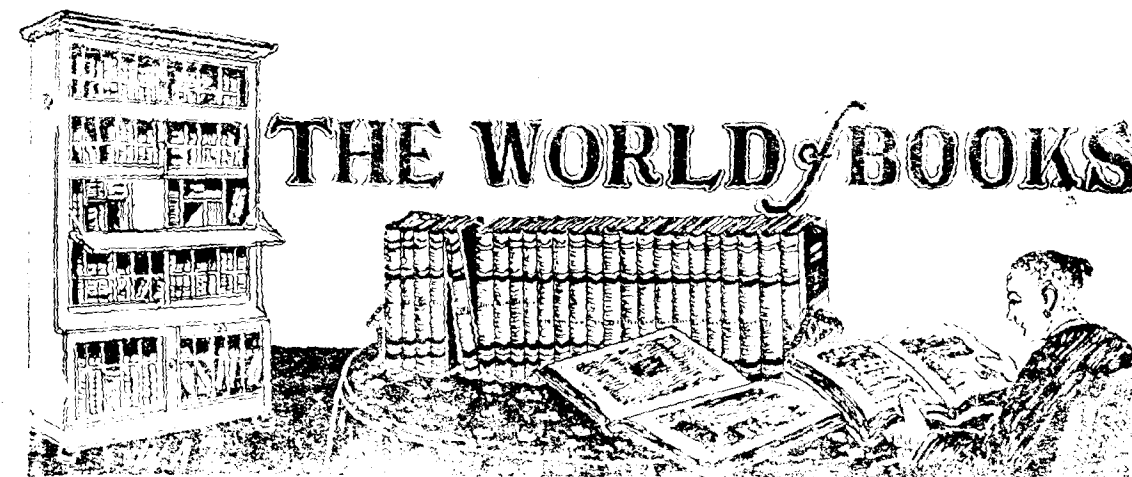
Fascist revolt have now spread to America. About the middle of May occurred one such revolt by a group of armed Fascists in Brazil. A band of armed Greenshirts and civilians, wearing the uniforms of Police and Marine officers, attempted to seize public buildings including the Ministry of Marine and the Guanapara Palace, which was retaken the same day by the army. The leader of the revolt, a Naval officer named Hasselman, was killed. All the leaders of the revolt were tried within 24 hours and complete order was restored soon after.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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April 21. Sir Mahomed Iqbal is dead.
 April 22. Lancashire Trade Delegation leaves England for India.
 April 23. All-India Education Board meets at Wardha.
 April 24. India observes Clove Boycott day.
 April 25. The Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed.
 April 26. A serious clash occurs at Viduraswatham (Mysore State) between a crowd and the police resulting in the deaths of several persons.
 April 27. Bihar Assembly passes the Prohibition Bill.
 April 28. Mahatma Gandhi meets Mr. Jinnah at Bombay *re.* Hindu-Muslim settlement.
 April 29. Gandhiji issues a statement *re.* appointment of Mr. J. R. Dain as Governor of Orissa.
 April 30. Rural Workers' Conference meets at Coimbatore under the presidency of Dr. T. S. S. Rajan.
 May 1. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari announces a Rural Sports programme in selected 75 villages in Madras Presidency.
 May 2. The House of Commons approves the Anglo-Italian Pact.
 May 8. H. M. the King opens the Empire Exhibition at Bellahouston Park, Glasgow.
 May 4. Sir John Hubback, Governor of Orissa, cancels his leave and averts a Ministerial crisis in the Province.
 May 5. Dr. Hyde is elected unopposed as President of Eire.
 May 6. Herr Hitler meets Sgr. Mussolini in Rome.
 May 7. Sir Montague Webb is dead.
 May 8. Executive Committee of the International Peace Campaign deplors the action of the League in recognising the conquest of Ethiopia.

May 9. Talks between trade delegates of England and India begin.
 May 10. Congress Working Committee meets at Bombay.
 May 11. Dr. Willington Koo protests in the League Council at Geneva against Japanese use of poison gas.
 May 12. Congress Premiers' Conference meets at Bombay.
 May 13. Messrs. S. C. Bose and Jinnah meet and discuss about the Hindu-Muslim question.
 May 14. All-India Kisan Conference meets at Comilla under the presidency of Swami Sahajanand.
 May 15. Congress Working Committee approves the terms of the Zanzibar Clove Agreement.
 May 16. Thirty thousand textile workers strike work in Cawnpore.
 May 17. First Meeting of British trade delegation and Indian advisers at Simla.
 May 18. United Party sweep the polls in the S. A. Union General Election.
 May 19. Lord Halifax defends Rome Pact in the House of Lords.
 May 20. Gandhiji interviews Mr. Jinnah at his residence.
 May 21. Movements of German troops on the Czech frontier are reported.
 May 22. It is reported that 42,000 workers are now on strike in the Cawnpore Mills.
 May 23. Elections in Czecho-Slovakia are reported to be peaceful.
 May 24. Attempt to kidnap Lord Nuffield from his office in Oxford is frustrated by timely summoning of the Police by his friend Kennerly Rumford.
 May 25. The C. P. Ministers issue a statement saying that the differences among them have been composed.



THE EDUCATION OF THE EMOTIONS. By Margaret Phillips. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 8s. 6d. net.

The necessity of developing in the young ones entrusted to the educationist a sense of social or civic responsibility, objectivity of outlook and imaginative sympathy is admitted, but the practical problem of discovering a technique adequate to the ends in view has not yet been given the attention it needs. Education has hitherto been regarded as a process of informing the mind. It has all too frequently omitted to touch the heart.

The writer of the book under review is conscious of the need for a practical technique designed to meet this object. To assist in the discovery of such a technique, she has attempted an examination of the problems to be faced. Much evidence has been collected consisting of autobiographical accounts of the development of sentiments for persons, places, animals, social groups, intellectual pursuits, sports, crafts, the arts, moral ideals and religion. Examination of the evidence leads the writer to interesting if not always generally acceptable conclusions. All educationists would not give their assent for instance to the conclusion reached by the author at the end of her examination of the

sentiment for literature that aesthetic values only appear in proportion as practical needs are satisfied. The conclusion is much too unflattering to the complacency of the educated man, who cherishes the delusion that he is engaged in a lofty ideal of passionately disinterested pursuit of values for their own sake. But the materials for a judgment as well as the author's own personal conclusions are all presented here. They should help the critical reader to form his own views on the interesting problems discussed in the book.

THE OCEAN OF THEOSOPHY. By William Q. Judge. Published by the Theosophy Company, Los Angeles and 51, Esplanade Road, Bombay.

This was first published in America in 1893. The present is the second Indian Edition. It is a short, clear and concise statement of essential principles of Theosophy on religious science and scientific religion as, indeed, it claims to be a synthesis of science, religion and philosophy. The author is a well known writer on Theosophical subjects and anything from his pen deserves a close study. It is not necessary to agree with all he says to appreciate his vast knowledge, his earnestness and his own convictions.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF ISLAM. By M. N. Roy. Published by Vora & Co. Ltd. 8 Round Buildings, Bombay. Re. 1-8.

In this monograph on Islamic culture, Mr. M. N. Roy combats the popular misconceptions regarding the militancy, the bigotry and the fanaticism of Islam. Etymologically Islam means to make peace. The burning of the Alexandrian Library appears to be a historical myth, so thinks the author. He attributes the phenomenal rise and expansion of Mohammedanism to its inherent qualities—socio-political and religious—its ability to weld the masses into a homogeneous unit. He pleads passionately for a just understanding and appreciation of the Islamic ideology as a natural solvent of the present Hindu-Moslem problem—an ideology that revolutionised the mind of man through experimental science and rationalistic philosophy with its accommodating nature, cosmopolitan spirit, democratic policy and monotheistic creed. According to the author, the spectacular triumph of Islam is rather due to its liberating and equalitarian principles than to the military valour of its early adherents. He has an illuminating chapter on several names which are memorable in the annals of human culture: Al Kandi, Al Hassan, Al Farabi, Avicenna, Al Garali, Abubakr, Avempace, Al Phetradius and Averroes—whose distinctive merit was their zeal for all knowledge.

THE LIGHT OF LIFE. By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London. 1 Shilling.

This is a collection of 21 sonnets from the prolific pen of Mr. Ramaswamy Sastri. In simple language and easy rhythm, he deals with life and love from the point of view of the philosophic poet.

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES. VOL. I. By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A., Government Press, Trivandrum.

The ethnographic survey of the State begun under the Risley plan by Mr. N. Subrahmanya Iyer was utilised for Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India". In 1931, on the suggestion of Dr. J. H. Hutton, Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, officer-in-charge of the Ethnographic Survey of Travancore, contributed to the India Census Report of 1931, material bearing on the effect of contact with civilisation on the primitive tribes of Travancore. The present volume is the result of Mr. Iyer's study of the hill tribes of the State, who are fast dying out or getting mixed with the tribes and castes of the plains. Sixteen tribes have been surveyed, and a descriptive account of seven out of them is given in this book, while the remaining ones will be dealt with in the second volume. Dr. Cousins hopes, in a note contributed by him, that the effect of cultural influences on the tribes is bound to be large on the Hindu side. Dr. Haddon in his introduction praises the method of treatment adopted in the book as marked by conciseness and ease of reference. The Kanikkars, Malankuravans, Malavetans, Malapantarams, Malapulayas, Malayaravans and Mannans have been studied.

TALES OF INDIAN CAVALIERS. By Charles A. Kincaid. Macmillan. Re. 1.

The publishers deserve to be congratulated on bringing in book form these dozen stories of several well known Indian cavaliers from the Puranic Krishna to the historical Tanaji Malusre. These tales originally appeared as sketches in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. Written in simple and concise prose, the book will serve as an ideal non-detailed text for our secondary schools.

LETTERS TO MY SON. By C. S. Angre. Translated by his Private Secretary V. K. Datar. Printed by the Times of India Press, Bombay.

A book to be ranked along with Cobbet's advice to young men and Chesterfield's letters to his son. Parents and children alike will find much in it that is useful, instructive and elevating. A full, frank and informative correspondence between father and son is one of the best means of inculcating lessons on the conduct of life. Among the subjects dealt with in it are: Food, dress, deportment, individual and social virtues and their cultivation, avoidance of individual and social vices, charity and right use of wealth, etc. The author has a fine robust conception of life and its activities and writes with shrewd wisdom regarding masters and servants, friends and sycophants, rulers and subjects, etc.

ART AND MEDITATION. By Anagarika B. Govinda. An Introduction and Twelve Abstract Paintings. The Allahabad Block Works.

This book is the outcome of an exhibition of pictures held under the auspices of the Roerich Centre of Art and Culture. These abstract paintings of pure form and colour are the outcome of meditation. The key-note to the whole book, as also to the pictures, is given in the first Chapter entitled "The Well of Life".

STATES AND THE FEDERAL SYSTEM. By N. N. Sastri, M.A. Gadwal Home, Begumpet. N. S. Railway, Hyderabad, Deccan.

The booklet presents in a simple manner the complex problem of Indian Federation. The author is content to provoke thought on the subject with no pretensions to instruct his readers.

BOOKS RECEIVED

HINDU SCRIPTURES. Edited by Dr. Nicol Macnicol. Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. J. M. Dent & Sons, Bedford St., London, W.C. 2.

A DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY. By Wendell Thomas. 1107, Broadway, New York.

MODERN SWEDEN. Edited by Erik Nylander. General Export Association of Sweden, Stockholm.

HALL'S POETRY: A study. By M. Tahir Jamil, M.A. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Malcolm Macdonald, M.P., H. M.'s Secretary of State for Dominions. Longmans Green & Co.

THE HEART-DOCTRINE OF SRI BHAGAVAD GITA AND ITS MESSAGE. By R. Vasudeva Row. The Suddha Dharma Office, Myslapore.

BEAUTIFUL BOMBAY AND OTHER STORY POEMS. By Innocent Sousa. New Book Company, Bombay.

INDIA AND HER PROBLEMS. By T. R. Shanker. P. R. Rama Iyer & Co., Madras.

BALADITYA: A HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF ANCIENT INDIA. By A. S. Pauchapakess Aiyer. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

THE ACTIVITY SCHOOL. By Adolph Ferriere. Edited by Prof. K. G. Saiyidain, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

NIGGER LOVER. By Doris Garland Anderson. L. N. Fowler & Co. Ltd., London.

THE INDIAN SUGAR TARIFF. By S. Ganapati Rao, M.A. (Hons). Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

GLANCES AT ISLAM. By Walji Govindji Desai. Navjiwan Press, Ahmedabad.

ACROSS THE NEAR EAST. By Kshetsh Chandra Banerjee, Globe-Trotter. Re. 1-8. Mukerji Studio, 186, Bow Bazaar St., Calcutta.

HOURS OF WORK (SMOF AND COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEES) Published by J. K. Mehta. Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay. As. 4.

LIFE'S SHADOWS. By Kumara Guru. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

KUNDALINI OR UNIVERSAL LOVE REFOUND. By T. S. Ramanujam. All-India Tutorial College, Madras.

SRIVIDYAMANTRE DHASYAM. By K. Veeraraghava Sastri. Ramaswami Sastri & Sons, Madras.

SRIMAHATRIPURASUNDARIPUJAKALPA. Ramaswami Sastri & Sons, Madras.

DHARMAKOSA. Vyavahara Kanda Vol. I. Part. I. Edited by Lakshmana Sastri Joshi. Prajna-Pathe-Sala Mandal, Wai (Satara).

GURUDEV NICHOLAS ROERICH. By K. P. Padmanabhan Tampi, B.A. New Lodge, Chettikulamkara, Trivandrum. Re. 1.

Hyderabad

REFORMS SPECIAL COMMITTEE

At the request of the Special Committee for Legislative Council Reforms, His Exalted Highness has been graciously pleased to sanction an extension of the period within which the Committee is expected to submit its report. The request of the Committee was based on the additional work resulting from the procedure of calling for representations and the examination of those representations as well as from the extension by a month of the period within which these representations has to be forwarded to the Committee. The extension now sanctioned by His Exalted Highness is up to the 1st July, 1938.

WOMEN IN HYDERABAD MILLS

The Hyderabad Government have circulated a draft bill soliciting opinions of mill-owners in the State on the subject of maternity benefits to women employees.

The bill is on the lines of similar legislation in Bombay and Madras, whereby employers are required to grant seven weeks leave of absence with pay at eight annas a day to women in confinement.

The women receiving such benefits are forbidden to engage in service in any other factory during the period of leave.

HYDERABAD'S MEDICAL SCHEME

The Hyderabad State has undertaken medical inspection of unclaimed children. A Press Note says:

It is notified for general information that the Government, while passing a law, in obedience to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's *firman*, for the protection and supervision of the physical health of unclaimed children, has also sanctioned a scheme by which medical men and women have been deputed to inspect all such children.

Mysore

THE STATE AND MYSORE CONGRESS

The Mysore Government have declared their policy towards the State Congress in a *communiqué* issued on the 17th May. The settlement was the result of talks between the Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail and Sardar Patel and prolonged negotiations between the Government and leaders of the State Congress. The Government state that they have recognised the State Congress, that 3 nominees of the Congress would be added to the Constitutional Reforms Committee and that the terms of reference include also the formulation of a scheme of Responsible Government in the State.

The Government also make clear their policy towards the Congress flag stating it might be flown along with the State flag.

The Government appeal to the Congress and to the public to extend all possible help and co-operation in furtherance of the object of giving the people as much share as possible in the Government of the State.

ROYAL WEDDING

Amidst unforgettable scenes of splendour, joy and enthusiasm, the marriage of Prince Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar, son of the Yuvaraja of Mysore and heir presumptive to the throne of Mysore, to Princess Satya Prema Devi, daughter of the Rani of Jigini and sister of the Maharaja of Charkhari, took place on 15th May at the *Kalyan Mantap* (marriage pavilion) of the Mysore Palace.

Rulers and representatives of Ruling Houses from all parts of India watched the picturesque and historic ceremony, and joined with other distinguished guests and the loyal subjects of Mysore in greeting and blessing the Prince and his bride.

Baroda

THE BARODA ASSEMBLY

The Baroda State Legislative Assembly concluded its sitting last month after the disposal of 30 non-official resolutions. Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar presided.

The Government accepted without much discussion the proposals to permit Government servants in certain limited cases to be represented by pleaders during the hearing of the appeals filed by them in the Huzur Sadar Adalat (Privy Council) against any order of the Department; to exempt all agriculturists paying land assessment of Rs. 200 and below from payment of fees charged for medical treatment at any of the State institutions; to enact a separate measure, *viz.*, Suits Valuation Act on the same lines as British India for fixing the jurisdiction of law courts based on the value of the property involved in the suit; to establish an Advisory Education Board of experts to assist the Department in all technical matters and questions of policy; and to authorise Taluka Sanitary Associations to purchase medicines for use in village dispensaries direct from the market of the quality and from the firms approved by the Government.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

A Bill removing untouchability in the State, which came before the Sabha on April 27, was referred to a Select Committee to report within three months.

The Dewan President remarked that untouchability was the worst form of oppression and caste tyranny. The Maharaja had done much to ameliorate the condition of backward classes, and the people should co-operate heartily to make his ambition fruitful.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE IN 1936-37

The report of the Dewan of Travancore on the administration of the State for the year 1112 Malabar era (corresponding to August 1936 to August 1937) says that the year had become memorable owing to the issue of the Temple-Entry Proclamation. The Dewan adds:

It is bringing about a healthy upheaval in the religious and social life of a large section of the Maharaja's subjects. As a charter of their emancipation from the shackles of an age-long tradition the significance of this reform cannot be overemphasised is a true index of the wide human sympathies and courageous initiative of His Highness the Maharaja and has contributed in an exceeding measure to add lustre to his reign. Following the proclamation, several private temples in the State were similarly thrown open to all Hindus for worship.

EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE

In education, Travancore is the premier Indian State. In every thousand persons, 440 males and 68 women are literate. This shows about 41 per cent. of the male and 17 per cent. of the female population in the country are free from illiteracy. Only 15 per cent. of the male and 3 per cent. of the female population are literate in British India.

GRANTS TO MUNICIPALITIES

The Travancore Government have sanctioned Rs. 50,000 as grants to municipalities including Rs. 15,000 to Trivandrum, Rs. 12,000 to Nagercoil, Rs. 5,000 to Tiruvalla, Rs. 4,000 to Alleppey, Rs. 3,000 to Kottayam, Rs. 1,500 to Attingal, Rs. 1,000 to Colachel, and Rs. 1,000 to Neyyatinkara.

TELEPHONE SERVICE IN THE STATE

The Travancore Government are examining a comprehensive scheme for linking all parts of the State by telephone. It is proposed to link the Cape, Trivandrum, Quilon, Alleppey, Kottayam, Alwaye and Pallivasal.

Kashmir**THE PRESS IN KASHMIR**

"Our object is not to put fetters on the Press. It is not to initiate a policy of repression. It is simply to pull up the tone and to build up a healthy and clean Press," declared Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, C.S.I., C.I.E., Prime Minister of Kashmir State, in the State Assembly during the discussion on the Press and Publications (Amendment) Bill. Mr. Ayyangar said:

Believing most sincerely that the function of the Government is to invite and not to suppress independent and strong criticism, I shall be the last person to be responsible for any measure to prevent the Press from doing so in the strongest possible manner. But at the same time criticism, while it may be strong, should not be abusive; while it should be independent, it should not be defamatory; while it should try to improve the administration of the State, it should not do anything to subvert the existing order. I believe as the head of the administration that we should invite legitimate, independent and even strong criticism, by which alone the Government can understand the grievances and troubles of the people.

The Bill was passed by the House with only one dissenting vote. The legislation brings the State Press and Publication Regulation on the same lines with British India as it embodied the provisions of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 1936.

Pudukottai**THE PUDUKOTTAI BUDGET**

The Pudukottai Budget for the year 1348 *Fasli* shows a surplus, despite suspension of the collection of land revenue and the postponement of the recovery of agricultural loans to the tune of Rs. 52,000. In presenting the budget, Rao Bahadur Krishnamachariar, Assistant Administrator of the State, observed:

There is no proposal to increase the revenues of Pudukottai by the imposition of additional taxes or by increasing the rates of those already levied, nor is there any proposal to incur any extraordinary expenditure.

Gwalior**BHONSLE MILITARY SCHOOL**

H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior, speaking at the opening of the Bhonsle Military School at Nasik, said that "it now rests with them (the students of this institution, the Bhonsle military school of Nasik) through the training and education they receive here, to show in future years that they are well-fitted to be entrusted with the great responsibility of commanding their countrymen in the defence of their country and the British Empire, and to rise to the occasion whenever the clarion call of 'standfast' is sounded.

I hope and pray that this institution, when complete, may prove to be the home and nursery of soldiers worthy of the expectations of their country."

Cochin**COCHIN'S NEW CONSTITUTION**

The general election to the new Cochin Legislative Council is now in progress. The polling will take place on June 6 and the results will be announced on June 10.

It is proposed to inaugurate the New Constitution at a Public Durbar at Ernakulam by His Highness the Maharaja on June 17, and this will be followed by a State banquet the same night.

On June 18, the ceremony of the inauguration of the new High Court will be held, and the Maharaja's announcement inaugurating the New Constitution will be read at all taluq headquarters throughout the State the same day.

Indore**NEW SUCCESSION LAW**

The Maharaja Holkar of Indore has given his assent to the Indore Succession Certificate Bill recently passed by the State Legislative Council.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Zanzibar**THE CLOVE BOYCOTT**

Considerable satisfaction is felt over the reported success of the negotiations between the Zanzibar Government and the Indian Merchant Community in the Colony. The Settlement awaits confirmation by the Colonial Office. The main items of the agreement are as follows:

The monopoly for the purchase of cloves by the Clove Growers' Association is entirely given up. There is only to be a licence system for persons desiring to deal in or export cloves. The Clove Growers' Association will enter on the market as any other dealer except that it will fix the minimum price. The Association will not sell direct to overseas markets so long as the normal flow of exports is maintained.

There is only one stipulation that the exporter will have to buy 50 per cent. of the cloves he exports from the Association.

The Government of Zanzibar will invite the Indian National Association of Zanzibar, acting in consultation with the Chamber of Commerce, to submit a panel of names from which the British Resident will select Indian representatives to serve upon the board of management of the Clove Growers' Association and the Advisory Committee Indian traders will have the benefit of buildings.

The Working Committee accepts the recommendations of the Indian National Association of Zanzibar and confirms the said agreement. The Committee trusts that the agreement would be acted upon by the Zanzibar Government in such a way as to give full satisfaction to the Indian community.

As we go to Press, it is reported that the Colonial Secretary has approved the Agreement. Picketing and boycott will now cease.

British Guiana**INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA**

The Government have accepted Mr. Kunzru's resolution asking them to take steps to facilitate the settlement of Indians on land in British Guiana and discourage their repatriation to India, and that they will take up the matter with the Colonial

Office. There are about 30,000 Indians in British Guiana who possess the right to go back to India with either full passage paid or some portion of the payment made by the British Guiana Government. The right, observes the *Leader* of Allahabad, may be commuted for an allotment of two acres of land. How Indians repatriated from South Africa, and other Colonies are faring in India is well known. Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi, who carried out an inquiry into the subject, reported that he had not come across one single repatriated Indian who was happy and who did not want to go back to the colony from where he had been repatriated. "It is, therefore, very necessary that the Indians in British Guiana, who possess the right to come back to India at State expense, should be persuaded not to exercise that right but should instead settle in the colony itself. If the necessary amount of land and other State help is forthcoming, we are sure that they will be far happier there than here."

Uganda**AGENT-GENERAL FOR EAST AFRICA**

The Indian Association of Uganda has written to the Government of India regarding the reported appointment of an Agent-General to the Government of India in East Africa. The honorary secretary in his letter says: "My Association is unable to give credence to this report as it must be generally accepted that should a necessity for such an Agent-General be felt by the people of this country, the demand for such an appointment would be made by the people of East Africa to the Government of India. So far not only such a demand has not been made, but the East African Indian National Congress have consistently opposed the idea of the appointment of such an Agent-General."

South Africa

FICTION OF COLOUR INFERIORITY

A Conference at Cape Town attended by 45 organisations, stated to contain thirty thousand natives, coloured people and Indians, passed the following resolution:

"Realising that the general condition of the Non-European peoples can only be improved by the abolition of the political inequalities embodied in the South Africa Act, this Conference resolves to initiate a Non-European United Front Movement for the co-operation of Native, Indian, and coloured races in the struggle against the colour bar in South Africa."

The Conference then declared its will to resist further attempts to degrade Non-European peoples by segregation, deportation, or any other legislation designed to legalise the fiction of race or colour inferiority.

Malaya

INDO-MALAYAN TRADE

The possibility of increasing imports of Indian goods into Malaya is indicated in the recent reports on Indo-Malayan trade received from that country. Aluminium ware, cotton goods, ground-nuts, oil, piece-goods, perfumery, sporting goods, sandal wood, toilet soap and umbrellas are among the articles exported from India in increased quantities. It has been suggested that a Sub-Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Malaya should be set up to do propaganda in support of the sale of Indian goods.

In the year 1936, India bought from Malaya goods worth nearly 10 million dollars more than she sold to Malaya. Official figures available show exports from Malaya to India amounted to 21,312,780 dollars, or an increase of about 2½ million

dollars over 1935, while imports from India totalled 11,787,816 dollars, showing a decrease of 1½ million dollars compared to the previous year.

Imports of cotton textiles from British India made a great advance last year, amounting to 22,789,019 yards in 1936 compared with 12,505,653 yards in 1935, while the total imports into Malaya were 142,911,586 yards. Prices of Indian textiles remained at a steady level except from occasional increases. Aluminium ware of Indian manufacture also showed appreciable increase.

Kenya

INDIAN EDUCATION IN KENYA

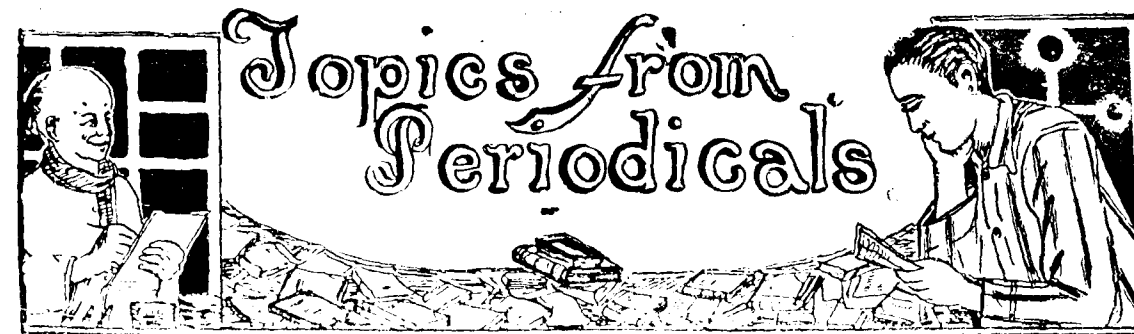
The motion tabled by the Hon. Dr. A. C. L. DeSouza in the Kenya Legislative Council asking the Government for an inquiry into education in Indian secondary schools and into the working of the Nairobi Indian Secondary School was withdrawn.

Dr. DeSouza stated that since his notice of the Motion, he had an assurance from the Director of Education that a Departmental Committee of Inquiry would be appointed on which there would be appointed an Indian who was not a member of any of the official educational bodies.

Rhodesia

INDIANS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Considerable surprise and much resentment has been aroused among the Indian community in South Rhodesia by a ruling by the Chief Registering Officer for the Parliamentary franchise that Indians born in an Indian State are not British subjects but "British protected persons" and are accordingly not eligible for the parliamentary vote except in such cases as were included in the 1928 rolls.



ENGLAND AND INDIA

In response to requests for his views on the proposed federation for India, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore points out in the course of a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* that "an entire misapprehension is widely prevalent in the West which presupposes that the federation now about to be imposed at the Centre will represent something not very far short of complete autonomy". And he asks:

How can a country have autonomy whose people are for the most part disarmed, deprived of control over four-fifths of their national purse, and allowed to have nothing to do with their own external affairs? I am sure the British would despise themselves if they had to tolerate even any distant analogy of this, or some caricature of freedom offered by niggardly benevolence in their own homes.

But the British people may contend that they have nothing but pity and love for India and that they are painfully enduring the extra burden of governing this country to discharge their sacred duty of maintaining law and order. How far is this claim justified?

If some of us are impudent enough to refer them to the balance-sheet of their extended rule and point out that it discloses an unbroken continuity of poverty, ignorance, enfeebled life-force, with a steady deterioration in the value of our human capital, we are likely to be severely reprimanded. Yet it is not at all difficult for anybody to calculate the amount of positive benefit conferred upon us by our Government if he takes care to study the amount of expenditure allotted to education, sanitation, and economic improvement compared with the population of India and then examines its parallel in Japan.

I want to tell the British people quite plainly that so long as you hold us in your grip, you can never have either our trust or our friendship. We know that in your own homes you have many kindly virtues and are admirable for your

sense of fair play and human justice. Perhaps for that very reason you find it difficult to understand how the same English people out here can betray your best traditions. But then you have to remember that possession of empire always corrupts, and it has corrupted you.

But sensitive people in England are already feeling that the imperial prestige of Britain in India is obtained at too heavy a price.

The burden of surfeited Empire has dragged you down to that degree of weakness which makes you too timid to be ready adequately to deal with miscreant nations that are defiantly marching against political decency and your own interest and dignity. Those thoughtful and brave individuals among you who are eager to disown the precarious prestige of an Empire founded upon force are yet far too few in number and their resources are too meagre to retard effectively the gathering impetus of the blind rush of power to a self-destructive end.

If you ask my personal opinion, I hardly imagine that catastrophe can now be avoided, since the only event in which all the Powers of Europe are engaged with furious and frenzied zeal seems to be that of paving the path for mutual annihilation. Yet in spite of this I have the hope that misfortune and suffering, if they become inevitable, will not exceed the limits of retribution and bring about a collapse of the entire European civilisation; for there is much in that civilisation that is noble and worthy of being cherished. But Fate itself works in blind fits and starts, and one never knows where the Nemesis will lead if we keep on provoking it.

But some of the best elements both in England and India stand united against the deadening and unreasoning elements in both countries.

It is not that the Indian people stand sworn to enmity against the British people, but that awakened India in common with awakened Britain is opposed to those blind and sinister powers which are traitors to both. The future lies in our learning to ally ourselves with those humane forces in the world, wherever found, which are seeking to end altogether the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation.

A CONSTITUTION FOR STATES

The imminent prospect of Federation has induced a number of Indian States to set their houses in order, and Committees on Constitutional Reforms are at work hammering out suitable schemes of government for adoption in their respective States. For it is one of the basic principles of Federation that the systems of government that prevail in the several States of the Federation should be in essentials as similar as possible. Prof. Rathnaswami's article on "A Model Constitution for Indian States" appearing in the current issue of the *New Review* is, therefore, of topical interest.

It is true that in the States the sovereignty of the Princes is the ultimate source of all authority and not the sovereignty of the people, as in the democratic countries of the West. In British India itself, the sovereignty of the people is recognized only to a very limited extent. But the principle of representative and responsible government having been applied to the British Indian provinces, the governments of the Indian States have to be brought into approximation with them "regard being had, of course, to the fundamental political idea of Indian States, i.e., the sovereignty of the Prince."

A few States, about half a dozen, have already taken some steps towards progressive government. But the question is: What further steps should all those that desire to join the Federation take, so that their system of government may be brought into harmony with the system of government in the Provinces and in the Centre of the Indian Federation? Prof. Rathnaswami holds that as a first step towards representative government, District Boards and Local Panchayats should be

formed in the States endowed with authority to manage local affairs—roads, wells, sanitation and to tax themselves for the needs of such administration. The second reform which would give the people political education, and which would develop in them knowledge and respect for law, is to give them a share in the judicial power. The third means in the training of the people in self-government is the formation of national guards and militia.

Next is the freedom of the Press, and the writer holds that though absolute freedom may not be possible, greater freedom should be allowed in the publication of books than of periodical literature.

The most important arena of public discussion in a free State is the Representative Assembly.

Its number must be determined by the size of the State and its population and by the requirements of parliamentary discussion. It must not be too large for efficient debate nor so small that it would succumb to intrigue, to the private and invisible influence of the Executive, and to the leadership of the mediocre. To deserve its name and fulfil its purpose, it must be as representative of the people as possible. And if the representation is to be real and living, it must be secured by the action of groups and communities and corporations and not by the activity of mere individuals.

With regard to the power of the Representative Assembly to influence the composition of the Executive, all that popular representative government requires is that the Executive should govern in harmony with the Representative Assembly, not that it should be dependent on the latter every moment of its life. To secure this end it would be enough if the Ministry were appointed by the Prince out of a panel of double or treble the number of ministerial officers required for the State elected by the Representative Assembly. And once appointed they should be allowed to go on for the whole term of the Representative Assembly, which may be 5 or 7 years—subject to votes of No-Confidence moved against individual Ministers not more frequently than once a year at the time of the presentation of the Budget, which, if passed by a majority of three-fourths, may lead to the resignation of those Ministers.

As regards the representation of the State in the legislature of the Indian Federation, this also may be secured by the Prince selecting from a panel of double or treble the number of representatives allotted to the State from the Representative

Assembly in the case of the Federal Assembly, and from the Legislative Council in the case of the Federal Council of State, either election being by the system of the single transferable vote.

A further question in connection with the Representative Assembly is whether it should consist of one or two chambers. There are bicameral chambers in England and U. S. A. But some Indian States like Mysore and Travancore struck out new path by establishing a Legislative Council along with the Representative Assembly. The Legislative Council is to hammer out into efficient Legislative Acts the proposals of legislation passed in the Representative Assembly. It should consist of experts and good legislators who combine in themselves some representative character.

It would be composed, for instance, of retired officials of the State drawing a pension of Rs. 300-500 and above, up to the age of 65, presidents and members of Committees of District Boards and Municipalities, a representative elected from the Bar of the capital and of the districts, from those that have acted as honorary magistrates and assessors in the courts of the State. To infuse a representative element in the Council, a certain proportion should consist of members elected by the Representative Assembly, provision being made for the due representation of minorities. The Prince would also have the right of nominating a small number that would in his opinion add to the representative character and accomplish the legislative purposes of the Council. The number of the Legislative Council should in no case exceed 50, and for most States it would hover about 30 or 40. As for the relations between the two Houses, there is little danger of a clash, because their functions are different. The Legislative Council would only give legislative form and efficacy to the proposals of the Assembly. The Bills thus passed would go to the Assembly for final approval, and any persistent difference of opinion as to the legal form given to the ideas of the Representative Assembly may be resolved by the arbitration of the Prince, who for this business may take other advice than that of his Ministers.

All these reforms would have to be introduced and worked without detriment to the fundamental political idea of an Indian State—the ultimate authority and sovereignty of the Prince.

DEMOCRACY vs. DICTATORSHIP

Lt.-Col. Sir Thomas Moore, M.P., writing in the *Empire Review*, says:

"Dictatorship means the subordination of the individual to the State; it means the imprisonment of the mind; it means restriction on the written and spoken word, even the unuttered thought; it means that man is no longer free to be himself, but can only be the expression of another man's personality. If that is good for humanity, if it helps the development of civilisation, and, therefore, the betterment of mankind, if it indeed supports the underlying philosophy of Christianity, then we in Britain and those who think like us are all wrong.

But are we? Surely the Creator meant us to live in His image, not in the likeness of a Dictator? Surely He meant us to cultivate each his own individuality as given to us and not restrict our growth to a common standard. Surely He meant us to contribute each according to his capacity to the common weal. For, on the sum total of those common contributions is democracy founded.

If, therefore, we want to retain our Christian freedom, let us stimulate individual effort and the reasonable rewards that come from achievement. Let us narrow the gulf nationally and internationally between those who have and those who have not. Let us avoid strife, which retards understanding and breeds hate. Let us be just to nations and to men. Let us be strong physically and spiritually, so that we may persuade our way of peace and progress. Let us insist that, as far as we are concerned, we shall have in truth a Government of the people by the people for the people; according to Abraham Lincoln that is Democracy."

ISLAM AND POLYGAMY

Mr. Mizanur Rahman, writing on the above subject in the *Islamic Review* for May, says that Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, did not originate the institution of polygamy as it existed in all Eastern countries long before the advent of Islam. Polygamy was prevalent in ancient India, and also in ancient Greece and Rome. Islam, however, codified it in a restricted measure and under strictest conditions.

Islam certainly did not institute the practice of polygamy. It merely regularized and humanized the existing custom for the eradication of social evils; the elevation of social ethics and the consolidation of the social fabric in general. Monogamy, moreover, is more characteristically Islamic than is polygamy, though the latter is conditionally permitted under the Islamic *Shariat*. The Holy Quran, which is the completest code of human life amongst all the scriptures of the world, and which is the fountain-head of all Islamic sanctions and prohibitions, in its fourth chapter entitled *Al-Nisa* (The Women), permits polygamy for the Muslims in the following terms;

"And if you fear that you cannot act equitably towards orphans, then marry such women as seem good to you, two or three or four; but, if you fear that you cannot do justice among them alike (or deal fairly and squarely with them in all matters), then (marry) only one or what your right hands possess; this is more proper that you may not deviate from the right course."

Dealing with human ability to do justice among the wives, the Quran declares:

Ye will not have it entirely in your power to treat your wives alike, even though you fain would do so; but be not disinclined (from one) with total disinclination so as to leave her as it were in suspense (4: 129). The condition precedent for marrying more than one wife practically rules out polygamy for Muslims other than for those who may be considered outside the pale of general human inability to do justice to all wives alike. In any case, it is as clear as daylight that the holy Quran does not enjoin or encourage polygamy, though it does not prohibit it and that for excellent reasons.

In conclusion, the writer points out;

Polygamy is a time-honoured institution and, perhaps, came into being during the infancy of humanity. Islam merely restricted its scope making four wives the maximum, subject to a stringent condition, whereas it had unlimited scope in other societies which did not prohibit polygamy. Polygamy is a social and political necessity and is a check upon prostitution and bastardy. Polygamy is necessary from progenital considerations as well.

INDIA'S OUTLOOK ON THE WORLD

A striking feature of recent political thought in India is the development of the struggle against what is known as "Imperialism". Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru have time and again used strong expressions against British imperialism. But recent events in Europe and the Far East have convinced thinking Indians "that there is something worse in the world than British imperialism as they know it". They have closely followed the trend of events in Abyssinia, China, and Spain and their attitude to the totalitarian States, says an acute writer in the *Round Table*, is one of downright condemnation. They have not hesitated to express open sympathy with the victims of oppression. The writer's reading of the Indian mind on the question will bear repetition. He says:

There is wide-spread sympathy for the plight of the Chinese as there was for that of the Abyssinians. In the Spanish conflict sympathies are entirely with the Government forces. It is true that Indian demonstrations show scant regard for imperialism in any form, and the criticism is still heard that the democratic countries have themselves exploited subject peoples in exactly the same manner as such peoples are now being exploited by the totalitarian States.

On the Palestine issue, Indian opinion is entirely on the side of the Arabs, and is certainly opposed to the idea of partition which is claimed to be no solution for the problem. Those who think deeply maintain that the conflict is not so much between opposing races as between different cultures and between conflicting economic interests. It is admitted that the position of Great Britain, as the Mandatory Power, is extremely unenviable, and Italy's interest in Palestine developments has been noted with some anxiety. Indian opinion is, therefore, likely to emerge on the side of any satisfactory compromise that upholds the nationality and the rights of the Arabs. The unfortunate conditions that have developed since the world war are slowly convincing many Indians that power still counts for something in the world, and that it is British power that will be finally responsible for keeping their country inviolate. Political relations, as well as the general welfare of India, would be greatly improved if public leaders openly recognised the need for maintaining Indian collaboration with Great Britain.

THE CINEMA

"The Cinema both as an art and an industry has now reached an importance and a perfection which every one recognises. It has, indeed, become an integral part of modern life. Economics as a science and philosophy must, in view of their great social importance, penetrate deeply into an art like cinematography, the purpose of which is both to arouse and educate the public," thus observes Mr. Sheikh Iftakar Rasool in the *Indian Journal of Education*, in the course of an article on Film industry.

If we consider the cinema on its economic side, the border line between art and industry is clearly defined, and industry rather than being an element of possible danger to art is really its natural source of life and growth. The economic value of the cinema, however, on the industrial side, lies in production and management and their various aspects and developments. On the art side, it lies in the handling and solving of those questions of an economic nature that arise in the production of films.

The capital invested in the world for the cinema industry totals about 3,000 million dollars. The spectators, who amount to over 550 millions, bring to the picture-theatres 1,550 million dollars. The confidence of capitalists in the industry, which can still show such figures despite the crisis, is more solid than ever. Governments in almost all the countries, except in the case of India, have granted aids and assistance of every kind to cinema firms and have safeguarded the development of the national industry in every possible way.

America, the birth-place of Cine art and trade, stands pre-eminent to-day in respect of film production. She has created Hollywood, the earthly paradise of the 20th century, the centre of activities of mystic and immortal actors and actresses. On the production side, the sound and talking pictures have certainly helped to increase the economic difficulties of the cinema world.

About the philosophical films, the writer, adds:

Films with a philosophical background, even when they have been artistically produced, have often proved failures. This has been due to the

thesis or central idea being less felt and therefore less understood by the masses, and to the directors' incapacity to give the picture a show value apart from its ethical content.

These films have failed owing to the public's indifference and lack of understanding. These failures have been balanced, however, by some amazing successes obtained when the director has been able enough to conciliate the exigencies of art with the demands of the public's taste without allowing the former to suffer.

Philosophy in the cinema does not go into questions of a general nature but rather, owing to the cinema's requirements as a spectacular art, it deals with the philosophy of every-day life, seeking to cast fresh light on problems, both social and psychological, of immediate human interest.

It is a pity that there is yet in India no film society that would bring film master-pieces to the discerning. The age of the cinema, like the scientific age, seems to have left India untouched. We have accepted the radio and the cinema with easy complacency without questioning and without a second thought. The future looks gloomy enough but we still wait patiently for something to happen, for a film Gandhi to turn up, a producer who understands films and strives to attain filmic reality in a world where human values are warped in a mesh of miasmatic insensibility.

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SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS

The question of the separation of the executive and judicial functions has been on the plank of the Indian political platform for over half a century. The advent of the Congress Government in seven provinces has now given more prominence to the question. "An Indian Civil Servant," writing in the May issue of the *Bombay Law Journal*, discusses the possibilities of bringing about this reform. He writes:

Criminal justice is at present administered by executive officers, whose promotions and prospects depend on the District Magistrate, who is also the head of the police, and who has to report on their work, and to whom they are made subordinate. The Sessions Judge, though he hears appeals from all First Class Magistrates, has no right of superintendence and control over them. Section 17 (5) of the Criminal Procedure Code lays down that Magistrates shall not be subordinate to the Sessions Judge except to the extent and manner expressly provided; while it is laid down in Section 17 (1) that all Magistrates shall be subordinate to the District Magistrate. The framers of the Indian Codes, in trying to concentrate all power in a single individual, have apparently proceeded on the idea that oriental people are habituated to one man rule, and that the *ma bap* should be one. We have, therefore, the anomaly that the highest judicial authority in the district has no power of superintendence and control over the Magistrates; that Magistrates look for preferment to the District Magistrate, and in any case their promotion and prospects will depend on their revenue work. For the District Magistrate has little opportunity to judge the work of First Class Magistrates, whose appeals go directly to the Sessions Judges.

The reform is long overdue. Justice should be administered by Magistrates who have an adequate knowledge of law and who are not subordinate to the local executive authorities. The present system under which magisterial work is done in a very dilatory way by revenue officers, and under which litigants, pleaders, witnesses and police parties conveying prisoners have to go from camp to camp to the courts of touring officers must go. In some districts there are already Resident Magistrates and the aim should be to have justice administered only by persons who have no revenue work. In some districts where Sub Judges have light work they should be given magisterial powers. More Resident Magistrates should be appointed in districts. Some of them may be recruited from the ranks of existing Mamlatdars or Deputy Collectors, but they should be given no executive work, and reports of their work should be made by the Sessions Judge only. Section 17 of the Criminal Procedure Code should be amended, and it should be provided that all Magistrates in the exercise of their judicial functions shall be subordinate to the Sessions Judge. The Criminal

Procedure Code should be so amended as to transfer to the Sessions Judge the judicial powers at present given to the District Magistrates. . . . The Collectors (who are District Magistrates) and Prant Officers will continue to exercise such powers of a preventive nature. But the judicial machinery in the District must be brought under the control of the Sessions Judge. This reform will not cost Government anything. It will also help to relieve the over-worked Collectors and enable them to devote more attention to other duties of administration which are daily increasing. It is true that the work of the Sessions Judge will increase to a certain extent, but I do not apprehend that the increase will be unmanageable. In some districts there are already Additional and Assistant Sessions Judges who would relieve the Sessions Judge of some appellate work. Assistant Sessions Judges and select senior Sub Judges should be empowered to hear appeals from Second and Third Class Magistrates.

The amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code necessary to separate the judiciary from the executive is a concurrent legislative subject. The substitution of whole time Magistrates for the present system of combination of judicial and executive work in one man may necessitate some expenditure. But this expenditure, says the writer, will not be very large, and in any case the extra expenditure will, to a certain extent, be counterbalanced by the saving in expenditure to the public, who will have quicker justice instead of dilatory justice by part time Magistrates.

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

Odette Keun, writing in *Time and Tide*, does not regard the end of the European civilization as a calamity from which mankind cannot recover. She writes:

The Europeans are chockfull of pretensions regarding the necessity for the continuation of their culture. Before European civilization, there existed a whole series of civilizations: Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Phœnician, Aegean, Greek, Roman. They all perished and yet mankind survived quite successfully. It even multiplied extravagantly. There is, therefore, no occasion at all to think that if European civilization perished mankind would still not survive quite successfully. It is entirely used to building new civilizations on the wreckage of old ones.

THE NEW EDUCATION

The *Bombay Teachers' Journal* has an interesting article on "New Education" from the pen of Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister, who says that "the task of the teacher is to mould young minds in independent judgment and self-reliance. We cannot ignore cultural and university education. Mass illiteracy must be liquidated. We must take up the task of spreading literacy and imparting efficient education to the whole population. There is a consensus of opinion regarding the way in which education should be directed. There is wastage of knowledge and money under the present system. The Matriculation has been considered to be the most important item for students. Most of the teachers are engaged in preparing student for this examination. That is believed to be the goal.

At Wardha we did not consider any cut and dry scheme. The ambition and process of thought of those who were present at Wardha were the same as those of others enlightened educationists. There is nothing wrong in aiming to impart education through a process which would equip a student for some useful occupation after he leaves school or college. That is what most of the students aim at. A large number of students go to colleges because they have nothing else to do.

I had occasion to meet students who came out to India from England and speak to them. Each one of them had an exact idea of what course to follow after completing his education.

Unfortunately in India, students do not know what would happen immediately they leave their college or school. We must make earnest efforts to impart such education to our boys that they would be self-reliant and useful members of society in later years. Such a thing should have to start early in life. This was one of the questions discussed at Wardha. Of course, there are so many difficulties which have to be surmounted.

There is a misapprehension as to what is meant by education being made self-supporting.

We shall require a large number of trained teachers for this new system of teaching. The present lot of teachers is looked down upon as mere appendages. This great maladjustment must be remedied. The status of the teacher must be the very highest in the land. There is a couplet which is daily recited in Hindu households which says: 'The teacher is the creator; the teacher is the preserver; the teacher is God Maheshwar; the teacher is Brahma incarnate; salute the teacher.'

In fine, the Hon. Premier points out:—

There is the necessity of different types of schools for boys emerging out of secondary schools. I am not against university education, but I am against each and every student wanting to undergo university education just to get employment. Our ambition is to make an average man better equipped than he is today, or attain a higher level of education than he does today. On that depends the measure of progress in all aspects of life.

Such a kind of education can be had only through the mother tongue. It is very difficult to learn things, however simple they are, through a language which is not one's own. These difficulties will have to be surmounted, only we have to be earnest.

CHINA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

In the course of an article on 'China's Fight for Freedom', Mr. A. Morgan Young observes in the March number of the *Contemporary Review*:

The Chinese have whole provinces cut off; the needs of life are unobtainable, and they must give up what they have to the demands of the invader or of their own desperate soldiers. In hundreds of thousands they are without shelter, without food, without clothes and without hope or direction. The perfected machinery of war has smitten them with every imaginable woe on a scale unknown in the Great War. As the desolation spreads, so increases the fantastic inadequacy of the invader's excuses. It is impossible at the moment to foretell how long will China endure. A people always regarded as lacking in military virtues, have shown a capacity for suffering and a heroism in the face of certain death, such as the leaders of no military nation would dare impose on their followers for fear of their morale breaking down; but it seems likely that organized military resistance will cease before Japan becomes incapable of continuing her aggression.

THE SECOND CHAMBER

Whether all that is implied by the term 'democracy' can be achieved in a State with a unicameral legislature or whether the presence of a second chamber is indispensable is the problem discussed at some length in the pages of the *Scholar* by Mr. S. V. Ramanujam. Abbe Sieyes, the arch-constitution monger of the French Revolution, said that "if a second chamber dissents from the first, it is mischievous; if it agrees with it, it is superfluous". The writer solves the problem by reference to the actual composition of the second chambers of different countries.

The case for the second chamber has been differently stated according to the varying needs of the time.

The nineteenth century writers favoured a bi-cameral legislature for reasons many of which are obsolete to-day. Many of them looked with suspicion and horror at the rapid democratisation of political institutions. They thought they could check the progress of democracy by the creation of a second chamber more conservative than the popularly elected house, or as they put it, "a second chamber was necessary in order to check the characteristic tendency of a democratic assembly to hasty and precipitate legislation". They believed that people 'were carried away by the hypnotising words of the demagogues' and did not bring into play their faculty of reasoning. Really capable men did not take the trouble of expending much on elections. In the interest of wise legislation, therefore, it was necessary that a second chamber be constituted to which the truly wise and experienced people could be nominated. Another argument usually advanced by the Victorian writers is the necessity of revision even if the legislative work is done carefully by the first house. The second house with a fresh and different outlook is best suited to revise measures.

Such were the arguments put forward a generation ago. To-day the case is stated differently.

The chief function of a second chamber was the "interposition of so much delay (and no more) in the passing of a bill into law, as may be needed to enable public opinion to be adequately expressed on it". This can be attained by the appointment of standing committees even in a uni-cameral legislature. The second chamber, however, is not necessarily the storehouse of wisdom and knowledge. It exists not to thwart the will of the people but on the contrary to see that the general will prevails. The will of

the general public, no doubt, must be given great prominence. But the question is whether the 'cumbrous and complicated' machinery of the second chamber is necessary to secure supremacy of the general will in legislation.

Discussing the position of the Council of State in India, the writer points out that it was devised to attract men of wisdom, experience and knowledge through a narrow and restricted franchise.

The Government of India Act provides for a joint sitting of the two houses at the discretion of the Governor-General in case of conflict. This provision sounds farcical to us when the Viceroy is vested with immense powers of vetoing and certifying. On many an important problem the second chamber has actually opposed the Assembly. If the decisions of the Assembly are in conflict with the Government of India, then the Viceroy has ample powers to interfere at any stage. If the Viceroy is sympathetic the Council of State is powerless because in a joint sitting it will command only a minority. If the Viceroy is not sympathetic, the Council of State is as good as non-existent. The Council of State is neither fish nor flesh and it is anomalous to a certain extent.

Thus after a lengthy examination of the practical and theoretical basis of the second chamber, the writer concludes that it is "a superfluous, mischievous, complicated and invidious institution". It is, according to him, a costly ornament in a democratic constitution. Therefore, he says:

The only way of improving legislation is by doing away with the second chamber and making the lower house more effective. A second chamber in a democratic constitution of the present day cannot be anything but a "pompous futility and avoidable luxury".

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

HINDU ALMANAC. By W. E. Van Wijk. [The Asiatic Review, April 1938.]

EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION AND INDIA'S WORLD MISSION. By J. M. Kumarappa. [The Aryan Path, May 1938.]

THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. [The New Review, May 1938.]

INDIAN FEDERAL COURT. By Mr. P. Rajeswara Rao, B.COM. [The Hindustan Review, May 1938.]

HINDU SOCIAL IDEALS. By M. R. Sampatkumaran. [The Triveni, May 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

+

DEPARTMENTAL

+

NOTES

Questions of Importance

C. P. MINISTERS' STATEMENT

The differences among the Ministers in the Central Provinces Cabinet have been composed.

The Central Provinces Congress Legislative Party unanimously endorsed the following statement signed by the six Ministers and submitted to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:

"In response to the wishes of the Party, as expressed at its meeting on 25th May, we met together and discussed all questions of differences amongst ourselves, some of them being temperamental, some due to differences of outlook and others involving questions of procedure regarding the internal working of the Ministry. We are happy to report that we have been able to amicably settle all our differences and have agreed to work in a spirit of comradeship and we feel confident that we shall have your full co-operation and support."

The statement is signed by Messrs. N. B. Khare, Ravi Shanker Shukla, D. P. Mishra, Ramarao Deshmukh, D. K. Mehta and P. B. Gole.

CORRUPTION AMONG PUBLIC SERVANTS

Drastic action to prevent corruption among public servants, including the removal from service of servants whose general repute has been recorded as corrupt by three different officers and compulsory retirement of officers with 15 years' service whose record for honesty is bad, is recommended by the Anti-Corruption Committee appointed by the U. P. Government, whose report has been published now. Sir Maharaj Singh presided over the Committee.

Characterising corruption and bribery as among the greatest evils prevalent in public life, the Committee makes a series of proposals for prevention, detection and punishment of corruption of which the following are the more important:—

Government servants are to furnish a list of property possessed by them or other members of the family.

'Dalis' and 'Sifarish' to be banned.

Salaries of poorly-paid servants to be increased to a living wage.

The formation of Anti-Corruption Committees and the establishment of an Anti-Corruption Department of the Government.

Exemplary punishment of those found guilty of corruption.

Standard of evidence in enquiries not to be so strict as in Courts of Law.

Concluding, the Committee states that the recommendations taken individually may not seem to be of much value but their cumulative effect was likely to be considerable.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

Lord Stanley, the Under-Secretary of State for India, was recently asked in the House of Commons to define the attitude of the British Government towards the suggestion that certain new Indian provinces should be created. These, it had been urged, should be established on a linguistic basis. He replied that the Secretary of State, Lord Zetland, did not consider it would be in the interests of India to embark on a policy of creating new Provinces now, and reminded his questioner that under the Government of India Act the initiative in this matter rests with the Crown.

GANDHIJI ON NON-VIOLENCE

In his reply to the address at Edwards College in Peshawar, Gandhiji refuted the view that non-violence is a weapon of the weak and added :

We may be weak and oppressed, but non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest. Violence may well be the weapon of the weak and the oppressed. Being strangers to non-violence nothing else is open to them. It is, however, true that passive resistance has been regarded as a weapon of the weak. That was why the name 'satyagraha' was coined in South Africa to distinguish the movement there from passive resistance.

Passive resistance is a negative thing and has nothing to do with the active principle of Love. Satyagraha proceeds on the active principle of Love which says: 'Love those that despitefully use you. It is easy for you to love your friends. But I say to you, love your enemies.' If satyagraha was a weapon of the weak, I should be deceiving Khansaheb, for no Pathan has yet confessed his weakness. It was Khansaheb who told me that he never felt so strong and brave as when he, out of a free will, renounced the lathi and the rifle. If it was not the supreme weapon of the brave, I should certainly have hesitated to place it before a brave community like the Pathans. It is with that weapon that Khansaheb can bid fair to befriend and convert the brave Afridis and the other tribesmen.

I am glad to have had this opportunity of correcting you. For the moment you realize it, you will enlist yourself as workers in the cause for which Khansaheb and I are working. That it is difficult to carry conviction I agree. I find it difficult in spite of my conscious practice of it for the last 50 years. But it presupposes purity of the highest type. Infinite patience is required—even the patience of emptying the ocean with a blade of grass.

MR. EDEN'S PLAIN SPEAKING

Speaking on 'England' at a St. George's Day banquet in London, Mr. Anthony Eden said :

Nothing seemed less likely when the Armistice was signed than that within 20 years nations should hear once again the same glorification of war. Yet it is so. Nations are told that they are the bravest on earth, but brave for what? To seek to evolve the arts of peace? No, to be ready to slaughter another brave nation somewhere else. All the panoply of arms, of drum and trumpet, is out again, so short has been that post-war era when man had faith in long-enduring peace. It was utterly futile to imagine that we were involved in a European crisis that might pass as it had come. We are living in one of those great periods of history which are awe-inspiring in their responsibilities and in their consequences. Stupendous forces are loose—hurricane forces.

DANGER OF ALLIANCES

Referring to the danger of military alliances, Viscount Samuel in a speech in the Lords said:—

In time of war, no doubt, it is necessary for alliances to be made and, if war is to be regarded as inevitable, no doubt it would be a wise course for us to secure as many friends as we can and to connect them with ourselves in the most intimate fashion possible. But I submit that we should be very slow to come to so grave, so tragic a conclusion that another European war is, in fact, inevitable and that we must straightaway provide against it by uniting with ourselves as many allies as we can.

Often before it has been thought that wars were inevitable, and the course of history has shown they were not. In the time of Napoleon III it was currently believed in this country that a war between Britain and France was inevitable. Lord Grey of Fallodon mentions in his memoirs that at a moment of great strain between France and ourselves over Fashoda, when he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the nineties, it was urged upon him that a war between France and Britain being inevitable, it was well to get it over as speedily as might be.

It is always a mistake to wage war to prevent war. A preventive war is always wrong in principle. History again shows that the nations of Europe, when they armed to make war against the French Revolution, committed a grave blunder. They helped to plunge Europe into bloodshed for 20 years. . . .

Alliances and the balance of power are a policy that does not guarantee peace, and history shows that it has never done so. In the eighteenth century when that policy was begun in the world and officially supported constantly by British statesmen, Britain was at war for one year out of every two.

LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of England, said in a recent speech :

Subject to reasonable restrictions, I believe in liberty of thought, of speech, of action.

Without that there can be no true democracy. I do not believe that a democracy need necessarily be less efficient than other systems of Government. It may, indeed, sometimes lag behind in time in making its decision but, at any rate, democracy can do what no dictator can permit himself; democracy can afford to make mistakes.

For the preservation of democracy, which means the preservation of our liberty, I myself would fight, and I believe that the people of this country would fight.

LORD SAMUEL ON INDIA

Lord Samuel, speaking on his recent visit to India before the East India Association, said that he believed that it will be found necessary to grant India Dominion Status, after which there is to be expected in India as elsewhere not an intensification of the movement towards separation but rather full and cordial co-operation with the rest of the Commonwealth, for it could then be given without derogation to the self-respect and patriotism of proud and sensitive people.

Speaking of the cordiality existing between the Civil Service and the Congress Ministers, Lord Samuel said that he received one or two complaints that some senior men have not been quite able to adapt themselves to the new situation and gave as instance the recent incident in Orissa. He said that it showed a strange misreading of the situation that an official, however distinguished, who was subordinate, should be appointed The Ministers were right to protest and the Government of India was wise in recognising that a mistake had been made.

VALUE OF NON-VIOLENCE

"True bravery lies not in wielding the sword but in renouncing it. A man who has understood this kernel of non-violence fears none and is, far and away, more powerful than any man with the sword," said Gandhiji, addressing a huge crowd of over 100,000 people in Shabi Bagh.

Continuing, Gandhiji said: "He whose sword is non-violence, acts through love, but he who uses the sword uses threat even to suppress a child."

MR. BHULABHAI ON INDIAN FREEDOM

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, addressed a meeting of several hundred Indians in London under the auspices of the London Majlis.

He claimed that accredited representatives of the Indian National Congress were accredited representatives of India, because their collective vote represented the majority in India.

The Congress had given the lie to the suggestion that India was not politically conscious and the claim that the Congress represented India was established by the irrefutable evidence of adult franchise, carried out under British supervision.

He was convinced that India would attain freedom within five years.

GOVERNORS IN THE NEW REGIME

Sir John Anderson, addressing the Royal Empire Society, London, under the chairmanship of Lord Willingdon, expressed the opinion that the duties and responsibilities of Provincial Governors would not decrease under the New Constitution.

Their detached and disinterested position would enable them to exercise an influence which no party leader would exercise. In the sphere of administration, the Governor would be able to help the Ministers without derogating their position.

CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

The Governor-General has extended the life of the Central Legislative Assembly up to October 1, 1939, says a Notification in the current issue of the *Gazette of India*.

STUDENTS' STRIKE

Proroguing the Y. M. I. A. Parliament at Madras, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Ayyar took occasion to make some candid observations on a subject that has exercised educationists considerably for some time past. He referred to the epidemic of students' strikes in the country, and particularly to recent incidents in Mysore, Bangalore, Lahore, Karachi and other places. Sir Sivaswamy Ayyar himself has long been connected with more than one University in India and his educational experience includes the management of a well known High School in the Presidency. Speaking with the knowledge and authority of one in his position, he deplored "the indiscipline and lawlessness on the increase among the youth of the country".

Whatever might be the value of picketing and strikes in other departments of national life, they have proved disastrous in the case of students and educational institutions. Sir Sivaswamy Ayyar has no patience with the form of *satyagraha* now becoming common among students. To go on strike and induce others to strike is "a monstrous application of the principle of individual liberty and the assertion of individual rights".

I think that we should not extend our sympathy to those who employ these means, which are not really peaceful. It is not really a case of *ahimsa*, it is really implied *himsa* against persons who claim a right to regulate their own conduct according to their own lights.

Analysing the causes of this form of revolt among the youth, Sir Sivaswamy Ayyar does not hesitate to lay the blame on the elders who incited them to such actions in connection with movements of defiance against constituted authority. The spirit of turbulence and unrest thus encouraged could not be expected to confine itself to the specific circumstances.

They are reaping the whirlwind. It is up to them to put a stop to this with a firm hand in the interest of youth and the country, or the alternative would be anarchy. "No right minded person," says Sir Sivaswamy Ayyar in the vein of the late St. Leo Stratchey of the *Spectator*, "could doubt the correct choice".

C. R. ON RESEARCH

Time was when money spent on research students was characterised as idle scholarships. Not Universities only but the State and some vital industries are now realising the potency of research work. And in India especially there is a sanctity attached to work that brings no immediate reward. The Scriptures ask us to look to the work and not to the fruits thereof. Delivering the valedictory address of the Madras University Research Scholars' Association, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Premier, held forth:

You should be cautious and conscientious in your work. Research is really religious work and it is not different from morality or religion either in method or object.

But he went on to add that the work of the research student must be brought to bear on the public weal. He will use it for the good of the State.

I do not look upon the Research Department of the University merely as a useless, costly appendage of an educational institution. I really understand and appreciate the purposes of such a department and I look forward to greater and greater success on the part of research workers and greater uses to which your work can be put.

PROF. D. N. BANERJEE

The Executive Council of the Dacca University has instituted an independent Department of Political Science with Prof. D. N. Banerjee as head.

Prof. Banerjee has been connected with the University since its inception in 1921.

A REVOLUTIONARY'S CONFESSION

After 16 years of freedom an escaped prisoner, convicted in a conspiracy case, surrendered to Gandhiji at Juhu on May 21. On Gandhiji's advice he surrendered to the police and was arrested by the District Magistrate of Bombay in the suburban district of Juhu. The prisoner is Sardar Prithwi Singh, who was convicted as a revolutionary in the first Lahore Conspiracy Case in 1915.

He served a portion of his sentence in the Andamans and was thereafter transferred to the Rajahmundry Jail from which he escaped in 1922. Since his escape he has been acting as gymnastic instructor in various schools in Bombay. He met Gandhiji on 18th May and confessed his past and affirmed his renunciation of violence and his acceptance of the creed of non-violence.

Gandhiji suggested his surrender to the authorities on moral grounds, but he says he will work for his release.

ENROLMENT IN FEDERAL COURT

An important amendment has been made in the Federal Court rules relating to enrolment of advocates. A person cannot be enrolled as an Advocate in the Federal Court unless he is an Advocate in the High Court of a Province for not less than 10 years in the case of a Senior Advocate, or 5 years in the case of any other Advocate. This rule has been amended to enable the applicant for enrolment as Advocate to take into account the period during which he is entitled to practise as *vakil* or pleader in the Provincial High Court to calculate the abovementioned periods of 10 years or 5 years as the case may be.

SHAHIDGUNJ APPEAL

The application for leave to appeal to the Privy Council in the Shahidgunj case came up on May 20 for final hearing before a Full Bench of the Lahore High Court, consisting of the Acting Chief Justice Sir James Addison, Mr. Justice S. Bhide and Mr. Justice Din Mahomed.

Malik Barkat Ali appeared for the appellant and Rai Bahadur Badridas represented the respondents.

After hearing Counsel, their Lordships granted the necessary certificate for leave to appeal to the Privy Council.

Another application was then taken up for confirming the *ad interim* injunction already issued for maintaining the *status quo* and for making no alteration whatsoever. With the consent of Counsel for both parties, the injunction was continued till the end of the current year.

THE C. P. LAW MEMBER

Mr. M. Y. Shareef, Law Minister of the Central Provinces, resigned his office at Panchmarhi on May 21, in accordance with the decision of the Congress Working Committee.

His Excellency the Governor has accepted Mr. Shareef's resignation.

Mr. Khare, the Premier, has taken over charge of the portfolio allotted to the Law Minister.

MR. D. G. DALVI

Mr. D. G. Dalvi of Bombay, who was Counsel for the Chamber of Princes last year, has been enrolled as an Advocate of the Federal Court.

THE VALUE OF INSURANCE

A writer in the *Indian Insurance Journal*, quotes the following paragraph from *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* for 1832, which seems as apt and appropriate to-day as when it was penned a 100 years ago:

"Such being the equitable and beneficial principles on which mutual insurance societies are established, it is clear that to men in the enjoyment of income but possessing little property, an insurance policy is a most suitable and favourable means of providing in a greater or less measure for the endeared and helpless relatives who may survive them. For what is the predicament of the man who, for the gratification of his affections, surrounds himself with a wife and children and peaceably lives in the enjoyment of these valued blessings with the knowledge that ere three moments at any time shall have passed, the cessation of his existence may throw wife and children together into a state of destitution? . . . When the case is fully reflected upon, it must certainly appear as one of gross selfishness notwithstanding that the world has been accustomed to regard it in that light. It is unquestionably the duty of every man to provide while yet he lives for his own; we would say that it is not more his duty to provide for their daily bread during his life than it is to provide as for as he can against their being left penniless in the event of his death. Indeed between these two duties, there is no essential distinction; for life assurance makes the one as much a matter of current expenditure as the other. One part of his income can be devoted by a head of a family to the necessities of the present; another may be stored up by means of life assurance to provide against the future. And thus he may be said to do the whole of his duty towards his family instead of, as is generally the case, only doing the half of it."

LAKSHMI INSURANCE

The Lakshmi Insurance attained a new status in the *Insurance World* with the opening of its new building in Bombay by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

The formality was gone through on March 18, when a thousand guests, comprising the elite of Bombay from every walk of life, were present; prominent among those being Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, Sirdar Sardul Singh and Messrs. Mavlankar and Sambamurti, the Speakers of Bombay and Madras respectively.

Sgt. Subhas Chandra Bose presented the Contractors of the building with a Silver Model of the Building and the Architects with a picture of it.

INSURANCE OF BULBS

A mutual hail insurance office—Hagel Onderlinge voor het Bloembollen bedrijf—has been founded in Heemstede, Holland, to insure against damage to bulbs by hail storms. It offers alternative forms of insurances. The assured can either obtain indemnification of all claims exceeding 3 per cent. or 5 per cent. of the sum insured, in which case the maximum indemnity is 90 per cent. of the sum assured; or he can obtain indemnification when the claim exceeds 10 per cent. but then on the condition that 10 per cent. is deducted from all claims paid.

RESTRICTIONS ON FOREIGN COMPANIES

It is reported that the Japanese Minister of Finance has decided to prohibit the payment of insurance premiums to foreign companies without special authorisation. Marine reinsurance premiums are to be exempted from the application of this decision.

BREAK-DOWN OF TRADE TALKS

A joint official *communiqué* by the Indian non-official advisers at the trade talks and the Lancashire Delegation has been issued. It states that the parties met the Commerce Member at Simla on May 23, and reported on their joint deliberations.

To the profound regret of both sides, it has been found that a gap exists between their points of view, which all their discussions have failed to bridge.

In the circumstances, it has been reluctantly agreed that the continuation of the present method of approach to the problem by talks between the parties cannot help at the present stage, and both parties will, therefore, report to their Governments.

Referring to this break-down of the cotton trade talks, Mr. Oliver Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, speaking in the House of Commons said: "He could not see how it was possible to conclude a trade agreement with India unless they found a satisfactory settlement of the cotton question and unless in the agreement they could get fair treatment for British cotton goods in India."

GOODS BY POST

A Commerce Department Notification in the *Gazette of India* states:

By further amendment of the Ottawa Trade Agreement, it is laid down that no claim that the goods are chargeable with a preferential rate of duty will be considered by the Customs Collector in respect of goods imported by Post, unless at the time of arrival in British India such goods bear on the covering a declaration as to the country of origin or such claim made by the owner at any time before the delivery of goods are taken by him.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

A protest against the establishment in India of big foreign manufacturing concerns, who thus, it is claimed, defeat the aim of Indian protective tariffs, is contained in a letter from the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce to the Commerce Department of the Government of India.

The letter expresses the opinion that the question of the invasion of foreign capital and the accompanying "menace" to the development of National enterprises should be immediately dealt with by the Government of India before it is too late and deplores the fact that from the questions and answers which took place in the Legislative Assembly on March 21, it appeared that the Government not only proposed no action, but in fact believed that what was taking place was in the best interests of the nation.

INDIA'S NEW IRON WEALTH

Discovery is reported by the Geological Survey of India of cliffs extending for two miles and a quarter of almost pure iron ore at the top of the Bailadila ridge on the western side east of Kondapal in the Bastar State, Eastern States Agency.

As these deposits had never been opened up, it is impossible to estimate the quantity of ore present, but it must amount to many millions of tons.

Patches of good iron ore are common in the laterite which caps the ridge, but it would be impossible to say without extensive sampling whether it is good enough to be of economic importance.

A large deposit of pure hematite forms a considerable hill at a point in the middle of the laterite plateau.

MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS

A mild change has occurred in an ancient shibboleth judging from the recommendation of the Conference on Christian High Schools held at Poona, says the *Guardian*. The resolution on girls' education include a suggestion that it is an advantage to employ one or two married women teachers in girls' schools; the rigid rule at present, peculiar to Christian institutions, is to exclude them. High standards of efficiency are said to require the undivided attention of teachers. Sprightly spinsters, not too far removed in age from the pupils and capable of hard work, are a necessity, but do not supply the element of mature experience in dealing with pupils that is necessary for right attitudes towards growing girls. A residential school is not a nunnery, training girls and teachers for a severely *purdah* life. The ideas of discipline imbibed in the secluded existence of girls' residential schools are no fit preparation for the creators of future homes. Of late, there has been concern over the transfer of young women brought up in a life of excessive protection into the fully open arena of diverse occupations under strange conditions. In view of the seriousness of the problem, the change suggested is the least corrective that can be tried, provided it is attempted in earnest.

Mrs. SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA

Srimathi Bhagavati Devi, wife of Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta, passed away last month after about four months' illness.

Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, late Mr. C. R. Das, late Lala Lajpat Rai, Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu, late Sir J. C. Bose and almost all other leaders in politics, literature, science and art, have been her guests when visiting Benares.

WOMEN WRITERS OF BENGAL

It is understood that the Calcutta University have made arrangements for collection of works by Bengali authoresses in its library. A start has been made possible by a private gift of such works by women writers since 1874.

Some of the books presented are considered rare and many of them bear autographs of the authoresses themselves. A bibliography of the works with short life sketches of the writers will also be published by the University. It will be known as "Umarani Ghosh's collection" in memory of the daughter of the donor.

WOMEN AND INDIA OFFICE

News of another victory in women's fight for professional equality with men—this time over the India Office—was given at the sixth annual dinner of the National Association of Women Civil Servants, London.

The toast "Equality" was proposed by Miss D. Ibberson of Council of Women Civil Servants, Higher Grade. She said that women civil servants were still excluded from the overseas staffs of the Foreign and Colonial Departments of State, but a declaration had been obtained from the India Office that the bar against women in the administrative grade in that office would not operate from 1939 onwards.

Mrs. RADABAI SUBBARAYAN

Mrs. Subbarayan has been elected unopposed on the Congress ticket to the Central Assembly in place of late Mr. Joseph.

IN DEFENCE OF JOURNALISM

Mr. W. P. Crozier, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, speaking the other day in defence of journalism, said that it was unjust that journalism should be judged by its slums and tenements and literature by its fine mansions and noble monuments. He claimed that the British journalist tried to keep the English language pure and free from foreign words and phrases, slang and colloquialisms. He gave instances of overworking of words ending with '-tion', and especially '-ation' and said that he had counted 43 such words in the last King's speech—consolidation, consideration, unification, recommendation, etc. He described it as a scandal that the King should be forced to read this sort of 'suet-pudding English'.

JOURNALISM: A MISSION

"To us in India journalism is more a mission than a means of livelihood," observed Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, at a reception given by the proprietors of the *Lokshakti*, a Congress Marathi organ at Poona. Continuing, Mr. Subhas Bose said that the average Indian journalist compared favourably with the average Western journalist. In India, journalism had influenced political life as all the great patriots were associated with it. He had every hope that inheriting such noble traditions as it did, Indian journalism would continue to contribute its utmost to the cause of freedom.

"THE NATIONAL HERALD"

"The *National Herald* should give a proper lead to the public," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru unfurling the national flag over the *National Herald* (Congress English daily which will be published from 1st August) building at Lucknow on May 22. A large gathering was present on the occasion, including Premier Pant, Ministers K. N. Katju, Sampurnanand, Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, Babu Puru-shottamdas Tandon: Speaker of the Assembly, and Mr. Shanti Prakash Dalmia.

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, Managing-Director, explaining the necessity for the paper, thought that a party with the strongest backing should not find it difficult to sell five lakhs worth of shares.

THE LATE PROF. SUNDARARAMAN

Prof. K. Sundararaman, the Grand Old Man of South India, who passed away last month at Kumbakonam in his 84th year, was distinguished alike by his learning and piety. For five and thirty years he was a teacher in different centres of the Presidency, but a scholar and savant like him is a teacher all through life. A devout Hindu, his mastery of the ancient scriptures was as profound as his interpretation was eloquent. Indeed all through his long and fruitful life, he continued to be a trenchant expositor of the Hindu *dharma*. Prof. Sundararaman was a formidable controversialist and there was a time when his ceaseless efforts were witnessed in press and on platform. The earlier volumes of this *Review* give evidence of the Professor's interest in the deeper problems of life, his great learning and his vigorous powers of exposition. We offer our sincere condolences to his bereaved son, Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

GANDHIJI'S TRAVAIL

On the eve of his departure to Bombay to meet Mr. Jinnah in connection with the Hindu-Muslim talks, Gandhiji used words recalling the fervent confessions of St. Augustine. He represented himself as passing through the dark night of the soul.

If anything, the darkness has deepened, the prayer has become intenser. Add to this the fact that for causes, some of which I know and some I do not, for the first time in my public and private life I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and *ahimsa*. I am going through a process of self-introspection, the results of which I cannot foresee. I find myself for the first time during the past 50 years in a slough of despond. I do not consider myself fit for negotiations or any such thing for the moment.

"What can be the meaning of these fateful words? I wish I could tell," says Sjt. Mahadev Desai in the *Harijan*.

This certainly every one around him knows that it is an unprecedented travail that he is passing through—some such travail as resulted in the Bardoli decision of 1921 and the Patna decision of 1934.

INDIAN REJUVENATION

Efficacy of the *Kayakalpa* treatment for rejuvenation based on his own recent experience was explained in a lengthy statement by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on April 30. He admits that the treatment has done him much good both physically and mentally. The Pandit, who stresses that the treatment should be conducted under a competent *vidya*, suggests that a conference of the most eminent *vidyas* and *sadhus*, who have experience of *Kayakalpa* treatment, should meet to consider questions connected with the treatment. He would welcome such a conference in the Benares University next autumn. The Pandit intends to move the Hindu University to start a department of research of *Rasayana* medicines.

EXTENSION OF MEDICAL RELIEF

The Bombay Government's decision to extend the scheme for subsidising private medical practitioners in the districts to 200 additional centres will be welcomed most heartily by the public, says the *Evening News*, and adds:

The legislation recently enacted at the suggestion of the Hon Dr. Gilder will eliminate the danger of quackery and insure that only those who really know the ancient art of healing as taught in the Unani and Ayurvedic systems will be given official support. Precautions have been taken to insure that centres do not overlap and that medical relief will be available where it is needed most.

PREVENTING TUBERCULOSIS

"I for one would utilise all my resources more for the prevention of tuberculosis than for its cure," declared Dr. T. S. S. Rajan in course of a recent broadcast talk. This is a welcome assurance. Among the causes that contribute to tuberculosis, the most outstanding are, as Dr. Rajan has reminded us, malnutrition, ill-adapted and ill-timed food, and lack of fresh air. To the extent to which malnutrition is due to economic disability, Government, it is clear, will be able to afford little immediate help; but otherwise there is vast scope for propaganda to correct the habits of bad living and bad eating that consign so many people to the disease.

HEALTH

THE HEALTHIEST AGE

The age of 11 is the safest and happiest period in the entire life span, according to statisticians of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., of New York. They declare that at this age, the average child from the standpoint of health seems to be sitting on top of the world, for he is healthier and safer than he ever has been or ever will be again. He is living in a period of life when mortality is so low that fatal accidents—rather than any sort of disease—rank first among the causes of death.

The 11th year or thereabouts is the optimum point, at which the high hazards of infancy and earliest childhood are past and the new and gradually mounting risks of adolescence, maturity, and old age have not yet begun to exert their influence. So low, in fact, is the mortality from disease at this stage of life that fatal accidents come to occupy first rank among the causes of death, and yet even they are at a minimum.

EXCESS OF SUGAR

Too much of sweets are always bad for digestion, writes Helga C. Forehand, dietician, in *Life and Health*.

A strong solution of sugar, she says, is irritating to the membranes of the alimentary tract. Almost every one has noticed the effect produced by holding a piece of candy in the mouth for a short time. If one holds it against the roof or the side of the mouth, the mucous membrane becomes parched and dry. In his experiments on dogs, Brandt found that a 5.7 per cent. solution of sugar caused a reddening of the mucous membrane, a 10 per cent. solution caused the membrane to become dark red, and a 20 per cent. solution produced pain and distress.

DOCTORS ON TEA

To elicit expert medical opinion on the effect of tea drinking on the human system, the Empire Tea Market Expansion Bureau some time ago issued a questionnaire to 500 well-known medical practitioners in Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. The verdict of these doctors shows practically unanimous agreement that tea decreases nervous fatigue, improves the capacity for mental and physical work, and that its gentle stimulating properties are beneficial to people in health.

EXPORT OF GOLD

Was gold export due to link with sterling? asks Dr. J. C. Sinha in his article on "Currency events during the depression" in the *Calcutta Review*, and says:

"It must be recognised that the linking of the rupee with sterling made it possible for gold to be exported even if there was a very small margin between sterling and rupee prices of gold. Had there been no linking between the depreciated rupee and depreciated sterling, the margin should have been much wider to cover the extra risks due to instability of the exchange rate. Thus the condemnation of the linking of the rupee to the sterling hinges on the validity of the contention that gold export was prejudicial to India's interest."

NEW RUPEE LOAN

The Government of India 8 per cent. 1968-65 loan, subscriptions for which were received on May 19, was as expected heavily oversubscribed.

The loan is for Rs. 15 crores. Subscriptions in the form of 5½ per cent. Loan 1938-40, and 5 per cent. Loan 1939-44, were allotted in full.

As regards cash applications, it was notified that applications in sums less than Rs. 5,000 would be allotted in full, those above Rs. 5,000 but below Rs. 10,000 would be allotted up to Rs. 5,000. All applications in amounts above Rs. 10,000 would be allotted 50 per cent.

THE RUPEE RATIO

At the Premiers' Conference in Bombay, it was agreed that Congress Governments should make representation to the Government of India to lower the rupee ratio.

The President, Mr. Subhas Bose, made a suggestion that with a view to enabling the masses to increase their purchasing power, all the seven Congress Governments should make a recommendation to the Central Government, asking them to take up the question of lowering the rupee ratio. After a general discussion, the matter was left pending for obtaining expert advice.

RAILWAY PASSENGERS' CONFERENCE

An All-India organisation with branches all over the country to look after and watch grievances of third class railway passengers, and a regular propaganda to end them, are the important suggestions made by Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, a member of the Sind Legislative Assembly, at the second All-India Passengers' Conference recently held at Bezwada.

He suggests that the present advisory committees should be reorganised on a democratic basis and that their decisions should be binding on the respective railway administrations.

Apart from the remedying of such difficulties as overcrowding, inadequate supply of water, too few booking offices, staff's incivility to passengers, Mr. Sidhwa suggests additional fast passenger trains, more third class passengers' halls, uniformity of train fares, and reduction of the tariff rate on food supplied by licensed vendors.

LONDON UNDERGROUND RAILWAYS

Six persons were killed and about 60 injured, many badly, in the worst disaster in the history of London underground railways. The disaster occurred when an Inner Circle train crashed into the rear of a stationary east-bound train in the tunnel between Charing Cross and the Temple during the rush hour shortly before 10 a.m. on the 20th May. Both trains were crowded. Many doctors, nurses and ambulances speedily rushed to the scene, and the injured were conveyed to the neighbouring hospitals.

NIZAM'S STATE RAILWAY

There has been a steady increase in the net earnings of the Nizam's State Railway during the past two years and a general improvement in road and rail transport. This period of boom and progress synchronises with the term in office of Major E. W. Slaughter as Agent of the Railway. Though there has been no increase in the railway mileage during the period, the year ended March 1938 has witnessed an increase of net earnings of the whole railway by Rs. 16 lakhs as compared with the previous year and Rs. 40 lakhs as compared with 1935-36.

INDIAN ART GALLERY

In launching an appeal for the establishment of a National Art Gallery in New Delhi, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sobha Singh, Chairman of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, states:

"There are various museums in the country housing magnificent collections of Indian sculpture. There are a few galleries where Indian paintings, chiefly of the Moghul and Rajput period, may be seen; but nowhere is there a place where modern art can be seen in its proper perspective. Modern Indian art may now be said to have won its place—albeit a modest one—and the time has come when a systematic attempt should be made to make a representative collection of the work of Indian painters working in the various parts of the country."

The following is the first list of subscriptions from members of the Society for the building fund for the National Art Gallery: Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Rs. 5,000; Mr. Sarada Ukil, Rs. 7,500; Mr. Imre Schwager, Rs. 500; Mr. S. N. Chakravarti, Rs. 500; and Mr. Hansraj Gupta, Rs. 500.

INDIAN ART IN NEW YORK

An exhibition of the work of a 23-year-old Indian artist, Nagesh Yawalkar, who has the Maharaja of Gwalior as a patron, has been on view in New York.

Some 50 paintings of contemporary Indian life make up the exhibition, which was opened by Sir Gerald Campbell, British Consul-General in New York.

Mr. Yawalkar is the son of Drimbakrao Yawalkar, the well known sculptor of Indian temples. Later his work is to be exhibited in London.

INDORE DIRECTOR OF MUSIC

Mr. Paul Schmidt, son of Mr. Otto Schmidt, the well known Director of Music, Mysore State, has been appointed Director of Music, Indore State. It is interesting to note that both father and son passed out brilliantly from the Conservatoire of Music, Leipzig, and Mr. Otto Schmidt formerly held his son's present appointment.

SPORT

INTERNATIONAL WRESTLING TOURNAMENT

Harban Singh, Champion of the Orient, won the Professional All-In Wrestling Championship of India on May 8, at the Madras Y. M. C. A. ground when he defeated King-Kong (Emil Tzayea of Hungary) in the third round.

The final bout between Harban Singh and King-Kong decided the Championship. Although having a big handicap in weight, Singh was decidedly the better wrestler in the first two rounds. Easily slipping away from King-Kong, time and again, he punished his opponent with an arm stretch in the first round and a body scissors and a double toe hold in the second.

The third round saw King-Kong put his opponent down for a count of two with a short arm scissors. Singh retorted with an arm hold. Both men then fell out of the ring in a cradle hold, but only Singh succeeded in getting in again before the count of 10 and he was accordingly declared All-India All-In Champion.

Before the programme commenced, special cups were awarded to Wong Bock Cheung, Michael Gill, Kartur Singh, Goldstein and Tony Lamaro.

Mr. J. Sivashanmugham Pillai, Mayor of Madras, gave away the Gold Cup and a purse of Rs. 10,000 to Harban Singh at the conclusion of the final bout.

INDIAN CRICKETERS

"There is enough material in India for getting together a side which will render a good account of itself in the field and in international cricket. But owing to differences into which I do not want to enter at present, our men have not been able to do justice to their own capabilities. But during the last series they did render a good account of themselves both at Calcutta and Madras. They, however, fared badly at Bombay in the last Test, because of the conditions of the wicket which Lord Tennyson's men overcame in their second innings and thus proved that experience always tells in the end. Yet in spite of the defeat, I feel our side was not disgraced," says Dr. P. Subbarayan, the newly elected President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India in a special interview to the *Hindu*.

SCIENCE

A MOUTHFUL OF MOLECULES

When you take in one deep breath, you are inhaling no fewer than 40,000,000,000,000,000,000 molecules of air. This figure has just been estimated by an American scientist and he adds that all these molecules are moving about at a speed of about 1,200 miles an hour.

Although it is impossible to see a molecule even under the most powerful microscope, Dr. Charles Hire, of Kentucky, has been able to calculate their speed with the aid of motion picture photographs.

While he couldn't see the molecules, he could see particles of sediment darting hither and thither in liquids. Such movement is called Brownian motion, and it is fairly well established that it is due to bombardment of the tiny particles by molecules in the surrounding liquid.

Dr. Hire measured the distances over which the particles moved in a certain time. To do this, he took moving pictures of them, using a high-power microscope as a lens and the lights from an electric spark. From these he was able to calculate the speed.

RUBBER FROM TOMATO SKINS

The *Corriere della Sera* of Milan gives an account of what is claimed to be a notable Italian discovery. It is stated that after six years of experiment in his laboratory at Parma, Dr. Mauri, a chemist, has succeeded in obtaining through a process of his own excellent "rubber" from tomato skins. The results of the experiments of Dr. Mauri have received official recognition by the National Research Council. It is calculated that from the skins of 8,000,000 quintals of tomatoes yearly produced in Italy, it will be possible to obtain 20,000 quintals of "rubber".

HANSRAJ'S INVENTIONS

Narrating the exploits in the early youth to the students of Nawabsha, Hansraj (wireless) recounted several remarkable electrical gadgets invented by him in his school days, including a motor-car which ran without fuel but on light converted into kinetic energy. He claimed that he could make radio sets at a cost of 10 rupees a set with a range of 100 miles, given proper facilities.

WANTED SHORTER FILMS

Speaking at a pre-view at the Gaiety Theatre, Madras, of the new Tamil film "Daksha Yagna", a Metropolitan Pictures' production, the Hon. Dr. Subbarayan, Minister for Education, drew pointed attention to a common mistake made by South Indian producers.

"I hope," he said, "that producers, especially of pictures in Tamil and Telugu, will realise this that it is far more important to give amusement of a short duration to our people than to offer them long productions which take 4 or 5 hours. I can assure them that the Tamil and Telugu public are not averse to the production of films. But I am sure I am voicing their feelings when I state that these long productions ought to be things of the past, and we ought to try and produce such films as would be of short duration (two, or two and a half hours) and will keep the audience spell-bound with amusement which will provide some moral lesson. This is a thought that has been passing through my mind, but things are improving and I do trust that the managements who produce these films will bear this in heart."

A DANCE PICTURE

"Jalaja", produced at Sagar Movietone for General Film Distributing Company by Renaissance Theatre, opened its Madras season in the third week of May at Broadway Talkies. There was a pre-view in the morning when Mr. G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, presided and paid a tribute to the high quality of the picture.

This Tamil picture should be classed as among the few really good products that have been on show in South India. With good acting, a duration of not over 145 minutes, fine music and exquisite dances, the picture reaches a pretty high standard.

SUNDARAMBAL'S SECOND PICTURE

Mr. Asandas Kishinchand has once again got Sreemathi K. B. Sundarambal of "Baktha Nandanar" to sign for another picture.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

The possibilities of promoting automobile industry in this country are being closely studied by the Ministry of Industries and Labour in Madras.

The Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri has been carrying on correspondence with Ministers in other provinces and industrialists of repute, including Sir M. Visweswarayya.

It is understood that the Minister has received encouraging replies from the U. P., Bombay, Orissa and one or two other provinces.

As soon as he has heard from all those whom he has addressed on the subject, it appears to be the intention of Mr. Giri to draw up outlines of a scheme and to convene a Conference for mutual consultation and for reaching conclusions with a view to concerted action.

MOTOR IMPORTS IN BOMBAY

According to the report on the maritime trade of Bombay Presidency for the year ending 31st March, 1937, just issued, the import trade of motor vehicles received a set-back during the last two years. The total number of motor cars imported last year was 6,080 valued at Rs. 113.15 lakhs as against 6,843 valued at Rs. 125.95 lakhs in 1935-36 and 8,016 valued at Rs. 135.82 lakhs in 1934-35. This decrease in the imports is reported to be due to the fact that during the last year many new makes of cars, particularly Continental such as the Adlers, Mercedes-Benz, Skoda D.K.W., Opel, etc., were put on the market on an experimental basis. Only the Adlers, Mercedes-Benz and Opel were, however, to a certain extent able to hold the market.

The fall in value is also partly attributable to the reduction in the prices of German cars; the prices of English cars, however, were steady. The total imports from Canada decreased from 1,313 to 691; from the United States of America from 2,831 to 2,550; and from the United Kingdom from 2,282 to 2,006 cars. Germany, however, supplied 612 cars as against 278 during the preceding year.

USE OF AIR TAXIS

Growing use of air taxis to make trips all over the world for a variety of purposes is reported by British Air Line Operators.

An Imperial Airways Official told *Reuter*: "There is a very considerable increase at the present time in the chartering of air-taxis and saloon-planes for urgent journeys for both business and pleasure."

Recent cases he cited were:

An air tour of Europe and the Near East by directors of a big motor company covering 6,000 miles in 18 days to visit plants and depots in France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Holland; engagement of an air special by a London Fashion house on a rush trip to cities in Eastern Europe; a taxi-plane dash to Calcutta by a director and technicians of a firm of engineers to carry out urgent negotiations in connection with a big contract.

Further, he said that air-taxis were often used by race-goers to fly to Aintree, Newmarket, and elsewhere, while jockeys hired them to fly over to ride in races on the continent.

AIR CRAFT IN WAR

Recent experience suggests that air-power by itself is unlikely to win wars. The main burden falls on the Navy, declared Mr. Geoffrey Shakespear, Secretary to the Admiralty, in a speech at Liverpool. He disclosed how the Admiralty guarantees safety to main trade routes in the event of war; firstly, by special naval convoys; secondly, by conversion of old cruisers into anti-aircraft vessels; and thirdly, by strengthening the Navy's destroyer arm.

AMERICAN PLANES FOR FRANCE

The Air Ministry of France has decided to purchase 100 American planes in view of the inability of French manufacturers to fulfil the first part of the air expansion plan.

An official statement expresses the hope that the French manufacturers would be able to meet the country's future needs.

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES IN BOMBAY

A Committee of Enquiry was appointed by the Bombay Government to examine industrial possibilities in the province. Sir P. Thakurdas was named Chairman, and Prof. Vakil and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao represent the economists of the province. The Committee has been asked to examine the present position of small industries and to report on their place in the provincial economy. The terms of reference include an invitation to review the progress made in the past 17 years by agriculture and the large and small industries of the province. The Committee is entrusted with the work of making suggestions for the economic development of the province and is also asked to outline proposals for financing the same. The Committee has been further asked to advise Government as to the measures the Government can adopt to promote industrial development.

NEW INDUSTRIES IN TRAVANCORE

The regime of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar will aptly be called the era of industrial revolution in Travancore, says a correspondent to the *Madras Mail*. Following the lead given by the Dewan, several big industrial schemes are being started in Travancore.

A pioneer industry has been established at Koottikal near Mundakayam by a rich planter and philanthropist, Mr. Thomas Pottengkulam.

He has started a factory on up-to-date and scientific lines for the manufacture of all sorts of furniture, picture frames, bats, hockey-sticks of wood. Within a short time furniture for drawing-rooms, gardens, etc., will be available on a large scale at very cheap prices.

Recently Mr. C. P. Skrine, Resident, Madras States, paid a visit to the Travancore Wood Works, which are utilising the forest resources of Travancore for industrial purposes. It is noted that almost all the machinery is the invention of an unknown expert, Mr. Idicheriya, whom Mr. Thomas has brought to light through his encouragement.

RYOTS' PROTECTIVE GIRDLES

Thanks to modern tenancy legislation, the ryot has lost three protective girdles which he enjoyed in the past—the laws and customs that prevented alienation of holdings; assessment at a share of the harvest whether in crops or cash which implies *ipso facto* no crop no tax; and limitations to usury imposed by tradition and sacred law, writes Mr. Atindra Nath Bose in the *Modern Review*.

Obliged to pay the rent and fixed tax in money whatever be the state of harvest, he is easily drawn into the coils of the money-lender and sells or mortgages his land whenever the crops fail. This process has led to progressive pauperisation of the ryot, sucked his staying power and is rapidly reducing him to a serf bound down for wage or share of produce in his own patrimony alienated to his landlord or money-lender and leaves him under the grip of perennial famine.

CHEMICAL FERTILISATION

Two scientists of the University of Chicago, working at the U. S. agricultural station at Beltsville, have now succeeded in fertilizing holly and other plants with a chemical instead of natural pollen.

The doctors sprayed holly blooms with a weak solution of indoleacetic acid. The plant ovaries swelled up just as though the blooms had been pollinated, the seed coats developed, and the berries, green at first, turned red at the proper time in the autumn. To the eye they were no different from berries from pollinated blooms, but it was found that these fruits contained no trace of embryo.

U. P. TENANCY REFORM BILL

The U. P. Tenancy Reform Bill, the longest and most controversial piece of legislation ever drafted in the United Provinces, has been referred to a Select Committee after a debate lasting two hours.

The Minister in charge, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, expressed surprise and gratification at the general support the measure had received from all sections, particularly the landholding interests,

LABOUR PROBLEMS

The Labour Sub-Committee of the All-India Congress Committee has passed the following among other resolutions on labour questions:

The Committee is of opinion that the wages and hours of work and other conditions of the employees engaged in the shops and other similar establishments are far from satisfactory and requests the Congress Ministers to institute suitable measures for improving them....

The Committee reiterates its opinion that the collection of statistical information regarding conditions of working class people engaged in important industries is an indispensable preliminary for suitable action for ameliorating them and expresses its earnest hope that the provincial governments which have not yet made such arrangements will take prompt and effective steps for making up the deficiency.

The Committee expresses its satisfaction at the action of the Government of Bombay in extending the application of the Factory Act to factories employing 10 persons or more where manufacturing processes are carried on with or without power and expects that other Governments will take early steps to extend the application of the Act on similar lines at least to all urban areas.

The Committee welcomes the declaration made by the Government of Bombay to introduce prohibition in the industrial city of Ahmedabad and expresses the hope that urban industrial areas in other provinces will also be soon taken up for carrying out the prohibition programme by the Congress Ministry.

The Committee is of opinion that such committees as may be appointed by the provincial governments for the purpose of inquiry into conditions of labour or trade disputes should be mainly composed of persons associated with public life and the national movement.

CAWNPORE LABOUR DISPUTE

Cawnpore is again faced with serious labour trouble as a sequel to the total rejection of the Labour Inquiry Committee's recommendations by the Employers' Association. More than 25,000 mill-hands were involved in the general strike which was declared on Monday the 16th May in 9 textile and woollen mills of Cawnpore. Subsequently almost all textile workers numbering about 42,000 have gone on strike, thus confronting the Government and the employers with a difficult situation. The Mazdoor Sabha has now officially sided with the strikers. The strikers have been peaceful so far. They have been warned that the police and the military have order to fire on rioters.

GANDHIJI'S LIVING FAITH IN GOD

A Professor of Islamia College, Peshawar, writes Mr. Mahadev Desai in the *Harivan*, came to Gandhiji with a question that was troubling him and is troubling many of the present generation—belief in God. What was the basis of Gandhiji's belief?

It can never be a matter for argument," said Gandhiji. "If you would have me convince others by argument I am floored. But I can tell you this that I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. Then I can also testify that I may live without air and water but not without Him. You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my belief in God, and I am dead. You may call this a superstition, but I confess it is a superstition that I hug, even as I used to hug the name of Rama in my childhood when there was any cause of danger or alarm. That was what an old nurse had taught me.

But you think that superstition was necessary for you?

Yes, necessary to sustain me.

That is all right. May I now ask if you had anything like a prophetic vision?

I do not know what you call a vision and what you will call prophetic. But let me give you an experience in my life. When I announced my fast of 21 days in jail I had not reasoned about it. On retiring to bed the previous night I had no notion that I was going to announce the next morning a fast of 21 days. But in the middle of the night a Voice woke me up and said: 'Go through a fast.'

'How many?' I asked 'Twenty-one days, was the answer.

Now let me tell you that my mind was unprepared for it, disinclined for it. But the thing came to me as clearly as anything could be. Let me tell you one thing more and I have done. Whatever striking things I have done in life I have not done prompted by reason but prompted by instinct, I would say God. Take the Dandi Salt March of 1930. I had not the ghost of a suspicion how the breach of the Salt Law would work itself out. Pandit Motilalji and other friends were fretting and did not know what I would do; and I could tell them nothing, as I myself knew nothing about it.

But like a flash it came, and as you know it was enough to shake the country from one end to the other.

One last thing. Until the last day I knew nothing about announcing the 6th of April 1919 as a day of fasting and prayer. But I dreamt about it—there was no Voice or Vision as in 1930—and I felt it was just the thing to do. In the morning I shared it with C. R. and announced it to the country, you know with what a wonderfully spontaneous response.

CEMENT AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

NO IDLE BOAST

THAT the claim to be a key industry of national importance is not an idle boast on the part of the Cement industry in India was proved beyond measure at Vithalnagar, where a barren tract of thorny brushwood was transformed into a rural city to provide the venue for the momentous (51st) Session of the Indian National Congress in February 1938.

The millions of people who thronged to this centre from every corner of India had ocular and practical demonstration as to how useful cement can be in the ordinary life of the nation and in Rural Reconstruction in particular.

CEMENT PLAYS ITS PART IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF WATER FOR VILLAGE USE

In every scheme for housing a large population, whether it be of a temporary or permanent nature, the first item to be considered is the provision of an adequate supply of pure drinking water; this, next to the air we breathe, is essential to our very existence. Any shortcoming either in the quantity or in the quality of water is bound to tell on the health of the people and may result in epidemics. It was with due regard to this important point that the Executive of the Indian National Congress chose the site for the new village on the banks of the Tapti, which assured them of a plentiful supply of good drinking water. The next problem was the distribution of water throughout the village and here cement came to their

aid. Two wells, each 20 ft. in diameter and 14 ft. deep were sunk in the bed of the river with walls constructed entirely of concrete. The water from these wells was pumped into two large storage tanks, also made of cement concrete, each 7 ft. deep and measuring 64 ft. × 54 ft. at the top, narrowing down to 31 ft. × 22 ft. at the base. From these tanks the water, after chlorination, was pumped into a huge raised reservoir and thence distributed to various parts of the village through pipes. Wherever public water taps and bathing places were provided, it was necessary to ensure against water-logging. Cement flooring was provided all round the stands and arrangements were made to drain off sullage water by means of cement pipes, of which about 4,200 running feet of various diameters were used for this purpose.

CEMENT HELPS FOOD SUPPLY

The next item of importance to be considered by the Building Committee was the food supply. Surprising as it may appear, cement had a useful hand in this item also. Cement flooring was used for the kitchens, and raised cement slabs 1½ ft. × 1½ ft. by 2 inches thick were provided throughout in the dining halls for serving leaves (which took the place of plates).

CEMENT FOR COW-SHEDS

Again, milk being one of the essential ingredients of our every-day diet, whether taken purely by itself, used in the preparation of tea, coffee and other

CEMENT AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

beverages, or converted into curds and butter, herds of cows had to be maintained at site for one or two months in advance of the Congress Session so that an adequate supply of milk could be stocked in condensed or powdered form to cope with the demand of the millions of people who were expected to attend. As a preventive measure against disease breaking out amongst the cattle and to obtain a maximum yield of pure milk, it was necessary to construct cow-sheds on a sanitary principle and with a plentiful water supply. What material is more eminently suited for these purposes than cement? Cement flooring for the byres, and concrete water troughs to withstand any amount of rough wear and tear, were accordingly provided.

CEMENT FOR TELEPHONE BOOTHS

Cement was used also for the construction of a telephone booth and for the moulding of two busts of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. In the Industrial Exhibition, models of the wells built in the river-bed were on show and the members of the Harijan Sevak Sangh gave demonstrations to the public of the construction of the concrete walls layer by layer.

Models of a latrine, dustbin, Hume pipe and lamp standards were also on view in the Jhanda Chowk.

It must be remembered that Vithalnagar, having to serve a temporary need only, was constructed on the most economic lines imaginable. As far as possible only *kutchha* structures made of bamboo were erected to meet all requirements. Had it been otherwise, cement would certainly

have been employed for innumerable other items.

CEMENT FOR MANURE PITS, COW-BYRES
AND CATTLE TROUGHS

It must be admitted that in any scheme of Rural Reconstruction, the provision of drinking water wells for the use of the villagers is of prime importance. To ensure strength and durability cement is indispensable, not only for the walls and parapets of the wells but also for the surrounding platforms and drains to carry off sullage water. The village school, the village court-house and, in the case of large villages, street lamp standards, dustbins and latrines can be constructed in cement to avoid recurring maintenance charges. Cement can also be used with advantage for manure pits, cow-byres, cattle troughs, etc.

Owing to the inherent advantages of strength, durability, resistance to fire and earthquake, and protection from damp and vermin, which it possesses, cement makes the best material for constructional purposes, whatever the nature of the structure, a peasant's hut or a Maharaja's palace.

CEMENT FOR CHULAS, SIGREES, TULSI
POTS, ETC., ETC.

Last but not least, cement can be used for developing a cottage industry, viz., the preparation of useful by-products, such as chulas, sigrees, flower or tulsi pots, etc., thus affording employment and a means of livelihood to many.

In view of these considerations, who can deny that the Cement Industry is one of the key industries of India?

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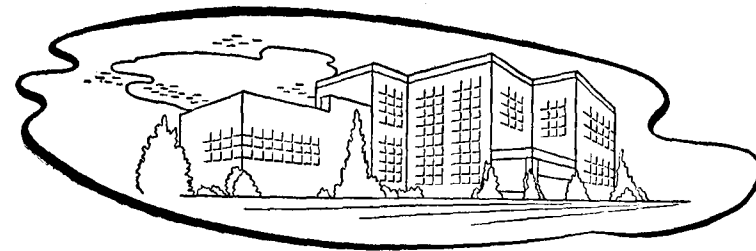


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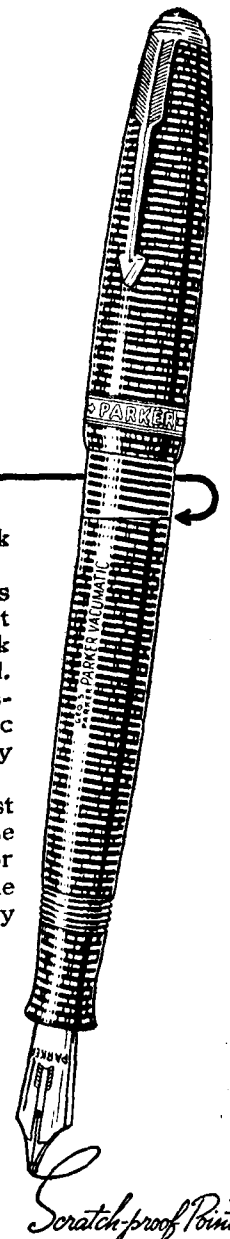
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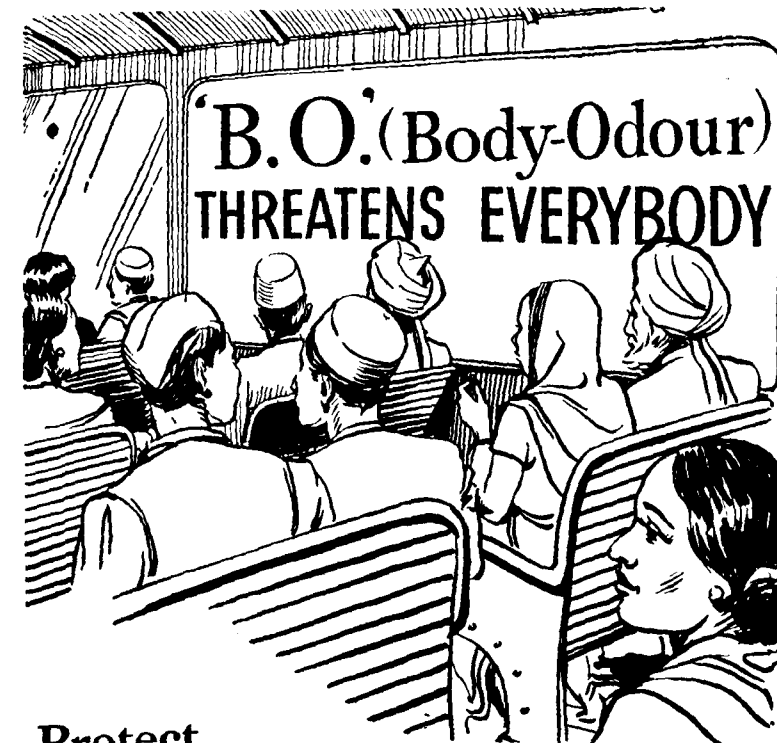
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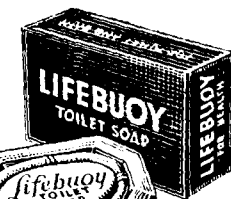
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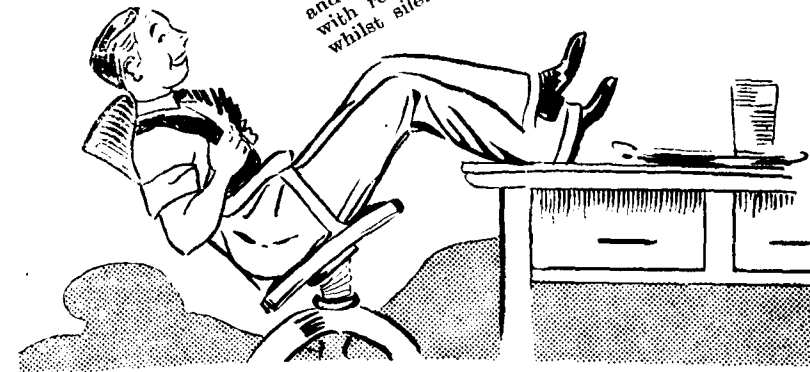
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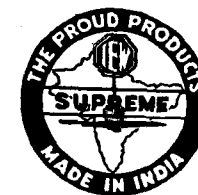
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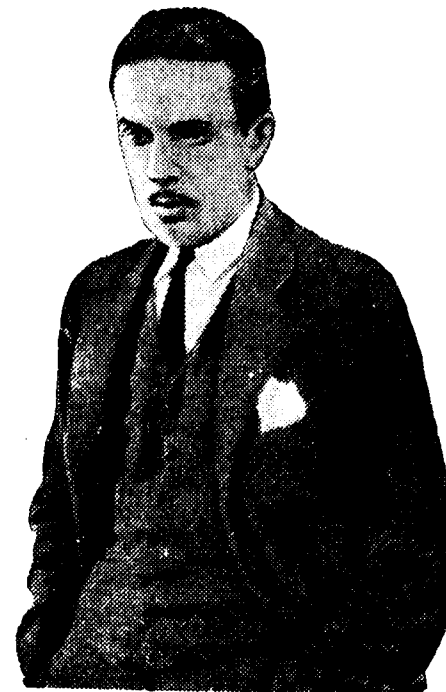
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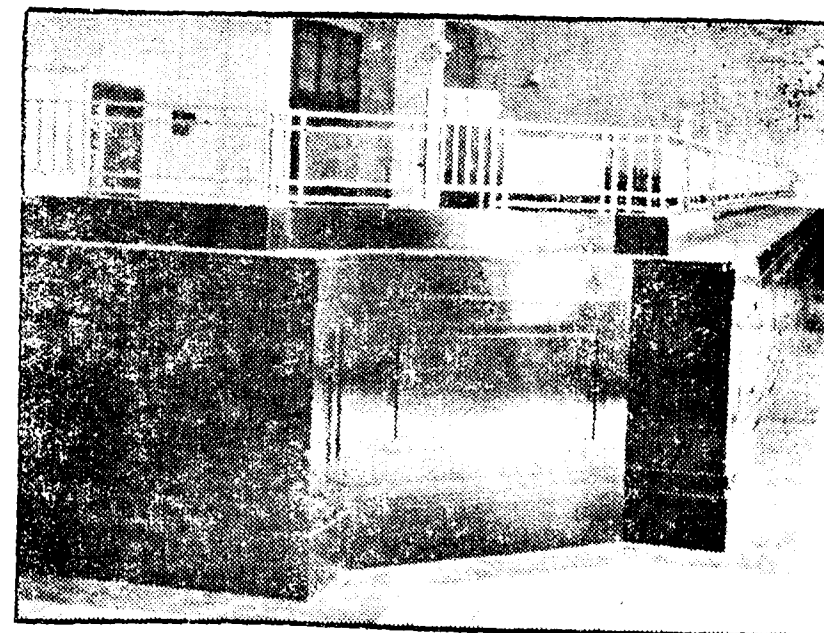
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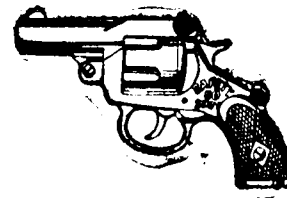
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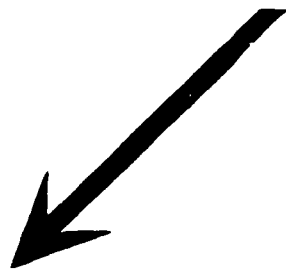
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