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INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

APRIL 1939

Vol. 40.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

By Mr. Gaganvihari L. Mehta

INDIA'S FINANCES

By Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, M.A., D.Sc.

"DO WHAT YOU WILL"

By Mr. Anilbaran Roy

AIMS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

By Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya

FRANCE *VIS-A-VIS* FASCISM

By Mr. Pullela Venkat Rao

HOLIDAYS AT HOME

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ELEPHANTS IN INDIAN HISTORY

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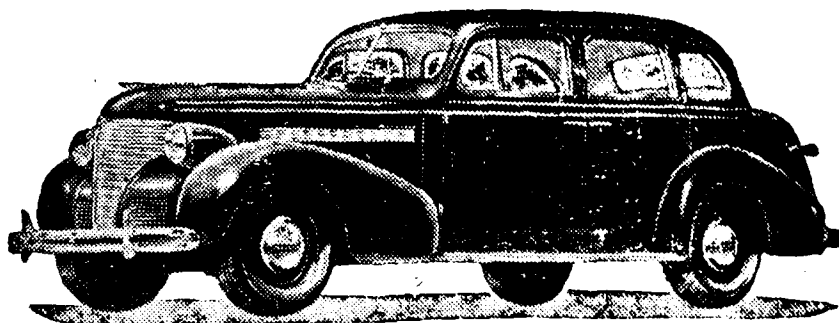
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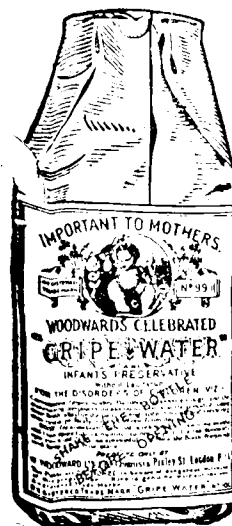
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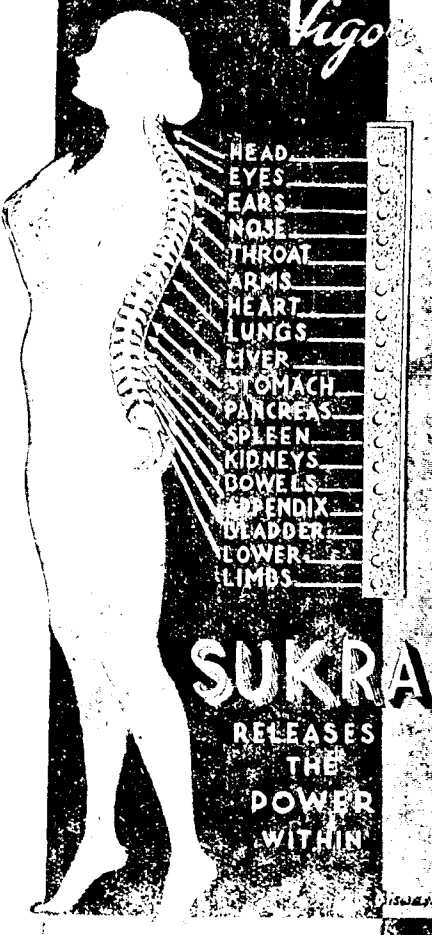
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Vol. XL.]

APRIL 1939

[No. 4.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

By Mr. GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

(President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta)

THE conclusion of the protracted negotiations for an Indo-British Trade Agreement to replace the Ottawa Pact brings into relief the vital importance of the British textile industry in Indo-British trade relationship. From the early days of the East India Company, Lancashire has thrived on political influence exerted through Parliament and the India Office and has enjoyed a privileged position in the Indian market. It is now apparent that although bilateral trade benefits and reciprocity between members of the British Commonwealth have been urged as grounds for preferential treatment to Imperial goods, the main purpose of the trade negotiations has been to assist Lancashire to recapture some portion of its lost market in India. The economic position of the British cotton industry has been worsening rapidly of late and the industry has, therefore, been demanding that special attention should be paid to the claims of the cotton trade in negotiating commercial treaties and agreements. This demand, of course, ignores the theory underlying trusteeship and mandates, because as long as Britain professes to govern Colonial possessions and Dependencies in the interests of its inhabitants, it has no right to impose Lancashire goods on

them either by excluding cheaper products which they can afford to buy from other countries or by preventing the growth of indigenous industries in such territories. Nor are the possibilities of helping Lancashire by means of trade agreements very great in practice. It is noteworthy, however, that during the whole of the Indo-British trade negotiations, the pivotal point has been the question of preference to imports of British piece-goods. Instead of the interests of the consumers being the plea, as hitherto, for not preventing British imports, the interests of the Indian agriculturist is the ground on which Lancashire demands preference. Cotton was being produced all these years in India, but it was not considered worthy of purchase by Lancashire. The hearts of the Lancashire manufacturers have been filled with Imperial emotion only when they could not market their goods in India, and after Japan entered into bilateral arrangement with India based on purchase of cotton against export of cotton piece-goods. Moreover, the increase in the purchase of Indian cotton by the United Kingdom has been hardly adequate and when it reached its peak in 1936-37, it was due to the price parity being in favour of Indian

NEW CURE FOR DENTAL DECAY

Decaying tooth can be cured and replanted in the mouth—that is the claim made by Dr. C. W. Messinger of Michigan before the Chicago Dental Society.

He first extracts the decaying tooth, scrapes out all the pulp in the root canal, sterilizes it and fills it with guttapercha. It is again sterilized and replaced in the tooth socket. A gold frame is then clamped on the tooth to hold it in place till the gum and tissue have grown round it.

The dentist claimed that he had performed 65 such operations and that each replaced tooth has given good service for at least five years.

NATURE'S CURE FOR TUBERCULOSIS

After 25 years of research, a South American doctor claims to have found a simple yet effective treatment for tuberculosis which has resulted in a number of speedy cures.

Nature, according to this doctor, has provided her own defence against tuberculosis in the form of small deposits in the lung and joints. From these deposits serum is distributed about the body, which is thus armed to resist disease germs. Ill-health, argues the doctor, often has the effect of sealing up these deposits.

The doctor's remedy is to puncture one of the deposits in the lung so as to release the natural flow of disease-resisting serum previously held in check. Having performed the operation, which is painless and takes but a few minutes, he leaves Nature to do the rest.

CURE FOR CANCER

Dr. Douglas Quick gave the following startling advice recently at the New York Dental Society:—

Pull wisdom teeth to prevent cancer. The tissue in back of the wisdom tooth is one of the most frequent places for cancer to develop. This is because the position of the tooth makes it difficult to clean and the membranes near by become swollen and inflamed. It is believed constant irritation leads to cancer.

THE WELL-BALANCED DIET

In an address to the annual conference of the Andhra section of the Christian Medical Association, Dr. Aykroyd said that the ill-balanced diet common in South India cost about Rs. 5 a month and a well-balanced diet would cost Rs. 11 to Rs. 12. Dr. Gurupatham said that the diet of a Brahmin 20 years ago was fairly well-balanced. Although the ideal diet may be relatively costly, inferior diets may be greatly improved by minor additions. The principal problem then appears to be this: To encourage and cheapen the production and distribution of such valuable additions to the diet as milk and to foster their consumption by propaganda concentrating on these few selected products.

ALTERNATIVE TO INOCULATION

A novel method of immunising people from inoculation against many diseases has been discovered by Professor Alexandre Besredka of Paris. Addressing the Academy of Medicine, he stated:

"The method is simple. All one has to do is to scratch the skin just a very little and then apply a bandage with the serum for the particular disease. This way there is no danger of the patient becoming ill and no reaction."

The Professor claimed that the treatment is 100 per cent. safe, because the serum is allowed to act very slowly into the body through the skin. The body thus has time to absorb the serum in safety.

HOW TO DRINK MILK

Should milk be sipped, perhaps through a straw, to facilitate digestion? Most children at some time or another are told not to gulp down their milk. Is it scientifically correct?

The matter has been investigated by a group of German dieticians. After a series of clinical tests, they conclude that the advice to drink milk slowly was all wrong. They recommended the exact opposite. When milk was drunk slowly, they contended, there was more curdling in the stomach and consequently more likelihood of digestive troubles arising than when it was drunk quickly.

NEW INDIA LOAN

It is understood that the Government of India are likely to float a loan this year to convert the 5 per cent. 1939-41 Loan. The Government have the option to repay this loan on or after July 15. Notice of redemption of the Loan has already been given.

Referring to the question of the repayment of this Loan, Sir James Grigg spoke as follows in his Budget speech: "Next year we shall have the option of redeeming the remainder of the Government of India 1939-41 Loan, the outstanding balance of which is a little over Rs. 20 crores. The time and manner of redemption will, of course, depend on market conditions and our ways and means position."

The object of the present conversion operations of the Government, as in the previous conversions by Sir James Grigg, is believed to be the gradual repatriation of the Sterling Debt of India.

Market conditions may be said to be very much in favour of a conversion operation. The money market continues quiet and all indications point to a surplus of funds seeking profitable investment. In such circumstances there can be little doubt that the conversion loan will be a success.

BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS' BILL

By 116 to 68 votes, the Bengal Legislative Assembly accepted recently the Amendment moved by Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy on behalf of Government, excluding scheduled and notified banks from the purview of the Bengal Money-Lenders' Bill.

The Select Committee had included scheduled banks within the scope of the Bill. The amendment which the House accepted on the motion of Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy by 116 to 68 votes excluded from the purview of the Bill a loan advanced before or after the commencement of this Act, by a bank which was a scheduled bank on the 1st of January 1939, or by a bank which has been declared to be a notified bank under Section 2 (A), whether or not such bank was a scheduled bank or was so declared to be a notified bank, as the case may be, at the time the loan was advanced.

BOMBAY-SIND RAILWAY

The Railway Board are now examining the estimates of the cost of construction of the Bombay-Sind connecting railway which have been submitted by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Buyers and Shippers' Chamber.

It will be recalled that the scheme for constructing this railway has been under the consideration of the Railway Board for some time. The difficulty felt by the Railway Board was that on their estimates, the project could not yield a sufficient return on the capital outlay. The Association and the Chamber, however, insisted that it was possible to have an estimate in which the return would be adequate and undertook to obtain estimate by their own men.

It is understood that the estimate show a return of about 3 per cent. on the capital outlay which is not regarded by the Railway Board as a sufficient justification for a new line as the policy that is now being followed is that a return of at least 4½ per cent. is necessary on the basis of estimated net revenue in the sixth year of working.

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS

"Indian railways set good example to the world". So runs a head-line over an article by the City Editor of the *Evening Standard*. He writes: "British investors hear very little about the British-owned Indian railways. The reason doubtless is that they are well conducted concerns doing a valuable service to the Indian community and providing their shareholders with a reasonable return on the capital invested. Their present prosperity is quite contrary to the experience of almost all other railways the world over. This is because the directors believe in a large volume of traffic at low prices rather than attempting to hold the community up to ransom at high prices."

AIR CONDITIONED COACHES

The Railway Board is reported to be considering a proposal for the introduction of air-conditioned coaches between Lahore and Karachi, and between Delhi and Peshawar. The new service is expected to start in February next year.

when countries like Germany are demanding the return of Colonies in order to obtain the supply of raw materials.

If a Trade Agreement between India and England is to be based on any principle of *quid pro quo* or reciprocity, what are called items of "invisible imports" into India should be fully taken into account and should receive a recognised bargaining status. The payments which India has to make in respect of the services such as banking, shipping, insurance, etc., should strictly be taken into account in determining the balance of payments as between India and Britain. It is disappointing to note in this connection that the opportunity of this Trade Agreement was not availed of to secure a reasonable share of the Indo-British maritime trade for Indian shipping. India's bargaining power based on India's market could and should have been utilised in order to secure the expansion of Indian shipping in this trade. In Britain's Trade Agreements with Soviet Russia and Lithuania, provisions have been made for the utilisation of British shipping services in those maritime trades and British shipping interests have demanded that in Trade Agreements concluded by the British Government, a specific share of the carrying trade should be reserved for British shipping.

Indeed, British shipping made this claim even in respect of the Indo-Japanese maritime trade which is based on India's market. Indian shipping is entitled to demand that it should have an adequate participation in such trades as emanate from India or are based on India's purchases.

It cannot be gainsaid that any Trade Agreement between Great Britain and India in the present political relationship between the two countries is bound to be of an unequal nature. Trade advantage or preference conceded to Great Britain under this Agreement will be stereotyped into a trade privilege whose continuance and permanence in the Indian fiscal policy will be ensured in future. The very nature of India's export trade makes it imperative that any Trade Agreement with Great Britain should not jeopardise its foreign trade with other non-Empire countries or weaken India's bargaining power *vis-a-vis* such countries. It is essential that India's export trade should be considered in a comprehensive manner so as to co-ordinate its internal economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligations on the other. The Indo-British Trade Agreement arrived at after nearly two and a half years' negotiations is unfortunately such as cannot satisfy conditions fundamental to the national economy of India.

INDIA'S FINANCES

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

THE finances of India both at the Centre and in the Provinces have now entered upon a critical phase. The Central Government and most of the provincial governments found themselves on the wrong side and had to resort to various expedients to balance their budgets during the year that has just elapsed. The fall in Customs revenue was so serious that despite considerable economies in civil works and civil administration, the Government of India was compelled to resort to a raid on Sinking Fund to make both ends meet. In the provincial

sphere on account of famines, floods and other vicissitudes of Nature, many of the provinces had to surrender a considerable percentage of land revenue and had to incur additional expenditure to meet the resultant distress. The decline in the yield from stamps and registration was wide-spread throughout India and the fall in revenue seems to be of a permanent nature. The methods adopted by provincial governments to meet the deficit varied from province to province. The Madras Government found in the Minor Ports Fund a convenient windfall just sufficient to wipe

out the deficit. Some provinces resorted to fresh taxation while others were content to allow a diminution in their revenue reserves. It was left to Bengal, however, to adopt the unenviable method of trying to meet the current and prospective deficits by resorting to a loan of one crore of rupees.

Again, the financial year 1938-39 is notable for another event of great importance. The elaborate and finely balanced financial structure so carefully built up by the Government of India Act, 1935, has revealed certain weak and dangerous spots which are likely to undermine it. Sources of revenue, definitely regarded as falling within the Central or Federal sphere, were subjected to a flank attack by provincial governments with results highly damaging to the integrity of Federal finance. Whatever the legal aspect of the matter, taxes like sales taxes and employment taxes impinge upon the same sphere, have the same incidence and affect the same "subjects" as Excise duties and Income-taxes. Where two Governments, each exercising its own right, begin to tax commodities and income without regard to the effects of each other's action, the result would be an intolerable increase in the price of the articles taxed and in the burden on the taxpayer.

The need for a new adjustment of finances between the Centre and the Provinces cannot long be deferred. But the problem is by no means easy of solution. The provincial governments are firmly convinced that the Centre must give up further revenues to the provinces, so that the latter may go forward with their nation-building activities. Thus the Finance Minister of Bombay, in presenting the budget for 1939-40, said:

We have reached the utmost limits of tax possibilities. Further assistance must come from the Centre.

The same idea was expressed in Madras by her Premier Finance Minister in even more strong language:

"The proper solution of the financial problem on which prohibition hangs is finally the reduction of Central expenditure and the transfer of more revenues to the provinces. The time will arrive when the weight of these burdens will furnish

the justification and the strength for readjustment between the Centre and the Provinces."

But there is grave doubt if the Central Government could surrender any fresh revenues to provinces beyond the obligation it has undertaken to give up 50 per cent. of the income-tax in a short period of time. The Central Government's budget for 1939-40 round about 82 crores of rupees of revenue and expenditure shows how narrow are the margins available for further taxation or retrenchment. The Defence expenditure has settled itself round about Rs. 15 crores and considering the world situation it cannot be regarded as excessive, although greater efficiency may be secured by avoiding wastes of every kind. Interest rates having considerably declined during the last few years, the service of internal and external debt has reached the lowest practical point. There is probably some room for economy in civil administration, but the possibilities thereof have been undoubtedly exaggerated. In the sphere of taxation there is but little scope for any large increase, as Customs duties in general are as high as is consistent with a maximum yield. The yield of increased income-tax has to be shared with the provinces, while as regards internal Excise, the recent decision of the Federal Court actually amounts to saying that the Centre has no exclusive jurisdiction but that it must share with the provinces a concurrent jurisdiction. In the circumstances it would be excessive optimism to hold that much can be expected from the Centre. Indeed, one has to be thankful that the budget of the Government of India was balanced without any additional taxation other than the doubling of the import duty on raw cotton—a measure as indefensible as it is unnecessary. The argument that the tax will cause the growth of long staple cotton in India neglects both the geographical and time factors involved in the process and affords no justification for placing a handicap on an industry by taxing its raw material.

That the financial position of provinces is in a quandary and must be rescued from the very difficult plight into which it has fallen cannot be doubted. Nature and man have both combined to

bring about this situation. Flood and famine have caused serious inroads into the financial equilibrium of Congress and non-Congress provinces alike and the Punjab and Bengal no less than Madras, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa have suffered therefrom. But it is the social policy of Congress Governments both in regard to expenditure and in social reform that holds the key to the financial condition of the provinces. Every province where Congress is in power has definitely quickened the pace at which prohibition is applied. Bombay by one large bound has resolved upon having prohibition in one-third of its total area and with that end is giving up this year a revenue of Rs. 150 lakhs besides the Rs. 30 lakhs surrendered last year. In the United Provinces four more districts will be brought within the prohibition area in the coming year. Central Provinces have an ambitious plan of completing prohibition in the entire province in three or four further instalments. It is only in Madras that her conservative Finance Minister is wisely proceeding step by step and has brought only one more district into the prohibition belt. The financial effects of prohibition are everywhere now apparent, and the difficulties envisaged in the review of provincial finance by the present writer a year ago^{*} are now seen to be grave and real.

If provinces have boldly sacrificed large bits of revenue by their policy of prohibition, they have not desisted from pushing on with their plans of economic and social amelioration. While the revenue has shrunk, expenditure increases and the gap widens. Only the Punjab and Bengal have been content to have a mere carrying-on-budget. It must be said to the credit of the financiers in charge of provincial finance that they have not allowed expenditure on nation-building activities to be curtailed. The new direction given to plans of economic improvement and rural welfare continues to govern Congress policy, and if anything, the pace is quickening. Thus in the coming year Bombay has planned for a new scheme of rural development

by which at the village end a paid worker is appointed for a compact group of villages who will be the salaried secretaries of the *panchayats*, co-operative societies and other rural associations. An extra provision of Rs. 5½ lakhs is also provided for the additional staff required for the rural development department. The United Provinces has embarked upon a definite road programme to be completed in three years costing about Rs. 2 crores. With a view to placing rural economic development on firm foundations, a rural development bill is shortly to be introduced. The Central Provinces, Orissa and even North West Frontier Province have sought to expand their expenditure on education, medical relief and public health in the rural areas.

Further, the idea of planned expenditure to which reference was made in the previous review of provincial finance still continues to govern the policy of public expenditure. The Road Fund of the United Provinces, the Special Development Fund in Bombay, the Village Development Fund in Orissa, the Water Supply Fund in Madras and the Special Development Fund in the Punjab are all efforts at planned finance by which important schemes of expenditure are placed beyond the hazards of fluctuating current budgets. In all the above instances sanctioned expenditure will run continuously without fear of funds lapsing on a particular date. Expenditure from these earmarked funds will not be affected by the revenue surpluses or deficits. India's finance ministers are to be congratulated on chalking out an independent line of budgetary practice which is entirely in consonance with the spirit of the times.

But the problem of finding funds to replace the loss of revenue from prohibition and to finance new expenditure is becoming more and more pressing, and everywhere finance ministers have shown a surprising degree of ingenuity in embarking upon new schemes of taxation with a view to getting increased resources at their command. They are also determined not to restrict expenditure on welfare activities and are prepared to take the bull by the horns and extricate themselves by bold

action from the dilemma of Drink vs. Education presented by their opponents. It is, however, necessary to examine their new proposals of taxation to find out how far they are productive and conform to sound canons of taxation. Before doing so, attention should be drawn to the strikingly new point of view stressed by the Premier of Madras in respect of prohibition. Hitherto prohibition was only regarded by friends and critics alike as a powerful engine of social reform. But it has been rightly pointed out that it is also a method of redistributing taxation more equitably; for liquor Excise tax bore very hardly on some of the poorest sections of the population and prohibition has released them from this intolerable burden. It is but right that in any review of the new measures of taxation, full allowance must be given to the favourable distributional aspect of the abolition of Excise duties.

The tax proposals adopted or suggested in the provinces fall under two or three distinct heads. The most important is the group of taxes falling under the category of Sales Taxes. Since the Central Provinces introduced the sales tax on petrol and succeeded in getting the decision of the Federal Court in its favour, nearly all provinces have embarked upon sales tax on petrol and motor spirits, while a few have extended it to include other articles like electricity, tobacco, etc. Bombay has extended the principle to include a tax on cloth. But retail sale of motor spirit is now subject to a tax in nearly all the provinces. Few will be found to question the soundness or the equity of a sales tax on petrol. Not that it has no injurious effect on transport or on the poor bus passengers. But its adverse effects are negligible. Electricity tax cannot also be condemned, although here it is doubtful if nearly as much revenue cannot be obtained at least in Madras by way of profit by the Government's ownership and management of hydro-electric industry.

Another category of new taxes falls within the group of income and property taxes. The taxation of agricultural incomes proposed in Bombay, Assam, and Bihar,

the profession tax in Bengal, the property tax in Bombay are in principle unobjectionable, though in their detailed application may reveal some defects which should be rectified. For example, the somewhat high property tax proposed to be levied in Bombay City for provincial expenditure is of doubtful expediency.

But of all the new tax measures in the anvil, two have come up for special attention. One is the employment tax in the United Provinces and the other is the turnover tax in Madras. The employment tax is a graduated tax, levied on all incomes over Rs. 2,500 within a minimum tax of Rs. 90 per annum rising in amount till it reaches Rs. 32,000 per annum on incomes exceeding Rs. 3 lakhs per annum. That it partakes of the nature of an income-tax and, therefore, entrenches upon the Federal sphere and that in effect it effects a cut in salaries all round cannot be doubted. If a reduction in salaries is the end in view, the United Provinces' employment tax is a more sensible way of bringing it about than the proposed cuts in the salaries of Government servants alone sought to be introduced in various provinces.

Of even more controversial kind is the general turnover tax proposed in Madras. The tax is to be ½ per cent. on sales of goods of all kinds, the only goods that are exempt being agricultural commodities raised by the cultivators and sold by them directly. Businesses with annual turnover of less than Rs. 10,000 are exempt and those having a turnover between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 40,000 will be taxed at fixed consolidated rates. The general turnover tax in Western countries and in America was born in crisis and has ever since been the subject of acute controversy. It is uncertain and uneven in its incidence and is entirely regressive. It offends against the principle of taxing according to ability. It is administratively difficult to collect. But it has one great virtue, productivity. Even allowing for exemptions, it is likely to yield a very considerable revenue to the Government.

But if the tax is not to result in an intolerable burden on the poor consumer, or in the wiping out of the merchant

* "Indian Review", April, 1938.

trading on very low margins, the tax should be levied at a very low rate. The proposed rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is excessive and should be limited to $\frac{1}{12}$ even $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. Otherwise many a trade will be adversely hit and the cumulative effect of taxation at various intermediate stages between production and final consumption will raise prices seriously. If the revenue be found inadequate, it should be possible to select certain commodities for special retail sales tax; for example, cloth, cement, motor tyres, tea, etc.

One thing is clear and that is the future of prohibition hangs upon the willingness of the public to bear the burden of new taxation. The future of provincial finance is indeed grave. But the fact that the provincial governments are facing up to the problem and are prepared to embark upon apparently unpopular schemes of taxation with a view to achieving their end shows both the strength of their convictions and their courage in execution.

A landmark in the history of provincial finances is the floatation of Treasury bills by Madras and the United Provinces. While the revenue comes in big bits only in certain months of the year, the expenditure is continuous and the lag of revenue behind expenditure has been met by the issue of Treasury bills. Although this year the Governments had to pay rather heavily for short-term funds, the principle of going to the market for

short-term funds is of great moment. Treasury bills with a currency of six months were issued in Madras last August and since then 3 months bills were issued. The total issue of Treasury bills for 1939-40 is estimated to be Rs. 5 crores in Madras.

In the view of the present writer, the ultimate solution of the problem of provincial finance lies in increasing the earning power of the masses of the population. For this purpose, schemes of rural development and welfare, which are now in contemplation in many provinces, are undoubtedly essential. But equally important is the preparation of a carefully planned scheme of capital expenditure in all provinces. Madras, United Provinces and the Punjab are ahead of others in this respect. But it is unfortunate that the pace has considerably slackened during this year and further diminution in capital expenditure is likely to occur in the next year. With the exception of Bihar, where Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores is provided for rural grid electrification scheme, the other Provinces have budgeted for diminished capital expenditure. But the development of irrigation, electric, road and housing schemes and other works of public utility combined with planned industrial and rural development will alone secure the necessary basis for the raising of large revenues for the growing needs of the provinces. The credit of the provinces stands high and must be utilised fully to secure a vast increase in the purchasing power of the people.

TABLE
(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

1939-40	GOVERNMENT OF INDIA	MADRAS	BOMBAY	BENGAL	U. P.	PUNJAB	BIHAR	C. P.	SIND	N. W. F.	ASSAM
Revenue	82.70	16.23	12.55	13.78	13.31	11.67	5.38	4.85	3.83	1.93	2.84
Expenditure	82.65	16.40	12.83	14.65	13.69	11.96	5.37	4.83	3.76	1.87	3.01

“ DO WHAT YOU WILL ”

BY MR. ANILBARAN ROY

MODERN rationalistic civilisation seems to be reducing itself to absurdity. It has not only created more evils than what it has cured, it is cutting the very branch on which it sits. Civilisation began when men found the state of the cave-man an intolerable one. In that state men had no rules or principles consciously laid down to regulate their lives, they followed their natural impulses and lived a beastly life as best as they could. But human beings were not meant to live eternally in that condition though in their upward evolution men had to pass through it. They felt the urge towards a higher life of peace and beauty and love and joy and they found that the natural state was not at all conducive to the fulfilment of these high aspirations. So they evolved rules and laws to discipline their crude natural impulses, so that men might have sufficient freedom and opportunity to develop their potentialities. These rules and laws founded on deep insight and age-long experience constituted the Shashtra of all civilised peoples. They found sanction in the moral and religious impulses inherent in men, and civilisation grew up on that basis. But now the whole edifice seems to be on the point of collapse. People and religion, morality, idealism all to be mere social conventions or illusions which have done more harm than good. They seem to have been instruments of tyranny in the hands of unscrupulous exploiters. The modern man is for sweeping away all these illusions and going back to the freedom of the cave-man. As twentieth century Science under the lead of Einstein

and Minkowsky has found that there is nothing fixed or stable in this world that everything is in a state of flux, so civilisation under the lead of Science has found that all human standards are mere makeshifts and have no stable or eternal values. Even Science itself has been overtaken by this nemesis. It is now being widely realised that Science cannot give us any certain truths; it is also a body of conventions or illusions. “Then where are we to stand, Mother Tara?” The reply of rationalism seems to be that there is no such resting place; you must constantly whirl on the wheels of your blind passions and impulses. “Science itself,” says Aldous Huxley, the arch-highbrow of modern times, “is no truer than common sense or lunacy than art or religion. Every human mood has a philosophy and morality appropriate to it; one is not more authoritative than another; do what you will.”

This attitude of the modern mind seems to have given a charter to the grossest passion in men and women, and passions, as is well known, never follow the dictates of reason. Given a free rein, they are bound to produce anarchy everywhere. Thus rationalistic civilisation is digging its own grave.

Through thousands of years the crude natural impulses in men have been kept in some sort of check by social conventions and moral and spiritual ideals. Now they are coming up with a vengeance. This is seen specially in the matter of sex, the most turbulent of all natural impulses. It is not that people did not commit excesses before; but that was

regarded as an error, as a sin; and the good sense of men always strives to keep it in its proper place. But now it is being openly preached that sex has nothing to do with ethics or morality. The sex impulse, naturally too strong to require any encouragement, is being fanned by every possible means. The result is a sex-obsession which is making men and women worse than beasts, worse because animals never commit excesses like human beings who have not learned to discipline themselves. A shrewd English observer thus writes about the condition now prevailing in Europe, the centre of modern civilisation: "What with Freud and the cinema and the enfranchised women writers, the susceptible mind has to-day become sex-conscious to the point of obsession."

And this is not confined to Europe; it is spreading all over the world, and India has not been an exception. We have no lack of admirers of Freud; the cinema is doing havoc; our great novelist Saratchandra has given us the fascinating portrait of an arch-highbrow in the character of Kamal in *Sesh Prashna*. Kamal revels in trampling upon all moral and spiritual standards hitherto prized in India. Her message is: Disregard all external standards, be a law unto yourself, do what you will. This life is precarious, its joys are fleeting, wring as much honey out of it as you can without bothering about any thing.

But where does it lead, all this mad pursuit of sensuous pleasure? Let Mr. Aldous Huxley himself say: "Me personally the unflagging pleasures of contemporary cities leave most lugubriously unamused. The prevailing boredom—for oh, how desperately bored, in spite of

their grim determination to have a Good Time the majority of pleasure-seekers are—the hopeless weariness infects me. Among the lights, the alcohol, the hideous jazz noises, and the incessant movement I feel myself sinking into deeper and ever deeper despondency. By comparison with a night club, churches are positively gay." This is a sad commentary on his own dictum: Do what you will. It is not what it seems to be, a counsel of freedom, so loved by all right-thinking men. A man who gives a free rein to his impulses soon becomes a slave of his own passions, the worst of all slavery. It is for this reason that the spiritual discipline of India called them enemies, *vipra*, which must be conquered at the very beginning. By rejecting all traditional standards, modern civilisation is taking away the chief inducements to self-control without being able to substitute anything for them. Freud has said that death is the goal of life, that all life is a round-about way to the *nirvana* of death. "After life's fretful fever he sleeps well," that is the only prospect the rationalist can hold before mankind. "Do what you will" is not really giving a definite rule or standard of human action, but rather an admission that human reason cannot give any satisfactory solution. Whatever you do, you are bound to come to grief and at last to death. So let men do whatever they like and take the consequences. This is veritably a counsel of despair at which all rationalism is bound to arrive, sooner or later.

II

But rationalism is not the last word of humanity. This dismal view of human destiny rises only from a superficial

MR. DESAI'S APPEAL TO INDUSTRIALISTS

A twofold warning to Indian industry was uttered by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly when opening the permanent building in Delhi given to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry by Lala Shri Ram in memory of his father.

Mr. Desai defended the policy of protection and maintained that the penalty of increased price was worth paying in the larger interests of keeping money within the country. "But," he continued, "I appeal to industrialists that they may not, under the wall of protection, exploit the poor consumer of the country and they may not, even if the Government were favourable, ask for protection for longer than is necessary."

These are the two warnings which Indian industrialists should take note of. They must give up protection soon by the application of better methods and by satisfaction with lesser profits to make India self-sufficient and to give her as high a standard of life as America."

FEDERATION OF COMMERCE & INDUSTRIES

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries at its annual meeting, held in Delhi, passed important resolutions relating to the position of Indians abroad and the question of establishing an agency for co-ordinating labour legislation in the Provinces. One of the resolutions condemned the Government's currency policy and another recommended to the Government of India the adoption of a more dynamic and active policy of full-fledged protection for industries.

INDUSTRIAL GRANTS

The Provincial Government have promulgated new rules for regulating grants to assist young men in starting industrial undertakings.

Grants may now be made to educated young men who have been trained to set up business or trade, and to those already in business to help them to expand their activities. The grants will not ordinarily exceed Rs. 1,000.

LANDLORDS AND VILLAGERS

The Maharajadiraja of Dharbanga, presiding over the All-India Landholders' Conference at Lucknow, on April 8, urged the members of his class to alter their outlook and reorientation of their policy to fit in with the changed conditions and things if they wanted to exist as a class. He advised the landlords to think in terms of the welfare of the villagers. He blamed the Provincial Governments for the spread of agrarian troubles in the country and appealed to the Indian National Congress to take immediate steps to remedy the situation. The suggestion was made in the Conference that a syndicate, which would serve as an agency for the marketing of crops, for supplying short-term credits and for easier rent-collection, could be started to afford help to the growers.

CROP INSURANCE SCHEMES

The United States Government have just brought into operation a scheme of crop insurance. To begin with, the benefit of the scheme is confined to wheat. Under it, in return for a bushel of wheat an acre, more or less dependent upon the crop record of the farm and district, a farmer secures protection up to 75 per cent. of the average yield against all weather losses and pests. For a lower premium, an insurance policy up to 50 per cent. of the yield could also be secured. When a policyholder's crop falls below the 75 or 50 per cent. stipulated in the policy, he will be reimbursed in wheat. That is to say, the farmer can for this small premium get every year an assured crop regardless of weather and pests.

AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

A Bill seeking to relieve the agriculturists of the burden of indebtedness was introduced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on April 4.

It will apply to agriculturist debtors who cultivate lands personally and whose debts do not exceed Rs. 15,000 and are not less than Rs. 100 and provides for the scaling down of the debts to the paying capacity of the debtor.

rules and regulations, *vidhi nishedha*. The modern world is rushing headlong towards the other extreme of self-indulgence. But it is only by following the golden mean that we can speedily reach the goal. We have to discipline our lower nature by following some *shastra*, that is, science of conduct based on the truths of human nature. But the last perfection will be reached when we shall go beyond all *shastra* and external rule of conduct and shall be established in the freedom of

our higher nature. That is the last injunction to Arjuna in the Gita: "Abandon all laws of conduct and take refuge in Me alone." This "Me" is the God seated in every heart, the higher self of every human being. We have to find this Higher Self in us in which we are one with God and with all humanity. That is the spiritual basis on which alone man can realise his long-cherished ideals of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and bring down the kingdom of Heaven on the earth

THE AIMS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA.

ONE of the most striking passages in the historic Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian Constitutional Reforms is where the authors refer to the pathetic contentment of the dark, dumb millions of the Indian peasantry and express the hope that the political reforms they propose to inaugurate would rouse them out of it. It is doubtful if these reforms which were introduced in 1920 had the effect that was intended. But they certainly, by the transfer of agriculture and other nation-building subjects to the control of Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures, aroused popular interest in the usually dry subject of agriculture. Ministers were pressed by their constituents to devote more attention to the development side of the State's activities than their bureaucratic predecessors did. One of the ways in which this activity manifested itself was in the increased grants made by the Legislatures to agricultural departments. A comparison of the pre-War budgets with those of 1921 and later years establishes beyond doubt

that the transfer was a salutary measure though the extent of the benefit was often restricted by harassed Finance Members of Council, whose previous official training lay rather in the field of Law and Order than that of Economic development. The organisation of the Central Executive Government is still in the pre-War stage and the tendency to treat development as, comparatively speaking, a luxury comes out in those periodic fits of economy and retrenchment which attack Finance Members. On such occasions the scientific departments are the first to come under the axe. The administrator's attitude towards these branches of State activity is reminiscent of the Middle Ages. Only we are more civilised in our methods. In those days they treated the scientists as professors of the black art and burnt them at the stake. We now retrench them.

What the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms failed to accomplish has now been effectually done by the measure of provincial autonomy introduced about

twenty months ago. The pathetic contentment of the rural population has become a thing of the past. The trouble is no longer how to awaken the Indian countryside. Our problem is how to use this newly born discontent as a lever to uplift the cultivators out of their age-long deplorable condition.

Returning to India after an absence of six months abroad, nothing impressed itself so much on me as the new spirit that seemed to pervade the Indian countryside. It was a spirit of feverish restlessness, a feeling that they, the cultivators, had till now been treated as of no weight in the counsels of Government, and a slowly-forming determination to assert themselves. I wondered what all this pointed to. Does it all mean that the peasantry is drifting away from its old moorings, that the discipline and self-restraint imposed for ages even more by religion than by the State are being lost, and that the old bases of life are being cut under? India is passing through omens, some of them formidable, into a new world. Wisdom and courage, perhaps even more of the latter quality than of the former, are required to guide the transition from the old world to the new. That the passage will be attended with a good deal of friction, that there will be many risks, pitfalls on the way, I have no doubt. But I am confident that the resources of Indian statesmanship will be found equal to the task, that the dangers will be surmounted, and that the transition will be accomplished peacefully. The passage will take many years and, of course, I am assuming that India along with its fellows in the British Commonwealth will be safe from

the grave external dangers that now confront the civilised world.

One of the most gratifying symptoms of the new spirit that is passing over India is the interest aroused in every part of the country in what is generally known as rural uplift or rural reconstruction. It is, of course, no new thing, this work of social service in villages. Several voluntary organisations have been dealing with it for years, long before provincial autonomy, long before even the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. But it is no detraction from the admirable work of these bodies, and of the individuals whom I shall not mention specifically but whose names are held in honour, to say that their labours touched only the fringe of the problem. The field was so large, the workers were so few, and their efforts, dispersed over an enormous area, were un-co-ordinated. It is only in the last two years that Provinces have set up organisations that cover the whole ground with machinery to control and direct them from a provincial centre.

In the course of my travels in India, I am often asked what is meant by rural uplift or rural reconstruction and what are its aims? Some recent speakers at rural conferences have said that the words mean the infusing of new life into the villages and making the villagers happier. But while no doubt that should be the result of all such endeavours, we want some more specific statement of their aims. If I may venture to formulate them item by item, perhaps the following will serve as a rough and ready statement:—

(1) the improvement of the material condition of the agriculturist, which will include measures for getting him a better price for his products and for relieving

him or easing him from the burden of his indebtedness;

(2) the improvement from the sanitary point of view of his surroundings and the provision of better medical relief, not only during epidemics but normally throughout the year;

(3) the improvement of rural education;

There are many schemes of educational improvement on foot and doubtless they will be dealt with later on in this Conference by the distinguished men who are experts on the subject and who have very kindly consented to assist us. What I have myself in mind is giving the cultivator that degree of literacy which will enable him to read with comfort a daily newspaper published in his own mother-tongue. Just enough in fact to prevent him from being imposed upon by the sharp wits of the urban area and from being preyed upon by the underlings of the Government Departments;

(4) the provision of amenities in the village so as to make living in the village tolerable and make the villager's life a little more colourful than it is now.

A question, often warmly debated, is whether the economic position of the agricultural classes in India has improved in the last one hundred years. I have been present at many discussions in which heated arguments have been used on both sides and when a vote was finally taken, usually the "Noes" had it. That is to say, the majority decided that the ryot's lot had not improved. In fact it was rather inclined to the finding that his condition had actually deteriorated. My feeling on such occasions was that there was a paucity of facts, a large number of doubtful or at least unproved assumptions, and political views and opinions on

currency and high finance coloured the minds of the speakers. I propose to examine some of the assumptions with a view to ascertain how far they are founded on fact.

The assumption with which most of the speakers on the side of the "Noes" started was that much of the most valuable agricultural land in India had been cultivated for centuries, in fact it had been under tillage from a date beyond men's memories, the continuous process should be exhausting its fertility, and consequently there should be progressive deterioration. Translated into scientific language, the proposition may be stated thus: Year by year the produce of the land is being removed from the soil, and this is not counterbalanced by the additions which nature and the practice of the cultivator make to it. As a Revenue Officer in Madras, I was familiar with the agricultural conditions in the Tanjore delta which is, perhaps, one of the oldest cultivated tracts in India. That the delta in the upper reaches of the Cauvery river must have been under continuous rice cultivation for at least a thousand years is proved by the fact that the Grand Anicut was built by a great Chola king a thousand years ago. In all likelihood, the culture of rice in that tract was centuries anterior to the building of that dam. The most fertile portion of the delta, which is known popularly as the breast of the Chola Kingdom, still continues to produce as heavy crops as it used to do in old days. Unfortunately, there are no records of crop out-turn over a long period of time, but as far as I could gather from local enquiries there was no proof, not even an allegation, that there had been

those who flee before them. "A king," said Bhishma, "should never slay a large proportion of the forces of the foe, though he should do sufficient to render his victory sure. He should never inflict such injury as would leave a lasting memory of humiliation in the enemy's heart.

The ancient Indians maintained that it was better to go down before the foe than to conquer by wrongful methods. "A victory sullied by unrighteousness," they said, "is insecure and never brings one to heaven." In certain particulars the ancient Indian's sense of fair play far exceeded that which now prevails in modern warfare of the West and of the Far East. Bhishma's rule was "mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry". Manu, the ancient Indian law-giver, maintained that battles were to be contested fairly.

Other definite rules for the conduct of warfare are clearly anticipations of the principles set forth by the modern European conventions and conferences. "Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used," said Bhishma, over thirty centuries before the Hague Conference forbade belligerents "to employ poison or poisoned arms". "A feeble or wounded opponent should not be slain," said Bhishma, "or he whose weapon has been broken. One should fight one's adversary and leave him when he is disabled. A warrior whose armour has fallen off, or who begs for quarter, or who has cast aside his weapon, may be taken prisoner, but never slain."

The ancient Indians guarded against maltreatment of war prisoners by dividing them into two classes: the well-to-do, who were kept as hostages against unfair warfare on the part of their enemies;

and the ordinary prisoners, who were placed under the supervision of the authorities in charge of temples and shrines. According to Bhishma, those prisoners whose wounds permanently disabled them from military service were to be sent home; others were to be taken to the victor's camp and their wounds attended to there. These regulations for humane treatment of prisoners may be compared to the regulations drawn up at the Geneva Convention of 1906.

The war-lords of ancient India advised moderation, urging the victor to protect a conquered country from useless plunder. "Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility and also from insolent speech," is counsel to which Bhishma gives approval. But when a people offered obstinate and determined resistance to the invader, the attacking power was advised to adopt sterner tactics, "slaughtering the population, pulling up the roads, setting fire to and knocking down its houses."

In ancient India, to slay or imprison envoys was a heinous sin. It was forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, or whose armour and weapons had fallen off; a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children and women.

To prevent the destruction of infant life and to save the children from being branded as bastards, the alliances that were responsible for "war babies" were raised to the status of marriage. Three classes of such alliances were

of Palayakottai in the Coimbatore district of Madras, probably the best cattle breeder in India, there has been a complete divorce between cultivation of land and the breeding of cattle. Instead of there being an ascending scale of improvement, as there has been in England since the eighteenth century, there has been a progressive deterioration in the condition of farm cattle, the cattle population in India is the largest in the world, but it is probably in general efficiency (always subject to the recognition of the fact there are many excellent breeds of draught and milking cattle) one of the poorest. In the last one hundred years, owing to the enormous increase in the human population of the country, there has been a considerable extension of cultivation. Instead of the extension being met at least partly by an increase in the efficiency of the working cattle, it has been wholly met by an increase in their numbers. Simultaneously there has been a reduction in their quality. The village grazing lands on which animals mainly depend for their feed are inadequate, cultivation encroaches on the better pastures whose soil is suitable for conversion into arable land, and consequently cattle have less to eat, and as the conditions for rearing them become worse, their size decreased, and more cattle had to be produced to do the work. A vicious circle has thus been set up, and the task of breaking it is a gigantic one. It is obvious that this lies at the root of the prosperity of Indian agriculture. Fewer cattle and better fed ones should be our ideal.

I have dealt with two questions of fundamental importance to the ryot, namely, the condition of his soil and the condition of his stock. But in a

tropical country, the thirsty land requires water. Irrigation is, therefore, a third point of fundamental importance in estimating the economic condition of the cultivating classes. On this question, luckily, we are not afflicted with the usual lack of economic statistics and have something better than guesses, impressions, inferences, and generalisations to go upon. We know that 30 million acres nearly a seventh of the whole area under crops in British India are irrigated from about 300 works belonging to or constructed by the State, this figure excluding the very small tanks of which Madras alone has over 35,000. We also know that fifty years ago the area under State irrigation was 10½ million acres. The addition of nearly 20 million acres to the irrigated area means a considerable increase in the annual value of crops, besides securing so much more country against the risk of famines. An estimate made of the annual value of the produce from the State-irrigated area puts it at 100 crores of rupees.

The mention of famines brings up the question of railways and other improvement made in the internal communications of the country. There can be no doubt that the ryot is vitally interested in this matter. For one thing it is no longer inevitable that villagers should die when there is a wide-spread failure of crop and the local sources of subsistence drop. The railways make it possible to transport quickly grain from a tract of plenty to a tract of scarcity. Hereafter it is a question of the energy and vigilance and the resourcefulness of Provincial Governments. In normal times the great value to the ryot of railway

THE INDIAN BANK

A profit of Rs. 15,000 more than in the previous year, a dividend of 10 per cent., further augmentation of the Reserve and other Funds, new branches in Pudukottah, Quilon and Kumbakonam, the transformation of the Bangalore Cantonment sub-office into a full-fledged branch and the establishment of a branch at Tanuku, and more town branches—these are some of the features of the working of the Indian Bank Ltd. as revealed at the 32nd annual general meeting of shareholders, held on March 4.

This record is particularly striking in view of the fact that 1938 was an unusually trying year for South Indian banking.

THE INDO-CARNATIC BANK

Before Mr. Justice Gentle, at the Madras High Court, an application had been preferred on behalf of Mr. K. N. Guruswami of Bangalore, a creditor and shareholder of the Indo-Carnatic Bank, Ltd., for the winding up of the Bank, on the allegation that the Bank had failed to pay a sum of at least Rs. 3,000 by way of interest for over 21 days after demand. After hearing counsel on either side, His Lordship was of the opinion that the Bank should be wound up and passed orders accordingly.

GOLD IN GUJARAT

According to the *Times of India*, gold has been discovered in what are claimed to be paying quantities over a wide area in Gujarat, and a company is shortly to be formed to exploit the discovery.

The paper says that it is believed that the Government of Bombay may take an interest in the company, and a plant will be established within three years.

CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED

The net profit of the Central Bank of India, Ltd., for the year ended December 31, 1938, subject to audit, including Rs. 8,67,514-10-1 brought forward from last year's account, amounts to Rs. 36,27,061-7-9.

MONEY-LENDING

The Madras Government intend to introduce legislation as soon as possible in regard to money-lending and money-lenders, including pawnbrokers.

WORKING OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Gross receipts of Rs. 95 crores on the State-owned Railways, Rs. 3'25 crores in excess of the previous year, which made possible a contribution of Rs. 2'75 crores to the Central Revenues; an increase in passenger earnings from Rs. 29'37 crores to Rs. 31'08 crores and in goods earnings from Rs. 67'33 crores to Rs. 68'66 crores (a figure which exceeds the earnings for the peak year 1928-29) and the highest total receipts since 1929-30 on the Bengal-Nagpur, Bombay, Baroda and Central India and East Indian Railways are revealed in the report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways for the year 1937-38.

The report also gives particulars of the action taken by the authorities to provide for passengers' comfort, to ensure civility on the part of the Railway staff, and to stimulate goods traffic and combat competition by road services.

THE M. S. M. RAILWAY

Encouraged by the success of the North-Western Railway in running a subsidiary road service, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway are proposing to start on a similar venture on a larger scale. A private limited company has been registered for acquiring existing road services and opening new ones. The capital is limited to one lakh of rupees and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway will take 55 per cent of the shares. The Madras Motor Vehicles Act is expected to eliminate uneconomic competition and it is confidently and justifiably expected that the new venture will prove a commercial success.

A RAILWAY ACCIDENT

Yet another regrettable Railway accident is reported. Twenty-five people were killed and 26 injured following a severe collision between the North Bengal Express and the Dacca Mail, both Down trains, at Majdia, 66 miles from Calcutta, on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The accident occurred at about 3-23 on April 17.

As we go to Press, it is learnt that the casualties are much greater than reported and that the disaster is one of the worst of its kind in recent years.

FRANCE has, in recent years, sustained a considerable loss of prestige and influence. Her diplomacy has met with discomfiture, her aspirations with disappointment. Both the Francophile world and the lovers of Freedom and Democracy cannot, therefore, view without embarrassment and apprehension France getting relegated into the background.

This relegation is not a *fata morgana*; it is a grim reality. It is unmistakable. It goes a long way in the ultimate devitalization of the combination of Democratic forces.

Yes; France is dwindling, as is much apprehended in many quarters, into a second-rate power. What is the cause of this national deterioration in the scale of international power and importance? Is France herself responsible for this state of affairs, or, has any extraneous force or combination of forces worked its way to this deplorable accomplishment?

The answer is clear. The total and continued dependence in recent years of France on Britain for support and guidance in her international relations and activities has deprived her, in course of time, of the necessary stimulus for spontaneous action. She has become a satellite revolving round Britain without any political individuality, without any consciousness of her inherent strength as a national entity. She is the virtual shadow, as it were, of Britain projected on the Continent across the Channel.

Her intelligentsia represents different schools of political thought. The operation in the country of various centrifugal political forces such as Socialism, Communism, Radicalism and multiple other items has undermined her national

solidarity. No political wicket lasts long; no party is confident of a prolonged innings in tranquillity.

Besides, Germany, though once "shorn of her locks" is now reasserting herself; and the strength of Berlin is the weakness of France. The rapid growth of Fascism has successfully accomplished the violation of Frontier demarcations. In less than a quinquennium the map of the Continent to the west of Asia has been recast.

Britain's indifference in the Manchurian episode was dangerously copied by France in the Abyssinian adventure of Mussolini. Britain did not stand in the way of Japanese ambition experiencing materialization. Her interference would have, argued Britain, amounted to an act of indiscretion inconsistent with tact and possibility as well.

A strong Japan, reasoned Britain, was a condition *sine qua non* for checkmating the possible Bolshevik expansion; and Bolshevism is diametrically opposed to the Capitalist Democracy of England. The remoteness, moreover, of Manchuria to Great Britain made effective intervention or armed intercession in behalf of the wronged, practically impossible.

But this expensive indifference is an unpardonable piece of accomplished impolicy. It cut at the root of collective security. It gave an impetus to unilateral aggression and territorial absorption. It is responsible for the rape of Abyssinia, for the forced *anschluss*, for the Spanish tragedy, for the ignominious surrender of the Sudetenland and nobody knows, as yet, for what more in future.

Had French policy been backed by considered determination and not by

will be permitted if it is against the interests of Italian or German manufacturers? Will not the Nordic cult be propagated far more vigorously than the present British assumption of white superiority? It is as certain as anything can be that under German or Italian rule, Indians will fare infinitely worse than under the present British rule.

If, as appears to be more probable in case the British connection with India is dissolved, it is Japanese imperialism with which we shall have to deal, there will not only be all the disadvantages just mentioned about Italian or German imperialism, but there will be many additional ones. The European races cannot thrive in a tropical climate and it would be difficult for Italians or Germans to colonise any but a very small portion of our country. The Japanese are Asiatics and have a low standard of living approximately similar to our own. With a rapidly increasing population, the Japanese will flood India with their superfluous millions; even such work as will not tempt an Italian or a German will be cheerfully taken up by a Japanese, and the Indian masses will not have even the hewing of wood or drawing of water left to them. Any manifestation of discontent will be sternly repressed, and if a modern Tarquinius Superbus from Italy or Germany will cut off the heads of all even moderately tall poppies like the heads of Congress organisations, his Japanese counterpart will not spare even the humbler members of those organisations. Should a political realist let his resentment against our present rulers run away with him and bring on his country a fate a hundred times worse?

It is not my object to defend British imperialism or the means by which it has established itself in India. Many wicked things have been done in its name in all conscience. But most of these occurred long ago and many of the British are now heartily ashamed of them. In any case there has been a very considerable amount of progress towards freedom and democracy, even though we may legitimately complain about the pace of that progress or regard some of the steps as ultimately harmful. Having for several centuries enjoyed freedom in his own country, the Englishman thinks it at least necessary to cover his selfish actions under a cloak of freedom. When his own interests are not too intimately involved, he lets other people alone. He has to preserve before the world a decent appearance of freedom under the British flag. His rough and ready methods are a contrast to the relentless efficiency of a German or a Jap. A British Viceroy will move heaven and earth to save an Indian Mahatma from starving himself to death. A German, Italian or Japanese Viceroy will welcome this simple way of getting rid of a pestilent enemy. Bad as British rule of non-white peoples is in many respects and unabashed as is his treatment of natives when British interests conflict with theirs, it is still far better than any alternative that is open to us at this moment. Probably, French rule of non-white races compares favourably with the British. Even under Dutch rule, which is moderately benevolent, the Javanese have not progressed politically in three or four countries as India has under British rule in a hundred and fifty years. The Italians and Germans and the Japanese are new-comers in the

If Russia is taboo to England—which is indubitable—it is time that Democracy knew that she could not go back to the days of the first repudiation of international obligations.

The policy of appeasement of Mr. Chamberlain is consistent with British realism and correct understanding and appraising of the totality of the circumstances; for things are different now. Italo-German intervention in Spain is another step in the direction of Fascist encirclement of France. It is, therefore, more strategical than even economic.

The Mediterranean is the Italian sea. Ceuta, Salmania and the Rhine land are

the loaded pistols directed towards the head of France.

Japan in the Far East, in view of the military significance of the Anti-Comintern pact, is a potential danger to the British Imperial interests. Unrest in the Empires of Britain and France constitutes a veritable internal danger, the character and magnitude of which cannot, under any circumstances, be belittled or underrated.

The only course, therefore, open in the case of Russian exclusion and continuation of American isolation, is appeasement—appeasement which comprehends federation of Imperial possessions as much as provision for collective exploitation of colonial wealth.

HOLIDAYS AT HOME

By DR. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A. (Madras); M.A., Ph.D. (Columbia)

(Vice-Principal, Teachers' College, Kolhapur)

HOW can we ensure that our young people will make such use of their leisure that it will bring improvement to themselves, benefit to others and pleasure to all? While the trials and tribulations of parents are genuine and great, not less are those of the children themselves who are tied down to the home in boredom, idleness and prohibitions insufferable. This problem is incapable of solution without the whole-hearted co-operation of school and home.

The school is under obligation to study the needs of its clientele and to strive to supply them. That means, so far as the problem in hand is concerned, that if the citizens of to-morrow are to live full, rich and happy lives and know how

to get the best out of their leisure, they must be taken in hand while in school. If holidays are to be rescued from being dry, drab and dreary, and become the active, useful, delightful things they should be, a host of 'interest pockets', or 'interest pegs', should be provided in children's lives during school days. Innocent pastime and wholesome recreation must be made sufficiently alluring, and achievements in art, music, craft and literature should be held up as ideals worthy of pursuit. How can this be done better than by opening up before the adolescent new and attractive vistas and inviting him to appropriate some part of the glorious heritage which is his birthright? And since there is no other social

institution willing or competent to discharge this obligation, the school has to function here as elsewhere as the 'residuary legatee'.

The school can and should set up standards and develop tastes, which will help to determine the choice of proper forms of recreation and also develop habits and interests which will continue to provide enjoyment during the leisurely hours of the holidays. To realize these objects, the school should press into service all its activities, curricular and extra curricular. In this article, however, we shall concentrate on the home.

WHAT THE HOME CAN DO

Many parents take no share at all in training their children for the worthy use of leisure. But there is much which they can do, both before children start going to school as well as when the master's watchful eye cannot reach the mischievous youngsters. The home should reinforce the efforts of the school and see that the forms of recreation taught at school are followed with satisfaction during the holidays. Facilities which some of the activities demand should, whenever possible, be made available. An active enthusiastic interest on the part of the parents in the holiday pursuits of their children will go a long way to solve the problems of peace, orderly progress, and discipline at home. What children need is opportunity for the use of their energy. Provide desirable channels and there should be no need to spend the day shouting: "Don't do this" and "Don't do that." Surround them with things they may do, and with temptation out of the way, they are delivered from evil.

The value of interesting hobbies can never be exaggerated. They enable children to pass their spare time profitably and pleasurably and without injury to others. Resourceful parents can get their children enthused over hobbies associated with several of the school subjects. Collecting stamps, coins, picture postcards, quaint stones and shells, leaves, etc., can prove very instructive. Photography, fretwork, gardening, carpentry, dairy-farming, poultry-raising and bee-keeping represent other useful and absorbing pastimes. Social intercourse is regarded as an essential part of every child's training for life, and so clubs, socials, parties and entertainments should be provided. These are all activities which might well occupy some part of any one's leisure and, therefore, practice in actual social organizations and in happy association with others should not be withheld from our young folk.

Another avenue of useful holiday activity is social service. In a country so obviously full of misery and misfortune, sorrow and suffering, he must be made of stone who has not heard a soul-stirring S.O.S.! Experience in scouting, social service leagues, rural uplift, adult education and co-operation with hospitals and child welfare centres should prove extremely valuable. What a contribution our pupils could make along any line of national welfare if only they tried seriously enough and received a little guidance. As a small return for the health and strength they enjoy, young people should try to serve for a while during the holidays those less fortunate than themselves and share with them some of their great privileges.

Too often the older children of large families are deprived of a fair chance to

play, because their help is needed at home. Girls suffer in this way more than boys. Play is a tonic which can be had without price and without money. Though some work at home may be necessary and reasonable, parents should see that the natural craving for self-forgetful, exhilarating play is not unduly suppressed. Outings and picnics, boating, swimming, and games, indoor and outdoor, should be encouraged and entered into whole-heartedly as far as possible by all the family. The pathetic children who don't know how to play seem silently to reproach the homes from which they come. It is not enough to provide dolls and toys and play materials; parents must teach the children how to use them intelligently and must play with them occasionally to show them all the possibilities for fun which lie in constructive play. They can help the little ones to cultivate a taste for reading by early exposing them to good literature. If parents would read to children every day while they are small and later choose with care books for them to read themselves, there should be no cause for anxiety on this score.

During the holidays children should be encouraged to do some of the many things they could not do during term-time, seeing places, visiting their friends and relatives, arranging their possessions, tidying the house, helping others at home and outside, reading, writing and painting, pursuing hobbies of all kinds and making up of deficiencies in their studies. Adult assistance is needed to ensure that children convert their liabilities into assets by giving extra time and thought to their peculiar weak subjects instead of neglecting them as they are likely to do.

Failure here will mean perpetuating a danger zone. Revising the previous work and reading portions in advance are not taboo by any means. As a device to ensure adequate attention to competing interests and demands, a time-table has much in it to commend itself. It is necessary to stress this because most children imagine that vacation is another name for 'vacant time' and are inclined to refuse to countenance anything that resembles serious activity. When this has been said, it must be added that it is a grave mistake to bind children down to books and private tutors during their holidays and make their lives miserable. Parents should see that their children return to school not weary and worn out but rested, refreshed and recreated, ready like a strong man to run a race.

Briefly, the school should recognise the importance of teaching through play, and of providing for the proper use of leisure by developing an appreciation of the best in literature, drama, music, art and the many forms of wholesome recreation. The home may co-operate by encouraging play, by providing play materials and joining in the play, by taking the children to good pictures and concerts and seeing that they have a fair share of parties, picnics and social opportunities. In this connection the call of social service must not be ignored. Storing up interests against days of leisure is not less important than laying up skill and information against the academic day of judgment. Our children must be prepared not merely for days of work and worry but for the weeks and months of leisure and holiday-making. They must be taught how 'to stand and stare' when life is not 'full of care'.

ELEPHANTS IN INDIAN HISTORY

BY MR. S. SRINIVASAN

ELEPHANTS were in the news recently in connection with the Khedda operations in Mysore. To many this may perhaps mean nothing; but not so to those who know their Indian history. These royal beasts, they will recall, had shaped the destinies of dynasties, invasions and historic battles in the storied past of this ancient land. To-day elephants make mere news: centuries ago they made something far more important—they made history.

Elephants were India's King-makers in the Vedic period. Like Falstaff's lion, the state elephant was credited with an unerring instinct to spot out the scion of the royal blood. Did a king die childless? Was an heir to the throne kidnapped or lost during childhood? Was there a succession dispute? In all such cases it was always the Royal elephant that was summoned to cut the Gordian knot.

Sage ministers asked the state elephant to be brought, handed it a garland and respectfully followed it with all the royal paraphernalia. The gaily caparisoned animal then flung the garland round the neck of whomsoever it chose and lifted him on to its back. Thus was the new King found and the courtiers who followed the beast, hastened to do obeisance to their "heaven sent" monarch.

The elephant's choice was by no means restricted to those living in or near the capital. In Puranas cases have been recorded of state elephants tramping for days on end through hills and dales in search of the rightful ruler, patiently followed by the state army and officials. Many a humble peasant lad had in this fashion suddenly found himself

exchanging his sheep hook for the sceptre, his tattered garments for the royal purple.

If elephants made Kings, they, like true King-makers, often proved to be the undoing of several princes in historic battles. There was confusion among the serried ranks of war elephants on the banks of the Indus 2,265 years ago and India's gates were flung open to a foreign invasion for the first time in her history. In his gallant fight against Alexander, the Indian king Poros relied chiefly on the strength of his two hundred war elephants, which formed the front and centre of his army. No sooner did the Indian ranks break before the onslaught of the splendidly disciplined Macedonian cavalry, than they all rushed towards their elephants for shelter as to a friendly wall. In the words of a historian these monsters, which at first sight struck terror in the hearts of Alexander's intrepid hordes, did no less damage to their friends than to their foes, trampling them under their feet as they wheeled, pushed and lashed in their fury. Poros lost the battle, leaving the Greek triumphant.

Nearly eleven centuries later, a similar tragedy was enacted once again in the Indus Valley, which paved the way for subsequent Muslim invasions into India. The naphtha arrows of the Arab invader, Mir Kasim, and his men found their mark unerringly to the consternation of King Dahir's war elephants. The maddened beasts, trumpeting wildly, retreated like a ship backing water with their faces to the enemy, trampling and maiming hundreds of those who brought them into the field. The Arabs, no longer

afraid of the black leviathans, rammed home their advantage and Mir Kasim accomplished his brilliant military *tour de force* into Sind and back to Arabia.

On only one occasion did the elephants score and that was when the dreaded Mongols led by Timur, that celebrated scourge of Asia, quailed before these "invincible beasts". The fierce nomads, who knew not what fear was, refused to fight these 'devils incarnate'. Thanks to their elephant bogey, India was spared the horrors of a prolonged invasion by Timur.

The colourful annals of the Rajputs contain many stories of victories turned into routs all on account of the elephant carrying the leader turning *must* during the critical moments of a battle. An Indian army in the olden days was nothing more than a mere rabble, once it lost sight of its leader or king, who was invariably seated on a huge elephant.

A Moghul prince learnt this lesson at the cost of his life and throne. Emperor Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Moghuls, would have ended his days in obscurity as a *fakir* or probably might have had a bloody end in battle if his brother Dara had not committed the fatal mistake of dismounting from his elephant in the critical hour of the battle.

The old Emperor Shah Jehan (builder of the Taj Mahal) died. In those days Kingship knew no kinship and Dara's (the eldest son of the Emperor) succession to the throne was disputed by his brothers, the youngest of whom was Aurangzeb. The latter, joining his forces with those of his another brother, marched against Dara and the loyal troops who backed the claims of the eldest born.

The battle raged loud and long. At long last, Dara's men seemed to be getting the upper hand. Seated on a beautiful Ceylon elephant, towering above his horsemen, Dara was urging and cheering his troops onward: he was within an ace of victory. Poor man, he did not know that the Gods had willed it otherwise. Leaving his position on the elephant, he jumped on a horse and rode to the front to join his men at the front. It was then that the inevitable happened: The army saw Dara's elephant standing riderless, thought their leader killed, broke and fled in panic. Aurangzeb saw his chance, charged amidst the confusion and, after poisoning his other brother, entered the Imperial city in triumph. Dara was slain in the *melee* that ensued.

A curious feature of this battle, which changed the course of Moghul history, was that elephants were the chief actors in the drama, both on the winning as well as the losing side. While an elephant with an empty imperial *howdah* caused a rout on one side, the other side owed its triumph to a phalanx of chained elephants. The wily Aurangzeb had given orders that all the elephants on his side should be chained to one another so that the beasts might not get excited by gun-fire and cause a general stampede, that would be fatal to the discipline of the army. He reaped the reward for his foresight.

Indian history did not relegate elephants to battle-fields only. When the animals were not fighting the enemy in war, they were forced to fight one another in single combat and in an organised manner. Two elephants, invariably tusked, tried to gore each other with a low wall betwixt them, while the respective *mahouts*,



SMT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
President, Tripuri Congress

seated on their backs, assiduously egged them on with spears to greater fury until one was completely vanquished. Witnessing such combats was a favourite pastime with the royalty. The practice is indulged even to this day in some of the native states.

For a long time elephants continued to be instruments of torture. A common mode of execution in ancient India was being trampled upon by elephants. So humane an emperor as Akbar adopted it.

There was once a king called Menander (one of the Greeco-Bactrian rulers) who ruled in northern India over two thousand years ago. He took a unique delight in seeing elephants rolling to their death down the steep sides of a hill or mountain. With laborious care he had the enormous beasts first hauled up to the mountain tops to be subsequently hurled from those giddy heights.

Coming to our own day, elephants are not denied their share of making one sort of history or other. Who does not know "Kala Nag" that has made film history? Perhaps there are not as many who know that another elephant made electioneering history in America as recently as August 1936. The Republican Party in the United States imported an elephant from India in that year to give life to their traditional emblem in the Presidential election campaign of 1936. The animal was duly anointed on her arrival; a bottle of wine was broken over her head and she was christened Susannah. Susannah toured the United States holding a contribution box with her trunk. If that was not electioneering history, what else was it anyway?

Legend credits Paderewski with having invented the following elephant story:—

Five men of different nationalities each write a book about an elephant. The Englishman goes to India, organises a hunt and composes a thick illustrated travelogue, 'How I Shot My First Elephant'. The Frenchman casually visits the Zoo and promptly produces a yellow-book 'L' Elephant et Ses Amours'. The German plunges into research and emerges some years later with a five volume work, 'Introduction to a Monograph of the Study of the Elephant'. The Russian gets drunk on *vodka*, retires to his garret and issues a slim philosophic treatise 'The Elephant—Does It Exist?' The Pole sits down in the national library and turns out a fiery pamphlet 'The Elephant and the Polish Question?'

An Indian, given the same task, after delving into historical records and musty parchments, would, in all likelihood, come out with a volume entitled 'The consequences of the Elephant in Indian History' wherein he would attempt to "prove conclusively" that India let the legions thunder past, not because she was in any way inferior to the invader in the matter of martial prowess but because of her misplaced confidence in that immobile, though formidable looking beast—the elephant.

Perhaps he would have begun his thesis with a statement somewhat on these lines: "If Cleopatra's nose had been shorter, said Pascal, the Frenchman who thought a lot, the whole aspect of the world would have been altered. With more or less equal truth one can say, if elephants had been scarce or absent in India, the entire course of her history would have been different."

THE TRIPURI CONGRESS

THE 52nd Session of the Indian National Congress met at Tripuri, a village in Mahakoshal, in the second week of March. The Session met under exceptional circumstances. For the first time in Congress history, the President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, had scored in a contested election, and the repercussions of that contest had hardly subsided. Added to this, Mr. Subhas himself was in indifferent health. Much against the advice of his doctors, he had dared to travel to Tripuri and fulfil his responsibilities. Indeed, he was so ill that the open session of the Congress and much of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee had to be conducted without him. Above all, the shadow of Rajkot, where Mahatma Gandhi was engaged in a life and death struggle over the State question, was casting a gloom over the session—a gloom relieved only by the breaking of the Mahatma's fast ere the actual proceedings of the Congress began. It was in every way a trying session with grave issues hanging in the balance. The Mahatma's absence for the first time in twenty years from the Congress was weighing heavily on the vast concourse of over two hundred thousand people gathered in Tripuri. But it was evident his spirit was hovering over the scene and the Congress was dominated all through by the one desire to be guided by his sagacious leadership. His chief lieutenants saw to it that the resolutions of the Congress were in complete accord with his principles and policy.

PANDIT PANT'S RESOLUTION

For three days the All-India Congress Committee had battled with a resolution

signed by a majority of members, which affirmed its faith in the old Working Committee members and in the Mahatma's lead. Socialists read in it a suggestion of want of confidence in the elected President. The resolution was sponsored by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, who spoke with admirable restraint in the Subjects Committee. Over a dozen amendments were moved, and a dozen speakers including Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. S. Satyamurti and Acharya Narendra Deo took part in the debate. The Premier of Madras in the course of his speech declared that the statement by Mr. Bose on the eve of the Presidential election clearly indicated a change of policy and principles and, therefore, Mahatma Gandhi had accepted "defeat". The delegates, if they wanted the continued leadership and continued contact of Mahatma Gandhi, should set "matters right" by passing this resolution expressing confidence in his leadership.

Mr. Satyamurti, in a fighting speech, declared:

I ask you delegates to place your hands on your hearts and say whether you are not sorry for the aspersions. Speaking for myself, I should have demanded an apology.

I want Mahatma Gandhi to continue to be the friend, philosopher and guide of the Congress. In 1929, when the Civil Disobedience movement was decided upon, Mahatma Gandhi was made the sole dictator of the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the President then. Did this mean any reflection on Pandit Nehru?

Acharya Narendra Deo, supporting Jai Prakash Narain's Socialist amendment, made an impassioned appeal to the old members of the Working Committee to give in on minor details, because they could afford to be generous whether they were on the Working Committee or not, because they were the undisputed leaders of the country. The debate was inconclusive and the House adjourned.

said Krishna, "falls an easy prey; the forest wherein no tiger dwells is easily cut down; hence the tiger guards the forest, and the forest guards the tiger." "A man," said Bhishma, "crosses a deep broad river by a log. The man conveys the log to the other side, and the log also conveys the man."

To those ancient Indian statesmen, successful alliances were as necessary a part of policy as war. "When a common danger threatens, make peace," they advised, "with one who is strong. When the danger is over, consider well the advisability of making a compact with the enemy. Having achieved the object in view, trust not the foe again."

Bhishma's description of the friends of a monarch aptly summarised the factors that go to make modern international friendships, and his counsel, applied to nations, was evidently taken as a guiding principle by the ancient Indians in making peace and war. According to him, the different kinds of a ruler were: one who pursues the same object; one who is exceedingly attached to him; one who is related to him; one whose goodwill has been gained by presents and kindness; and an upright man who will range himself on one side and not on both.

"Of these kinds of friendship," said Bhishma, "look with mistrust upon the first and fourth; at the same time do not trust any overmuch. Trust and mistrust all men. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction, but trust him entirely whose fall would be the consequence of your own fall."

Already in Bhishma's time the intimate connection between war and politics was realised, and Indian statesmen were divided as to whether war is an outgrowth of

politics or politics an outgrowth of war. Before resorting to force, the peoples of ancient India, who were involved in disputes, dispatched diplomatic agents or envoys to each other to try what could be effected by peaceful persuasion. The ablest brains of the nation were pressed into this service. "They should," said Bhishma, "possess these great qualities: noble birth, eloquence, ability, pleasant address, reliability in delivering the message entrusted to them, and a good memory."

Ancient India had a great secret service system with approved rules. Spies were as eyes to the kings of ancient India and as roots to their kingdoms. Inattention to spies is mentioned by Vidura as one of the causes of the downfall of a king.

Several centuries before the birth of Greece and Rome, students of war philosophy in India had gone deep into the question of neutrals and had divided them into four main heads: Neutrals who, whether active or passive, could not but be affected by the progress and result of the war; neutrals who would be practically unaffected by the war and therefore felt hardly any concern in the progress of the struggle; neutrals who would be affected by the progress and result of the war and who could, if they chose, alter the course of the war without becoming belligerents by manipulating economic forces, etc., and neutrals who, though affected by the war, had not the power to alter the course of the war.

Indiscriminate slaughter was regarded by ancient Indian warrior-statesmen as both inhuman and inexpedient. A retreating enemy, they said, was not to be pursued too closely lest he should suddenly turn and rend his pursuers and also because brave men do not care to mow down

Congress should be referred to the A. I. C. C. at a later date in view of the serious condition of Mr. Subhas Bose's health. The motion was adopted amidst some confusion, but when Maulana Abul Kalam Azad began to announce the result, there ensued a storm of opposition followed by noise and shouting of slogans from the Bengal block, which practically made further deliberation impossible. It was in vain that more than one leader tried to restore order out of the chaos of confusing demands from a section of the House which appeared to insist on a poll being taken. Maulana Azad said that in view of the pandemonium, polling was not possible then. He held that it should be taken at the Subjects Committee the next day.

Order was restored after repeated efforts and after the announcement that Mr. Aney was going to withdraw his resolution.

Accordingly Mr. Aney withdrew the resolution. But before he did so, Pandit Nehru made an impassioned speech in which he said that during his connection with the Congress for the last 25 years, he had never witnessed scenes as he witnessed that day.

PANDIT PANT'S RESOLUTION

Following the failure of the Right wing leaders to postpone consideration of the resolution seeking Gandhiji's continued leadership, the Congress met at the Subjects Committee pandal on the third day of the session. Visitors were excluded though the Press was allowed to remain and comparative calm prevailed. The proceedings, however, were marked by heated discussion on various amendments moved by members of different groups in the Congress. All amendments having been rejected by large majorities, the

Congress passed Pandit Pant's resolution expressing confidence in Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, his principles and policy by an overwhelming majority by show of hands amidst resounding cries of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai".

Several members who moved amendments, including Sardar Sardul Singh Cavasheer, Mr. K. F. Nariman, Mr. Bharadwaj, Mr. Sidwa, and Maulana Nuruddin Behari, stressed that the clause relating to 'aspersions' should be deleted and expressed the view that the resolution virtually meant censure on the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Bose.

Pandit Pant, replying to the debate, asserted that the resolution was in no way a vote of no confidence against the President but was only a reaffirmation of the confidence of the Congress in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and his principles and policy.

The resolution as finally adopted at the plenary session of the Congress on the last day of the session reads:

The Congress declares its firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which have governed its programme in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and is definitely of the opinion that there should be no break in these policies, and that these should continue to govern the Congress programme in the future.

The Committee expresses its confidence in the Working Committee, which functioned during last year and regrets that any aspersions should have been cast against any of its members.

In view of a critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such a crisis, the Committee regards it as imperative that the executive authority of the Congress should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji.

Following the decision of the All-India Socialist Party to remain neutral in the voting on Pandit Pant's resolution, a number of members of the Congress

THE INDIAN BANK

A profit of Rs. 15,000 more than in the previous year, a dividend of 10 per cent., further augmentation of the Reserve and other Funds, new branches in Pudukottah, Quilon and Kumbakonam, the transformation of the Bangalore Cantonment sub-office into a full-fledged branch and the establishment of a branch at Tanuku, and more town branches—these are some of the features of the working of the Indian Bank Ltd. as revealed at the 32nd annual general meeting of shareholders, held on March 4.

This record is particularly striking in view of the fact that 1938 was an unusually trying year for South Indian banking.

THE INDO-CARNATIC BANK

Before Mr. Justice Gentle, at the Madras High Court, an application had been preferred on behalf of Mr. K. N. Guruswami of Bangalore, a creditor and shareholder of the Indo-Carnatic Bank, Ltd., for the winding up of the Bank, on the allegation that the Bank had failed to pay a sum of at least Rs. 3,000 by way of interest for over 21 days after demand. After hearing counsel on either side, His Lordship was of the opinion that the Bank should be wound up and passed orders accordingly.

GOLD IN GUJARAT

According to the *Times of India*, gold has been discovered in what are claimed to be paying quantities over a wide area in Gujarat, and a company is shortly to be formed to exploit the discovery.

The paper says that it is believed that the Government of Bombay may take an interest in the company, and a plant will be established within three years.

CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED

The net profit of the Central Bank of India, Ltd., for the year ended December 31, 1938, subject to audit, including Rs. 8,67,514-10-1 brought forward from last year's account, amounts to Rs. 36,27,061-7-9.

MONEY-LENDING

The Madras Government intend to introduce legislation as soon as possible in regard to money-lending and money-lenders, including pawnbrokers.

WORKING OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Gross receipts of Rs. 95 crores on the State-owned Railways, Rs. 3'25 crores in excess of the previous year, which made possible a contribution of Rs. 2'75 crores to the Central Revenues; an increase in passenger earnings from Rs. 29'37 crores to Rs. 31'08 crores and in goods earnings from Rs. 67'33 crores to Rs. 68'66 crores (a figure which exceeds the earnings for the peak year 1928-29) and the highest total receipts since 1929-30 on the Bengal-Nagpur, Bombay, Baroda and Central India and East Indian Railways are revealed in the report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways for the year 1937-38.

The report also gives particulars of the action taken by the authorities to provide for passengers' comfort, to ensure civility on the part of the Railway staff, and to stimulate goods traffic and combat competition by road services.

THE M. S. M. RAILWAY

Encouraged by the success of the North-Western Railway in running a subsidiary road service, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway are proposing to start on a similar venture on a larger scale. A private limited company has been registered for acquiring existing road services and opening new ones. The capital is limited to one lakh of rupees and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway will take 55 per cent of the shares. The Madras Motor Vehicles Act is expected to eliminate uneconomic competition and it is confidently and justifiably expected that the new venture will prove a commercial success.

A RAILWAY ACCIDENT

Yet another regrettable Railway accident is reported. Twenty-five people were killed and 26 injured following a severe collision between the North Bengal Express and the Dacca Mail, both Down trains, at Majdia, 66 miles from Calcutta, on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The accident occurred at about 3-23 on April 17.

As we go to Press, it is learnt that the casualties are much greater than reported and that the disaster is one of the worst of its kind in recent years.

people to develop self-reliance and taking into account the great awakening among the States' peoples as a result of the restraining imposed by the Congress, reiterates the Congress objective as complete independence for the whole of India inclusive of the States, which must have the same measure of political, social and economic freedom with the rest of India. This was a striking departure from the Haripura resolution which declared

that under the existing circumstances the Congress is not in a position to work more effectively to this end within the States, etc., etc. In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the national growth of the freedom movement in the States.

The Tripura resolution (see page 252), on the other hand, contemplates "removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed on itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States people".

Babu Rajendra Prasad, who moved the resolution in the open session, declared that the success of the Haripura policy was apparent in the progress made by the freedom movement in the States since then.

The success of this policy enunciated at Haripura was apparent to-day. Nobody doubted the wisdom and success of this policy. The Congress had always adjusted its policy in accordance with circumstances, and this was true of its policy with regard to Indian States. No policy could be permanent. There was nothing in the Haripura resolution which prevented them from changing their policy. The Haripura policy of non-interference was self-imposed and not dictated by any outside authority.

We may have to change this policy, and, if and when necessity arises, we shall certainly change it.

CORRUPTION

The subject of corruption in the Congress has engaged Gandhiji's attention for some time past. And alike in his articles in the *Harizan* and in his message to the Congress President, Gandhiji had laid stress upon it. The resolution moved by

Sri Prakasa, as finally adopted, reads as follows:-

Inasmuch as experience has shown that the working of the Congress machinery is often rendered difficult by abuse in the method of enrolment of members, elections and otherwise, and inasmuch as it is urgently necessary to remove all such defects, the Congress authorizes the A.I.C.C. to take all steps that may be necessary to attain that end including changes in the constitution.

The Congress directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to investigate and rectify existing membership rolls, and to take all further action with a view to strengthening the organisation and making it conform to the Congress constitution.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The resolution on the position of our countrymen overseas was moved by Mr. Satyamurti in the open session. It ran as follows:-

This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating position of Indians overseas, especially in countries within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations, and extends its sympathy and support to all Indian nationals abroad in their just struggle for the assertion of their legitimate rights, political, civic, and economic.

This Congress notes with particular anxiety the danger to Indian life and property in Burma, hostile attitude towards Indians in Ceylon, the reservation of Kenya Highlands to Europeans to the exclusion of Indians, and the attempt to segregate and pass unjust laws against Indians in South Africa.

This Congress expresses its opinion that only a free and independent India can effectively help its nationals abroad. In the meantime, the Congress calls upon the people of this country to do everything in their power to help the cause of Indians overseas.

Mr. Satyamurthi said:

The treatment of Indians abroad is particularly notorious in the British Commonwealth of Nations. While we are fighting our own independence, we assure our brethren abroad of our full sympathy in their difficulties.

We would remind our people abroad that they should learn the lesson that minorities should adjust themselves to the conditions of the country in which they live.

The next Congress was invited to be held in Behar in December next. President Bose is expected to get into touch with Gandhiji in selecting the personnel of his Working Committee and chalk out a programme for the year.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

BY ALLAMA DR. S. N. A. JAFRI, BAR-AT-LAW

DR. ZAKI Ali has done good service to the world by issuing the above book.* He has divided the book into two parts. The first part contains IX Chapters dealing with the life-sketch of the Prophet, the main principles of Islam, the trend of Islamic laws, the salient features of Islamic polity, and the effect of different civilizations on Islamic institutions. We find in the book a vivid portrait of the early Islam, the glory of which rested in peace, toleration, encouragement of learning and, above all, in centralising the humanity with a view to imbibe a sincere spirit for common brotherhood. The influences of heterogeneous civilizations with which Islam came into contact are also given, from which it is easy to determine how far Islam has drifted from its early path. Innumerable things have crept into the religion, which have changed both the ideology and the general outlook of Islam. If Mohammad (peace be upon him) sees his present followers, surely it will be difficult for him to own even one in one thousand of them and one is, therefore, not surprised when one reads that on the Day of Judgment the Muslims will be seen in a plight in large numbers and when asked as to the reason for this, the Prophet will say: 'O God! my nation has set aside the Quran.' Islam came with the distinct object of removing superstitions but they are rife; to stop idolatry but it is current among the Muslims themselves, sometimes in the worship of graves and sometimes in that of Tazias and Tabuts; to do away with distinctions between man and man, but

* ISLAM IN THE WORLD. By Dr. Zaki Ali; M. Ashraf, Lahore.

all differences in the shapes of classes and castes, which exist among other nations and communities, mostly find place among the Muslims to-day. It preached that in endeavours lay the hand of God, but the Muslims have succumbed to belief in fatalism; no wonder there is stagnation among them. It never countenanced priesthood, nonetheless not only priesthood is eating into its vitals but even the evil of mysticism, which it borrowed from different religions, has affected its fundamentals and has very much closed the door of rational thinking. But for the invaluable work of some of these mystics, the existence of that order in the social and religious polity of Islam must be considered on the whole baneful. A perusal of the above chapter of the book will give a clear idea of the situation.

The author has done well in describing the factors that led to the spread of Islam. This should eliminate the false notion that Islam was spread by sword. The fact is that the rational principles, and the simplicity of Islam, appeal to the people more than the complexity of the Christian and other religions and naturally enough people found in this a mental relief. The civilisation of the world is immensely indebted to Islam. Lebonon's book on "Arab Civilisation" has thrown good light on it. In a small book like this it was impossible to dwell on the various aspects of the contribution of Islam to the world, but the few pages devoted to it are interesting reading.

The author had, generally speaking, made a true survey of the positions of many institutions in Islam, but in some cases his descriptions of them leaves something to be desired. In the case of Caliphate,

for example, he gives two modes of the investiture, namely, election by the Muslim community and nomination by the preceding Caliph; of this the second one is very disputable. Moreover, the full genesis of Caliphate is omitted. It is not the place to discuss this problem here, but it may be mentioned in passing that there has been great misunderstanding about this institution. The Caliphate, as understood commonly, is in effect the temporal and the ecclesiastical headship of the Muslim nation. The Quran, however, does not mention any such institution. According to the Quran, the vicegerency of man on this earth is called the Caliphate.

The author's view about the seclusion of women is in conformity with the precepts and practices of early Islam. To say, however, that Islam borrowed *purdah* from the Byzantine Empire alone is not to say the whole truth. Many other civilizations influenced Islam in this connexion. The *burqa* was taken from the Persians and the *purdah* which exists among the Muslims in India is entirely indigenous and is a relic of the ancient Indian civilization. I have discussed this point a little elaborately in my books "Flashlights on Islam" and "Philosophy of Society in Islam".

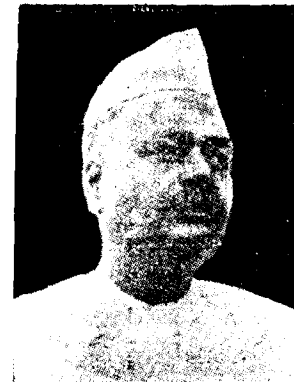
The second part consists of four chapters dealing mainly with such points which have influenced the rejuvenation of Islam. The coming of Mustafa Kemal and Raza Shah Pahlavi on the firmament of Islamic elegance has no doubt been mainly instrumental in the creation of a new spirit in the Islamic world and the author has tried to bring to light that spirit showing its full effect on the present awakening of the Muslims. Mustafa Kemal has been a unique figure in the world. He found his country in a state of degeneration and took upon himself to regenerate it. Religion as preached by Mullas and mystics of his time was the main obstacle in his way. It was not the religion of Mohammad—not the world-wide liberation and light-giving religion of the Quran and the Prophet—but something the purpose of which was to exploit the superstitions of common folk with magic and something which will not let the people come out of the abyss

of orthodoxy and conservatism unseen in early Islam. "Islam, the religion of free thought, the religion which once banished priestly superstition and enslavement of men's mind to other men for ever from the lands to which it came had become priest-ridden." Notwithstanding that, the influences of Mullas and Derveshis were enormous. Undaunted, Mustafa Kemal dealt hard blows to them. The path of nationalism to which Mustafa guided the Turks has been very much misunderstood and the writer also seems to be under some misconception. That path is not opposed to Islam. It is true that Islam is internationalistic in outlook and preaches sympathy with the entire humanity, but that does not mean that it forbids us from showing the same sympathy to our countrymen. Indeed, every principle of Islam indicates that love of one's own country is an essence of religion and the feeling expressed by the Prophet while leaving his home Mecca refutes all contentions to the contrary. He said: "O Mecca, thou art dearest to me but I leave thee, for thy citizens compel me to quit." Those interested in the problems of Palestine and other Arab States are well advised to read the author's discourse on the subject in the book which, though brief, is informative.

The book contains a statistics of Muslim population of the world taken from reliable sources. It is the first genuine attempt of collecting such a useful figure. From this statistics it appears that the total Muslim population of the world approximates to forty crores. A map has also been attached to the beginning of the book, which points to the countries where Muslims inhabit.

Though brief, the book contains all that portrays a true picture of Islam. The method of description is graceful, straight and lucid. The style is not that of a research scholar, but the book is certainly the result of profuse reading and indicates deep grasp of principles and events of Islam. At the end of the book, a very useful bibliography has been given, which will be helpful to the students of Islam and Islamic History.

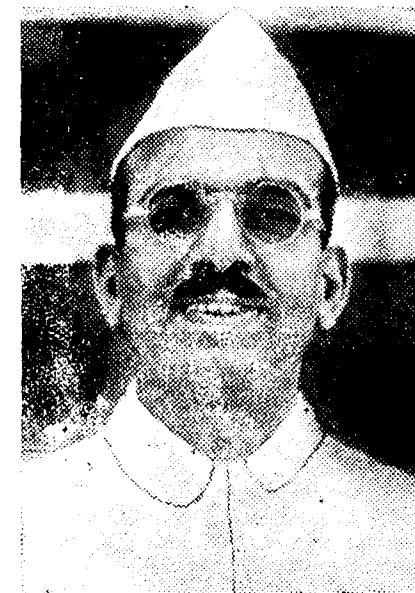
PERSONALITIES IN THE TRIPURI CONGRESS



GOVIND BALLABH PANT



C. RAJAGOPALACHARI



SETH GOVIND DAS, M.L.A.

Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 52nd Session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri (Mahakoshal)



SARDAR VALLABHAI PATEL



Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

By DR. E. ASIRVATHAM

(University of Madras)

COLLECTIVE security means the safety of all by all. It is the application to world politics of the homely truth "Unity is strength".

The machinery of collective security in our day has been provided by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Article X of this Covenant promises security to every member of the League against aggression or threat of aggression. Articles XVI and XVII lay down penalties known as sanctions by means of which the offending State can be brought to its knees. These sanctions are of various kinds, viz., social, economic, financial, diplomatic and military. Article XI gives to each member of the League the friendly right to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance affecting international relations which threatens to disturb peace.

So far as the machinery for international peace is concerned, it would look as though, with the inauguration of the League of Nations, the Dove of Peace had come to take its permanent abode on earth. One could well have rejoiced with the eloquent M. Briand when, with the wave of the hands, he declared in one of the sittings of the League Assembly: "Away with guns! away with cannon," even though one was aware of the fact that at the very time when M. Briand burst into this ecstasy, France was the most heavily-armed power in Europe.

How different from theory have been the facts regarding collective peace and security. The hope that the Great War of 1914-18 was a "war to end war" has proved to be a delusion. After eighteen years during which the League has been in operation, instead of peace there is chaos, and instead of collective security there is collective insecurity. The last eight years have witnessed the worst reverses possible for the reputation of the League of Nations. In 1931, Japan, a Member of the League, invaded Manchuria and after waging an aggressive and altogether unprovoked war upon China, another Member of the League, virtually annexed Manchuria. After considerable delay the League appointed a Commission of

Enquiry known as the Lytton Commission but before its report could be published and any action taken on it, the worst Manchuria had been done. One of the difficulties of collective security has been in promptly naming the aggressor and putting immediate pressure upon him.

For months before the commencement of the Italo-Abyssinian War, Mussolini openly prepared for it. Under the pretext of the Wal Wal incident, he invaded the Abyssinian territory in 1935 and after raining poison gas and liquid fire upon the poorly-equipped Ethiopians, Mussolini annexed their country. Strange as it may seem, all through the war both Italy and Abyssinia were members of the League. Emboldened by their success in 1931-32, the Japanese have been waging a relentless "unofficial" war in China for the last twenty-one months, bombing open cities, slaughtering civilians, and throwing to the winds every vestige of international law and international morality. In 1937, Germany annexed Austria without any serious protest from any quarter.

Events in Central Europe during the last six months have shaken to the core our faith in solemn international agreements and collective security. In September-October 1938, at the point of the sword, Hitler succeeded in annexing the Sudeten districts of Czecho-Slovakia. Although France at the time was committed to the defence of Czecho-Slovakia, she had hesitation in repudiating her obligation. In spite of his plighted word that he had no further schemes of territorial aggrandisement in Europe, Hitler, within the last few days, has deliberately gone back on his promises, belying the simple faith of Mr. Neville Chamberlain that at the Munich Agreement, he was able to secure peace with honour. By means of the threat of a military swoop, Hitler annexed the Czech territory of Bohemia and Moravia as well as Memel in Lithuania and has forced a trade agreement upon Rumania. The policy which he has systematically followed is to precipitate a crisis before anybody is ready for it.

and use the mailed fist rather than the recognised methods of negotiation in securing his object. Hitler seems to believe that nothing is worth acquiring by peaceful negotiation. Threat of force and display of military strength are his favourite methods. After his unconditional ultimatum of forty-eight hours to Lithuania, Germany and Lithuania have undertaken "never to resort to force against each other, nor to support the use of force by a third party against one of the two parties!"

What has Collective Security meant during all these years? It is said that there is honour among thieves, but one wonders whether there is honour among nations. Instead of the world being made safe for Liberty and Democracy, it has been made safe for brigands and aggressors. What has happened to the international guarantee given to truncated Czechoslovakia in September-October 1938, that she would be protected against unprovoked aggression?

In discussions on international peace, it is usual to throw the entire blame upon the disgruntled powers of the world—Japan, Italy and Germany. But the truth is that such satiated powers as Great Britain, France and the U. S. A. are equally to blame. An impartial study of recent history shows that the so-called peace-loving countries of the world have not been passionately following the ideal of peace. As Bernard Shaw rightly says: People are not pacifists in the same burning sense in which they are ratepayers. They are pacifists between wars, like the little boy who claimed that he scrupulously observed fasting between meals. If the besetting sin of the disgruntled powers is acquisitiveness, that of the satiated powers is selfishness. Italy, Japan and Germany, each in turn, gambled for territory and have won their tricks. Smaller powers and weaker nations are now convinced that the greater powers will not come to their rescue out of an altruistic motive. Unless their own interests are touched, the satiated powers are likely to yield to the threats of Dictators, forgetting that iniquity tolerated abroad will soon react upon themselves.

During the last ten years the principle of collective security has either not been applied or applied so ineffectively as to make it a byword. When China was invaded by Japan in 1931, the former applied to the League, but nothing material came of it. No sanctions were applied. During the Italo-Abyssinian War, the implementing of the League provisions was left to England and France, but neither of them was prepared to incur the wrath of Italy, or to take the risk of losing some of their African possessions. At long last when sanctions were applied, they were applied in such a half-hearted and non-provocative manner as to amount to nothing. On the contrary, they infuriated the Italians into making the war even more barbarous than it was before so as to win a speedy victory. No sanction was applied as regards oil, which was one of the most important commodities required in the war. President Roosevelt declared that the American Government would not stand in the way of American businessmen exporting oil to Italy at their own risk. Lastly, the Hoare-Laval proposals knocked the bottom out of the sanctions.

In the face of all this, collective security seems to be a mere academic dream. If it is to succeed at all, nations should cultivate a regard for principles, treaties and pledges. The outworn doctrine of absolute national sovereignty should go and there should be substituted for it the willingness to remove injustice by consultation, deliberation and adjudication. States should become "upholders of decency and justice". Conditions should be so changed that small powers will have confidence in the bigger ones.

But if collective security is an impossible ideal and politically unsound, and a League War, if and when it comes, is likely to be as ruthless as any other war, shall we try the way of Collective Neutrality with its programme of unilateral disarmament, unilateral application of sanctions and non-intervention? Of the way of absolute pacifism? Or the way of non-violent resistance on a nation-wide scale? Will these be regarded as collective suicide or collective salvation? I leave the reader to answer these questions.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

★ The Tata Centenary

It is a hundred years since Jamshedji Tata was born in Navsari and it is fitting that the country should celebrate the memory of one of the greatest figures in the industrial history of India. Three generations of Tatas have with filial piety and devotion built upon the foundation so well and truly laid by the great Parsi pioneer and philanthropist. The result is a network of organisations, which in output and efficiency can rival the enterprise of the most advanced countries of the West. Tata's cotton and steel and chemicals have placed India definitely on the road to rapid industrialisation. And what shall we say of the spirit of constructive philanthropy that has inspired the enterprise of the Tatas? Jamshedji had an abiding faith in the aristocracy of intellect.

It is not so much to prop up its weakest and most helpless members as to lift up the best and the most gifted so as to make them of the greatest service to the country. I prefer this constructive philanthropy which seeks to educate and develop faculties of the best of our young men.

It is in this spirit of constructive philanthropy that he created the Tata scholarships and founded the Tata Institute of Science. And the magnitude of his achievements stands out years after his death. May his tribe increase!

★ Mr. Eose's Presidential Address

Mr. Subhas Bose's address to the Tripuri Congress is the briefest in Congress record. Mr. Bose was too ill to attempt a lengthy address and then circumstances were so indefinite that he had to postpone the writing to the last hour. But even in that brief address, Mr. Bose could not refrain from discarding on his pet ideologies which had little to do

with the realities of the situation. Mr. Bose believes in hurling ultimatums and he gave six months' notice to Britain. Another of his pet notions is that now that England is faced with trouble in Europe, this is just the time when we should make the best of the bargain.

The ultimatum tactics, it must be confessed, savours too much of the Fascist mentality and has been rightly repudiated. Hard words break no bones and the sober elements in the Congress have shown their preference to actual performance rather than to promises and threats.

And what shall one say of a policy that would turn Britain's difficulties into India's opportunity? With what face can we condemn the doings of the Fascist opportunists of Europe while at the same time attempting to ape their manners and morals in our dealings with Britain? It is the very negation of Gandhism. One feels that apart from its being bad morals, it is not even good tactics to repeat this formula.

The Trade Agreement

In another page, the President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, deals exhaustively with the recent trade pact with England and comes to the conclusion that the

Agreement arrived at after nearly two and a half years' negotiations is unfortunately such as cannot satisfy conditions fundamental to the national economy of India.

This view has since been endorsed by the verdict of the Central Assembly, which has rejected the Commerce Member's motion for approval of the Pact. Any agreement with Britain, which would jeopardise our bargaining power with other countries, would be definitely against the best interests of this country.

Viceroy's Address to Princes

The Kenya Highlands

Central India States

CONFERENCE OF SMALL STATES

The establishment of a High Court, with qualified judges for the common administration of justice and the unification of other departments such as Engineering, Public Works and Forest administrations are among the proposals put forward by Mr. K. S. Fitze, the Resident in the Central India States, at the Conference of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand States, which met at Nowgong on March 20. Nearly twenty-five States were represented.

Mr. Fitze, at the opening of the Conference, read out certain recent speeches including those delivered by H. E. the Viceroy in the Chamber of Princes and by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India. He also read a short message from H. E. the Crown Representative, in which the Rulers were asked to give consideration to the Resident's proposals.

Congress and the States

THE TRIPURI RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution on Indian States adopted at the Tripuri Congress:—

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle.

While appreciating that some rulers of States have recognized this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with these people, the Congress regrets that some other rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organizations and all political activity and in some cases resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of the indefinite fast by

Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand, and Sardar Patel as representing the people, on the other.

The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and in co-operation with their people introduce responsible government.

The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura Session of the Congress relating to States has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organize themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lead them with its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to the relaxation or to the complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States' peoples.

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated and which must have the same measure of political, social, and economic freedom as the rest of India.

Mysore

POSTPONEMENT OF PROHIBITION

The Mysore Government, it is understood, have informed the Madras Government that it will not be possible for Mysore immediately to offer co-operation with Madras for ensuring the success of Prohibition in Salem, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts and that such co-operation may be possible only from July 1, 1939.

LOANS TO COFFEE PLANTATIONS

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned the recommendation of the Revenue Commissioner for the continuance of the scheme of granting *takavi* loans to coffee planters till the end of April 1939.

Indian Christians and Nationalism

Presiding over the last Session of the Indian Christian Conference at Madras, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee put in a suggestion to his fellow-Christians not to pin their faith on separate electorates but to merge themselves completely with the general body of Indians. Dr. Mookerjee has now elaborated and emphasised this new policy for the acceptance of his community in a recent speech at Lucknow. He is well aware that his community will thereby lose some advantages reserved to important minorities. But they will be more than offset by the benefits of the new order. He put it admirably in the true Christian spirit of service and humility.

We are looking forward to a united India. The price for this much-prized union will have to be paid and if we choose to pay it, we should not count the cost but set our face steadfastly towards the goal and advance towards it, however great the difficulties and however thorny the way.

And he rightly reminded his audience that "the future of India is a very much more important thing than the rights of any community, large or small".

Gandhiji's Fast

Thanks to the timely intervention of H. E. the Viceroy, a crisis fraught with incalculable consequences has been averted. To the great relief of his countrymen and many friends abroad, Gandhiji was enabled to end a grim fast unto death, which he had undertaken in protest against the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot. Gandhiji held that there had been a breach of faith by the Thakore Sahib who had agreed to the appointment of a committee to recommend reforms in his State, but had objected to some of the names for the committee suggested by Sardar Patel, the negotiator for Congress and the State's people. When the threat of fast was carried into effect, it caused the greatest anxiety in

the country, both on personal and political grounds. It is useless to discuss the ethics of the fast or the propriety of such methods in public life. All that the people from one end of the country to the other were concerned with, was to find a way out of the impasse and save the precious life of the Mahatma. Lord Linlithgow promptly intervened and made an offer to submit the dispute to the Chief Justice of India as arbitrator, and further agreed to use his influence to see that the Thakore Sahib carried out his undertakings. This offer Gandhiji accepted and ended the fast on the fifth day.

Lord Zetland on Paramountcy and the States

Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, could hardly have pitched upon a more appropriate time for clarifying the position of the Paramount Power *vis-a-vis* the States. There are States in India where the level of administration is pretty high, but he added

there were other States where the standard of administration was susceptible to considerable improvement and in his view the time had come when the Paramount Power should intervene a little more actively than it had in the past, not with a view to derogating from the sovereignty of the Princes, but for giving them advice with the object of raising the standard of their administration.

Though we are under a promise to protect the Princes against aggression from without, it is only reasonable that we should see that the legitimate grievances of Their Highnesses' subjects should be carefully considered by them, and where possible, remedy should be applied.

Oddly enough, the speech was made at a Dinner of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce; but the importance of the pronouncement will be realised when we remember that it was the very day on which Mahatma Gandhi decided to fast unto death over the Rajkot issue. It was the Viceroy's happy intervention that relieved the situation.

The European Cauldron

ONCE again Herr Hitler has shown that he cares little for pacts or the plighted word. He has only confirmed the old war time complaint that for Germany treaties are no more than scraps of paper. In twelve months he has become master of Central Europe, defying the Powers and in total disregard of the decencies of public life. The methods of the gangster have succeeded beyond measure and there seems nothing to stop him from further depredations. Austria first, then the Sudetanland and now in a trice we find Czecho-Slovakia first dismembered and then completely swallowed up by the Reich. So swift and ruthless is the action that all Europe and America stand stunned and amazed at its enormity.

The most disillusioned man in Europe is probably the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who had expected the Munich pact to give the much-needed respite to the distracted Continent. In six months the Pact has been torn to shreds and dishonoured.

The partition of Czecho-Slovakia has come quicker than expected; but the efficiency and rapidity with which Herr Hitler seized Moravia and Bohemia came as no surprise. The German formula has been identical in each of her three foreign successes during the last twelve months. First, the ground is thoroughly prepared, then when all arrangements are complete, German troops have merely to take possession of the territory gained by disgusting diplomacy.

Hitler has apparently dropped the pretence of fighting for the protection of his Germanic people and cynically ignored his promise that the Sudetanland was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe. What next?

Surrender of Madrid

With the surrender of Madrid, the major portion of Spain has fallen in rebel hands. Republican Spain has withstood the onslaught unaided for two and a half years, while General Franco helped by Italian legionaries and German arms, has marched on from victory to victory. In this tragedy the League's plan of non-intervention came in very handy. It was this diplomatic triumph of the dictators that paved the way for Franco's military triumph. But now it is all over, and Republican Spain is now at the mercy of the conquerors. For the latest reports confirm the news that other provincial capitals have also capitulated. The work of the soldier is finished. It is time for pacification by statesmanship. Will the new Government be generous to a brave and chivalrous people? Therein lies the hope of a resurgent Spain.

The Italian Demands

In his much-heralded speech on the 20th Anniversary of the Fascist Party, Sgr. Mussolini has chosen to mark time. The Duce has delayed forcing the issues with France by merely reiterating Italy's claims for Tunis, Jibuti and the Suez Canal, but not delivering any ultimatum.

Regarding the Nazi *coup* in Central Europe, Sgr. Mussolini said it was *all* destined to happen. Attempts to bend the Rome-Berlin axis was puerile. As a sort of reply to the British Premier's warning that Britain cannot look on while Europe was being dominated by force, the Duce said that should the longed-for coalition against authoritarian regimes come about, those regimes would surely take up the challenge.

Germany's New Conquests

Germany has profited considerably from her conquest and absorption of Czecho-Slovakia. Apart from the extent of territory and the expansion of her powers in South-eastern Europe, the economic implications of the annexation are far reaching. Britain and France have foolishly allowed the Fuehrer to reap the benefit of a conquest which will go far to strengthen his hands against possible rivals.

The amount of gold seized by Germany is known to be worth about £25,000,000. In addition there are the enormous holdings of foreign exchange by the Government and private enterprises.

Further, the disarmament of the Czech Army means that arms, munitions and equipment for a standing army of 40 divisions become available to Germany with about 1,500 aeroplanes, mainly military craft.

The famous Skoda Armament Works becomes German as do the arms factories at Brno. There are also 44 factories in the country for the manufacture of guns, cannon, tanks and armoured vehicles.

The Fate of Memel

A German note demanding the evacuation of Memel territory within five days was handed to M. Urbahis, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister in an interview with Von Ribbentrop in Berlin on March 21.

A report stated that if Lithuania refused the terms, German troops concentrated on the frontier would march into Lithuania, but if the note is accepted, Lithuania frontiers would be guaranteed and the right of the use of the port conceded.

The Lithuanian Government agreed to the unconditional demand, and Memel has since passed into German hands.

The New Pope

The Papal election and the subsequent coronation in the Vatican City were accompanied by colourful and prolonged ceremonies according to historic traditions. The Italian Cardinal Pacelli, who was Papal Secretary of State to the late Pope, has in his 63rd year become the Chief Pontiff under the title of Pope Pius the Twelfth.

It is very seldom that a Secretary of State is elected Pope. It is felt—and probably rightly—that each new Pope should not be committed to the policy of his predecessor, that he should feel completely free to review the situation with fresh eyes. Nevertheless, Cardinal Pacelli was chosen by his fellow-Cardinals on account of his exceptionally wide diplomatic experience and universal popularity.

The new Pope is a statesman and scholar who, it is hoped, will shed fresh lustre on his glorious position, and his first public utterance indicates that the Papacy at this critical period in Europe will exercise a profound influence for good.

The Peace Front

Negotiations for a Peace Front have been abandoned since Poland is unwilling to commit herself, and she does not see why she should sign a declaration which merely involves a conference if she is attacked. On the other hand, she also dislikes the Russian proposal of a more concrete agreement, that both Britain and Russia would go to war in the event of German aggression. She wishes to preserve her traditional neutrality as between Russia and Germany, and she does not like the idea of a Russian army in Poland.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 1. President Azana, President of the Republican Spain, resigns.
- March 2. Cardinal Pacelli becomes Pope Pius XII.
- March 3. Mahatma Gandhi begins fast in connection with the Rajkot crisis.
- March 4. Three of the Congress Ministries urge Viceroy to intervene in Rajkot dispute.
- March 5. Council of National Defence headed by General Casado replaces the Negrin Government in Madrid.
- Viceroy returns to Delhi.
- March 6. Pandit Jawaharlal, in the absence of Gandhiji, declares open the Khadi Exhibition at Tripuri.
- March 7. Settlement reached on Rajkot crisis through Viceroy's intervention. Gandhij breaks fast.
- March 8. Congress Subjects' Committee discusses Rightists' resolution reaffirming faith in the old Working Committee and Gandhiji's leadership.
- March 9. Lord Halifax defines British attitude to the Franco blockade.
- March 10. The 52nd Indian National Congress meets at Tripuri, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose presiding.
- March 11. Czech-Slovak tension. New Slovak Ministers are sworn in at Prague.
- March 12. Pope Pius XII is crowned at St. Peters.
- March 13. H. E. the Viceroy opens the Session of the Princes' Chamber in New Delhi.
- March 14. Slovak independence is declared. Hitler annexes Czecho-Slovakia.
- March 15. Gandhiji meets the Viceroy at Delhi.
- March 16. Sir James Grigg, Finance Member, is appointed Under-Secretary of State to the British War Office.
- March 17. Mr. Chamberlain expresses surprise and disappointment at Hitler's affront.
- March 18. Soviet refuses to recognise the new German annexations.
- March 19. British Cabinet decides on immediate contact with democratic powers.
- March 20. Gandhiji advises suspension of Jaipur satyagraha.
- March 21. A German note to Lithuania demands evacuation of Memel.
- March 22. Memel passes into German hands.
- M. Lebrun, President of France, and Madame Lebrun visit London.
- March 23. The German-Rumanian Treaty is signed.
- On Gandhiji's advice, Travancore civil disobedience is suspended.
- March 24. Mahatma Gandhi confers with Congress leaders in Allahabad.
- March 25. Capt. the Hon. Arthur Oswald Hope is appointed Governor of Madras in succession to Lord Erskine.
- Viceroy certifies the Finance Bill.
- March 26. Anti-German incidents in Polish corridor.
- Sgr. Mussolini, speaking in Rome, reiterates Italy's claims on France.
- March 27. Travancore Civil Disobedience prisoners are released.
- March 28. Madrid has surrendered Gen. Franco.
- March 29. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy is appointed Adviser to the Secretary of State for India in succession to Sir Abdul Qadir, from July.
- March 30. Franco's troops enter Valencia. All Provincial Capitals declare for the Nationalists.



The WORLD of BOOKS



BECOMING. BY FRANK TOWNSHEND.

George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 6s. net.

This is a short history of evolution, both cosmic and individual, told in cryptic and fast moving sentences almost poetic in quality. The first chapter summarises the various stages in the evolution of life covering a period of about two thousand million years. The most important event in this long process is the emergence of consciousness culminating in the production of man. With man came all the complications of civilisation and corporate living. The second chapter gives a description of present conditions, man's religion and philosophy, science and art, social and political institutions, educational and economic schemes, his successes and failures. We are struck by the richness and variety of life which a general survey thereof reveals. There are differences and yet underlying these there are greater similarities. Everything changes. Nothing goes back to exactly what it was before. The next chapter analyses the Self and its growth, its fears and hopes, the various experiences it has gone through. In the remaining chapters of the book, the laws that govern the universe are reduced and the direction of progress is indicated. The universe is one and is governed by rhythm and informed by polarity. It has continuity and its evolution is irreversible. There is a hierarchy of order in it as also an element of freedom. The universe evolves from within outwards; and it goes along a curved path. In this process of universal becoming, the age to come is that of

urthman. The urthman is one who has attained to conscious unity with the universe. He began to appear in the world three or four thousand years ago in the persons of founders of religions, sages, philosophers, poets and mystics. This shows that the age of the urthman dawns upon the world and the age of man draws to a close. In the concluding passages of this remarkable work, the author appeals for co-operation and unstinted effort on the part of humanity to usher in this era of urth.

We have unqualified praise for this book, which attempts at reconciling modern science with mystic experience and presents a synthesis of universal becoming.

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION. By

Mr. C. J. Varkey, M.A. Published by the Oxford University Press. Rs. 2. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras.)

This book aims at a clear exposition of the Wardha Scheme of Education sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi, and explains its main features. The first portion deals with the genesis of the scheme and its imperative need, due to the failure of the existing system of education to meet the nation's demand.

An honest attempt is made to answer the criticisms levelled against the scheme and the defence would be found in some cases convincing only to the faithful. The book is an authoritative interpretation of the main ideas behind the scheme, and as such would be found useful by the defenders as well as the critics of the scheme.

WHAT NEXT, BABY? OR SHALL I GO TO TANGANYIKA? By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

The play purports to be a satire—and it is a brilliant one—on the present autocratic system that pervades the cinema. The play was produced in October 1938, at the Player's Theatre Club in London a few days after the recent International crisis. Naturally people regarded the play as a political satire and confused the two film autocrats: Miss Amanda and Miss Bianca of the play with two Dictators. The introduction of terms like Prime Minister, Foreign Office, Colonial Office, etc., must have helped to further the confusion. The author in his full and explanatory preface—reminding one of Bernard Shaw's prefaces—assures the reader that it has no political significance. 'What next, Baby?' is a powerful title suggesting the new problems that are arising in Theatrical and Cinematographic affairs. The outstanding feature is the Star system in which the leading woman, or leading man, the former more often than the latter, dominates the film world with the high pressure, dynamic Publicity Agent and the ultra-effective Business Manager.

The reader will follow the lightning changes and chances of the two redoubtable Film Stars, Miss Amanda and Miss Bianca, in their projected conquest of Tanganyika, study the modes and methods of their Publicity Agents, Mason and Johnson, in their handling of Vanderpauwts, Chairman of the British Colonial Film Company of Tanganyika and Washington, McCormick of the Gigantophone Film Corporation of Hollywood and the Foreign Office and the Empire Marketing Board. The play is an arresting treatise on mass psychology.

WEST OF SUEZ. By S. Natarajan. Published by the Indian Social Reformer Limited, Bombay. (To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. Rs. 3.)

There have been books galore on India by Europeans; but books on Europe by Indians have been few and far between. Now, however, more and more Indians undertake the travel out and come back with their reminiscences. And Mr. Natarajan, the son of a famous father, is one such. It is but natural that these impressions should be coloured by the author's own personal prejudices and patterns of life.

Mr. Natarajan has taken with him to Europe some ideas, a little prejudice and a lot of eagerness. He has returned with many of them back, but fortified by a new freedom and a desire for an open mind, which is a rare acquisition.

'West of Suez' is a bold book, in that it is a new departure in travel-writing. The author gives only his own personal reactions in new countries. He has also had a thirst for new discoveries, first-hand information, and if he did not acquire them every time, it is not his fault. His records of Nazi Germany and Coronation London are master-pieces. Though he has a severe matter-of-fact style, he is in places witty too, and that quality saves the book from being dry.

PLAIN PEOPLE. By Kathleen Norris. John Murray.

The book contains thirteen short stories in which the author has merrily treated some types of heroines. An attempt has been made to create some interest in some plain characters in very plain situations.

OUR LADY. BY UPTON SINCLAIR. WERNER LAURIE. 5 sh.

Upton Sinclair in his latest novel—a fantasy—handles a delicate theme—the story of Marya, the mother of Jesus Christ, one of the most shadowy and yet magical characters of history. Marya, an innocent peasant woman of Nazareth and sweet mother is in painful anxiety for the future of her first-born Jeshu, who leaves his home for Jordan to be baptised by John. To know the future of her son, she could not resist an unholy temptation of resorting to a sorceress, who, by her spell, transports her to the future—a civilised world nineteen hundred years ahead. The world with its new religion and bewildering changes is an entire revelation to her.

The story with its weird fantastic setting is a commentary on Christianity and the Church—a parable for the moderns.

RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN CONSTITUTION-MAKING. By B. M. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Literature Palace, Lucknow.

Mr. Sharma's book has come at a time when public attention is of necessity focussed on the States of Europe and the several systems of Government that obtain there. The Great War has left its blazing trail on the States of Europe, with the result they are now governed with different types of machinery. Mr. Sharma has given a study of these contemporary systems. The Democratic Governments of Ireland and of Czechoslovakia are dealt with first. Then he takes up the authoritarian or totalitarian States of Germany, Italy and Russia. Wherever possible comparison to Indian conditions is made, which affords quite an interesting reading not only to the student of Political Science but also to the general reader.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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TARS AND STRIPES. By Maurice Dekobra. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

ANCIENT INDIA, Vol. I & II. From 900 B.C. to 100 A.D. By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L.M. & S. Shashikant & Co., Baroda.

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Central India States

CONFERENCE OF SMALL STATES

The establishment of a High Court, with qualified judges for the common administration of justice and the unification of other departments such as Engineering, Public Works and Forest administrations are among the proposals put forward by Mr. K. S. Fitze, the Resident in the Central India States, at the Conference of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand States, which met at Nowgong on March 20. Nearly twenty-five States were represented.

Mr. Fitze, at the opening of the Conference, read out certain recent speeches including those delivered by H. E. the Viceroy in the Chamber of Princes and by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India. He also read a short message from H. E. the Crown Representative, in which the Rulers were asked to give consideration to the Resident's proposals.

Congress and the States

THE TRIPURI RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution on Indian States adopted at the Tripuri Congress:—

The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle.

While appreciating that some rulers of States have recognized this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with these people, the Congress regrets that some other rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organizations and all political activity and in some cases resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of the indefinite fast by

Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand, and Sardar Patel as representing the people, on the other.

The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and in co-operation with their people introduce responsible government.

The Congress is of opinion that the resolution of the Haripura Session of the Congress relating to States has answered the expectations raised by it and has justified itself by encouraging the peoples of the States to organize themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by circumstances and by a recognition of the limitations inherent in the circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lead them with its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to the relaxation or to the complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States' peoples.

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective, complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated and which must have the same measure of political, social, and economic freedom as the rest of India.

Mysore

POSTPONEMENT OF PROHIBITION

The Mysore Government, it is understood, have informed the Madras Government that it will not be possible for Mysore immediately to offer co-operation with Madras for ensuring the success of Prohibition in Salem, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts and that such co-operation may be possible only from July 1, 1939.

LOANS TO COFFEE PLANTATIONS

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned the recommendation of the Revenue Commissioner for the continuance of the scheme of granting *takavi* loans to coffee planters till the end of April 1939.

Hyderabad

Dr. SAPRU AND HYDERABAD

In an interview to a Press representative at Secunderabad, the Rt. Hon. Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who delivered the Convocation Address to the Osmania University, said:

You are fortunate in having such men of imagination as the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari and Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur at the helm of affairs in your State to steer clear of bitterness and trouble. I have every hope of a satisfactory solution of the problems in the State under the able guidance of these statesmen.

Sir Tej Bahadur deplored the irresponsible propaganda carried on by a section of communalists, creating disharmony and strife. As one who had a personal knowledge of the State for over two decades, he could safely assert that at least 70 per cent. of the criticisms were absolutely unfounded.

He had made personal inquiries about the educational policy of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government and he was convinced that the Vernacular medium of instruction was accepted by the Government up to the high school stage. He stressed the need for healthy criticism based on facts.

Referring to Hindustani, he expressed surprise at certain section of the people preferring English to Hindustani, and he was confident that Hindustani could easily take its rightful place in India.

HYDERABAD REGULATIONS

The Government in the Constitutional Affairs Department have issued the following *Communique*:—

The several draft regulations and notifications dealing with the Legislative Council and with the expansion or establishment of different bodies in connexion with Local Self-Government as well as the Press and public meetings are now complete and are under expert scrutiny from the point of view of legal draftsmanship. They are expected to be submitted to the Executive Council for final consideration by the middle of April.

Baroda

THE GAEKWAR'S PROCLAMATION

Some of the more enlightened States are proving that they are not indifferent to the wishes of their people for a larger share in the processes of Government.

His Highness Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar, Maharaja of Baroda, in a Proclamation announced the creation of an enlarged Dhara Sabha (Legislative Council).

The new constitution will emphasise once more the complete identity of interest between the Ruler and the ruled and among all sections of the population, and it is my earnest hope that it will advance the material and moral condition of my people, including those on whom age-old customs have imposed disabilities.

His Highness next said that he had decided to set apart from his private funds the sum of one crore of rupees to perpetuate the memory of the late Maharaja.

It is my desire that all classes and communities in the State without exception should receive the benefit of this Trust, and I am having a comprehensive scheme prepared, calculated to secure this result.

Thus will generations to come be reminded of a Ruler who dedicated his life to his people and who chose service as the highest ideal in precept and in practice.

WELLS FOR IRRIGATION

The Baroda Government have launched as an experimental measure in a few selected villages in the Mehsana District a scheme which will make it possible even for the poorer agriculturist, who cannot offer adequate security for *takavi* loans, to have the benefit of irrigation from wells. All the Khatedar has to do is to provide the site for the well and the necessary manual labour and the necessary funds will be provided by Government. In return for the money invested by the Government, the farmers will pay a water cess of Re. 1 per bigha. This only so long as the Khatedar gets sufficient money to pay Government the cost of building the well.

Travancore

THE DEWAN'S WARNING

"In a resolution passed at Tripuri, the Congress has stated that the Haripura idea has served its turn and that it may become necessary for the Congress to interfere actively in the States. At least in this State I can say this much, that no outside interference of any sort will be tolerated. That should be clearly understood," said Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer at the Police Presentation Parade held in Trivandrum. The Dewan added:

The Indian National Congress is to-day and has been recently a battle-ground for control of party finances and party power, and it comes to Travancore preaching a policy of independence and interference in States and asks us to reform ourselves politically. I would tell the Congress: 'physician, heal thyself.'

In a spirited rejoinder to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's challenge to the Indian National Congress to interfere in the Travancore State affairs by supporting the movement for Responsible Government in the State, Gandhiji says:

The effort to ignore the Congress and Congress workers and to prevent its natural influence working in the States is like that of a child who, by the little palm of his right hand, tries to stop an on rushing flood.

Gandhiji proceeds:

This attempt to stifle the legitimate aspirations of the people of the States surely sows seeds of bitterness on the one hand between the people of the States and their Princes to whom they want to be loyal and, on the other, between the Princes and the Congress which wants to help them if it is allowed to do so.

Aundh

REFORMS IN AUNDH

It was a historic occasion for the small State of Aundh in Maharashtra, when its progressive Ruler inaugurated the New Constitution for the State, granting Responsible Government to the people. Mr. B. G. Kher, Bombay's Premier and other Maharashtra Congress leaders, who were present on the occasion, paid a fitting tribute to the liberal-minded Ruler.

Gwalior

NEW REVENUE MEMBER

We welcome the appointment of Rajamantrapraveena S. P. Rajagopalachariar, retired First Member of the Mysore Executive



MR. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Council, as Revenue Minister of Gwalior-State for two years.

Mr. Rajagopalachari entered the Mysore service in 1908 as Assistant Commissioner and later served in important positions in succession. In 1931, he was appointed Officiating Second Member of Council and, in 1935, he became the First Member. He also officiated as Dewan.

He thus brings to his new office rich and varied experience of administration in a progressive South Indian State, which must prove invaluable to Gwalior.

Kashmir

NEW KASHMIR ASSEMBLY

In accordance with the Proclamation of February 11, granting a further measure of constitutional reforms, His Highness has promulgated a fresh Regulation whereby the term of the State Councillors will expire on August 15, 1939, and with effect from the commencement of the next Srinagar Session of the State Assembly, there would be, in place of the sixteen State Councillors, the same number of additional members, out of whom nine would be nominated by His Highness and seven would be elected.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

SEGREGATION PLAN

A new proposal has been made by the Minister of the Interior, granting to Europeans the right of preventing Indian residents from occupying houses within suburban areas, wherever a clear majority of European residents demands it.

The papers point out that such a majority in a suburban area may be obtained by all manner of doubtful means, and yet it is to have all the force of Law as far as Indians are concerned,

No greater injustice could be done to Indians than to take away citizen rights in this manner. If such an Enabling Bill is passed and becomes an Act of Parliament, it will introduce the spirit of racialism throughout the whole country in its worst form.

It will also in the long run, they maintain, create an altogether unjust and unnatural separation of the two races, excluding them more and more from daily human intercourse. It will place upon the Indian community the brand of an inferior race.

The Executive of the South African Indian Congress regard the matter as one of life and death. They have sent Swami Bhawani Dayal, President of the Natal Indian Congress, to India in order that he may have the fullest opportunity of explaining the gravity of the situation.

"If any such Law is passed," the Executive declares, "then all that has been struggled for so continuously by repeated Indian efforts for nearly half a century may be lost at a single stroke."

Swami Bhawani Dayal, who has since arrived in India, suggests that a deputation

from the Government of India should immediately proceed to South Africa without waiting for any formal invitation from the Union Government, and that a third Round Table Conference should be called forthwith to settle the question of the



SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI

proposed segregation scheme. In the course of a statement, Swami Dayal says that the scheme was not only a deep affront to the sentiments of an ancient and civilized nation, but a clear breach of the Capetown Agreement.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Among the resolutions forwarded by the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Madras, for the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers is one requesting the Central Government to send a Commission of Indians to inquire into and report on the position of Indians in Burma, to appoint a leading non-official as the Indian Agent in Burma, and to secure adequate compensation for victims of the riots.

Malaya

CONTROL OF EMIGRATION

The root of the trouble, observed Pandit Kunzru in a recent interview with the Press, is the excessive emigration to Malaya that took place three or four years ago. This inevitably weakened the position of labour and made the planters masters of the situation.

It is obvious from this that it is absolutely necessary in the interest of labour that emigration from India should be carefully controlled. This cannot be done so long as officers of another Government are allowed to recruit labour from India or stimulate its emigration. It is essential, therefore, in my opinion that the Government of India should end the present system as soon as possible and make themselves locally responsible for the regulation of emigration. This observation applies not only to Malaya but also to Ceylon. I have no doubt that the Indian labourers would be happier and the Government of India would be more respected if emigration were controlled by their own officers and not by external agencies.

Abyssinia

INDIANS IN ABYSSINIA

"Indians are treated in this way by the British in other parts of Africa. Why then should they complain?" This is said to be the attitude of Italians towards Indians in Abyssinia, following the example set by the British in their African territories. Indians cannot live in same hotels or ride in the same cars, says the correspondent of the *National Herald* and adds:

"They are now making them use certain parts of the road only. Soon they will not be allowed to own land in the city of Addis Ababa."

The Indians, he adds, have formed some sort of an organisation which will be tolerated only so long as they do not prove troublesome. They have petitioned and the Italian reply is an effective one. The Fascists say that Indians are treated in this way by the British in other parts of Africa. Why then should they complain?

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The charge that Indians in Ceylon, who were nationalists in India, were reactionaries in Ceylon was refuted by Mr. R. Rauf Pasha presiding over the annual general meeting of the Indian Young Men's Association held at Kandy.

Mr. Rauf Pasha declared that Indians as a community were never behind any other community in demanding dominion status for Ceylon. He recalled that every section of the Indian community in Ceylon responded to the invitation of the Liberal League in 1931, when a demand for Dominion Status was unanimously made at the All-Parties Conference.

Mr. Rauf Pasha urged the formation of a central organisation for all Indians in Ceylon which would work for the common welfare of the community.

America

INDIANS IN AMERICA

The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, met Mr. J. J. Singh President, India Chamber of Commerce America, recently.

Sir A. R. Dalal presiding, Mr. Singh explained the desirability of having an Indo-American trade treaty, in the absence of which merchants going to the United States of America have to experience considerable difficulties, particularly in regard to their stay. He pointed out that in spite of the immigration laws, the nationals of Japan, China, and Siam had been able to overcome the difficulties as a result of trade treaties with America, but Indians were still handicapped by those difficulties. He urged Indian commercial and public opinion to move for the conclusion of a trade treaty with America at an early date.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



BRITAIN AND REARMAMENT

W. Ivor Jennings, writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, doubts whether the statement that democracies act less quickly than dictatorships and are at a disadvantage in a time of crisis, is correct in its applicability to the British Constitution. The events of 1911 showed that the British Cabinet could make a war as easily and as quickly as any dictatorship and could be moulded rapidly to meet any changing conditions. The fact that the Cabinet has to justify itself in Parliament is no limitation on the speed of its operations; it is rather a limitation of policies being adopted that public opinion will not accept. Once Government accepted the policy of rearmament, and Government and people accepted a common policy, the speed of action has been strictly commensurate with the apparent urgency. Parliament has been no check upon it; it has been a spur to greater rapidity; it has forced changes in the two Ministries of War and Air, and has compelled Government to undertake reorganisation in the most criticised of the departments—the Air Ministry.

When policy becomes dominated by rearmament and the possibility of another European War, as was recently the case, the Committee of Imperial Defence becomes a major instrument of Government; it is the appropriate body for taking decisions on carefully prepared proposals prepared in collaboration by War Office, the Air Ministry, the Admiralty, and the Home Office charged with the function of

preparing air raid precautions after consultation with the Treasury. The general co-ordination of Government supplies in peace-time is a problem quite distinct from the preparation for the next War. The Committee of Imperial Defence is not a Committee of the Cabinet, but is technically a Committee appointed by the Premier to advise him, and its membership is more or less flexible, and it is primarily a Co-ordinating Committee. Recent British experience has shown that neither War nor preparation for War can be left in the hands of the technical experts. The recent changes in the Air Ministry have been in the direction of strengthening the civil element in the administration. The British Cabinet refused to accept the creation of a common Ministry of Defence, but appointed instead a Minister for the co-ordination of Defence. This Minister has no office but presides over the Committee of Imperial Defence in the absence of the Prime Minister and also similarly over the Committee of the Chiefs of Staff, which is concerned with tactics generally, and send their recommendations to the former Committee. This Minister is not expected to take part in the formulation of plans, but to see that plans are formulated. To assist him and the Premier there was created a unified office under the title "Offices of the Cabinet, Committee of Imperial Defence, Economic Advisory Council, and Minister for the co-ordination of Defence" and its permanent head is styled "Permanent Secretary and Secretary of the Cabinet".

INDIA AND DEMOCRACY

Dictatorship cannot be an ultimate political ideal for any people, says Prof. N. Srinivasan in the course of an article in the current issue of the *New Review*. He says:

The cry for a dictatorship is dangerous and must not let ourselves be deluded by it. Whenever things appear to go wrong, mankind always resorted to the strong man, to a Caesar, Cromwell, or Napoleon in the past or a Hitler or Mussolini at present. But dictatorship has always been a temporary phenomenon in history. Whatever may be the uses of dictatorship, as we see it in contemporary Europe, it cannot be an ultimate political ideal for any people.

The momentary successes of dictatorships should blind us to its inherent weaknesses, its abasement and its quackery, its war-mongering and violence, its misery and its degradation and ephemeral character.

Democracy, though a very slow process, is the only way that will give a full and free life for the victim of ages of exploitation of the worker and the peasant.

A certain homogeneity in the people, Prof. Srinivasan points out, is the first requisite of a successful democracy. An organic unity is essential, which necessarily depends upon a common language, a spirit of tolerance and a common political organisation. For the organisation of the masses, education should be free, compulsory, and non-denominational. The eradication of the illiteracy of the masses is an urgent thing.

For a political struggle, Prof. Srinivasan points out the only method—the method of Gandhiji.

It has a humaneness about it that recommends it as the best means for us. It assures a permanence of results. It is also the method dictated by our circumstances. Finally, it has a fundamental unity with the method of democracy, based on its dependence on reason and persuasion. Even if it is more difficult than alternative courses, non-violence must be our method as it may mean the success or failure of our democratic experiment.

KESHAB CHANDRA SEN

Within three years of the death of Ram Mohan Roy, there are born three great sons of India—Ramakrishna, Bankim and Keshab—who, says Dr. S. K. Maitra in the *Vedanta Kesari*, each in his own way supplied the necessary corrective to the work of Ram Mohan.

Bankim revealed the soul of India through his wonderful literary creations, Keshab and Ramakrishna did it through their gospel of love and universal brotherhood of man. There was another link which connected these three great souls. They all stemmed the growing tide of irreverence and irreligion which had set in ever since Ram Mohan gave his verdict in favour of Western education. The immediate effect of the introduction of Western education was a tremendous growth of the spirit of unbelief and scepticism and it was one of the greatest services which one of them rendered to their motherland that they checked the growth of that spirit. But there was still another link that joined these greatest souls—Bankim's genius created not only new models of literary art but it achieved something which was even more remarkable, namely, an ideal of love for one's country as embodied in his immortal sonnet *Vande Mataram* and his novel *Ananda Math*. Keshab's gospel of universal love differed only from Bankim's ideal of love in this, that it was not confined to his country but embraced the whole of mankind. Bankim saw the vision of his Mother in his country, Keshab saw it in the picture of mankind. Here we see the touch of Ramakrishna, under whose influence Keshab can very much during the last years of his life. It is indeed remarkable that from the year 1881 onwards, when Keshab used to spend much of his time in the company of Ramakrishna, it was this vision of the Mother which symbolised for him his ideal of love that was uppermost in his mind.

Indeed, if we glance at the history of the religious movement in India from Ram Mohan Roy to the end of the last century, we find these three main currents running through it. The first current gives us a religion of knowledge as in Ram Mohan and Dayanand Saraswati; the second the religion of love as in Keshab Chandra Sen; and the third the fulfilment of knowledge and love in service as in Sri Rama Krishna Paramahansa.

MINORITIES IN THE LEGISLATURE

The minority forms as much part of the parliamentary machinery as the majority, for the parliamentary government, though a government by a majority is not for a majority only. The protection of minorities is, therefore, a kind of fundamental law of parliamentary constitutions. Dewan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Rao's article on the subject in the March number of the *New Review* is an important survey of the rights and protection of minorities in the Legislature. He writes:

The basis of the principle underlying rule by a majority is to be sought in the theory that all the parties in a community have expressly or implicitly consented to such rule. If a minority has consented to be ruled by the decisions of a majority, it is because it has the satisfaction of having had a share in the deliberations resulting in those decisions. Where a minority denies the right of a majority to decide for it, it is obvious that there is an end of parliamentary government. Here can then be only government by force. Likewise, where a majority denies the right of a minority to express its views and influence the decisions of the majority, there is no parliamentary government; there can be only rule by force.

So as to safeguard the rights of minorities, all parliamentary constitutions impose checks upon arbitrary or hasty action by a majority.

They contain restraints imposed upon a majority by all the parties in the States to secure sober action and respect for the rights of minorities.

Unless the rights of the minority are protected, the proposals of the party in power cannot be subjected to critical examination and submitted to the electorate for decision; arbitrary action and abuse of power cannot be prevented.

After dealing with the relevant technical rules for conduct of business in the legislative chamber, the author continues:

There is nothing that a Government dislikes so much as exposure and unpopularity, yet the smallest opposition can, by placing before the country what they consider to be the inequities and shortcomings of the Government, not only educate the

electorate but also directly affect ministerial policy. As Herbert says in his *"Parliament"*, the arguments and attitude of minorities and individual members are factors of the greatest importance in determining the action of the Government. The giving up of the *bandemataram* song in the Madras Assembly is a proof of the power exercised by a minority.

The acknowledged custodian of the rights of minorities in the House is the presiding officer; it is in his hands that almost all the powers that are intended for their protection are vested. It can be asserted that both tradition and the strength of public opinion make it almost inconceivable that any Speaker can misuse his powers to the detriment of a minority, which means not merely the Opposition but even groups and individuals. For while the Opposition may oppose and even strenuously oppose, it is hazardous to give narrower limits to a smaller group or to an individual; for it is precisely in cases where a small group or an individual dissents and its or his conviction is strong, that the best instances of unrelenting opposition can be expected.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

Recalling the ideal of the future of India cherished by Swami Vivekananda, Dr. Taraknath Das, writing in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, points out that

it is impossible for any one to be a follower of Swami Vivekananda and not to cherish patriotism—a very high type of patriotism which Indian politicians should consider deeply for their political salvation. Swamiji once spoke of patriotism in the following words:

"I believe in patriotism and I also have my own ideal of patriotism. Three things are necessary for great achievements: First, feel from the heart. Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and sages have become next door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving to-day and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a cloud? Does it make you restless?"

The new awakening—how could it be achieved?

Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done that? That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step.

In fine, the writer draws attention to the fact that:

This is the type of patriotism that will bring about true awakening of India. This type of patriotism cannot but be rare, as qualities of true leadership are rooted in the spiritual life of a leader, who can become selfless for the promotion of a cause which will bring true freedom for many.

PAN-ARABISM

"Pan-Arabism and World Politics To-day" is the subject of an article by Mr. Asit Mukherji, Editor of *Bishan and New Mercury*, in *New Asia*, a quarterly journal hailing from Calcutta. The word 'Arab' is usually used as a rather loose and general term, classifying the Egyptians, Iranis, Syrians, and Hedjazis all as Arabs. All the people in the countries mentioned speak the Arab language and feel Arab unity. An Egyptian from Cairo will understand a Syrian from Aleppo. The way of life, the religious traditions and mental attitudes of all the Arab peoples are similar.

Any movement aiming at uniting all the Arabic-speaking peoples does not, therefore, lack ambition. And indeed, some of the Pan-Arab leaders are thinking in terms of just such a Greater Arabia extending from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The Pan-Arab movement reduced to its essence is a nationalist agitation, and it appears to be gaining momentum. One important phase of this movement is the armed conflict between Arabs and the British in Palestine, and the British are increasingly aware that it threatens to affect, among other things, their primary imperial interest—the route to India. The truth of this was recognised by the British Royal Commission on Palestine, which admitted that the problem of Palestine is the problem of insurgent nationalism. For that matter, the Pan-Arab leaders appeal for even wider support—that of the 250,000,000 Moslems throughout the world—less than a fifth of whom speak Arabic. This has been one of the most effective tactics employed by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

The writer says that the uprise of a powerful Arab State would have serious repercussions on European power-politics.

For England to allow such a state to come under the political sway of another power—say Italy or Germany—would be fatal to her imperial connections and to those of France. If Nazi Germany should succeed in fulfilling the pre-war Berlin to Baghdad dream of the Pan-Germans or if Fascist Italy should find, in spite of the present assertions that she is satiated, that to protect her holdings in Libya and Ethiopia she must expand them, the question would become still more involved.

These important considerations make clear not only the strategic importance Greater Arabia would inevitably possess, but the reasons which the Great Powers may have for not looking upon Arab unity with unmixed joy.

SOCIETY AND LITERATURE

Estelle H. Ries, writing on Society and Literature in the February issue of the *Aryan Path*, makes a deep study of the social responsibility of the writer, the most important but strangely neglected of subjects with which writers are concerned. The prostitution of art causes decadent conditions in art and life. He says:

Literature used to be an art. To-day it is an industry. People depend upon it for a living. That means they are swayed by the profit motive. They must write what will sell. Since those who can buy their wares are those with financial power; these latter are the ones who determine the writer's subject and policy.

Thus, on the order of the promoter, the writer, subtly playing upon human nature by publicity, advertising, fiction and other forms of writing, moulds public taste and opinion to any end, whether desirable or not. That it be soundly premised honest, wholesome, true, is no prerequisite. Writing is used as effectively to praise something inferior as something good. Appeals are made to every human frailty: fear, ambition, financial aggrandizement, vanity, sex instinct, imitativeness, envy—and special techniques evolved for each.

Writing cannot continue as merely a business, the author asserts, but it must become truly a profession with the implication of service which it carries. Considering the potent influence of the writer on the reading public, he should be licensed before being permitted to poison the minds of trusting readers.

Qualifications for professional writer's licenses should include an ethical and constructive attitude toward human relations, an educational awareness and a social conscience with, of course, knowledge of the business of writing from its technical form or literary skill standpoints. Even a hippocratic oath could justify itself.

Writers are at the head and crux of national, mental and emotional health. Readers and writers alike should enter into a sort of voluntary self-censorship and should be proud to produce and encourage good literary material that builds lives of peace, use, and good taste.

INDIAN PRINCES

A writer in the *Time and Tide* examines the ferment in the Indian States and points out that there are in fact two movements in India in partial conflict with each other.

As regards the Princes, India's political framework was built in twenty years, 1799-1819, the two decades which opened with the storming of Seringapatam and the death of Tipu Sultan and closed with the dismissal of the Peshwa, the nominal head of the Maratha confederacy hardly ever more than a semi-confederacy. Congress has usually left the Princes alone as a problem not yet ripe for settlement. But the sun of Munich like that of Asterlitz is a sun that ripens fast, and a whole wilderness of questions has been reopened. There is a world-wide conviction that now is the accepted time to put pressure on a Government that has given way all along the line, from Shanghai to Bilbao. Ulster and the Irish Free State is one example of a question which the people of this island hoped might sleep indefinitely, which is now raised with the reinforcement of terrorist acts in England. The position and powers of the Indian Princes is another. The people of the States and the people of British India have ceased to be tolerant of a political status substantially unchanged for 120 years, and the Princes are going to find themselves in a difficult position. If Federation is ever to be a reality, the Indian States will have to contribute towards it by a sweeping extension of political rights to their subjects. The National Congress from now on is not going to let this question sleep.

The second thing that is happening in India is this. The two outstanding personalities in its politics, Gandhi and Nehru, are both men, says the writer, with whom a genuinely democratic country could have formerly and even recently made a settlement.

Gandhi is far from revolutionary, and his main interest is in lifting the masses out of a helplessness in which they can be exploited. Nehru's interest in achieving this is not less, but Nehru is also an internationalist as much as he is a nationalist. He is aware at every minute that the cause of the ordinary man and woman is one the world over, and that India cannot win

or keep freedom if freedom is extinguished in the Far East or in Europe. Many Indians who realize this strongly wavered at the time of the September crisis. If war had come as a result of France and Britain standing by a democratic nation in Central Europe, India would have remained quiet, at least as quiet as she was in the Great War, when the cause of Belgium deeply stirred opinion there. But now, after the subjugation of Czecho-Slovakia and the capture of Catalonia, if war comes over Tunis or Tanganyika we shall be confronted with an India where opinion is disillusioned in the extreme and looks on our "democracy" as so much facade of phrasing put up with intent to deceive, particularly at election times or when we need to coax other parts of the Empire to support these islands.

In consequence, the extremist and more fiercely nationalist elements in Congress are coming into their day, especially in Bengal.

We may be at the beginning of a return to passions and violence that we hoped had been left behind. Unfortunately, this country's Government is not one to restore faith in our democracy, and to persuade Indian opinion that the last few years have been merely a phase and do not really represent the British people and their idea of the Empire and its aims and purpose.

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NON-VIOLENCE THE BEST POLICY

In the special annual number of the *Hindustan Times* issued on the occasion of the 52nd Session of the Indian National Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad puts forth a strong plea for sustained faith in non-violence as the best policy for India.

The British Empire like being in the process of breaking up. There does not appear to be any chance of English statesmen ever realizing that a free India can be their best and most powerful ally. They still have their faith unimpaired in keeping India under them by the power of their sword.

With Europe ousting England from her position of vantage and supremacy, which she has held for more than a century in the politics of the world, with Japan flushed with victory in China and almost knocking at the north-east frontier of India, how can England defend her Empire in India without the help and co-operation of Indians?

And what help can India give even if she is willing to do so? How is India to be defended, and by whom, against an aggressor? To-day there is a snug feeling that the British Army and Navy will do it.

They are becoming less and less effective with the loss or undermining of the strategic points which the British have held.

We have no army or navy of our own, nor is it possible to create one overnight. It requires training and experience and, above all, limitless money to build these up.

We have not yet made a beginning, nor is there any chance of our being able to do so, so long as British rule is what it is in this country. The other question, therefore, arises: Is our independence worth a single day's purchase even if it can be achieved?

There is only one way out of this difficulty and muddle. I believe it is possible to achieve independence with non-violence, and it is equally possible to retain it with non-violence. We have been trying experiments in it during the last eighteen years, and if one judges from results achieved, one's faith in its efficacy must be strengthened.

And yet non-violence is being pooh-poohed and held up to ridicule. A distinction and contrast is sought to be created between the objective of independence and the method of non-violence and

"the poser is put whether we should sacrifice the former for the latter."

It is forgotten, or not realized, that even as a proposition in practical politics, it is not possible in the present conditions of the India of to-day to achieve the one without the other.

If non-violence is an effective weapon for us, it is also the only weapon available to us to-day, and it must be accepted not only because it is the best for us but also because we have no other.

If not a burning faith, a sense of helplessness ought to convince us that non-violence in Indian politics, like honesty in business, is the best policy. Can we continue to undermine its foundations and still hope to use it with success?

THE PERFECT MAN

The idea of the perfect man is the hidden source of inspiration for all religions. Sri Ramakrishna's recorded sayings throw a light on the general considerations about the signs of a perfect man in the March number of the *Vedanta Kesari*.

Unselfishness, purity and righteousness precede the advent of the Lord in the human heart just as the glow of dawn precedes the rising of the sun. The perfect man is free from all sectarianism and narrow love of groups and communities. He has no fears and worries from the thought of what might happen to his body; for just as in a dry nut, his inner essence has separated itself from the body and the ego. That is why one like Jesus could pray calmly for the good of his enemies even when nails were being driven through his body. He can never be affected by lust and greed even if he has perchance to live in the midst of evil associations.

He rises above the relative ideas of good and bad entertained by men ordinarily. Not that he becomes immoral; in fact his work alone becomes the standard of morality for men and results in real good to the world at large. But from the transcendent height of holiness he has reached, all our worldly values appear trivial to him. When we are on the plains we say how small the grass is and how big the tree. But when we look down from the summit of a high peak, the grass and trees lose their dissimilarities and become one indistinguishable mass of green verdure. So insignificant are all the worldly distinctions of good and bad, of high and low, of friend and foe to the eyes of him who has risen to the dizzy height of God vision.

In a perfect man there is no ego. It has been burnt in the fire of God-realisation. What remains is only a semblance of it, like the rope when it is burnt. He is poised in perfect self-surrender, and whatever work is performed through his person is a spontaneous outflow of the Divine Will with which his ego is identified.

SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG

The speeches and judgments collected in this volume^{*} bear testimony to the public spirit, sense of justice and zeal for law reform for which Sir Douglas Young has become famous in this country. After serving a notable term as a puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court, Sir Douglas was selected to succeed Sir Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Punjab. From the very start, Sir Douglas set himself to the task of discovering and removing the abuses of the legal system. Corruption in Courts, law's delays, perjury of witnesses and, above all, that sense of fatalism which made people endure evils without resisting and overcoming them were the factors against which the Chief Justice had to contend. He investigated the causes and ramifications of these long standing evils with infinite patience and combated them with sincere resoluteness. More than these, he created the necessary atmosphere of sympathy with his objective and efforts and the enthusiasm for speedy and unerring justice which he infused among the members of the Bar, the judiciary and the ministerial staffs of Courts earned for him the unstinted admiration of the community. We refer our readers in particular to the note circulated by him in which he analysed the causes and suggested the remedies for meeting the situation which is printed at page 28 of this volume. His judgments are characterised by lucidity and learning.

In public life, Sir Douglas Young displayed the same keenness and sense of fairness. He realised the value of

^{*} FOR NECESSARY ACTION: Speeches and Judgments of Sir Douglas. Edited by Shri Ram and Kulkarni. Published by the Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore.

training the youth of the country along right lines: of dissolving communal antipathies in a common patriotism and of absorbing the energies of the youth in the service of the country. He found the Boy Scout Movement an extremely potent means of elevating the tone and temper of the young and the adolescent. The sentiments to which he gave eloquent and felicitous expression in these pages are unexceptionable. To love this country and to serve her people without distinction of caste or class, to shed the lethargy of ages and to be vigorous in a purposeful life, to fight corruption and to be brave was his great message.

India owes much to selfless and intrepid Englishmen like Sir Douglas Young, who hold up such high ideals before the youth of the country and enforce them by such exemplary personal life. We are sure that this book will enjoy a wide circulation and that Sir Douglas Young will receive the recognition that is due to one who served this country with such single-minded devotion.

HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW

"The Hindu conception of the divine origin of kings was very different from the mediæval theory of the Divine Right of Kings prevalent in Western countries," writes Justice Sir S. Varadachariar in *Immortal Message* and proceeds:

"The Hindu concept never placed the king above law in the sense in which the Divine Right theory did. It was never the Hindu theory that the king could change the law as he pleased. He was merely expected to enforce law. This accounted for the great difficulty that lawyers felt in changing Hindu law."

THE INDIAN FARMER

Mr. Mason Vaugh, of the Naini Agricultural Institute, contributes an article under the above caption to the March number of the *Twentieth Century*. Mr. Vaugh opposes the efforts to build up cottage industries for the farmers during the time when they are not busy. He says:

The suggestion has been made that small factories be established in which cultivator could work during the slack seasons, the factories shutting down or being run at much less active standard during the seasons when there was field work. The factory working intermittently is at a disadvantage, because interest on investment and to some extent depreciation as well as maintenance must go on whether the factory works or not. . . .

The problem of the farmer's spare time can be tackled in other and to my mind better ways. It is far better to make the farmer a full time worker in his own job than to try to arrange for him to have two different jobs. I believe it is possible to spread the farmer's work over a much longer time by the adoption of better implements. Ploughing in the hot weather relieves the rush to sow when the rains do come as well as securing other benefits. The introduction of better irrigation facilities will make possible the growing of crops during the hot weather as well as during the other seasons. Diversification of crops and the keeping of animals such as really producing dairy cows and chickens will give a longer agriculture year for the farmer in his own job and for more profit than any handicraft he can take up as a spare time occupation. Most of these changes can be made only as the farmer can get the requisite equipment for the work.

Cottage industries are decaying, says the writer, because something more effective is coming into use. Seasonal manufacturing of products for sale is uneconomical in factories and not the best way to utilise the time and ability of the farmer. For the farmer's time can wholly be utilised for the land by giving him better equipment and methods for his main job, that of farming

JEWS IN JAMAICA

Even the Jews, who have a strong hold on the island of Jamaica, says a writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, were deliberately imported for an interesting reason:

Jamaica became British largely by accident, for Admirals Penn and Venables, sent by Cromwell to seize the great island of Hispaniola now known as Haiti and San Domingo failed to take this, and fearing to return empty handed, went on and seized Jamaica instead. They hoped that their failure might thereby be condoned, but Cromwell punished them none the less though he kept the windfall.

In 1657, the then Governor of the island wrote to Cromwell telling him that shopkeepers were sorely needed, for all English and Scotsmen who had come out to keep shops had left them and gone on to the land which they found more profitable. Could Cromwell please do something to remedy this state of things? He did. For the next letter is from the Lord Protector himself, and tells the Governor that he has spoken with the Chief Rabbi of Brussels, and that the latter hopes shortly to send out a consignment of suitable Jews. A third letter—also from Cromwell informs the Governor that the Chief Rabbi has failed to get what he wanted in Flanders, but is sending out a shipload of Portuguese Jews which, it is hoped, will serve the purpose required. It did and it still does. So it was that Jewry in Jamaica was born and still lives as a glance at the names of the principal stores in Kingston will show where the hold of the Jews is very strong.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIA'S MEN OF DESTINY: Pen Portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. By "Cantab". [India Monthly Magazine, January 1939.]

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION. By B. Satyanarayana. [The Twentieth Century, February 1939.]

THE BEGINNINGS OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN RAJPUT ART. By Dr. H. Goetz. [Journal of Indian History, December 1938.]

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN TRAVANCORE. By A. Padmanabha Iyer. [Federal India, February 1939.]

GANDHISM AS I UNDERSTAND IT. By Manu Subadar. [The Aryan Path, March 1939.]

THE MESSAGE OF NAMADEVA. By S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. [The Vedanta Kesari, March 1939.]

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE HINDUS. By Swami Atulananda. [Prabuddha Bharata, March 1939.]

DISCIPLINE IN INDIA. By T. N. Siqueira. The New Review, March 1939.]

THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF THE MARATHAS. By G. S. Sardesi. [The Modern Review, March 1939.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

The following is the full text of the important resolution on the National Demand, which was adopted at the last session of the Indian National Congress at Tripuri:—

The Congress has for more than half-a-century striven for the advancement of the people of India and has represented the urge of the Indian people towards freedom and self-expression. During the past 20 years it has engaged itself on behalf of the masses of the country in a struggle against British Imperialism, and through the suffering, discipline and sacrifice of the people it has carried the nation a long way to the independence that is its objective.

With the growing strength of the people it has adapted itself to the changing and developing situation; and, while pursuing various programmes, has ever worked for the independence of India and the establishment of a democratic State in the country. Rejecting the Government of India Act and with a full determination to end it, it has decided to take advantage of the measure of provincial autonomy that this Act has provided, restricted and circumscribed as it was in order to strengthen the national movement and to give such relief to the masses as was possible under the circumstances. To the federal part of the Act, the Congress has declared its uncompromising opposition and its determination to resist its imposition.

The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a constitution framed for a free India through a constituent assembly elected by the people and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other constitution or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people. The Congress is of the opinion that in view of the situation in India, the organized strength of the national movement, the remarkable growth of the consciousness of the masses, a new awakening among the people of the Indian States as well as the rapid development of the world situation, the time has come for the full application of the principle of self-determination to India, so that the people of India might establish an independent democratic state by means of a constituent assembly. Not only the inherent right and the dignity of the people demand this full freedom, but also the economic and other problems, which press insistently on the masses, cannot find a solution nor can India get rid of her poverty and keep pace with modern progress unless the people have full opportunities of self-development

and growth which independence alone can give. Provincial autonomy affords no such scope for development and its capacity for good is being rapidly exhausted: the proposed federation strangles India still further and will not be accepted. The Congress, therefore, is firmly of opinion that the whole of the Government of India Act must give place to the constitution of a free India made by the people themselves. An independent and democratic India will face the solution of our great problems rapidly and effectively and will line herself with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

With a view to the speeding the realization of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises that loom ahead, this Congress calls upon all parts of the Congress organization as well as the Congress Provincial Governments and the people generally to prepare themselves to this end, to promote unity, and in particular to strengthen, purify and discipline the organisation, removing weakness and corrupting influences so as to make it an effective organ of the people's will.

AMENDING THE ACT

In the House of Lords, on March 2, Lord Snell asked whether Government contemplated early legislation to amend the Government of India and Burma Acts and, if so, whether they could give any indication of the scope and purpose of the contemplated Bill. Lord Zetland replied:

It is the case that His Majesty's Government contemplate introduction at an early date of a Bill to amend the Government of India Act and hope to secure its passage before the Parliament rises for the summer recess.

The object of the Bill is to remedy certain defects which practical experience has disclosed in the working of the Act, the remedying of which is a matter of urgent consequence. It is not surprising that an enactment of the length and complication of the Government of India Act should, when put to the practical test of administration, be found capable of improvement in a number of respects. But the contents of the proposed Bill have been intentionally confined to cases in which the Act, if unchanged, will lead to serious practical inconveniences.

The amendments proposed in no case raise any new question of principle or will alter in any material respect what are believed to have been the intentions of Parliament when the Act was passed.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON HITLER

Speaking at Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, strongly indicted Herr Hitler's actions in the annexation of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia.

When I came back after my second visit to Germany, I told the House of Commons of the conversation I had with Herr Hitler, of which I said that, speaking with great earnestness, he repeated what he had already said at Berchtesgaden, namely, that this was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe and that he had no wish to include in the Reich people of other races than Germans.

Hitler himself confirmed this account of the conversation in a speech which he made at the Sports Palast in Berlin, when he said: "It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe."

And a little later in the same speech he said: "I have assured Mr. Chamberlain, and I emphasise it now, that when this problem is solved, Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe." He added: "I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more and I can guarantee it. We do not want any Czechs any more."

Then, in the Munich Agreement itself, which bears Herr Hitler's signature, there is this clause: "The final determination of the frontiers will be carried out by the International Commission." He declared that any other question which might concern our two countries should be dealt with by the method of consultation.

In view of these repeated assurances given voluntarily to me, I considered myself justified in founding the hope upon them, that once the Czecho-Slovak question was settled as it seemed at Munich, it would be possible to carry further that policy of appeasement which I have described.

What has become of those disclaimers of further territorial ambitions? What has become of the assurance "we do not want Czechs in the Reich"? What regard has been paid here to that principle of self-determination, which Herr Hitler argued so vehemently with me at Berchtesgaden when he was asking for the severance of Sudetenland from Czecho-Slovakia and its inclusion in the German Reich?

I know we are told that this seizure of territory has been necessitated by the disturbances in Czecho-Slovakia.

We are told that the Proclamation of this new German Protectorate against the will of the inhabitants has been rendered inevitable by the disorders which threatened the peace and security of their mighty neighbour.

If there were disorders, were they not fomented from without? Can anybody outside Germany

take seriously the idea that they could be a danger to that great country, that they could provide any justification for what has happened?

Does not the question inevitably arise in our minds, that if it is so easy to discover good reasons for ignoring the assurances so solemnly and repeatedly given, what reliance can be placed upon any other assurance by a shocked and affronted public opinion throughout the world?

But the events which have taken place in their complete disregard of the principles laid by the German Government itself, seem to fall into a different category and must cause us all to be asking ourselves: "Is this time the end of the old adventure or is it the beginning of a new one? Is this the last attack, a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force?"

C. R.'S PARABLE OF THE BOATMAN

"Mahatma Gandhi promises the minimum but performs the maximum. Put your trust in him and he will safely lead you to the goal," declared the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras, addressing a vast gathering in the Congress Exhibition pandal at Tripuri, on March 9. He compared Mahatma Gandhi's leadership to that of an old boatman.

At present there are two boats floating on the river. One is an old boat but a big boat, which is piloted by Mahatma Gandhi. There is another man who has a new boat—attractively painted and beflagged—who calls to you to get into his boat.

Mahatma Gandhi is a tried boatman who can safely transport you. If you get into the new boat—which I know is leaky—all of us will go down and the river Nerbudda is indeed very deep. The new boatman says: "If you don't get into my boat, then at least tie my boat to yours." This is also impossible. We cannot tie up a leaky boat to a good boat exposing ourselves to the peril of going down.

We have only one leader and that is Mahatma Gandhi. We must abide by him, because what he says he means. He is the only safe man in whose boat we should get. He is a seasoned and tried man. To our knowledge for 35 years now we have tried him to our satisfaction.

I ask you not to be misled by tall talk and get into the leaky boat, or do not think: We shall get into the new boat for a while and then again get back into the old boat.

You may not survive to get back to the old boat, for, as I said, the new boat is leaky. Believe in Mahatma Gandhi. We may, perhaps, be able to swim separately, but if we join together we may all go down.

THE SALES TAX

In a spirited defence of the Government's taxation policy in the Madras Assembly during discussion on voting of grants, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Premier, declared: "We must start by sacrificing ourselves—I am speaking of people who are better off. It is no use doping the poorest and trying to rob them of their money. It is no use making the food producer pay Rs. 10 out of Rs. 100, while we refuse to pay even one pie out of one rupee."

"We are going to tax," asserted the Premier, "in spite of terrible opposition. We are prepared to become unpopular. We are prepared to be turned out."

They must reduce the expenditure on the Services, he explained, if the cultivator and the poor drunkard had to be saved; but the Government of India Act did not allow them to do it. Hence the need for taxing ourselves. That was the only way in which violent coercion against reform could be non-violently met.

MUSLIMS AND THE CONGRESS

Amidst shouts of great acclamation, the plenary meeting of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, comprising the members of the Subjects Committee and the Delegates, passed at Delhi a lengthy amended resolution clarifying the Jamiat's position towards the Congress. The resolution, which was acclaimed by the progressive section of the Jamiat as victory for them, declared in unequivocal terms that in the opinion of the Jamiat it was essential for safeguarding Muslim rights, that the Mussalmans in every town and village should enrol themselves as regular members of the Congress and participate in the activities of all Congress Committees.

C. V. ACHARYA ON SWARAJ

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari, a former President of the Indian National Congress, gave the following statement to the Press on the Presidential Address of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to the Tripuri Congress:—

"My idea of *swaraj* is not to go out of the British Empire but to remain within it and equal in status to any Dominion comprising the Commonwealth, in accordance with the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, by which the Great Queen Victoria had promised to treat all her subjects equally without distinction of race, colour, or creed. I am against any ultimatum which goes beyond the goal envisaged above."

SIMULTANEOUS DISARMAMENT

Mahatma Gandhi gave the following message to the world when Mr. F. E. Birchell, of the *New York Times*, interviewed him at Delhi, on March 23.

"I see from to-day's papers that the British Prime Minister is conferring with democratic powers as to how they should meet the latest threatening developments. How I wish he was conferring by proposing to them that all should resort to simultaneous disarmament. I am as certain as I am sitting here that this heroic act would open Herr Hitler's eye and would disarm him."

THE LEAGUE AND FEDERATION

The attitude of the Muslim League to the Federation was outlined by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in his address to the League Conference held at Meerut on March 25. He said that the freedom afforded to Muslims by Provincial Autonomy was not enough and that the proposed Federal scheme would not establish the Muslim nation's—he pointed out they were a nation and not a community—rights. He pleaded for the division of India on a cultural and religious basis. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, as usual, attacked the Congress and appealed to the Muslims for solidarity and sacrifice.

TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

H. E. Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, gave wholesome counsel to the young men of the Aitchison College, Lahore, while presiding over their prize distribution function:

Many of you have been born to a position of comparative privilege and advantage; but you must not imagine that you will be able to enjoy this position without giving a great deal in return. For you are living in a world of rapid change, in which much of the heritage of the past is being challenged and rejected. If you think that you can just grow up to spend your incomes, to amuse yourselves and your friends with lavish entertainments and to live lives of self-indulgence, you will wake one day to find with a rude shock that society will no longer tolerate such abuse of privilege.

Continuing, His Excellency said:

We hear much now-a-days of the difficulty of 'marrying' British India with the Indian States, but it will surely help in the solution of this difficulty if in the future, as in the past, the sons of the leading families both of the Punjab and the Punjab States are able to share here a common education and to look back together later to common memories of a boyhood spent in this College.

Those of you who will have lauded States to manage must remember that your first duty will be to promote the welfare of your tenants and dependents. Those of you who take to commerce and industry must remember that you will be responsible for the well-being of those whom you employ. All of you must remember that by virtue of your birth and upbringing you are in some sense leaders of the society in which you live and must, therefore, try to set the example which is expected of leaders. You can only do that if at the most impressionable stage of your lives you learn self-discipline and self-reliance. Over the desk of the Head Boy of one of the big English Public Schools there is inscribed a Greek proverb "Arche Andra Deixei", which may roughly be paraphrased "leadership will prove a man's worth". Many of you who are educated in this College will, when you leave and go out into the world, be subjected to this test. May you not be found wanting.

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

The Inter-University Board at its last meeting in Bombay considered the question of those students who have been expelled from the Osmania University and had applied for admission into the Nagpur University. The Board adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that the Nagpur University should enter into communication with the Osmania University before any final decision on this subject could be taken.

EDUCATION FOR VILLAGERS

If the basic education scheme is mainly intended for villagers, what is the plan for city-dwellers? Gandhiji's answer to this question is restated in *Harijan*:

Sufficient for the day is the good thereof. As it is, we have a big enough morsel to bite. If we can solve the educational problem of seven lakhs of villages, it will be enough for the present. No doubt, educationists are thinking of the cities too. But if we take up the question of the cities along with that of the villages, we will fritter away our energies.

ADVICE TO STUDENTS

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., presiding over the 50th College Day and Prize Distribution of St. Thomas College, Trichur, on March 5, gave the following advice to the students:—

"Concentrate on studies; submit to the discipline of teachers until in time discipline from within replaces it; form correct and useful habits and build up character. Discuss and form opinions on all matters that you will come across later in life, but do not begin experiments in action so as to disturb the working of the institution to which you belong."

LAW AND LETTERS

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar delivered an interesting lecture on "Law and Letters" under the auspices of the Association Golden Jubilee Lectures. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahman presided.

According to present theories, lawyers with literary credentials, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said, were somewhat at a discount. But Law had always been the handmaid of Literature, when one surveyed the history of the growth of Law in the world. In their own province, there had been eminent lawyers and judges who had combined in themselves proficiency both in Literature and Law. For example, the judgments of Sir T. Muthuswami Aiyar and Sir S. Subramania Aiyar, not to speak of others in recent times, were noted for expressive language, vigorous and lambent. In his opinion in recent times, the greatest master of legal exposition was Mr. Justice Mahmood of Allahabad whose style was superb. He was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic and he brought to bear in his judgments his wide knowledge. He was an example of the art of expressing legal lore in fine language. After referring to Telang, Ranade, and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee whose judgments too, he said, were fine specimens of good English, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar observed that among the great jurists of India, Sir Rash Behari Ghose, whose grasp of the essentials of legal principles was admirable, used to express ideas in illuminating style. The speaker next referred to the judgments of the Privy Council wherein legal principles were expressed in a thorough and accurate language—an exposition which could be compared only with the best specimens of literary art.

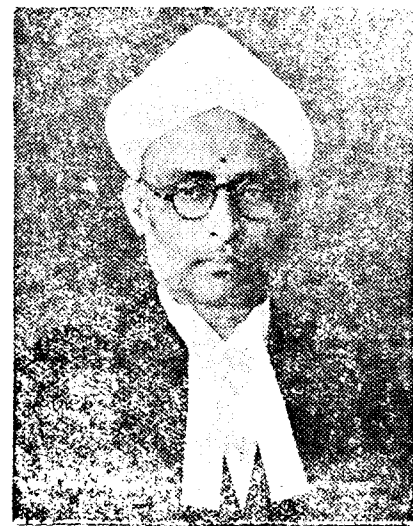
THE LATE MR. PATEL'S WILL

Sardar Vallabhai Patel has made the following statement in connection with the judgment delivered by Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia relating to the construction of the will of his late brother Vithalbhai:

Mr. Justice Wadia has held that there is no absolute gift of his residuary estate to Sri. Subhas Chandra Bose, nor is it a valid charitable bequest and has ordered the executors to distribute the amount among the heirs of the deceased. It is not unknown to friends interested in this matter that at no time was it the intention of his heirs to claim the estate for their personal benefit. As soon as the matter is finally decided, they have resolved to prepare and publish a scheme for the utilization of the amount for the political uplift of India or any other public purpose for the benefit of India. I should add in conclusion that I am authorised to make this statement on behalf of the other heirs of the deceased.

MR. JUSTICE PATANJALI SASTRI

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve of the appointment of Mr. Mundakulathur Patanjali Sastri as a



Judge of the Madras High Court in the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. Justice S. Varadachari to be a Judge of the Federal Court of India.

INSURANCE AND SUICIDE

A technical point in Insurance is considered by Mr. K. V. Dikshit in the first number of the *Poona Law College Magazine*. Deliberate suicide is regarded in English Law as the most heinous description of felonious homicide. And on this ground, the Court does not enforce payment of money, even though the policy binds the Company to pay under such circumstances. But in India where suicide is not an offence, though an attempt to commit one is, two questions are raised. They are:

(1) Will the suicide clause be against public policy, and

(2) What will be the effect where the Insurance Company is registered in England but is doing its business in India and the assured commits suicide in India.

Answering (1): 'Public policy' is a vague and elastic term. As a general rule a contract may be said to be against public policy either from the nature of the acts to be performed or from the nature of the consideration.

In India, suicide does not amount to or involve any illegality; neither is it of such a nature as would defeat the provisions of any existing law. Thus it would seem that in India the suicide clause will not be considered to be void as being against 'public policy' and will be enforced when the occasion arises.

Regarding the second question, he says:

Where the Insurance Company is incorporated in England but is doing its business in India and the assured commits suicide in India, it would appear that the suicide clause will be enforceable in India. Because in the case of a suit against an insurance company to recover the policy money, the death of the assured is a part of the cause of action and a suit against the company can be brought where the insured died. But if the suit is brought in England the contract will not be enforced; because although according to the International law, where the lawfulness of a contract is to be determined then, as a general rule, the law to be applied is the law of the country where the contract is made, still an agreement contrary to common principles of justice or morality, cannot in any way be enforced. Recognition cannot be demanded from an English Court of any right which, though valid in the country of its origin, is opposed to English notions of morality or public policy.

ASSIGNMENT OF POLICY

A policyholder assigned his policy in favour of his wife by an endorsement on the policy itself, and this was communicated to the Company and there registered.

The Policy was payable in 1952 but the assured died in 1933.

A creditor of the assured who had obtained a decree against him wanted to proceed against this insurance money. The question was whether it formed part of the assured's estate by reason of the assignment or not.

Their Lordships Justice Varadachariar and Justice Abdul Rahman, Madras, held by reason of the above assignment, the policy amount belonged to the assignee and did not form part of the estate of the assured. On the language of the assignment it cannot be said that the endorsement amounted to a mere power of attorney and the transfer was one in future.

The endorsement operated as a present transfer in favour of the assignee and the fact of a reverter clause would not prevent the assignee from receiving the policy amount.

INSURED SAVINGS

A man can set himself a goal of saving so much within ten, fifteen or twenty years. Let us say Rs. 10,000 in twenty years. If a bank and an insurance company work together, this man can deposit a requisite amount in the bank each month on his pay day. If he lives for twenty years he can get his Rs. 10,000 plus some interest. If something happens to him unfortunately, his family would be protected to the extent of Rs. 10,000.

Such a scheme has worked very well in America, especially among people who are squeamish about the word "insurance".

SALES TAX IN OTHER COUNTRIES

In view of the controversy over the Sales Tax in Madras, the following details of the levy of National Sales Tax in twelve countries will be read with interest. The figures give the rates that obtained on January 1, 1935. Austria and Germany appear, of course, as separate countries. The figure within brackets give the year in which the tax commenced to be levied in each country.

France (1920).—On total turnover 2 per cent. on ordinary articles; special rates for special industries; and 3 to 16 per cent. on luxuries; payable monthly by larger and annually by smaller taxpayers.

Germany (1919).—On total turnover; 2 per cent. payable annually.

Belgium (1921).—On sales of commodities except at retail; 2½ per cent. and special rates for certain articles payable monthly.

Italy (1919).—On sales of commodities except at retail; 2-1/2 per cent. payable monthly.

Austria (1923).—On total turnover; generally 2 to 3 per cent. but varies with classes of commodities; payable annually.

Hungary (1921).—On total turnover; 2 per cent. on ordinary articles, 10 to 25 per cent. on luxuries; various rates for special industries; payable annually.

Poland (1925).—On total turnover ½ to 5 per cent.; special rates for special articles and for luxuries; payable monthly by larger and quarterly by smaller taxpayers.

Russia (U.S.S.R.) (1921).—On total turnover; rate varies according to classification; payable in five instalments during the year.

Canada (1920).—On sales of producers, manufacturers and importers only; 6 per cent. (raised to 8 per cent. from 1936); payable monthly.

Australia (1930).—On sales of producers and importers only; 5 per cent; payable monthly.

New Zealand (1933).—On sales of wholesalers and manufacturing retailers; 5 per cent.; payable monthly.

Philippine Islands (1904).—On sales of merchants, manufacturers, receipts of printers, publishers, contractors, public utilities, etc.; 1 to 1-1/2 per cent. payable quarterly.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT

The Indo-British Trade Agreement, which has been in the process of incubation for the last so many months, has at last seen the light of day.

Under it, India struck a bargain with the United Kingdom by linking her cotton piece-goods import from U. K. with the latter's off-take of raw cotton from India. The duty on cotton piece-goods has been further lowered and a new rate known as the "basic rate" at 17½ per cent. *ad valorem* on printed variety and 15 per cent. on others with variations according to an inverse ratio to the increase or decrease of the U. K.'s purchase of Indian cotton has been introduced.

Another feature is that U. K.'s preferences of Indian goods have been raised to 82 per cent. of her exports to U. K. and Indian preference to U. K. goods has been reduced from 106 items to 20. The latter is confined to manufactured articles which are not in competition with Indian products.

India is under no obligation to keep the duties at the present level; she has merely guaranteed a margin of preference.

The agreement also secures that Colonial products shall not enjoy any tariff advantage over Indian ground-nut.

THE MODERN GIRL

Writing in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi advises girls as to how they should guard themselves against the rudeness of boys:—

In the case of rude remarks addressed to girls, there need be no perturbation but there should be no indifference. All such cases should be published in the papers. Names of the offenders should be published when they are traced. There should be no false modesty about exposing the evil. There is nothing like public opinion for castigating public misconduct. Crime and vice generally require darkness for prowling. They disappear when light plays upon them.

The Modern Girl loves to be Juliet to half a dozen Romeos. She loves adventure. She dresses not to protect herself from wind, rain and sun, but to attract attention. She improves upon Nature by painting herself and looking extraordinary. The non-violent way is not for such girls.

Commenting on this, Mrs. Sarala Duggal emphatically denies

that the average Punjabi girl is a Juliet to half dozen Romeos. This is the very negation of traditional Indian culture; the history and culture of India develops an instinct in an Indian girl to be Juliet to one Romeo only. Mahatmaji is too harsh in generalising his observations on the dress of the modern girl. His allegations may be true in the case of those uneducated girls who want to pass off as moderns by painting and powdering themselves. The girl of to-day knows and has come to realize that her real worth lies in her accomplishments and not in artificiality. To-day the entire nation thanks Mahatmaji and in particular the modern girl for the Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements, which brought her out of the secluded four walls of the house. At present she is slowly but steadily becoming more like a man and faces the world boldly and squarely. She understands that her rightful place is by the side of a man and not be a *dasi* to him. She has surpassed a man in manners and decency and is becoming his equal intellectually.

As regards the prescription of Mahatmaji to fight the misbehaviour of the boys and so-called gentlemen with non-violence, the writer draws attention to the fact that the realities of life in the Punjab are quite different from those in other parts of the country. If a young girl keeps mum on hearing the most filthy remarks made by these respectable and modern young men, they—at least the majority

of them—would take her either to be a flirt prepared to submit to their vicious designs. On the other hand, on the very utterance of filthy remarks, a slap or shoe is shown, it would deter these respectable vagabonds from such behaviour afterwards. In such matters it is not the physical strength but the moral courage which ultimately saves girls. Non-violence blended with self-defence philosophy of Gita should be the guide to us girls in this land of five rivers. It is not only the college girls who are experiencing this utterly unmanly conduct of male students and men, but also young married wives and innocent school-going girls are the worst victims in this respect. It is my profound conviction that if a girl wants to be respected, she must have sufficient courage to face such men who are utterly devoid of an chivalry or sense of decency.

MRS. NAIDU'S 60TH BIRTHDAY

At the invitation of Mrs. Asaf Ali and Mrs. R. K. Nehru, a large gathering of distinguished men and women met at a Dinner at the Western Court, Delhi, to celebrate the Sixtieth Birthday of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, on February 27. The Dinner was attended by Sir Maurice Gwyer, Rani of Jaisalmer, Members of the Viceroy's Council and their wives, and many European and Indian guests.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in proposing Mrs. Naidu's health, said they were both in jail together and had come out almost at the same time. Mrs. Naidu occupied her proper place, not only in public life of India but also in hearts of millions of her countrymen. Age had not dimmed her ardour, her energy and patriotic fervour. Many more days were still left to her to serve her Motherland.

Mrs. Naidu thanked her two young hostesses and all those who were present to wish her happiness and long life. She hoped that she would be spared to serve her fellow-countrymen. In spite of many vicissitudes, which she had witnessed in the onward march of the nation, her hope had never dimmed for the ultimate realisation of India's destiny.

LITERARY

SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG

The speeches and judgments collected in this volume* bear testimony to the public spirit, sense of justice and zeal for law reform for which Sir Douglas Young has become famous in this country. After serving a notable term as a puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court, Sir Douglas was selected to succeed Sir Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Punjab. From the very start, Sir Douglas set himself to the task of discovering and removing the abuses of the legal system. Corruption in Courts, law's delays, perjury of witnesses and, above all, that sense of fatalism which made people endure evils without resisting and overcoming them were the factors against which the Chief Justice had to contend. He investigated the causes and ramifications of these long standing evils with infinite patience and combated them with sincere resoluteness. More than these, he created the necessary atmosphere of sympathy with his objective and efforts and the enthusiasm for speedy and unerring justice which he infused among the members of the Bar, the judiciary and the ministerial staffs of Courts earned for him the unstinted admiration of the community. We refer our readers in particular to the note circulated by him in which he analysed the causes and suggested the remedies for meeting the situation which is printed at page 25 of this volume. His judgments are characterised by lucidity and learning.

In public life, Sir Douglas Young displayed the same keenness and sense of fairness. He realised the value of

* FOR NECESSARY ACTION: Speeches and Judgments of Sir Douglas. Edited by Shri Ram and Kulkarni. Published by the Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore.

training the youth of the country along right lines: of dissolving communal antipathies in a common patriotism and of absorbing the energies of the youth in the service of the country. He found the Boy Scout Movement an extremely potent means of elevating the tone and temper of the young and the adolescent. The sentiments to which he gave eloquent and felicitous expression in these pages are unexceptionable. To love this country and to serve her people without distinction of caste or class, to shed the lethargy of ages and to be vigorous in a purposeful life, to fight corruption and to be brave was his great message.

India owes much to selfless and intrepid Englishmen like Sir Douglas Young, who hold up such high ideals before the youth of the country and enforce them by such exemplary personal life. We are sure that this book will enjoy a wide circulation and that Sir Douglas Young will receive the recognition that is due to one who served this country with such single-minded devotion.

HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW

"The Hindu conception of the divine origin of kings was very different from the mediæval theory of the Divine Right of Kings prevalent in Western countries," writes Justice Sir S. Varadachariar in *Immortal Message* and proceeds:

"The Hindu concept never placed the king above law in the sense in which the Divine Right theory did. It was never the Hindu theory that the king could change the law as he pleased. He was merely expected to enforce law. This accounted for the great difficulty that lawyers felt in changing Hindu law."

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN INDIA

The Director-General, Indian Medical Service, has just brought out a publication, "Indian Medical Review" giving his comments on the medical profession in India. The book also gives useful information bearing upon the science and practice of medicine in India.

It is estimated that there are 35,000 to 40,000 qualified doctors now practising in India, and although a proportion of one doctor to roughly 10,000 of the population would appear to be very inadequate, it is a fact that unemployment has become a serious problem among the younger members of the profession. Careful enquiries, however, show that in many towns the proportion is as high as or higher than one to 1,000 and that it is the disinclination of members of an educational profession to settle in rural areas, which is responsible for this apparent overcrowding. . . .

This disinclination of the private practitioner to settle in rural areas is not peculiar to India, but is common to all agricultural countries.

Provincial Governments are doing their best to lessen as much as they can the sufferings of the millions living in villages. Medical men are being encouraged to settle in rural areas. They are being given subsidies for the purpose and are allowed private practice. Rural medical relief is at present afforded through the agency of fixed and touring dispensaries, subsidized medical practitioners, unqualified village school-masters, practitioners of indigenous systems of medicine and missionary doctors.

MADRAS NURSING SERVICE

The Madras Government have modified their order issued in October last on the reorganisation of the nursing service in regard to the selection of women candidates for training and the stipends and allowances granted to nurse pupils.

In particular, Government have sanctioned a ration allowance of Rs. 20 each per mensem to nurse pupils, nurses and ward sisters, the original order did not grant this.

SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL

Sir Alexander Russell, Public Health Commissioner, Government of India, who has proceeded to England preparatory to retirement, will represent India at the



SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL

next meeting of the International Conference of Public Health in Paris this month for the revision of the Sanitary Convention.

Sir Alexander will also attend the League of Nations' Health Committee at Geneva on behalf of the Government of India.

HEALTH AND FOOD

The simpler, the plainer, the more frugal, the more natural the food of man, the more vigorous and the more perfect will be his bodily strength and his mental faculties, says Mr. Wilfrid Hill, and adds:

In his native condition the man, as the Hill Tribes of India, is healthy and free from disease. It is only by reverting to simplicity in diet that the greatest health and fitness can be achieved.

Nature produces perfect foods and the man was intended to subsist on these foods. But when man, with a desire to improve on the handiwork of his Creator, began to interfere with this food by removing the outer-coating of grain, the skins of fruit and vegetables, the refining of sugar, the boiling of the essential mineral salts from vegetables, and the cooking of food generally that food values were in a large measure destroyed and dangerous deficiencies occurred in his diet.

THE RESERVE BANK

The Annual Report and the accounts of the Reserve Bank of India for the year ended December 31, 1938, have been gazetted.

After payment of expenses of administration and provision for sundry liabilities and contingencies, the net profit amounts to Rs. 38,45,137-8 of which amount the sum of Rs. 17,50,000 will be utilized for payment to shareholders of a dividend at the rate of 3½ per cent. per annum being the cumulative rate fixed by the Central Government, leaving a surplus of Rs. 20,95,137-8 for payment to the Central Government.

T. N. AND Q. BANK

On March 3, His Lordship Justice Venkataramana Rao passed orders on the application filed by Mr. S. Parthasarathi on behalf of Mr. Sourirajan, a creditor of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank, Ltd. (now in liquidation), praying for a direction to the Official Liquidator to pay an interim dividend of not less than four annas in the rupee to the creditors in British India. His Lordship directed the liquidators to declare and pay a dividend of three annas in the rupee to the British Indian creditors in the first instance.

RECORD OUTPUT OF GOLD

The world gold production for 1938 has increased by 5.5 per cent. compared with that for 1937, which in itself was a record, showing 7.12 per cent. increase over 1936, according to the Union Corporation, which puts 1938 production at the new record of 36,700,000 fine troy ounces compared with revised estimate of Rs. 34,783,000 for 1937.

Both estimates include an assumed Soviet production of five million ounces.

INTEREST ON LOANS

The Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank Executive have resolved to reduce the interest on their loans to Central Banks from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. to enable the primary societies to lend to the ultimate borrower at 6½ per cent.

OVERCROWDING IN TRAIN

The following pertinent observations were made by a Small Cause Court Judge in Bombay in a suit filed by the plaintiff, Popatlal Baichand Shah, to recover damages caused to him by physical discomfort and inconvenience caused by the defendant the G. I. P. Railway Company permitting overcrowding in the train.

"A railway company cannot escape its liability for negligence in the performance of any duty in the exercise of any powers conferred on it by Statute for the benefit of the passengers if such negligence causes any injury to any person. The contract of the railway company with a passenger is to carry him safely and with reasonable care having regard to the ordinary incidents of railway travelling. In order to enable the railway company to carry out that contract, the by-laws empower them to prevent overcrowding so that it may not interfere with the comfort and safety of the passenger. The ordinary incidents of railway travelling is that the passenger has a seat to himself and it is the duty of the railway company to secure that condition of safety and comfort."

THE E. I. RY. TRIBUNAL

The Government of India seriously concerned at the frequency of accidents on the E. I. R., have decided to set up a tribunal which will inquire into the causes of and circumstances leading up to, these incidents and which, after examination of all the relevant evidence, will report thereon. The personnel of the tribunal is also announced in a recent *communiqué*. Mr. Justice R. S. Broomfield, Judge of the Bombay High Court, will be the President of the tribunal, and the other members will be: Dewan Bahadur M. V. Vellodi, Collector, South Kanara, and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Din Mahomed, Sessions Judge, Punjab.

FANS IN THIRD CLASS CARRIAGES

A scheme for providing fans in all third class carriages of the Mysore State Railway has been approved by Government. The work will be spread over a number of years. Government have also sanctioned Rs. 30,000 for other improvements on the railway.

UDAY SHANKAR'S DANCE PARTNER

"It is a thing worth working for, worth living for," observed Mlle. Simkie, Uday Shankar's dance partner, when asked as to what had attracted her to Indian dancing.

In her earlier years in Paris, she was being trained for a musical career. But when she saw Uday Shankar's performance, she felt an urge to devote her life to Indian dancing, which fascinated her by its beauty and emotional appeal.

Indian dance has a big spiritual background which is largely lacking in the Western dance, she said. It expresses the wonderful beauty and colour that one finds in Nature and in the simple homely life of the people.

"To-day, the people of India have closed their eyes on this precious heritage of theirs and they are waiting for some one to come forward to guide them in this sacred mission. And that is what Mr. Uday Shankar is trying to do through his Art Centre. It is the biggest fight in the world to provide the spiritual solvent for the disruptive forces that are threatening the very existence of civilization."

MISS BINA ADDY

Miss Bina Addy, who has left for Europe, interviewed at Bombay before her departure, said: She was very much interested in promoting International Fellowship through her music tours. She could sing songs in all the different languages.

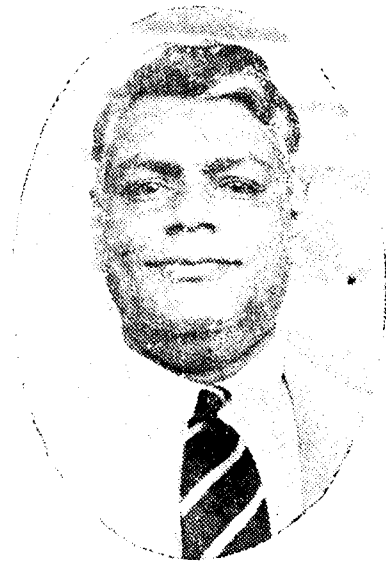
Her last tour of New Zealand and Australia, she said, was very successful, and she had been accorded public welcomes and addresses.

During the European crisis, she broadcast from the Delhi Station a special Peace Chant, the chant being translated and set to a European tune from the original Sanskrit text said to be 5,000 years old. Her voice was found very adaptable for radio broadcasting and her friends had particularly advised her to give the Peace Chant to Western audiences.

Miss Addy had recently been to Shan-tiniketan to add a few more Bengali songs to her repertoire, she herself being a Bengali.

INDIA'S CRICKET ELEVEN

The Hon. Dr. P. Subbarayan, writing of the leading personalities in Indian cricket, sums up his opinion by giving a



HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN

list for an Indian team. He feels that an All-India XI well worthy of maintaining India's reputation can be selected from the following, if only a spirit of team-work could be instilled in our players:—Major C. K. Nayudu Nissar, Mushtaq Ali, Amar Nath, Amar Singh, Vinoo Mankad, Abbas Khan, Syed Ahmed, Wazir Ali, Naomal, H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, Merchant, Hindlekar, C. S. Nayudu, Chatterji, Jubbar, Bhattacharji, Ram Singh, G. Parthasarathy, and Amir Elahi.

SIMPLE GROUP GAMES FOR INDIA

Dewan Bahadur R. Subbaya Nayudu, Commissioner, Madras Corporation, presiding over the 312th birthday celebrations of Shivaji at the Shivaji Mandal, observed

"Probably in the field of games or sports we have yet to evolve something which would stand modern requirements, and I think it is the duty of Government to set up a Committee to go into the question of evolving a scheme of national sports."

DR. K. S. KRISHNAN

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Professor of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, has been invited by the International Institute of Intellectual



DR. K. S. KRISHNAN

Co-operation, to read a paper on "Some Aspects of Magnetism" at a study meeting organised by the Institute to be held at Strasburg. Dr. Krishnan will also take this opportunity of visiting Germany, for he has been invited to the Conference of the Bunsen Society of Germany to be held at Danzig next month.

NEW OIL PROSPECTS IN JAPAN

One of the prospective oil wells of the Nakano Mining Company at Igo in Niigata Prefecture, where boring operation has been carried on since last year, has recently begun to gush out a large quantity of oil to the daily amount of 190 *koku*, the depth of the well reached being 1,428 metres. The oil from this well is of better quality than any ever produced in Japan.

SUBSTITUTE FOR RADIUM

Scientists are experimenting with artificial radium and hopes are entertained that it will prove an effective substitute for real radium. One great advantage is that it can be taken as a capsule through the mouth, because it is dispersed in about 48 hours. It is also cheap.

INDIAN FILMS

It is understood that a large financial banking corporation with a capital of Rs. 1,00,00,000 has been formed by a group of film and industrial magnates with a view to undertaking the financing of the Indian film industry on a large scale.

The persons behind the venture, it is gathered, include Sir Richard Temple, a prominent figure in the film circles of Bombay and a Director of the Bombay Talkies, Limited, Sir Kailas Haksar, Prime Minister of Bikaner, and Mr. Thomas, a barrister of London, who is intimately associated with the English and American film industry.

The Corporation, which will be located in Bombay, is already stated to have met with a good response in Indian financial circles. It is expected to start functioning from January next.

THE FILM INDUSTRY

"I want the Indian film industry to be hundred per cent. Indian in its conception, in development, in finance and in production," declared Mr. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. (Central), speaking at a luncheon party given in his honour by Mr. Babu Rao Patel of the "Film India" in Bombay.

Mr. Satyamurthi is the President-designate of the Indian Motion Picture Congress and of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Film Industry, which is to be held during the coming Easter.

He referred to his deep interest in the film industry and added: "I have no use for compromises or quotas. The moment we get anything like power, we are going to bring the film industry to its highest level, and towards this end I hope the intellectuals, the producers and actors will endeavour."

FILM AWARD FOR G. B. SHAW

Mr. George Bernard Shaw has received the annual award of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for the best written screen play, the adaptation of his "Pygmalion".

MOTOR TRANSPORT

"It may take some centuries before we can hope a very large majority of the agricultural population ever to hear the whistle of the steam engine. Hence it is necessary to rapidly develop and encourage motor transport, and side by side with it increase the speed of the village road construction, and that should be the first item in any industrial planning," declared Mr. K. F. Nariman, M.L.A., Bombay, in the course of his presidential address at the last Session of the All-India Motor Transport Federation Congress at Agra. He added: "Particularly in a vast country like India with lakhs of villages scattered about in remote corners, motor transport is more important and vital than the railways. Whilst railways can serve only a small proportion of the vast population mostly inhabiting large cities and commercial centres, motor transport alone can penetrate into the remotest corners and be the only connecting link between a large majority of agriculturists and the few commercial and industrial centres. The development of proper motor transport alone can ultimately lead to the successful working of railways and still the short-sighted and suicidal policy of killing motor transport to sustain the existing railways is adopted and pursued. The legislators are still pursuing a disastrous policy of ruining the motor transport with a view to maintaining and sustaining the existing meagre and inefficient railway service."

1939 CHEVROLET—DE-LUXE

The 1939 Chevrolet—De-Luxe—a General Motors Product, features amongst others an important improvement destined to mark an epoch in motor car engineering.

By a flick of the finger and without taking the hand from the wheel are now performed all the operations hitherto carried out with the conventional gear shift lever. With the latter now replaced, there is a clear floor and ample space for three people in the driving compartment. New and current motorists will find in this model smooth riding, positive and easy control and effortless steering.

BRITISH AIR ESTIMATES

Introducing the Air Estimates totalling £205,000,000 in the House of Commons, Sir Charles Kingsley Wood, Secretary of State for Air, graphically illustrated the growth of the Air Force, stating that the present figure was 12 times greater than in any year from 1929 to 1934, and roughly double the aggregate expenditure over the three defence services in 1932-33.

This year's increase of £74,000,000 in the Air Estimates equals the total defence estimates in 1913. The biggest single item is £93,000,000 for aircraft and balloons.

Thirty-five R. A. F. Companies and an Auxiliary Territorial Service for women were being formed. The expanded Air Force programme necessitated a further 20,000 personnel this year.

CIVIL AVIATION IN U. P.

The U. P. has shown commendable readiness to welcome civil aviation. Its equipment goes ahead steadily, one of its universities has included the study of aviation in its curriculum, and now it is announced that the Government will establish a number of scholarships with whose help selected candidates will be enabled to pay for instruction in flying. All this might well stimulate other Universities and Governments.

FOREIGN AIR COMPANIES

The concession granted to the K. L. M. and Air France to carry passengers within India as well as between Burma and India, which expired last month, has been extended by the Government.

It may be mentioned that the Government afforded this facility to the above companies as the Imperial Airways had to restrict their booking of passengers during Christmas owing to the heavy rush of mails.

AIR FORCES IN INDIA

The Royal Air Force in India will henceforth be known as "Air Forces in India". It is explained that there are in India units of the R. A. F. and also the India Air Force. The new name is intended to cover both.

THE LATE MR. PATANWALA

We regret to record the death in Bombay of Mr. E. S. Patanwala, the



LATE MR. PATANWALA

well-known head of the firm of perfume manufacturers of that name. He was 55 years old.

In 1910, when he was 25 years of age he started production of soaps and toilet preparations. He toured Europe in 1934, visiting large and small perfumery concerns in England and the Continent. The products of his firm are still commanding an All-India market.

MANUFACTURE OF CYCLES IN INDIA

It is understood that an industrial venture has been organised by industrialists in Bihar in co-operation with others in Bengal, the United Provinces, Delhi and Bombay, for the manufacture of bicycles. It is proposed by the sponsors of the scheme that the factory for the manufacture should be located at Jamshedpur.

The necessary machinery, it is stated, has been already ordered from the Continent, and arrangements are in progress for the engagement of European technical staff.

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD-PLANNING

"Agriculture in India must be approached from a new angle in the future so as to ensure the most economical use of the land: it must attract the most gifted brains; it must include a new population policy and systematic food and crops and labour planning," says the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.

There is no hope of India being able to import food from foreign countries in exchange for her manufactures; Japan, and to some extent, China are already ahead of her in this respect and their population pressure is likely to become even heavier than that of India. Even in these countries the food production, though high per acre, is low per human hour of production. Hence wages are small in industry and manufacturing costs low in comparison with Europe.

What is the solution? In the words of the author: "The future population adjustment thus seems to lie more in the directions of judicious combination of food and industrial cropping than in subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialisation and, above all, more in the restriction of numbers than in the diversification of employment."

AGRICULTURE IN THE GANGES VALLEY

"Agriculture and Population in the Ganges Valley" is a study in agricultural economics by Dr. Birendranath Ganguli. In this work the author studies the problem of adjustment of the population to the agricultural economic environment in a regional and geographical setting. The region surveyed is the Ganges Valley, a predominantly agricultural region and one of the ancient and historic centres of dense population in the world.

RELIEF TO AGRICULTURISTS

The Government of Baroda have sanctioned the Tractor Cultivation scheme and a scheme for improvement of well supplies in the Amreli district of the State costing Rs. 60,000 and Rs. 10,215 respectively with an additional annual expense of Rs. 13,000. The relief granted to the agriculturists of Baroda State in the months of December 1938 and January 1939 has evoked resolutions of grateful appreciation and thanks from a number of village *panchayats* throughout the State.

I. L. O. CONFERENCE

In the normal course the 25th Session of the International Labour Conference will be held at Geneva in June 1939. The following six questions will come up before the Conference for final decision:—

1. Technical and vocational education and apprenticeship.
2. Recruiting, placing and conditions of Labour: equality of treatment of migrant workers.
3. Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers.
4. Regulation of hours of work and rest periods of professional drivers and their assistants, of vehicles engaged in road transport.
5. Reduction of hours of work in Industry, Commerce, and Offices.
6. Reduction of hours of work in Coal Mines.

The delegates representing each Member State at the Conference include two Government Delegates, one Employers' Delegate and one Workers' Delegate. Advisers can be appointed for each group according to necessity and circumstances. The duty of nominating the personnel of the entire Indian Delegation rests with the Government of India.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN

The Royal Commission on Labour drew attention to the serious abuses prevalent in many establishments not subject to the Factories Act. In particular, mention is made of the employment of children, often at a very early age in various offensive and in some cases dangerous occupations.

A Bill introduced recently in the Central Assembly by the Hon. Sir Zafrullah Khan seeks to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in the following occupations:—bidi-making, carpet-weaving, cement manufacture including the bagging of cement, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks, mica cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, tanning and wool cleaning.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in the unavoidable absence of Mahatma Gandhi declared open the All-India Khadi and



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Village Industries Exhibition at Tripuri or the 6th March, stressed the importance of Khadi and Village Industries in the national economic life of India. "These exhibitions are not places of amusement," said the Pandit.

On the other hand they are meant to illustrate how village products can be made to have their place in the life of the nation and how village economy and village industries can be revived. As long as you do not think in terms of improving the lot of villagers, so long you will not be thinking in terms of Indian freedom. . . .

He added that starting a few big mills would not solve the problem of hunger of the masses all over India. He appealed to the people to wear Khadi and patronise the village industries products and referred to the Wardha scheme of education and the adult education drive undertaken by the Congress Ministries and hoped that it augured well for the future.

TEA IN JAILS

That the use of tea should be encouraged inside jails is the view expressed by Mr. Sri Prakasa, M.L.A. Addressing the U. P. Temperance Conference at Mainpuri, Mr. Sri Prakasa said: "If Congress Governments see no objection to tea outside, I may, perhaps, suggest that it may be permitted in jails also. I cannot help feeling that if tea is encouraged, it is possible that the evils of alcoholic drinks and drugs will be greatly minimised."

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Mr. Natesan, who published over a quarter of a century ago a popular edition of the Bhagavad Gita and also of the Select Works of Sri Sankaracharya with the text in Devanagari and an English translation, has now enriched Indian classical literature with three valuable publications quite unique in character. He has succeeded in the almost impossible task of presenting condensed versions in the Poet's own words of *The Valmiki Ramayana*, *The Mahabharata* and *The Srimad Bhagavata*. The stories are told by the Poets themselves; the passages placed before the Reader are selected passages from the respective Poems. The English renderings have been well and carefully done.

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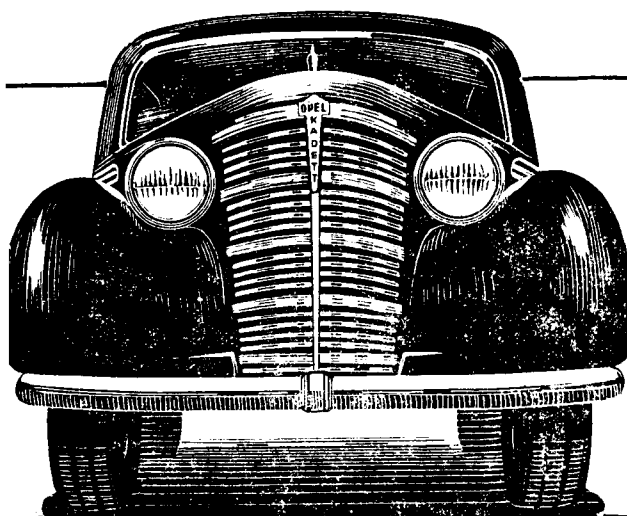
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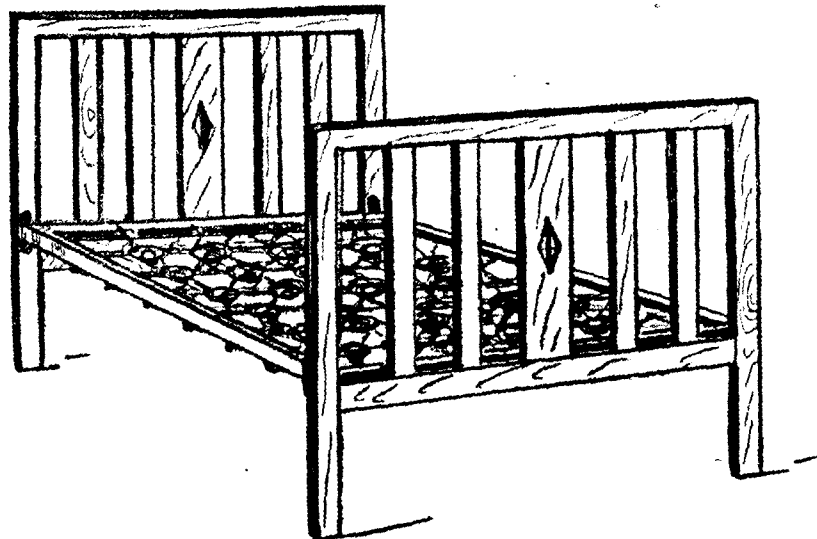
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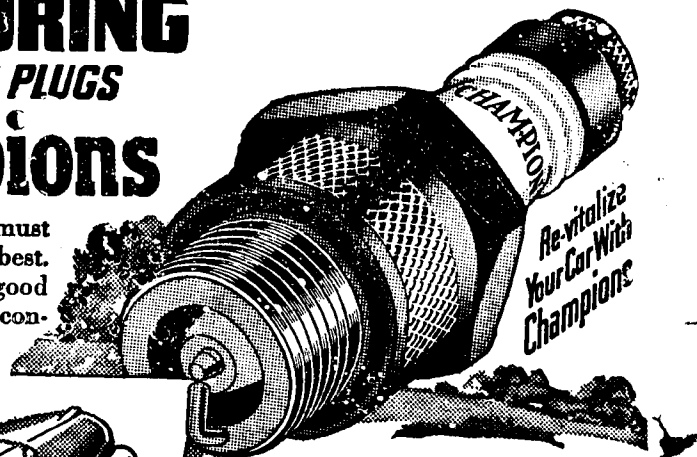
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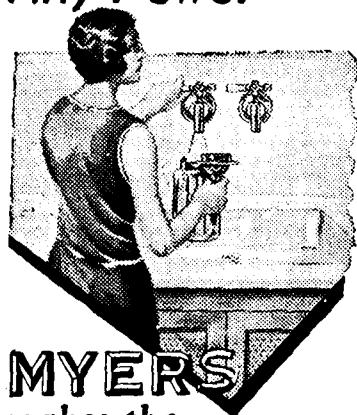
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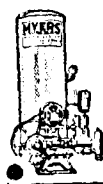


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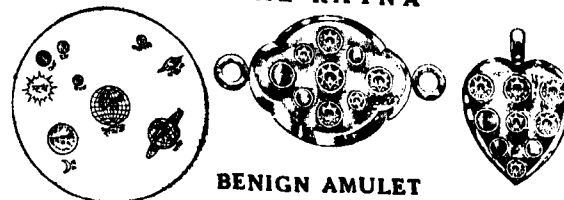
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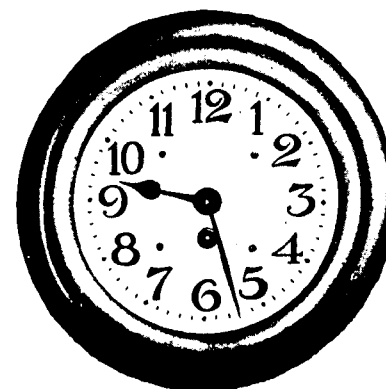
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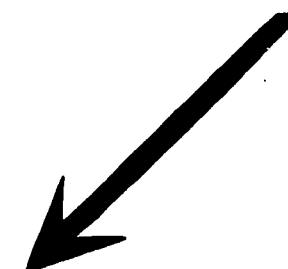
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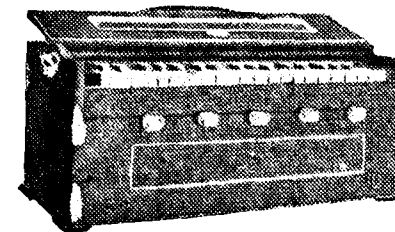
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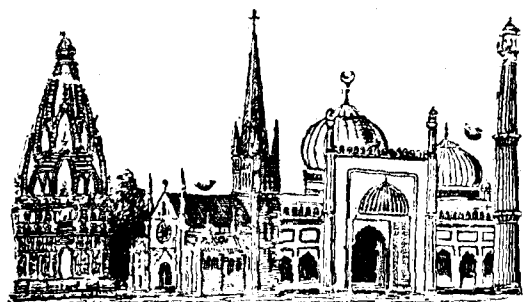
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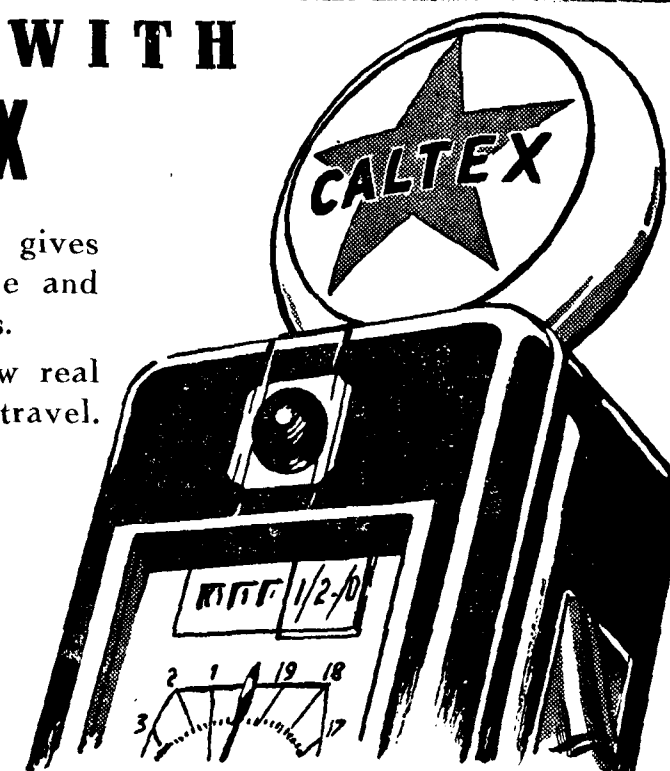
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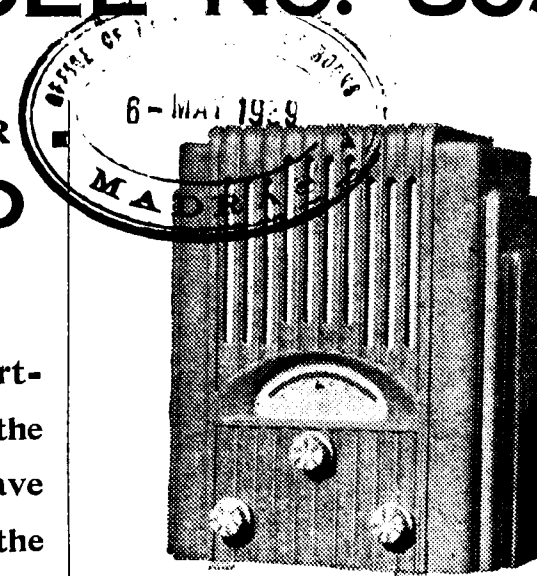
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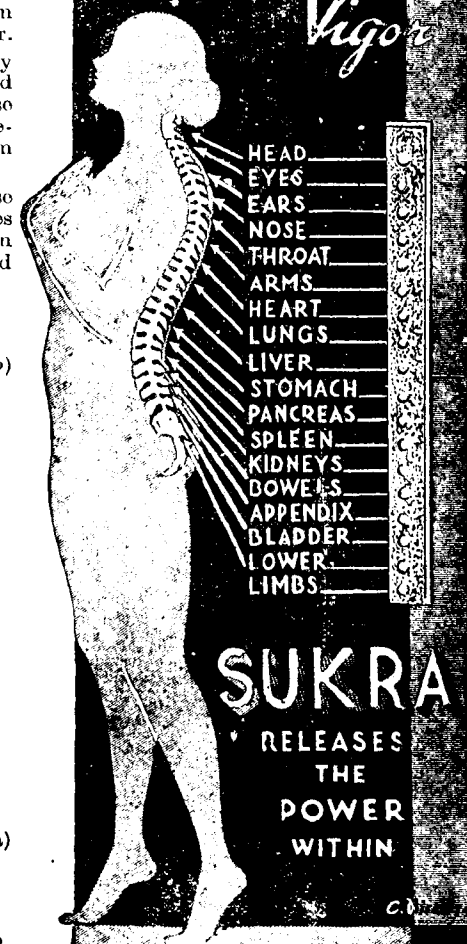
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Vol. XL.]

MAY 1939

No. 5.

IF WAR COMES

By Dr. Sir P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYAR

FEW public men in India have bestowed any serious study upon the problem of defence of this country against foreign invasion. Strange as it may seem, the fact is easily explicable. The peace and freedom from external aggression that the country has enjoyed for over a century under British rule have lulled the people into a sense of security which has been disturbed only for a brief while by the raid of the *Emden* during the last war. The military policy of the Government of India has succeeded in emasculating the people and rendered them almost incapable of taking any interest in the problems of defence. The nationalist movement which has spread far and wide has tended to concentrate the attention of the people on the political problem of winning *Swaraj*, whether in the shape of Dominion Status or Independence and severance of the British connection, to the exclusion of the problems of defence and industrialisation of the country. Above all, the success which has so far attended the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi in awakening mass consciousness and in securing the beginnings of *Swaraj* has created a belief in the efficacy of his gospel of non-violent *Satyagraha*. It is not realised that such success as may be ascribed to this policy is due to the fact that he had to deal with the British Government which,

of all European nations, is the most sensitive to the public opinion of the civilised world and to the nobler instincts of humanity. It is strange that the advocates of severance of the British connection should pay so little attention to the concrete problems of defence and its political and economic implications. It is imagined that the moment the country cuts adrift from the British Commonwealth, it will be able to maintain its independence and able to resist the aggression of foreign invaders. It is also believed that India will have no external enemies coveting her resources. Military training, leadership and armament cannot be acquired in the twinkling of an eye and must necessarily take a very considerable amount of time. It may be urged, and not without force, that Britain is not likely to train India for self-defence, or arm and equip her for the purpose, for fear that such training and equipment may induce the people of India to sever the ties which now bind her to the Commonwealth. The policy of distrust which has so long guided the British Government in its treatment of India is bound to be as disastrous to the British Empire as to the people of India. When the advocates of the complete independence of India are confronted with the question of the maintenance of such

independence, we are often told that though they agitate for independence, they do not believe that it will be won within a period of fifteen or twenty years at least and that the British Government is not likely to give up the control of India within that period. Should Providence, however, be ready to grant the boon of immediate independence and a foreign power attack India, India will fall an easy prey to the enemy. The policy of *Satyagraha* cannot possibly save her from foreign invaders. The conquest of Abyssinia and the invasion of China must open the eyes of all patriots to the realities of the situation and the dangers to which India will be exposed. There is an utter lack of a sense of realism among the politicians. While it is easy to understand it in the case of the credulous and unintelligent masses, it is difficult to understand the acceptance by the political leaders of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and victory through suffering. According to Mr. Gandhi, there is only one true exponent of the technique and creed of perfect non-violent *Satyagraha*, and that is himself. It is possible that when these leaders profess allegiance to the Gandhian creed, they talk with their tongues in their cheeks. In so far as our politicians wish to take advantage of the world situation and wring the concession of Dominion Status from the British Government, there need be no objection to this course. But to cut loose from the British Empire in the present situation when international relations are governed by the law of force would be a fatal policy.

There are some signs of the recovery of some of the leaders at least from the hypnosis of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy.

The desire for the industrialisation of the country, which has found expression in Congress circles, is one such sign. The country must be shaken out of its pathetic belief in the sufficiency of cottage industries, the suitability of the economic ideals of a primitive age and the creed of pure soul-force.

Professor B. P. Adarkar's Book "If War Comes" (Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad) is bound to awaken our people to the realities of the situation. He is an exceedingly well-informed and capable writer and has made an extensive and careful study of military literature and world politics. His knowledge of current affairs and the world situation is fully up to date. It is, of course, exceedingly difficult, at this time of international tension and crises and swiftly moving events, for any book to continue to be up to date for any length of time after its publication. But if it fails to do so, it is not the fault of the author. His conclusions have not been affected by the events which have happened since it was published in January last. The author modestly calls his book "An Essay on India's Military Problems", and he does not claim any specialist knowledge of the technique of warfare or of the delicate nuances of the international political landscape. The main purpose of the book is to give the Indian reader a broad idea of the international situation, the possibilities of war, the chief alignments of groups among the probable participants and the tremendous change in the balance of international politics wrought by the fast progressing technique of warfare. He has discussed many topics bearing

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upon the position of India in the event of a world war.

The first part of his work is devoted to the changes in the methods of warfare, the predominant part that will be played by the air forces, the command of the sea routes, the mechanisation of the armies, the new instruments of war and the warring camps of the world. He has also devoted a chapter to the moral to be drawn from the Sino-Japanese war. The second part of the book deals with the planning of Indian defence, the position of India in the coming world war, the accoutrements of war, the financing of defence and the wheels of industry. Prof. Adarkar has undertaken the task as a labour of love and hopes that the book will serve the purpose of developing a school of thought, which would take cognisance of the realities of the international situation, the dangers of isolation and the urgency of our military needs. The book is admirably adapted to fulfil this purpose. It is written in an incisive and elegant style and is delightful reading. It is one of absorbing interest and should be studied by every student, citizen and politician.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the foreword of Prof. Meghnad Saha, which is an eloquent plea for the industrialisation of India and the creation of a defensive mentality among the people. He has done well to point out that the true doctrine of Hinduism is not the doctrine of passive resistance or pacifism, but, as pointed out in the Gita, the duty of a righteous war for just causes.

It would not be amiss to refer to some of the author's views put forward in this interesting book. As pointed out by Prof. Saha, the decline of British power

in world politics is not a matter for congratulation, but of grave concern to India and almost a matter of life and death. Mr. Adarkar points out that the wiser course for India is to make common cause with Britain, not to save Britain, for it does not lie within our power to save it, but to save ourselves. He pleads for a new deal between India and Britain by which what Mahatma Gandhi calls the substance of independence and what constitutionalists call Dominion Status will immediately be conferred on India, and in return the latter should enter into a binding alliance with Britain.

In discussing the technique of war, while the author rightly attaches importance to the instruments of aerial warfare, he is disposed greatly to depreciate the role of the navy in future wars. I doubt whether he is justified in this depreciation of the navy. Transport across the seas of armies and supplies is essential to the conduct of any long campaign and cannot possibly be secured without a powerful navy, at least for the purpose of convoy and defence. The fact that Germany, Italy, and Japan have all been constructing powerful battleships is proof of their value in war. With the exception of the author's remarks about the comparative inutility of the navy, I am inclined to agree almost entirely with his views in the first part of his book. I am, however, very sceptical of the soundness of his views in his chapter on the financing of defence.

Prof. Adarkar has laid the country under an obligation by his most useful and timely work. I hope it will open the eyes of the public to the urgency and importance of the problem of defence and its many implications both political and economic. His book is the book of the hour and will, I hope, be widely read throughout the country.

ARABS IN WORLD POLITICS

BY MR. MAQBOOL AZIZ

THE Arabs have become a very vital factor in world politics. They are playing a very important role in the rivalry among empires. This is due to their steadily growing national feeling, to their geographical position, and to their numbers, which equal the population of all the Balkan States.

The Arab world is very much larger than most people imagine. Comprising the whole of North Africa and of South-West Asia, it is far greater in extent than the Continent of Europe. Nearly half of the coast line of the Mediterranean Sea runs along Arabian lands. Arabia Proper, that is the Arabian Peninsula, is six times as large as Germany, which means that it would more than cover the United States east of the Mississippi.

Most Arab lands, however, are not verdant. And they are of vital interest, not primarily on account of their historical associations, but because of their geographical location. They lie in the way of empires. The control of them is absolutely essential for world powers.

The chief highway of the greatest empire, Great Britain, passes directly through the Arab world. Whether one comes by air, by land, or by water from London to India, he crosses Arab territory. The chief commercial air lines of Great Britain to South Africa and Australia also have stations in Arabian States.

SUEZ CANAL

The Suez Canal is an Arabian ditch. Neither Great Britain nor Italy could keep in close touch with the most vital points of their empires without the voluntary or forced permission of the Arabs. Two among the longest and most important

French and British pipe lines rise in and from beginning to end, pass through Arabia countries. If the Arabs were in complete control of their territory and said 'No' to Mussolini, not a single Italian boat could connect up Ethiopia. Arabs stand between France and most of its colonies too.

Arab territory is divided into many states or colonies, some of which are the following:—Palestine, Egypt, Sinai, Trans-Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Latakia, Iraq, Yemen, Hejaz, Nejd, Aden, Oman, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. Of these lands, France holds in the form of protectorates mandates, and colonies 1,153,752 square miles, and Italy 640,000. Great Britain holds as mandates Palestine and Trans-Jordan with 26,320 square miles exercises a control over Egypt with 383,000 square miles, exerts a dominant influence in Iraq, and keeps Arabia Proper very strictly within its sphere of influence.

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The word 'Arab' is usually used as a rather loose and general term, classifying Egyptians, Iraqis, Syrians, and Hejazis all as Arabs.

All the people in the countries mentioned speak the Arab language and feel Arab unity. An Egyptian from Cairo understands a Syrian from Aleppo. The ways of life, the clothes, the religion, the traditions, and the attitudes of all these Arab people are similar.

Arabs are predominantly peasants and shepherds. A third or more of them are still Bedouins. Probably a half live in small, unattractive, wretched villages and work the land for rich masters. The vast majority are Moslems.

Let us now examine the outlook of the major Arab countries.

MAY 1939]

ARABS IN WORLD POLITICS

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PALESTINE

One of the fiercest struggles in all human history is being repeated; both parties are intensely in earnest and both have some rights on their side. As to the Arabs' case, they thought that when the British conquered Palestine in 1918, taking it not from the Arabs, but from their masters, the Turks, the Allies were bringing them freedom. And when they learned they were to be a colony, they committed acts of violence in protest. The Arabs here are not very aggressive, but British rule brought the Jews to Palestine. Half a century ago there were barely 30,000 here. At the beginning of the World War 60,000. Now 400,000. The Jews have come to be nearly half as many as the Arabs and are increasing.

The Jews, say the Arabs, plan to dominate Palestine, so the Arabs are fighting for their homes. When they entered 1,300 years ago they didn't take Palestine from the Jews. When the Arabs took it, they destroyed Roman armies and not Jewish.

During the succeeding centuries, Palestine was ruled from Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo and Constantinople, but its population was Arab.

During this long period, the Jews never made any attempt to reconquer Palestine. The Christians tried it a score of times but without permanent success. The Arabs, in spite of temporary defeats, held Palestine against all attacks of the Christian world.

SYRIA

Damascus, capital of Syria, is said to be the oldest city existing. Other human settlements were founded earlier, such as Babylonia, Thebes, and Memphis, but they have disappeared.

It was here that the Arabian renaissance began somewhat more than 50 years ago. These awakenings were subjected to severe persecution at the hands of their Turkish masters and had to flee to Cairo, which is one of the reasons why Egypt has become the leader of the Arabs.

The Syrians are closer to Europe than any other important group of Arabs. They have extensive contacts with Western capitals, send their sons in large numbers to Western schools and have very progressive colonies of emigrants in America.

France took over Syria as a mandate driving out an Arab King, Feisal. They divided it into five completely different administrative areas. They include the Syrian Republic, the Lebanon Republic, Latakia, the Sanjak of Antioch, and the territory of the Djebel Druse—a wild mountainous area east of the Sea of Galilee inhabited by 50,000 Arab shepherds. The divisions have since been reduced to two, the one Syria, the other Lebanon which is being merged with the remaining three. According to an agreement in 1936, the mandate will end next year.

IRAQ

Iraq, or Mesopotamia, obtained its freedom from the British mandate in 1932. It is a striking example of a wise international agreement admirably fulfilled. The independence, security, and fairly good administration which Iraq enjoys are among the most credible achievements of the League of Nations. Iraq is Geneva's child—still rather immature, but promising.

Iraq is much larger than Italy, yet contains only 3,000,000 inhabitants. It could easily maintain three times as many.

In the northern part of the country are rich oil deposits. Great Britain and France exploit this oil and send it across

the desert in two pipe lines, each 900 miles long, which terminate at the harbour of Tripoli and Haifa.

Iraq controls its own army, its own air force, its own finances, its own foreign affairs, and its own schools.

Britain, however, considers Iraq a vital link in its system of communications and defence and still exercises much influence in Bagdad. The other Arabs are clamouring to be given the status of Iraq, and she is trying to show that Arabs know how to use such a status.

EGYPT

The strongest Arab group are the Egyptians. They are the most numerous, richest, best organised, and of the most political importance. Fourteen million in number, they occupy a country containing 317,840 square miles, but 95 per cent. of them live upon two long and very narrow ribbons of verdure skirting the Nile.

The Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans captured Egypt and ruled it altogether for 10 centuries, yet none planted their culture here. The Arabs left their language, civilization and religion; they made Egypt Arabian.

In 1882, Great Britain occupied Egypt, but later during the Great War converted it into a protectorate. This was abolished in 1922. Her one supreme issue is its relation with Great Britain, which was settled in the treaty signed on December 23, 1936.

In this struggle upwards, Egypt has acquired first place among the Arabs.

ARABIA

Arabia is a land bigger than the whole of Europe outside of Russia, yet containing only 6,000,000 inhabitants. The Arabs let 10 centuries of history sweep by unnoticed.

But at last Arabia, too, is being drawn into history's stream. Automobiles have begun to race across Arabian wastes. Airplanes fly over the deserts. Electricity glows in the mosques at Mecca. And practically all the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula, all these wandering tribes, are again united under a single master. His name is Sultan Ibn-Saud. He is the greatest figure in the Arab world, statesman, soldier, the strongest character among the 240,000,000 Moslems

TRANS-JORDAN

A straight line of 600 miles from Bagdad west across the desert to the port of Jaffa or to Haifa on the Mediterranean Sea passes through the little State of Trans-Jordan that forms the indispensable middle link in this vital international highway.

Even if the Suez Canal were closed Great Britain might keep in direct and rapid contact with India along the route—London, Gibraltar, Bagdad, Persian Gulf and India. Over this corridor passes the Imperial Airway, and through it runs the pipe line from Mosul to the Mediterranean Sea. It is probable that through it will eventually be constructed a railroad direct from Haifa to Bagdad.

The capital, Aman, with 20,000 inhabitants, is a very new and very old city lying at the foot of high hills. On the finest elevation is the palace of the ruler Emir Abdullah, brother of late Feisal.

Trans-Jordan contains about 16,220 square miles, which means it is almost as big as any European city. The inhabitants are all Arabs. Most of them live in tents and cultivate the soil or tend flocks.

MONROE DOCTRINE

THE BED-ROCK OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

BY DR. P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA

(Columbia University, New York, U. S. A.)

THE overtures of dictator-nations like Nazi Germany to the Republics of South America have more than ever brought the Monroe Doctrine to the forefront. Briefly, the Monroe Doctrine advises the European and other Powers that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety". The American statesman and author of the nineties, John Hay, is said to have once remarked: "The Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule—these are sufficient basis for America's foreign policy." Unquestionably vast numbers of Americans would follow him in thus giving primacy to the Doctrine. After all, it is a peculiarly American principle, while the Golden Rule is or ought to be the property of all civilized peoples.

The situation when the Monroe Doctrine was first promulgated to the world in the message which President Monroe sent to the American Congress on December 2, 1823, had certain evident resemblances to the situation of to-day. Europe was struggling in the wake of an exhausting war, or rather series of wars. Most of the Continent was held firmly in the grip of political reaction. The principles high in favour were those of the Bourbons, Metternich, and Czar Alexander I. As two dictators to-day have formed the Berlin-Rome axis, so then the leaders of the Continent formed the Holy Alliance and adapted it to purposes of repression. Intervention to suppress a popular revolution in Spain seemed to foreshadow a more

ambitious movement to restore Spanish sovereignty in Latin America, where the United States had already recognized the independence of the former colonies.

In the century and more since then, the feeling of people of the United States of kinship with Latin America has grown stronger. They cherish more vigorously than ever the ideal of the right of free peoples to govern themselves according to their own free will. But the impulse of self-protection remains the chief support of the Doctrine. With the Panama Canal to defend, with the fear of a combination between Germany and Italy on their east and Japan on their west before them, they are inclined to give it as much weight as ever. They talk nowadays of joint programs of protection, of bi-continental plans of defence; but self-defence is their main object, and correctly so.

The general tendency of American statesmanship in recent years has been to convert the unilateral Monroe Doctrine into a bi-continental assertion of principle. That tendency received its first effective impulse in the then American Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Elihu Root's famous speech to the Third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in July, 1906. Speaking of the Doctrine, he said in words singularly pertinent to the situation to-day:

Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration (of Monroe's) implies; so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and laboured is the twin

sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and bring us ever nearer the perfection of ordered liberty.

No sensible American has ever thought that the Latin American republics ought to have just the same political ideas and institutions as the English-speaking republic. Americans have always taken the frequent dictatorships to the south of them as natural. But the spirit of these dictatorships has never remotely approached the philosophy underlying the totalitarian systems. Dictatorships in Latin America, while they have represented the intolerance of one party toward all rival parties, have not been destructive of personal liberty; they have never set up a regimented slave-State. The Latin-American peoples, at bottom, have continued to hold ideas of freedom which are not essentially different from those of the people of U. S. A. Left to themselves, as Monroe demanded they be, they will go on cherishing these ideas. And it is certainly part of the policy of the United States Government to see that they are left politically to themselves.

The Monroe Doctrine to-day is as valid as ever and as warmly cherished by American opinion. In recent years it has simply been divested of some accretions. The present Administration has done its utmost to assure Latin-American nations that it will not use its power in the old imperialistic ways. It will not use that power for selfish ends at all.

"Our new policy of the good neighbour," said Sumner Welles, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1936, "has been predicated upon the belief of this government that there should exist an inter-American political relationship based on a recognition of actual and not theoretical equality between the American republics; on a complete forbearance from interference by any one republic in the domestic concerns of any

other; on economic co-operation; and finally on the common realization that in the world at large all of the American republics confront the same international problems and that in their relations with non-American powers the welfare and security of any one of them cannot be a matter of indifference to the others."

So far as the relations of the New World with the Old are concerned, the Monroe Doctrine remains what it was. It is a great defensive principle that cannot and will not be dropped. If any European power tries "in any form" to extend its system or control to any American State; if it forgets Monroe's injunction "to leave the parties to themselves", then the Doctrine will be re-invoked firmly. The burden of its armed support must fall upon U. S. A. But the United States, now rapidly rearming, is equal to the task, and already it has assurances of support from its Southern neighbours.

The Eighth Pan-American Conference held in Lima, in the South American Republic of Peru during Christmas week of 1938, crowned its labours with the unanimous announcement that the republics of the Western Hemisphere intend to make common cause in the face of a threat to the peace, security or territorial integrity of any one of them, whatever may be the nature of the acts deemed threatening.

This document, known as the Declaration of Lima, will stand, if the hopes of the sponsors are realized, as a warning to totalitarian or other non-American States that the western republics will close ranks if menaced by military, economic, political or cultural aggression.

Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, took the floor at the conclusion of the Conference to hail the declaration as evidence of an unprecedented feeling of solidarity and as recognition that American institutions and the absolute sovereignty of each American nation were necessary for every republic in this hemisphere.

Provincial Governments and Conventions

BY MR. N. N. GHOSH, M.A.

(Head of the Department of History and Civics, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad)

THE Government of India Act 1935 seeks to establish autonomous Governments in the Provinces with a Federal Centre, composed of British Indian Provinces and Indian States as federating

the Act, there is possibility of such development.

The Constitution Act gives specific legislative power to the provinces leaving the residuary power to the Federal Centre on the Canadian model. Within the limited scope of these specific legislative powers, a Provincial Legislature is fully competent to act to carry on the provincial administration through a Cabinet fully responsible to it. The Instrument of Instructions to the Governor clearly enjoins on him to appoint the Ministers chosen by the leader of the party commanding a majority in the Legislature, and the Governor is to act ordinarily according to the advice of the Council of Ministers so chosen and to foster joint responsibility. The Provincial Government, thus, is to

be run perfectly on the British model within the limited sphere of its administration. There are, indeed, the safeguards in the shape of Special Responsibilities of the Governor. But these safeguards need not be necessarily used any more than the King of England uses his unlimited legal powers to interfere with the administration of his Cabinet Ministers. These safeguards were incorporated because of a feeling of doubt as to the success of the big experiment of parliamentary democracy that is being tried for the first time in India. I do not hold these opinions with a defeatist mentality, but with a sense of reality of the situation. There is the minority question, there are the Indian States, the Police department handed to an Indian Minister to cope with revolutionary violence; there is the large British vested interests. With all these the Provincial Government will



MR. N. N. GHOSH, M.A.

units. The latter part of the Constitution Act has not yet been enforced and we are concerned at present, as the title of the paper suggests, with the provincial part of the Constitution Act, which has been in operation for a little more than a year and a half. The results of its working during that period enable us to draw certain conclusions and offer suggestions based thereon.

As part of the discussion of the subject of constitutional development in the provinces through conventions, the following questions arise:—

1. Are the provinces fully autonomous?
2. Is there any provision in the Constitution Act for its autonomous development into full responsible governments in the provinces?
3. And whether in the absence of adequate constituent powers provided in

be concerned. There is again a danger of the break-down of the Constitution if an elected majority party of the Legislature refuse to form the Government and make parliamentary government impossible. To see that all these matters are properly and fairly dealt with by the new authorities under the Constitution Act, the Governor has been given certain legal powers. But for all these special powers, the Governor is supposed to be a Constitutional Head of the Provincial Government. The King of England has in theory unlimited legal powers of interference in the day to day administration of the country. But this theory of the English Constitution has never been put into practice for the last 250 years. The working of the Constitution at least in the Congress Provinces has for the last twenty months amply demonstrated the fact that the Governor does not wish, and has not seen it necessary, to interfere in the work of Ministers, and his special powers have rarely been used. These special powers are expected to lose their importance and efficacy by non-use. In the few instances of conflict between the Ministers and the Governors that arose in the U. P., Bihar and Orissa, it is the Governor and not the Ministers who have yielded. These instances have created precedents of great importance for future guidance of Ministers and Governor and their mutual relation in the field of routine administration. What is needed is the right kind of men who would form the Ministry with the backing of a disciplined majority in the Legislature that has derived power from the electorates. The sense of power derived from the people whom they are to serve, spirit of justice, equity and

fairplay inspiring their administration, mental equipment, character and self-sacrifice of the Congress Ministers have convinced the Governors and their masters at home of the capacity of the Indian Ministers to run the Government without their constant tutelage. So partly by the non-use of the powers and partly by precedents of the Governor's yielding in cases of conflict with Ministers the field for constitutional development of responsible government is being daily widened. Constitutional right is created by this method and takes precedence on legal authority. In the strict letter the "constitutional authority" has always abrogated "legal authority".

Now the question arises: Are there any constituent powers in the Legislatures set up by the Constitution Act which may be used for amendments in the constitution? In other words, is there any effective machinery provided in the Act for changes in the Constitution leading to automatic development? My reading of the Act leaves me in despair for not finding any explicit and adequate provision for the amendment of the Act by the Indian Legislatures whether Federal or Provincial except Section 308 which, on account of its limited scope and difficulty of operation, is hopelessly inadequate for the purpose. If the framers of this Constitution had in mind the Australian analogy in this respect, much of the opposition to the present Constitution would have lost its force and the demand of the Congress for a Constituent Assembly to frame a new Constitution, perhaps, would not have arisen. Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act of 1900 clearly provides in Section 128 that

may pass an Act for alteration of the Constitution and the Act so passed shall be submitted in each State to be voted upon by the electors qualified to vote for the election of the members of the House of Representatives. The Constituent powers provided in Section 308 of Government of India Act 1935 are halting, based on suspicion and limited in scope. Sub-section 1 lays down a round about dilatory procedure and renders the powers therein of no practical value; and Sub-section 2 [clauses (a) (b) (c) and (d)] limits the scope of amendment. Sub-section 1 provides that a resolution for amendment of the provisions of the Constitution passed by an Indian Legislature (Federal or Provincial) shall in the first instance be submitted to the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be, to be communicated by him to the Secretary of State who will then within six months of the receipt of this communication make a statement in Parliament of the action he proposes to take on the said resolution. Sub-section 2 [clauses (a) and (b)] lays down that these amendments must be limited to the size, composition of the Legislatures, the method of choosing or the qualification of members, provided that the said amendments in no way vary the proportion of seats between the two Houses of the Legislature or the proportion between the seats allotted to British Indian Provinces and to Indian States. Sub-section 2 [clauses (c) and (d)] relates to the amendments of minor nature. However limited the scope is, Sub-section 2 [clauses (a) and (b)] allows room for automatic development of the Constitution on the right lines, and more attention should be paid to it and insistent use made of it

to change, for instance, the method of election based on "Communal Award", and replace it by the system of Joint Electorate. There will be no denying that the present method of election by communal electorates is a great hindrance to nationalism and to the creation of real Parliamentary parties based on secular interests divorced from religion and communal feelings. The present method is based on mediæval conception of polity which does not fit in the modern conception of Parliamentary democracy. The fact that the Act contains this section proves that the framers of the Constitution were alive to a sense of wrong they were making to the cause of Indian nationalism by the separate electorate system and left it to the future Legislatures to undo it if they so desired.

Apart from the provision for automatic growth of the Constitution provided in Section 308 discussed above, a firm stand on the constitutional rights by the Ministers *vis-a-vis* the Governor's powers within the framework of the Constitution will itself lead to the establishment of certain conventions as a basis of future growth of the Constitution in the provinces on the right lines. To illustrate my theme, I shall refer first to Sections 56 to 59 which gave the Governor some extraordinary powers of control of the Police over the head of the Minister in charge of Law and Order. These sections are in addition to the list of Special Responsibilities embodied in Section 52 (1) (a). This shows that the Governor is not only to deal with emergencies arising out of crimes of violence or an outbreak of terrorist movement but to interfere with the normal administration of the Police force, if he

so desires. The operation of this section may be nullified by a strong Minister responsible for Law and Order and at the same time discharging his duties with ability and efficacy. Then there are Sections 240 and 241 which place the Indian Civil Services virtually beyond the control of the Minister under whom he is to serve. A strong opposition was led against this provision by Indians in the Joint Parliamentary Committees and was later bitterly criticised by the Indian Press. But even here a strong and able Minister may compel loyalty and obedience where they are lacking. There are a hundred and one means by which a Minister may discipline a recalcitrant member of the I. C. S. and I. P. if he is so foolish as to defy an order of the Minister or act contrary to his instructions. Then there is the Governor who is empowered to abolish a post occupied by him on payment of due compensation for various reasons [Section 240 Sub-section (4)]. It is also within the competence of a Provincial Legislature to pass resolutions abolishing posts of the rank and pay of All-India Services for reasons of economy, and the Governor may be advised by the Minister to take the necessary steps to give effect to it. For instance, out of the four posts of Divisional Commissioners in Assam, two have been abolished in this manner. The U. P. Legislature has passed resolutions provincialising the Indian Civil, Indian Police and Indian Medical Services and the resolution has been forwarded to the Government of India for their consideration.

Lastly, I shall refer to another section of the Act whose operation may be deadened in order to create a convention. Section 50 sub-Section (2) of the Act

empowers the Governor to preside at the meetings of the Council of Ministers. But the section is a permissive and not an imperative one. The Governor in his discretion may preside at the meetings of the Cabinet. The Governor, if he chooses to remain a strictly constitutional Head, should cease to preside at the Cabinet meetings of his Ministers. If he does not follow this constitutional practice obtaining in England and the Dominions and wants to take an effective part in forming the Cabinet policy for normal administration, the Cabinet Ministers may evolve certain means within the framework of the Constitution Act by which the Governor may be discouraged to attend the Cabinet Meetings. The Premier may rely more on informal meetings of the Cabinet than calling formal ones, and in the formal Cabinet meetings if the Ministers begin the practice of using Vernaculars in their discussion, the Governor will find these meetings too dull for him to attend. In this way a healthy convention will develop by which the Governor will cease to have any effective control over the Cabinet policy and remain in dignified aloofness desirable in a Constitutional Head of a Government, the Premier providing the *liaison* between him and the Cabinet in all matters of governmental policy—a convention which developed in England since the days of George I and is found in practice in all the self-governing countries and in all other countries where parliamentary government exists.

Thus it is clear by the discussion of the above sections of the Act, which I have taken as illustrations that there is plenty of room to create precedents and conventions leading to the development of

the Constitution in the Province towards full responsible government within the limits prescribed by the Act. Truly speaking, the Government of India Act, indeed, provides a rigid Constitution. Power of amendment of the Act and even parts of it except provisions under Section 308 already discussed is not inherent in the Act, but is in the hands of a foreign Parliament which has neither the will nor the leisure to move quickly in the matter as necessity arises. Therefore changes in the Constitution Act through

parliamentary action is difficult. But it must not be lost sight of that the entire constitution has been framed on the ideal of British Parliamentary Government and the object is to establish full responsible government in the country. The experiment is being tried in the Provinces. With a determined will of the people and with the right kind of men in the Legislatures, it is possible, as I have pointed out, to make for conditions of gradual evolution of the Constitution within the framework of the Constitution Act itself.

CONJEEVARAM

CONJEEVARAM (Chingleput District, Madras Presidency, situated 45 miles west-south-west of Madras on the Chingleput-Arkonam line, S. I. R.) is one of the most ancient and celebrated towns of South India. It is also one of the seven sacred places of India, the others being Ayodhya, Muttra, Maya (Haridwar), Kasi (Benares), Avantika, and Dwaraka. It consists of two divisions: Saiva or Big Conjeevaram, and Vishnu or Little Conjeevaram. Tradition tells us of the existence in former days of a third town, the Jina Kanchi peopled by the Jainas who still live in some number in the neighbouring village of Tirupparuttikunnam. A brief history of the town will throw light on its religious and historic importance and how it came to be studded with numerous temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu, and to acquire the character of an All-India sacred city.

THE CAPITAL OF THE PALLAVAS

It was originally the capital of the Pallavas who ruled over South India

between 4th and 8th centuries A.D. Even earlier it had come to be a fertile cultivated district, situated at the northern fringe of the Chola kingdom, known as Tondaimandalam. The Pallavas were great patrons of learning and art, and upholders of Hindu religion. Under their rule, the city became a literary and religious centre. Sanskrit scholars like Dignaga the Buddhist logician and others lived in the city. It is to this period that those glowing descriptions of the city in the ancient classical works like Tamil 'Manimekalai' refer. We read that the city was strongly fortified, was resplendent with towering palaces, was surrounded by a moat and had big streets fit for cars to run in. Another poet (Appar) sings of it as a city "of boundless learning". Hiuen Tsiang, who visited it in the 7th century, says that the city was 6 miles in circumference and that its people were superior in bravery and piety as well in their love of justice and veneration for learning to many others whom he met with in his travels. The Kailasanathar temple

By PROF. A. R. WADIA, M.A.
(of the Mysore University.)

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The other temples in Saiva Conjeevaram are Kachchapeswara temple where Siva appears as being worshipped by Vishnu in the form of Kurma Murali in the weaver's quarters, Onakantesvar, Anegathangavadam, Airavatesvara, Tirukaraikadu and Chitragupta. The last is the only one of its kind known to South India dedicated to the lieutenant of the God of Death, who records the good and bad acts of men. There is a famous temple dedicated to Subrahmanya, known as Kumara Kottam.



DEVARAJASWAMI TEMPLE

Of the Vishnu temples, the most important one is that of Varadaraja with the sanctum built on a hillock. It was

patronised by Vijayanagar kings well known for their Vaishnava leanings entrusted to their gurus, the Lakshmi Kumara Tatacharyas. Achyuta Raya visited the temple and gave the deity numerous clothes, ornaments and jewels set with stones and gifted the revenues of 17 villages to the temple.



DEVARAJASWAMI TEMPLE—Another View

An equally important Vaishnava temple is the Vaikuntaperumal temple, built by the great Pallava king, Paramesvaravarman II. and originally named after him as Paramesvara-vinnagaram. It contains various fine sculptures of Vishnu

and is also famous for a series of sculptures dealing with a famous episode of Pallava history.

The other important Vishnu shrines are those of Pandavadudar, Vilakkoliperumal, Ashtabhuj and Ulagalanda-perumal. These are on the western part of the town. Some of these were built by the great Vijayanagar Emperor, Krishna Deva Raya, and many of the smaller shrines and rest-houses owe their origin to the piety of the members of the same dynasty.

There is a Jain sacred place about 2 miles to the south of Conjeevaram known as Tirupparattikunram, with florid architecture, notable sculptures and paintings.

We have already referred to the connection of Sankaracharya with the

Kamakshi Amman temple. Here at the close, we may refer to the more important part Conjeevaram played in the propagation of the Vedantic Philosophy which Sankara set himself to preach. He established here an Episcopal seat (Acharyapita) one of the four he established all over India and it was known as Kamakshipita and it continued in Conjeevaram till 1688 A.D. (originally at Vishnu Kanchi, then removed to Siva Kanchi). Pratapa Simha, the Raja of Tanjore, invited the then Swami to Tanjore where a temple was constructed to Goddess Kamakshi (which now exists). As Kumbakonam appeared better suited, king Sarfoji of Tanjore constructed the present mutt there in A.D. 1743.

THE HISTORY OF A SOUL

By PROF. A. R. WADIA, B.A. (Cantab), BAR.-AT-LAW

It is said that every man has material enough for at least one good book. If he has the ability to write, he may



PROF. A. R. WADIA

be trusted to produce a very entertaining book. The Rev. Francis Foster has succeeded in writing an autobiography

under a quaint title,* which has richly deserved the publishers' encomium: "A deeply fascinating book." The author is still a young man. Journalism came easy to him even as a schoolboy, and as he was settling down to it, there broke out the war and he was a soldier when he was barely growing out of his teens. A successful soldier both in France and Egypt, destiny drove him to India and he came into contact with a fortune-teller and a philosopher to boot. Successful predictions, not given for money, made Ananda a mysterious magnet. Months later the author looked out for him and met him under circumstances which can only be described as occult, though the irreverent may call it just a coincidence. This

* "Separate Star." By Rev. Francis Foster. Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London.

meeting brought thoughts which made a philosopher of our author and made him a seeker after truth. Ananda was palpably an Advaitin, though the author does not show any trace of familiarity with the different brands of Vedanta that are current in India. From Advaita to Christianity is a far cry and yet oddly enough this was the development of the author, odd as he himself admits, and yet, he tries to justify it as not illogical.

It is clear that the author did not start life with any predilection for Christianity, and even as a Christian priest, he is by no means blind to defects in official Christianity. Protestantism means nothing to him; for it is just "a religion of protesting against one another". The end of the war left him with a conviction that "Christianity was a spent force". "Christ had redeemed us, said the Church. From what? From sin, of course. But whence was Sin? From the Devil. God and Devil warred continually, and the battle-ground was unfortunate man, who had to bear the consequences, if God failed in the fight. What a senseless unjust arrangement!" For an Englishman who has been in India, he is frightfully unconventional: "I had ten thousand times rather be damned for all eternity with the noble-minded Sunder Singh and the splendid Amar Nath, who had rescued his officer from death at the risk of losing his own life than go to Heaven with mealy-mouthed English shopkeepers, who did no productive work of any kind and who had never had a noble thought, much less performed a noble deed in their lives." Nor does he hesitate to write after his experience of some bad specimens of Indian Christians: "I don't think there is any

doubt that the Indian Christian is inferior to his Hindu or Moslem brother"—an opinion which is corroborated by a Father Albert and raises the question why convert Indians at all—a difficult question which is taken as solved, because Christ commanded that his message be spread all over the world. Why then does he himself seek refuge in Christianity? The answer is beautifully frank even though not logical. "I had imbibed Christianity with my mother's milk and habits of thought can never be entirely eradicated."

And yet the Christianity that he finally came to accept is not the Christianity of the Churches. Protestantism is identified by him with materialism, commercialism and aggressive nationalism. He feels that Roman Catholicism will give him truth and eager to learn, he becomes a Catholic. For six years he struggles to suppress his own individuality so that he can find truth, but his thirst for truth is not satisfied. He finds in Roman Catholicism superstitions galore, and like an honest man he is driven to give it up. He is now a Nestorian priest—an order which he connects with Moses through Christ and with the old Egyptian priests through Moses. He has made it a point not to charge for any religious duty performed by him, and we can imagine how much he must be loved by his flock for this self-denial. But he must live and he lives by his pen. To his youthful journalism, later life has disclosed the gift of a novelist and then comes this fascinating autobiography.

The main interest of the book centres round the fact that, thanks to Ananda, he has shed some of the most characteristic dogmas of official Christianity. In

fact, he has re-interpreted Christianity for himself. Christ is not the son of God. Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tze—they too “may be truly called Christ. And not only they, but we are all Christs. Man is human, but “the aim of humanity must be so faithfully to reflect God that we, man and son of man, are ultimately one with God”. So we come round to the Upanishadic *Tat Tvam Asi*, a phrase not quoted by the author but its spirit has coloured his thought. And how is this unity with God to be achieved? By realising the Kingdom of Heaven on earth, and this can be achieved only by the establishment of Love, Beauty and Truth. Does Christian Europe show any traces of Christian Love and Christian Ethic? Impossible, says our author: “It would not survive as a nation if it attempted to be Christian. But that does not make Christian teaching wrong. The inference is that nationhood is wrong.” And the organised Church must be in the wrong, and he slyly points to the fact that “until only a few years ago the funds of the Church of England were invested in armament firms”.

I have focussed my attention on the religious aspect of the book, but let me hasten to add that this is only the most serious aspect of the book. It covers a good deal that is mundane. There is the episode to show how war bestialises human nature, English and Australian as much as German; how the intoxication of war brought about a wave of feminine infidelity till it came to be said: “It’s a wise man nowadays who’s sure of his own wife.” “In August 1920, I saw more women drunk than men—young women, too, of the middle and upper classes. Emancipation had gone to women’s heads. They

smoked far more furiously than men. They used language which one did not commonly hear even among the rank and file of a regiment.” And so that was—and perhaps is—the legacy of war!

Now that the world is on the brink of another war, before which the Great War might pale into insignificance, it is interesting to note the talk that the author had with a private soldier, whose name is not even recorded, and yet the Private in his own intuitive way seems to echo the doctrines of *Hind Swaraj* without ever having set his eyes on it. Gandhiji would be pleased to find an unconscious follower of his. Discussing the war in the sands of Egypt, he opined that the real enemies of England were not the Germans and Turks, but industrialism, and so he looked forward only to agriculture and pitched his hopes on Stanley Baldwin, then an unknown man. Baldwin rose to be Premier as this naive soldier had prophesied, but he did not function as the prophet of agriculture. And then he went on to say: “. the Colonies aren’t a scrap of good to England. Neither Australia nor Canada, although each is big as Europe, has a population bigger than that of London. It’s a farce to cling to whole Continents which we can’t use.” Can Hitler have said this more clinchingly?

And so it goes on. Truly a fascinating book, as interesting as any novel and far more instructive. And yet one wonders whether the book does not appear a little too early. Rev. Foster is still after truth. After six years he had to give up Roman Catholicism. Can we be sure that he will be long content to be a Nestorian priest? No reader of the book can but wonder!

BHISHMA’S WAR PHILOSOPHY

BY MR. RAJA ASOKA

THE conferences which have met from time to time in the West during more than fifty years to discuss the laws of peace and war are the development of the principles sanctioned in the seventeenth century of this era by the famous Dutchman Grotius, whose *de jure belli ac pacis* is generally regarded as the foundation of the Western science of international law.

But the history and literature of India show that the ancient Indians anticipated Grotius by about thirty centuries, that they forestalled the conferences of Geneva, St. Petersburg, Brussels and the Hague, and that they had rules of warfare laid down about fifteen centuries before the Christian era and very similar to many important regulations of modern international law.

The ancient Indians believed war to be a necessity, though they did not allow overmastering desire for conquest to over-rule their love of peace. They held that peace was the normal state of human society and was its abnormal condition. Their rules for establishing and maintaining peace were as precise as their rules for waging war.

Mahabharata, the great Indian epic, shows that both the morality and the expediency of war were discussed at length by the ancient Indians. Sometimes they debated whether war was a profitable investment for a country as the big men of the West have lately been doing.

“The king should gain victories without battles. The clash of battle is undesirable as long as one can avoid it,” said Bhishma, the mighty commander of the Kauravas and the greatest philosophic warrior-statesman.

“Men have five different kinds of strength,” declared Vidura, another great statesman of the Mahabharata, “strength of arms, good counsellors, wealth, birth, and strength of intellect. Strength of arms is inferior to all these others. Shun the waging of war for the acquisition of territory. Territory should be gained by conciliation, by gifts, and by exciting disunion among other kingdoms.”

This last means of enlarging a nation’s boundaries recalls the famous Roman motto of later centuries: divide *et impera*, which Western Dictators still regard as a highly useful maxim, as we see in the modern international conflicts.

“The energy necessary for putting down a hostile kingdom would be better expended in care of one’s own kingdom,” is one of the ancient Indian arguments against acquisition of territory by force and which is worth consideration, especially by people like Mussolini and Hitler of the present day.

Treaties and alliances held prominent place among various methods resembling those of modern times, which the ancient Indians adopted for avoiding war and for strengthening themselves to resist attack. They distinguished roughly three kinds of treaties:

1. Those made through fear.
2. Those made through good offices.
3. Those made through gifts of wealth, i.e., through a subsidy.

In those ancient days, alliances were regarded as invaluable aids to peace and supports in war. “There is nothing that cannot be achieved by alliances,” asserted Vidura. “The tiger outside the forest,”

said Krishna, "falls an easy prey; the forest wherein no tiger dwells is easily cut down; hence the tiger guards the forest, and the forest guards the tiger." "A man," said Bhishma, "crosses a deep broad river by a log. The man conveys the log to the other side, and the log also conveys the man."

To those ancient Indian statesmen, successful alliances were as necessary a part of policy as war. "When a common danger threatens, make peace," they advised, "with one who is strong. When the danger is over, consider well the advisability of making a compact with the enemy. Having achieved the object in view, trust not the foe again."

Bhishma's description of the friends of a monarch aptly summarised the factors that go to make modern international friendships, and his counsel, applied to nations, was evidently taken as a guiding principle by the ancient Indians in making peace and war. According to him, the different kinds of a ruler were: one who pursues the same object; one who is exceedingly attached to him; one who is related to him; one whose goodwill has been gained by presents and kindness; and an upright man who will range himself on one side and not on both.

"Of these kinds of friendship," said Bhishma, "look with mistrust upon the first and fourth; at the same time do not trust any overmuch. Trust and mistrust all men. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction, but trust him entirely whose fall would be the consequence of your own fall."

Already in Bhishma's time the intimate connection between war and politics was realised, and Indian statesmen were divided as to whether war is an outgrowth of

politics or politics an outgrowth of war. Before resorting to force, the peoples of ancient India, who were involved in disputes, dispatched diplomatic agents or envoys to each other to try what could be effected by peaceful persuasion. The ablest brains of the nation were pressed into this service. "They should," said Bhishma, "possess these great qualities: noble birth, eloquence, ability, pleasant address, reliability in delivering the message entrusted to them, and a good memory."

Ancient India had a great secret service system with approved rules. Spies were as eyes to the kings of ancient India and as roots to their kingdoms. Inattention to spies is mentioned by Vidura as one of the causes of the downfall of a king.

Several centuries before the birth of Greece and Rome, students of war philosophy in India had gone deep into the question of neutrals and had divided them into four main heads: Neutrals who, whether active or passive, could not but be affected by the progress and result of the war; neutrals who would be practically unaffected by the war and therefore felt hardly any concern in the progress of the struggle; neutrals who would be affected by the progress and result of the war and who could, if they chose, alter the course of the war without becoming belligerents by manipulating economic forces, etc., and neutrals who, though affected by the war, had not the power to alter the course of the war.

Indiscriminate slaughter was regarded by ancient Indian warrior-statesmen as both inhuman and inexpedient. A retreating enemy, they said, was not to be pursued too closely lest he should suddenly turn and rend his pursuers and also because brave men do not care to mow down

those who flee before them. "A king," said Bhishma, "should never slay a large proportion of the forces of the foe, though he should do sufficient to render his victory sure. He should never inflict such injury as would leave a lasting memory of humiliation in the enemy's heart."

The ancient Indians maintained that it was better to go down before the foe than to conquer by wrongful methods. "A victory sullied by unrighteousness," they said, "is insecure and never brings one to heaven." In certain particulars the ancient Indian's sense of fair play far exceeded that which now prevails in modern warfare of the West and of the Far East. Bhishma's rule was "mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry". Manu, the ancient Indian law-giver, maintained that battles were to be contested fairly.

Other definite rules for the conduct of warfare are clearly anticipations of the principles set forth by the modern European conventions and conferences. "Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used," said Bhishma, over thirty centuries before the Hague Conference forbade belligerents "to employ poison or poisoned arms". "A feeble or wounded opponent should not be slain," said Bhishma, "or he whose weapon has been broken. One should fight one's adversary and leave him when he is disabled. A warrior whose armour has fallen off, or who begs for quarter, or who has cast aside his weapon, may be taken prisoner, but never slain."

The ancient Indians guarded against maltreatment of war prisoners by dividing them into two classes: the well-to-do, who were kept as hostages against unfair warfare on the part of their enemies;

and the ordinary prisoners, who were placed under the supervision of the authorities in charge of temples and shrines. According to Bhishma, those prisoners whose wounds permanently disabled them from military service were to be sent home; others were to be taken to the victor's camp and their wounds attended to there. These regulations for humane treatment of prisoners may be compared to the regulations drawn up at the Geneva Convention of 1906.

The war-lords of ancient India advised moderation, urging the victor to protect a conquered country from useless plunder. "Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility and also from insolent speech," is counsel to which Bhishma gives approval. But when a people offered obstinate and determined resistance to the invader, the attacking power was advised to adopt sterner tactics, "slaughtering the population, pulling up the roads, setting fire to and knocking down its houses."

In ancient India, to slay or imprison envoys was a heinous sin. It was forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, or whose armour and weapons had fallen off; a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children and women.

To prevent the destruction of infant life and to save the children from being branded as bastards, the alliances that were responsible for "war babies" were raised to the status of marriage. Three classes of such alliances were

recognised: the reciprocal connection of a youth and a maiden with mutual desire, denominated a Gandharva marriage; when the lover secretly embraces the maiden, flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect, called a Pisacha marriage; and the seizure of a maiden by force from her home, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded, styled a Rakshasa marriage. The expense of the maintenance of the offspring of these alliances was borne by the church, the army, and the civil ratepayers, the proportion contributed by each of these bodies being fixed according to certain rules.

War indemnities were paid by conquered kingdoms. There were rules regulating the confiscation of the property of the vanquished. Scholars and philosophers belonging to the conquering party were given certain prizes taken from the conquered. The conqueror's attitude was to be a diplomatic blend of mildness and severity. "Before striking the blow and while striking, speak gracious words; having struck, show pity towards the conquered," was their motto. The people were to be protected from pillage, slaughter, and pain; but a conquered foe was to be kept in submission, as a father masters and restrains his son, without anger and without destroying him. "Put no trust in a vanquished foe," was another ancient Indian maxim; and "when one's enemies have been subdued, one should not repose in peace." "A king should bring over a hero to his side by showing appreciation of him: a coward, by making him afraid; an avaricious man, by bestowing wealth upon him; and with an equal he should wage war."

To the ancient Indians righteous battle was a virtue, and the high merit, glory, and respect earned by the warrior who met with death in such a combat made him envied by his fellows. "Life laid down in battle," it is written, "is for heroes the blessed gate to heaven." But "the gods themselves with Indra at their head send misfortunes upon them who desert their comrades and return with limbs unwounded from the fray."

The ancient Indians admitted that warfare could not always be waged in a thoroughly straightforward manner. "Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be at the king's command," declared Bhishma, "yet though he be conversant with it, he should not employ the crooked wisdom as aggressor. He may use it to oppose the dangers that come upon him."

Ancient Indian armies consisted of four main divisions: regulars, allies, mercenaries, and irregulars, each made up of eight parts—cars, elephants, horses, officers, infantry, camp-followers, spies, and ensigns. There were volunteers among these armies and it should be noted that according to the Indian idea of chivalry, a volunteer is a man who refuses all rewards, ever decorations, for he is risking his life only for the sake of his country. Subsidies were paid to certain peoples in return for military service, if required. The army had rules for various formations of troops, systems of signalling, armour weapons, various badges, generous rewards for valour, medical corps with equipment in attendance at the camps, and envoys whose mission it was to treat with the foe.

Unexpected and superior preparation for war, and unexpected attack, are in the opinion of an ancient Indian warrior highly important principles of strategy. Indian strategists believed in decisive action

THE "PRAKRAMA SAMUDRA" SCHEME

By MR. A. FELIX DEP

THE State Council in Ceylon voted a sum of Rs. 1,377,334 for the first stage of the Prakrama samudra (Sea of Prakrama) scheme, the object of which is the restoration of an ancient irrigational system traditionally attributed to king Prakrama Bahu the Great (1153-1186 A.D.) in the Tammankaduwa district and immediately to the south of Polonnaruwa.

The scheme, which is ultimately expected to cost Rs. 1,710,000 will, when completed, be the Island's largest tank with a capacity of 29,619 gallons and, it is claimed, be capable of permanently irrigating 21,500 acres of paddy, fodder and pasture land.

The Mahavamsa throws a flood of light on the life of this sagacious Sinhalese monarch, Prakrama Bahu the Great, whose reign Turnour characterizes as "the most martial, enterprising and glorious in Sinhalese history", and the colossal irrigation schemes and public works he inaugurated for the lasting benefit of his subjects. Some details of the "Sea of Prakrama" and of his other activities may, therefore, prove of interest, not only to the student of ancient Ceylon history, but to all those interested in our Island's agricultural and irrigational problems as well.

Prakrama Bahu the Great assumed the Government of the *Pihiti Ratta* with the title of *Mahadi Pado* (sub-king) in the year 1153 A.D. *Pihiti Ratta*, which is one of the three ancient divisions of Ceylon, was bounded on the west, north and east by the sea; on the south by the Mahawelli Ganga and the Dedru Oya. It was also sometimes called *Raja Ratta* as the ancient capitals were situated in it.

The other two divisions were known as *Ruhunu Ratta* and *Maya Ratta*.

KING'S LOFTY IDEALS

The 68th Chapter of the Mahavamsa gives a detailed account of the very successful measures adopted by king Prakrama Bahu to promote wide-spread paddy cultivation throughout his kingdom; and I cannot do better than quote a few extracts from it as translated by the late Mudaliyar Louis de Zoysa, which give one a good insight into the lofty ideals which actuated the king, who was at all times intent on the welfare of his people.

This sovereign of lofty aspirations, who was well acquainted with foreign countries, thus thought within himself:

In what well governed kingdom is the administration of affairs conducted without obtaining a knowledge of its means.

The object of my sovereignty is the advancement of the prosperity of Religion and the State, having vanquished all enemies. This kingdom although very small, being filled with great prosperity, I shall by the superiority of my wisdom soon bring into such a state as that it will surpass the greatness of other kingdoms.

Conferring appointments on my officers whose advancement is identical with my own, according to their respective merits, rewarding them with honours and wealth, causing my own people to settle in various parts within my dominions from the mountain Samanta Kuta (Adam's Peak) as far as the sea-coast, the cultivation of grain should be carried on in as many ways as possible.

PADDY FIELDS IN EVERY PLACE

Having thus reflected, the king thus addressed his officers:

In my kingdom are many paddy fields cultivated by means of rain water, but few indeed are those which are cultivated by means of perennial streams and great tanks.

By rocks, by many thick forests, and by great marshes is the land covered.

In such a country let not even a small quantity of water obtained by rain go to the sea without benefiting man.

Paddy fields should be formed in every place excluding those only that produce gems, gold and other precious things.

It does not become persons in our situation to live enjoying our own ease and unmindful of the interests of the people. And ye all, be ye not discouraged when a necessary but a difficult work is on hand. Regard it not indeed as a work of difficulty, but following my advice, accomplish it without opposing my instructions.

The highly renowned monarch, then, ordered the construction of the great embankment celebrated under the name of Kotta Baddha, which had long been swept away by the action of the river, leaving behind nothing but the name and which indeed had baffled the attempts of former kings to keep it in repair.

MINISTERS' PROTEST

Whereupon the ministers, one and all, represented in various ways the extreme difficulty of the work and the instability of it even if it could be accomplished.

The king rejecting their counsels, remarked: "What is there that cannot be done in this world by men of perseverance? Is not the tradition still current that Rama built a bridge over the great ocean itself by means of monkeys?"

If I am destined by fortune to reduce this island under one regal canopy and to promote the welfare of the State and Religion, then, indeed, will the commencement of the work see the accomplishment of it also." Thus did he of great courage inspire his ministers with courage.

ROYAL PALACE IN TANK

After detailing some of the great embankments and canals constructed on the orders of the king, the Mahavamsa proceeds to describe "the Sea of Prakrama":

In an island situated in the middle of it, on the summit of a rock the king built a Dhatu Gabbha (Dagoba) resembling the peak of Mount Kaylasa.

In the middle also of the tank he built a royal palace three storeys high and of superlative beauty; a palace indeed for the collected joys of the world.

The chronicle here goes on to enumerate many ruined tanks, which the benevolent monarch repaired in various parts of his dominions and records also the draining of marshes and allotment of paddy lands to the inhabitants through the village chiefs. The Chapter concludes:

In this manner having augmented ninefold the revenues of the State from what they were, the wise king caused the country to be so prosperous as never to know the calamities of famine.

The *Panda Wapi* (Panda Tank) of the Mahavamsa may, I think, readily be recognized in the Padavi or Padavil Kulam of the Wannu district of to-day. The Pali *Wapi* and the Tamil word Kulam (incorrectly spelt *Colom*) both mean tank, so that the Pali expression *Panda Wapi* is really the equivalent of the Tamil *Panda* or *Pandi Kulam*, which might very easily have been corrupted into *Padavi* or *Padavil Colom* (Kulam).

As the "Sea of Prakrama" has been identified from its remains to-day as being in the Tammankaduwa district in North Central Province, it is most probable that the boundaries of the Eastern Province at the present day were different from what they were in the time of king Prakrama Bahu the Great and that this great tank was really in the Eastern Province as it then was.

TEN OUTLETS

According to Turnour's translation of the Mahavamsa, there were no less than 10 outlets from the "Sea of Prakrama", by means of which the accumulated water of this colossal tank was conveyed in different directions. Turnour writes:

The king Prakrama formed the deep canal called the Makara Ganga, which flowed from the Makara outlet of the Sea of Prakrama; from the same Sea the great canal Hainia Wattee flowing

to the Maha Maigree Wame. From the outlet called Samammal, the canal distinguished by the name of Neela-Wapane; flowing from the outlet called the Keela-Kara Oodyaane, the Salalawatte Canal; flowing from the outlet celebrated under the name of Waitra-Wattee, the Waitra-Wattee Great Canal; from the southern outlet, the Toongha-badsa Canal; flowing from the Mangala outlet, the Mangala Ganga Canal; flowing from the eastern outlet, the Champua Canal; flowing from the same sea to the Poornawardhana Tank, the Saraswattee Canal; flowing westward of that, the Waimawattee Canal.

It will be interesting to know whether any of these outlets can be identified and how many of them are in existence to-day.

GOVERNOR WARD'S TRIBUTE

Governor Sir Henry George Ward in 1855 gives a most interesting account in a Minute he wrote after a visit to the Eastern Province, which enables one to form some idea of the magnitude of this gigantic tank. His Excellency wrote:

It is the most wonderful work that I have yet visited, whether we look to size, difficulties of execution, or to the time at which these difficulties were surmounted.

North of these again, about 40 miles, is Padiwel Colum, the most gigantic work of all, for the bund which is in perfect repair, except at the one spot where, in the course of ages, the waters have forced a passage between it and the natural hills which it united, is 11 miles long, 30 feet broad at the summit, 180 feet at the base, and 70 feet high.

Padiwel Colum, the greater part of which I rode or walked over, was formed by the waters of the Morray Oya and Moonguna Oya, confined to the plain by the enormous bund which I have just described. Its construction must have occupied a million of people for 10 or 15 years.

WHAT TENNENT SAYS

Sir Emerson Tennent, who also gives a very interesting account of this tank in his work "Christianity in Ceylon", calls it the largest as well as the most perfect of these gigantic works in Ceylon. Incidentally, Tennent also states that

on the top of the great embankment itself and close by the breach, there stands a tall sculptured stone, with two engraved compartments, that no doubt record its history, but the Odair (Udayar) informed us that the characters were Nagara, and the language Pali, or some unknown tongue, which no one can now read.

AFTER CENTURIES OF NEGLECT

What the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands now aims at doing is practically the re-creation of this colossal tank, which king Prakrama Bahu named "Prakrama Samudra" or Sea of Prakrama in the twelfth century. Technically, the proposal involves the diverting of water from the Abanganga at Angamadella, just above its confluence with the Mahaweliganga, by means of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ mile channel to the great storage reservoir now identified as the Prakrama Samudra. The bund of the original sea is said to in a state of preservation still except for one big breach. Naturally, during the many centuries of neglect that have elapsed since it was built, the Yodi-ela or the conveyance channel has also fallen into utter disrepair and no less than 11 miles of the Yodi-ela and the connected channel distributory system will have to be constructed afresh. The entire work is expected to take two years.

Some details of its dimensions and capacity may not be without interest. The bund will measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and in places will be fully 70 feet high. Its maximum capacity will be 26,619 million gallons. This is 50 per cent. greater than Minneri, $2\frac{1}{2}$ times Iranamadu, and four times Unichchai or Giant's Tank. It is estimated that when full this super-tank (the Island's largest) will be capable of submerging an area of $9\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and of perennially irrigating no less than 18,000 acres of paddy, 2,000 acres of fodder and 1,500 acres of pasture land. In short, a return to the spacious times of king Prakrama Bahu, the great patron of Irrigation and Agriculture, and the days when Lanka gloried in the name of "The Granary of the East."

TAGE THE POOREST PEOPLE PAY

By MR. S. C. GUIHA

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GRAPHICALLY India is often described as an epitome of the many other ways also its such may very well be established.

land of two extremes in several the most striking of them is, that it is a very rich soil by practically the poorest people

And, again, an official in the wing the heaviest salary the s ever seen is to be found in poorest country.

of postage is also one of the n the world. While the United America, as the richest country in , pays only one cent for an inland we in India, which is again n area, are paying about half more; and our foreign letter- is simply prohibitive. Within of the British Empire, New- for example, pays a penny* for to India; while the latter has or a reply as much as 2½ annas, certainly no less than 2½ times

matter of a book-packet, or paper' post, India has, perhaps, e most remarkable attitude of owards inland and foreign post; the stage for a book-packet of 5 tolas (z.) is nine pies, while the same 9 pies) would carry a packet of eight, 2oz. (about 5 tolas) to the corner of the globe, in fact to any only of the British Empire but also

ve since come to know that the rate land has latterly increased to 1½ pence, is only about half we pay for a sign letter within the British Common-Nations.

to any other of the 'Union countries'— an international postal league comprising, up till now, over 150 countries, alphabetically from Abyssinia to Zanzibar. A list of those countries will be found in the *Indian Post & Telegraph Guide*.

NEWSPOST CONCESSION

The inland newspaper rate of postage is, however, liberal in the case of a publication issued monthly or more frequently. But the strictness of the rules to be observed has made it very difficult even for monthly publications to continue to get the benefit of the concession. Even after a periodical publication has with some difficulty passed through the Magisterial Court of a district and the consequent Police scrutinies as required by the Postal and Press laws, the Post Office is not prepared to reckon a monthly as technically coming within the category of a monthly publication unless it is regularly published exactly on an appointed and declared date of the month and posted the same day at one particular post office before the same is closed for the day.

CONDITIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Conditions are rather liberal in many other countries. Take the instance of the U. S. A., where publications appearing 10 times a year are taken as monthlies. A number of the so-called monthly publications in that country will have no issues during the summer months of May and June and it is hardly binding on such a monthly publication to post on a declared date of the month.

U. S. A. QUARTERLIES GET CONCESSION

Publications issued less frequently than monthly are also granted a concessio

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rate. Thus quarterly and even bi-annual publications are entitled to the concession. For an example, let us cite the case of *The International Journal of Ethics*, a quarterly publication of the University of Chicago Press. It is "entered as second-class matter, October 19, 1923, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879". Along with the above, the journal also prints the following:—"Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized October 11, 1923."

Not only quarterlies but half-yearly publications also seem to get some sort of concession in the U. S. A. *The Monist*, formerly a quarterly publication, receiving the second class Mail matter concession was converted into a bi-annual magazine in January, 1933; and we have reason to believe that it has continued to get the same concession in respect of inland postage.

It is clear that in the U. S. A., monthly or ten-times-a-year publications, quarterlies and even half-yearly magazines get some sort of concession, which is refused by the Indian Post Office. In India, a periodical published at intervals more than 31 days are not eligible for any concessional rate of postage granted to registered newspapers.

That other conditions are also more liberal in U. S. A. will be evident from the fact cited below: *Abridged Readers' Guide* published monthly except July and August by the H. W. Wilson Co. of New York was begun in September 1935. It is transmitted by post under the cover of an envelope which can be opened at one end. On the envelope at the left side of the type-written address of the addressee is printed

in facsimile handwriting of the sender: "With our compliments. First Issue of the *Abridged Readers' Guide* for your consideration." One such cover is in the possession of the present writer, who had received a copy by post on February 22, 1936.

U. S. A. BOOKPOSTAGE FURTHER REDUCED

The following Press news published in *The New York Times*, November 1, 1938, with the caption "Postage on Books is cut by President to 1½ cents" will speak for itself.

Washington, October 31—President Roosevelt, through a proclamation to-day, reduced the postage on books to 1½ cents a pound for all domestic mail.

The President declared the new rate, effective to-morrow until June 30, 1939, was required in the promotion of the cultural growth, education and development of the American people.

Books had previously been under parcel post rates, from 7 cents a pound upward. The National Committee to abolish postal discrimination against books called attention to the fact that these rates made it cost more to send a Bible through the mails, for instance, than some pulp magazines.

From the above we see that in the U. S. A. the postage on books was 7 cents a pound, which is now reduced to 1½ cents. One pound is about 40 tolas, for which the inland book-postage in India is 1½ annas and parcel-postage is 4 annas. Registration when desired is charged 3 annas extra in either case. We have already shown that the Indian inland book postage is so heavy that it is practically equal to foreign post. A packet of 5 tolas (about 2 oz.) requires book postage of 3 pice (9 pies) inland, while for the foreign post too the book postage on a packet of similar weight, 2 oz. (about 5 tolas) will be exactly the same, viz., 3 pice or 9 pies.

The U. S. A. President and his Government are keen about the promotion of

the cultural growth, education and development of the American people. On this point the November, 1938, *Indian* has, perhaps, rightly remarked:

Indians are much poorer than Americans and are far below the standard of literacy and general education attained by their fellow-creatures in the United States. In view of the above facts, should not the Government of India rather look to other sources of revenue, or minimise expenditure otherwise than overburdening postage?

That the examples cited as to the condition in the U. S. A. are real, will be evident from the following extracts from a reply from an American friend, to whom the present writer had written. The friend is a competent hand and she (Johanna Kramm) writes in the capacity as the Editorial Correspondence Secretary of the publishing firm of the H. W. Wilson Co. of New York. She writes under date March 14, 1938:

We . . . must say that your statement is correct. All our weekly and monthly publications, including those issued ten times a year, are mailed on permit, which does not restrict us to any particular day of the month, but to the month and the number of issues . . . Printed or any mechanically produced messages may be given on any envelope so long as it does not interfere with the address and easy handling.

INDIAN POSTAL RATES NOT CHEAPEST

The November, 1938, *Modern Review*, p. 531, has the following editorial note:—

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, is reported to have said in the course of an informal talk with members of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce on the 22nd October 1938, that "India has the cheapest postal rate in the world". This is not true. Japan's rates are cheaper and there may be cheaper rates elsewhere too.

The remarks made by the *Modern Review* as to the postal rates in Japan is true according to the *Japan Year Book*, describing that the lowest postal stamp

in that country is valued at $\frac{1}{2}$ sen, which is equivalent to $\frac{1}{4}$ pice ($\frac{1}{16}$ anna), while the lowest unit of postage we pay in India is one pice (i.e., 3 pices or $\frac{1}{4}$ anna). It is not known if the postal rate in Japan has increased latterly during the Sino-Japanese War.

We have shown that the U. S. A. has a cheaper rate of postage and, moreover, the postal conditions in that country are more favourable to the public than in India. We have also shown that in New Zealand the rates are cheaper too. It may not be difficult to prove that not only in the United Kingdom but also throughout the Dominions including Canada, Australia and South Africa, the postal rates are more favourable than in India.

The Indian Post Office will do a public service by giving a comparative statement of rates at least in the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This can be shewn in justification in one page of the *Post and Telegraph Guide*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The policy of the Government in the matter of fixation of postage rates in India is, perhaps, contradictory to its assertions. If it is prepared to encourage educational and cultural interests, there is no reason why in the matter of postage it should take a stiffer and stiffer attitude when other countries are adopting liberal views.

* A recent letter to the Press sent jointly by five well known publishing bodies (viz., Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Ltd.; Longmans Green & Co. Ltd.; Blackie & Sons, India, Ltd.; Allied Publishers and Stationery Manufacturers; and Oxford Union Press), was concluded with the following sentence in italics, "It is cheaper to post a parcel of books from London to Poona than from Bombay to Poona."

IT HAPPENED IN SHANGHAI

BY MR. E. S. WARREN

FU CHIN got into a second class compartment of the Shanghai Express and sank with a sigh of relief on the cushioned seat. There were only two more passengers in the compartment, a middle-aged man in grey European costume, and an attractive girl in a shimmering sea-green dress. Americanised type, concluded Fu Chin at a glance—the father a prosperous businessman and the daughter one of those cool cosmopolitan flappers against whom his wife had warned him so many times.

"Mishaun was right," he said to himself, "as she always is. One can't be too careful against these sirens."

Fu Chin was on the sunny side of forty and exuded opulence and respectability from every pore of his healthy ripe-corn-coloured skin. With his merry eyes and rosy cheeks, he looked like one who found life a very pleasant game and wanted others also to do the same. His wife gave you the idea that here was a young head on middle-aged shoulders, and Fu Chin never took the trouble of disproving the impression conveyed by his features.

A porter came in with his ponderous trunk and comfortable bedding; and having arranged them with geometrical precision, he coughed for payment.

"How much is it?" asked Fu Chin, holding out his bulging wallet.

The porter made a lightning study of him and asked for half-a-dollar.

Fu Chin was on the point of giving it when the middle-aged man in European lunge stepped forward and asked the well-clad figure whether he called himself a railway porter or a Bolshevik bandit.

And turning to the bewildered Fu Chin, he said:

"Don't give him more than a quarter. That is the scheduled rate, you know."

Fearing that the game was up, the porter pocketed the coin that was offered, and went away cursing the whole tribe of interlopers that infested railway trains.

"I thank your honourable self very much," began Fu Chin to the middle-aged man, "the fact is I am on a train for the first time and can't understand the ways of these people."

"Every one is like that on his first journey," laughed the other, "and, besides, these porters are nothing but bandits in blue."

Fu Chin laughed heartily at this description and took instantly to his rescuer who gave his name as Chi Sun Kaun and added that he was an army contractor. He then introduced his daughter Lola to Fu Chin, who tried to say how happy he was at making her acquaintance and managed to emit a confused rattle with great difficulty.

After these painful formalities were over, Fu Chin was invited to join them at lunch which had been brought in from the railway refreshment rooms. And under the influence of the excellent food washed down with a glass of whisky-and-soda, he shed most of his rustic nervousness and began to talk freely about himself to the flatteringly attentive audience.

He was a landlord and had lived in the country ever since he was born. His fields were good, his workers were good, and the rains too were good.

the result he had managed to feather his nest pretty well. And there was his wife who looked after him as well as he looked after the fields.

"There is the story of my life in a nutshell," concluded Fu Chin with a complacent chuckle.

"Then you are going to Shanghai for the first time?" asked Lola with an envious smile. "You will find everything so wonderful up there. And if you don't have the time of your life in the city, you will have only yourself to blame."

"I thank you for the advice," replied Fu Chin, "but I will have little chance of merry-making in the city during my short stay. The fact is I am making this trip to collect a rather considerable amount a friend of mine borrowed from me last year. Debtors before dancing-girls, as Confucius would say."

Lola whispered something in her father's ear and the latter invited Fu Chin for dinner with them at a small but select night-club on the following evening at eight. Fu Chin tried to excuse himself on the ground that he was not accustomed to all these new-fangled night-clubs with their girls and gaiety, but the two brushed aside his excuses and succeeded in having their invitation accepted by him.

The rest of the journey was spent in small talk, snacks and slumber, and at the crowded terminus the pair took leave of Fu Chin with an injunction not to forget the address of the night-club.

At a quarter to eight in the evening Fu Chin presented himself at the small club for the select, looking rather self-conscious in his flamboyant dress, with the inevitable wallet bulging out of his breast-pocket. He had scarcely been

there for ten minutes when a high-powered car brought Lola to the club. She was in a cream-coloured kimono with sky-blue serpents criss-crossing all over and wore a beautiful necklace with a magnificent pendant. Fu Chin's gaze rested for a while on the necklace and he could not help admiring how it set off the stately beauty of her throat. But he was at a loss to understand why she had come alone without her father who had promised to be at the night-club without fail.

"Please excuse me for having made you wait so long," said Lola, shaking hands with Fu Chin who appeared to be overwhelmed by her beauty.

"You are too considerate," he replied, "but what has prevented your honoured father from accompanying you?"

"Poor dad!" sighed the girl, "he is a martyr to lumbago and had a severe attack last night. But he did not want to break his word to you and sent me to be your hostess tonight, that is, if you could be satisfied with such a poor substitute."

"I am very sorry for him," said Fu Chin, "and not at all for myself."

"What a nice compliment!" smiled Lola, "if only it is true."

She led her guest to a sequestered table and ordered a dinner which the latter had always associated with royalty only. Lola partook of the repast as one accustomed to it all her life, but the other did ample justice to the sumptuous fare before him.

"Do you often have dinner here?" asked Fu Chin in a tone of subdued reverence.

"Yes, very often," answered the other, shooting a significant glance at her guest,

"but seldom have I enjoyed myself so well as I am doing this evening."

The man was startled at what he considered such seductive boldness, but tried to screen it by wondering what any modern girl could see in a country bumpkin like himself.

"You are being too modest," bantered the girl, for there are some men who are born to attract women, and they can't help doing so, whether they come from the country or the city."

Fu Chin was immensely flattered by this compliment and could not help showing his feelings by moving his chair closer to his beautiful and witty hostess.

Then came the wine which Lola poured into two glasses; and while her guest was removing some crumbs from his lap, she managed to add into one glass a few drops from a small phial which would have easily passed muster as a perfume bottle.

Having succeeded in removing the crumbs, Fu Chin was attracted by the crimson glow of the wine and took both the glasses and held them up against the brilliant electric light so as to admire their glow better. Then with a sigh of pleasure, he laid them down again.

Instantly, Lola took the glass nearer to her and offered it to her guest. "To our lasting friendship," she said, and drank the contents of the other. Fu Chin repeated the toast and emptied the glass in a minute.

Ten minutes later, he left the night-club and made straight for the railway station.

On the following morning, Fu Chin was narrating his adventures in Shanghai to an adoring wife and a pair of fascinated children:

"I met them on the train," he said, his narrow eyes opening wide with the gusto of the satisfied narrator, "two of the slickest Americanised Chinese I have ever clapped eyes on. The man inspired confidence like a Buddhist monk, and the girl was as fine a piece of painted flesh as ever set a man's heart throbbing. They must have taken me to be a country money-bag to be had for the picking, and I did my best to fit in with the role. They invited me for dinner at a smart night-club in Shanghai, and when I went there on the following evening, there was no father coming, but only the girl, and I must say, with all respect to you, she looked really stunning. She said something about her father having lumbago and sending her to be my hostess. The dinner was grand, and she played the role of the siren very well. Then came the wine which she poured into two glasses, and I observed her putting one or two drops from a phial into one glass that must have been intended for me. But I managed to change the position of the glasses while pretending to admire the colour of the wine, and she drank the drugged wine I was to have taken. Within ten minutes, she was completely unconscious and I left without attracting any notice."

"She was after my bulging wallet—bulging with your letters, you know—and even that she could not steal from me. By the way, my dear, here is a fine necklace with a finer pendant for you. I relieved Lola of it while she was sleeping the sleep of the drugged, and I hope it will teach her what my revered father always used to say: 'Fu, steal your own purse before you try to steal another's.'"

SOCIAL CHAOS

By MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, M.L.A.,

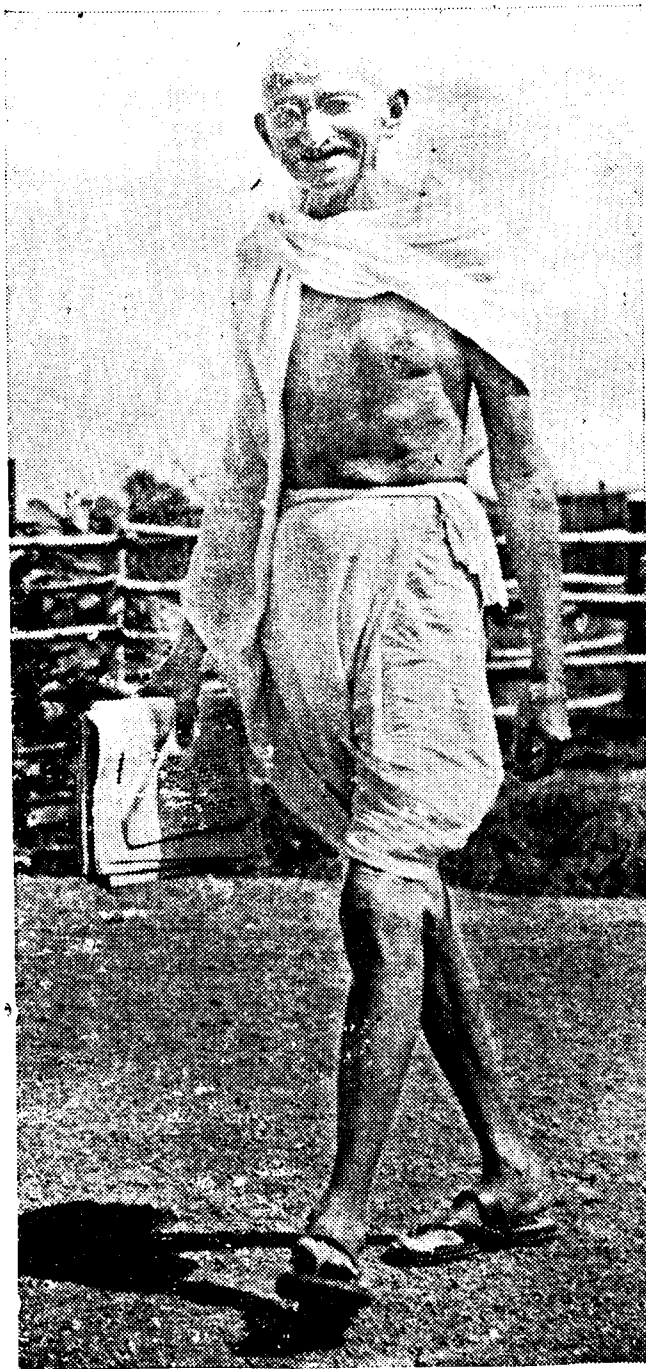
WITH the exception of a few social reformers who were suspected by the bulk of the people as being mild cranks, a solid body of social opinion in this country was content till a few decades ago to leave untouched the social order which had been based on the inherited traditions of more than two thousand years. It is a recognised fact that the impact of Islam on Hindu culture did not materially change the scheme of its culture. The early days of British rule in India did not bring about any impressive change in the social habits of the country, though it may be asserted that socio-religious movements like the Brahma Samaj, and the Arya Samaj and the proselytisation by Christian missionaries did serve to remind Hindu society of the dangers it was exposed to. Our realisation of this challenge to social change more or less synchronised with the period of the war, but prior to that period our attitude has been one of acceptance of the authority of ancient Hindu scriptures and the sages who interpreted them from time to time and of conforming to the precepts of such authority.

The authority of Hindu law as revealed by ancient scriptures and interpreted by sages and savants covered every activity of the life of Hindu society. It was stated sometime back by a person very highly placed that if Hindu law had continued to have the same status and sanction, a Public Health Act in the Madras Presidency would not have been needed; but that is a digression. Our marriage laws, our family laws, and our laws of inheritance were all held incapable of any change. Even to-day it is not heard infrequently that legislative

intervention into accepted canons of Hindu law is a crime against society.

This challenge to social change has affected Hindu society all round. In every way the authority of these sanctions is being challenged and bold departures are undertaken from the tradition of ages. It is only right and proper to say that it cannot be interpreted that this challenge to authority proceeds from the extreme or revolutionary elements of Hindu society. In fact it is not so, as such movements emanate more from the sober and thinking elements who undertake to lead these movements in many cases somewhat reluctantly but urged by the inevitability of these measures. The question only arises, how is it possible to maintain the basic assumptions of Hindu social organization if you make a breach into the vital principles upon which that organization has been built?

The laws of marriage, which are now sought to be altered, were based upon a socio-religious concept of the duty of man to provide for himself under the perpetualness of the marriage bond a basis for effective religious service. When you introduce an innovation in the basis of the marriage ties, gone are the religious foundations upon which this elaborate system is constructed. When you acknowledge the validity of divorce, in so far as the Hindu marriage is concerned, marriage ceases to be a sacrament—and in fact the Hindu marriage is something more than a sacrament—as I do not think that the special status given to a married man—the status which is accorded to him by the wife—in Hindu religion finds any counterpart in any



MAHATMA GANDHI

other living religion of the world. In fact, a Hindu without a wife has no status or place in important religious functions. I am not here expressing an opinion as to the advisability or otherwise of the Hindu marriage reform. It may appear that it is in the fitness of things and is an indication of our progress in civilization that, we believe, we are now making, that a new instrument should be forged into to undo marriage ties in Hindu society. There does appear to be no insuperable obstacle to this step, but it has to be conceded that when a Hindu divorcee thinks of remarriage, there is no sanction in Hindu scriptures for her to be married under Hindu rites nor for her to be treated as being fit to play the role of a Hindu wife. I do not think that the problem whether monogamy is the best and why polygamy or polyandry should not be recognized as equally good, is germane to the issue before us. It seems to be generally assumed in the civilised world that monogamy is the best. In speaking about Hindu society, there does not seem to be any religious sanction for the promiscuous practice of polygamy. In fact such sanction, if any, seems to be surrounded by a number of almost impossible conditions. But at the present economic state of the average Hindu, the problem is not a vital one and a legislative decision in this matter is not likely to evoke resistance.

Take the question of the laws of inheritance. Legislations have interfered even in this matter and the laws have been changed and fresh heirs introduced. Consider the question of religious endowments. Our religious endowments have not only been brought under secular control, but new rights are sought to be

created in respect of them so as to be enjoyed by classes which were expressly forbidden from participation in religious ceremonies by the older law and traditions. I am not prepared to say whether these changes introduce chaos or whether they introduce order into a system that had fallen into a chaotic condition. Time alone will reveal whether we are wise in abandoning age-long principles which preserved the integrity of the Hindu society till many centuries, alone amongst the civilizations of the world. But it is equally clear that our conceptions with regard to social institutions are undergoing a change whether or not an acknowledgment of this fact involves a denial in the traditional beliefs connected with Hindu social institutions as being unchanging and unchangeable. It is also equally clear that our new humanitarian ideals of equality of opportunity for all and the right of every individual to be happy are wholly inconsistent with a social economy which drew its inspirations from the axioms of religion.

There are several other aspects of the change that threaten to affect or have affected Hindu society. There is the question of caste, the question of joint Hindu family, the problem of population in Hindu society—not to speak of a factor intimately connected with these—the increased process of urbanisation that is going on. If there is one feature of our social organization more original and unique than others irrespective of a consideration of its merits, it is the caste system and the many things that go with it. The principle of occupational basis with hereditary duties and rights assigned to it is a unique sociological principle which, perhaps, has imparted the

special strength to the Hindu society which has enabled it to survive these two or three thousand years during which there had been several violent attacks on it. One sees the institution almost dissolving before our eyes. I do not think that this dissolution is due to any deep and growing distrust of the hereditary principle, but I believe it is far more due to the variations in the economic life of the people and the variety of occupations which have come in and which cannot be brought within the caste classifications of Hindu society. The four *varnas* of Hindu society were a simple and satisfying division of social functions in ages gone by and can no longer fit in with the new political and economic divisions in society that is coming into, *viz.*, the worker and the capitalist. The result has been that the lines which demarcated the class of Hindu society have become blurred and the economic basis of social relations is fast coming to be more important. Yet again there is the question of the joint Hindu family. The institution has practically been broken up and only lingers in order to provide effective obstacles to the making of uniform legislation in the country—not to speak of the opportunities for work that it provides to the lawyers and to the Law. The social trend towards urbanisation has had not a little to do with the breaking-up of the joint family system, though it has not been the sole fact in deciding the issue. There is yet another big problem about which Hindu society has never had to think till now, *viz.*, the question of the growing population and its inevitable reaction on society in all its aspects: political, economic and social. It is a fact that the breaking-up of the joint family system, and the violent trend

towards the urbanisation, are not a little due to the increase of population and to the fact that the economic resources of the family would hardly support a growth in its number. It is curious that while in Western countries the war gods are pleading for an increase in the birth-rate offering various baits to householders to increase their output of cannon fodder the problem is totally different in regard to a country like India where the birth-rate has been alarmingly increasing. Things have undoubtedly come to a phase that it has become one of the major issues to be tackled by the people of this country. It is not that I am pleading for birth-control, but the fact that Western economists have, it seems, condemned the Malthusian concept as pre-eminently unsuited for an agricultural country is no without its lessons for India.

The result of the emergence of these various problems I have outlined before has been that the lines which demarcate the classes in Indian society have become blurred, and some of these problems have made the economic basis of social relations relatively more important. The period that we are passing through is a period of transition and social chaos arises chiefly during a period of transition from one social order to another. The chaos is there; the social order we have left behind is there. But do we have a clear conception of the order that is to emerge from this chaos? I confess that any speculation as to what this new social order is going to be, however interesting as an intellectual exercise, is not exactly fruitful for the evolution of society, nor does it follow the clear-cut laws of reasoning. It can scarcely be argued, however, that intuition can fill the gap where reasoning fails. I do not think there is any social prophet who is intelligent enough or any thinker who has the equipment necessary to foretell what the coming society is going to be like.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Rajkot Impasse

THOSE who had hoped that the Gwyer award had settled the Rajkot dispute are completely disillusioned. The change of heart expected to result from the fast is yet to come. A fresh hitch has occurred over the constitution of the Reforms Committee, the Thakore Saheb maintaining that of the seven names submitted by Sardar Patel, only one happened to be a subject of the State. To add to this, Moslems, Bhayats and the Depressed Classes have been set up to demand representation on the Committee. Some of them have even gone so far as to accuse the Mahatma himself of breach of promise. Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar have not been slow to take advantage of the situation. Gandhiji has had interminable discussions with all parties and there seems no end to obstructive tactics. Alternative proposals have had no better chance. And so he says in a deeply moving statement issued on the eve of his departure to Calcutta:

I have left empty-handed, with body shattered, hope cremated.

It is a depressing confession of failure.

"Rajkot to me has been a priceless laboratory," he adds.

My patience has been sorely tried by the tortuous politics of Kathiawad.

I have told Mr. Veerawalla: "I am defeated. May you win. Placate the people by giving as much as possible and wire to me so as to revive the hope which I seem to have lost for the moment."

It is true the Viceroy, in asking Mr. Gandhi to break the fast, gave an assurance that he would see to the implementing of the award. But Gandhiji would rather avoid such coercion from the authorities and would prefer conversion by a process of goodwill and co-operation.

As we go to Press, the Thakore Saheb says in a message to Gandhiji:

My ardent desire is to come to a settlement as early as possible. Sincere efforts are being made by people of all shades of opinion to compose the differences.

Let us hope so.

The Indo-British Trade Agreement

With autonomy in the Provinces, it is rather odd to find the Central Government functioning by certification. Sir James Grigg's five consecutive budgets had to be certified in succession. That even a trade agreement between England and India should be forced down the throat of an unwilling country is a situation that is hard to reconcile with reason or common sense. For as Mr. Bhulabhai Desai rightly warned the Government:

You can bring goods into the country under any conditions of favour you like, but to sell them is a very different proposition.

What are the facts? The Central Assembly rejected the Tariff Bill embodying the Indo-British Trade agreement. The Governor-General returned the Bill to the Assembly for further consideration in its original form. The Assembly again rejected it by 54 against 37 votes, the Muslim League members remaining neutral. But the Governor-General certifies the Bill and has it passed through the Council of State with a packed majority. There is neither reason nor justice in flouting the clearly expressed verdict of the elected majority. The idea of holding down India in this way at a time when war is imminent is not prudent, warns the *Statesman*.

To flout the legislature now when provincial self-government has been in operation for two years and federal self-government at the centre is hoped for at an early date, is a course hard to justify in any event.

The idea of holding down India is quite impracticable. India will be with Great Britain. We trust that, in the name of defence, there will be no flat-footed folly from London at the outset, indicating distrust of provincial governments and legislatures.

Federation or Dissolution?

Yet another attempt at Constitution making is before us in the form of an elaborate scheme to divide the country into communal groups. This is a draft scheme of an all India constitution prepared by Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, Deccan, at the request of the Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League. This belated attempt to replace the federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is an ingenious device to shatter the hopes of national unity. Dr. Latif's novel scheme is vitiated by the unwarranted assumption that "Islam and Hinduism stand poles asunder" and that there could be no possibility of economic or political unity in the country except "through a programme of hate against foreign domination". The scheme which evidently has the approval of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim Leaguers is frankly revolutionary, contemplating as it does the creation of communal zones and transfers of wholesale population on a staggering scale. The immediate outline is

the Muslim block of thirty millions in the north-west, consisting of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, North-West Frontier, Kashmir, Khairpur and Bahawalpur. The Hindus and Sikhs from this area may concentrate in the Punjab States on the boundaries of Kashmir and Jammu with readjustment of the frontiers. Amritsar would be made a free city for Sikhs. There will be another solid Muslim block of 30 millions in the north-east comprising Bengal and Assam. There will be a central block of twelve millions in what is to be called Delhi-Lucknow block including Rampur State. From this, however, Hindu religious centres of Muthra, Hardwar, Benares and Amritsar will be excluded. There will be a Deccan Muslim block consisting of the dominions of Hyderabad and Deccan with the narrow strip running south to Madras city.

Thus is the country to be parcelled out into communal groups, each repellant to the other, with diverse interests and distinct affinities. A federation of such units will bring about dissolution sooner than ever.

Burma Riot Inquiry Report

Public complaint of the incompetence of the Burma Police to deal with the riot is fully confirmed by the Report of the Inquiry Committee, which reveals the extent of that incompetence. Inexperience coupled with ignorance of the law seems to have so completely reduced the efficiency of the Police in Burma that the force was quite incapable of affording proper protection to the resident citizens. The report is unambiguous.

We feel it necessary to say that on the whole the establishment of the Police both in Rangoon and in Burma generally proved in an emergency inadequate in numbers, in training, in equipment, in preparedness, and in confidence in themselves to give to the Indians of Rangoon and of the districts that measure of protection which as British subjects they are entitled to receive.

The Commissioner of Police, we are told, is found to have surrendered his powers to the Minister. Weakness in handling the situation is apparent from top to bottom and none escapes criticism. The Committee find that

in many cases action was taken too late, that in others resort to firing was delayed until its repressive effect was lessened and that the hesitation and irresponsibility shown in the higher offices, filtering through all grades of the Force, was responsible for much unnecessary suffering and loss.

Such findings would be useless if they carry no lesson for the future, and the Committee recommend

a complete examination by a really competent Commission of the organisation and practice of the Civil Police in Burma with a view to removing causes of distrust and suspicion and establishing confidence and trust in the Force itself.

Bombay Shop Assistants' Bill

Congress Governments in different provinces are tackling labour legislation in different forms so as to secure for workmen better conditions of life and amenities. The Bombay Government has taken the lead with a piece of constructive legislation for a class of people whose grievances have seldom been championed. In a recent Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislature, the Prime Minister, Mr. Kher, grappled with the scandal of clerks and shop assistants being sweated for indefinite hours for the benefit of their employers. Clerks and shop assistants are doing an essential service to the community and it is high time that the conditions of their work and wages should be regulated. Trade unions for such classes are very weak in India, and the Bombay Government have done well to take the initiative in safeguarding the interests of this particular class of overworked labourers.

Mr. Kher stated that the average daily hours of work in Bombay Shops and Restaurants were 12'25. Over 60 per cent. had to work over 11 hours a day and 15 per cent. of the workers were compelled to put in more than 15 hours. Shop-assistants, who were generally working irrespective of any count of hours, night or day, are now given a charter fixing their liability to 10 hours, and one complete holiday per week is made statutory for them. As for the employment of children under twelve years, it would be henceforth illegal to exact more than eight hours of work per day.

The measure has had the widest support from all sections of the House, and enlightened public opinion in the country expects other Provinces to follow the excellent lead given by the Western Presidency.

The A. I. C. C. Meeting

The hope of a compromise between the Rightists and the Leftists as a result of the Gandhi-Bose-Nehru talks in Calcutta having failed, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose submitted his resignation to the A. I. C. C. which has since elected Babu Rajendra Prasad in his stead.

After explaining the circumstances under which, in spite of the best efforts, no settlement could be made as to the formation of the Working Committee Mr. Bose said at the meeting of the A. I. C. C.:

I feel that my presence as President at this juncture may possibly be a sort of obstacle or handicap in its path. For instance, the A. I. C. C. may feel inclined to the appointment of a Working Committee in which I shall be a mistit. I feel further that it may possibly be easier for the A. I. C. C. to settle the matter if it can have a new President. After mature deliberation and in an entirely helpful spirit, I am placing my resignation in your hands.

As we write, the A. I. C. C. is discussing the situation arising out of the failure of the negotiations and the resignation of Mr. Subhas Bose. A resolution requesting Mr. Bose to withdraw his resignation of the Congress Presidentship and renominate the members of the old Working Committee to his new Working Committee was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The resolution satisfied neither the one side nor the other, and Mr. Nehru, therefore, thought it best to withdraw it.

Throughout the discussions and in his correspondence with Gandhiji, Mr. Bose made no secret of his Leftist tendencies. He has broken with the Mahatma, because the latter could not see his way to agree to Mr. Bose's demand for a partially Leftist Working Committee. The Working Committee is the Executive of the Congress. If its work is to be effective, argues Gandhiji, there must be complete agreement among its members on the broad principles of policy.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Conscription in Great Britain

THE decision to introduce conscription in Great Britain is a momentous step that has been taken after prolonged and profound deliberation. It cannot be said that the decision was taken precipitately; for His Majesty's Government have patiently waited for months past for a change in the European situation. But the methods of the Dictators have made it impossible to wait and watch any further; for every day adds to the danger of war and it would be folly to be unprepared for the worst. British labour, while keenly alive to the gravity of the situation, is averse to conscription. But the consensus of opinion is in favour of a determined stand; and conscription is at once a symbol of that determination and a warning that Britain is now in earnest, prepared to resist aggression at any cost and will tolerate no further disturbance of Continental security. By her assurances to Poland, Greece, and Rumania, British liabilities have enormously increased and conscription would appear to be an inevitable concomitant to the shouldering of such responsibilities in Europe.

The Fall of Albania

Yet another State has passed into the orbit of the Axis—Albania. Italian troops occupied the capital on the 8th April. Albanian resistance collapsed in a few hours, the King and Queen fled to Greece, and Italy is in full control of the country. The Italian Press justifies the aggression with the same old arguments. Similar to the cases of Spain and Abyssinia, it is argued that Italy has always had the right to protect Albania and that their invasion took place because the Albanian people had complained of misgovernment by King Zog and had invited the Duce to set things right.

The Polish Question

"Britain will fully support Poland in the event of any action likely to threaten Polish independence." This assurance was given by the Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, when he spoke on the international situation in the House of Commons on March 31. He said:

I now have to inform the House that in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence and which the Polish Government accordingly considered it vital to resist with their national forces, the British Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Polish Government all the support in their power. They have given the Polish Government an assurance to this effect.

Mr. Chamberlain's statement has caused extreme annoyance in Germany. The immediate reaction is Hitler's denunciation of the German-Polish agreement of non-aggression. Following Poland's rejection of the German offer "that Danzig be returned as a Free State into the framework of the Reich", Hitler has repudiated the old treaty.

British Pledge to Greece and Rumania

In the course of a statement in the House of Commons on April 13, the Prime Minister extended the anti-aggression pledge which he gave some days ago to Poland.

In the event of any action which clearly threatens the independence of Greece or Rumania, and which the Greek and Rumanian Governments respectively consider vital to resist with their national forces, His Majesty's Government would feel themselves bound at once to lend the Greek and Rumanian Governments all the support in their power.

Although they found it difficult to reconcile the Italian landing in Albania with the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Albania, he did not take the view that the Anglo-Italian Agreement should be considered at an end.

Nobody with a sense of responsibility can in these days lightly do anything which would lead to increased international tension.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Roosevelt's Message

Once again President Roosevelt has made a gallant attempt to save Europe from the horrors of another war. In a spirited message addressed to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, the President asks whether they will give an assurance that for the next 10 years at least they will not take arms against certain independent nations. The President gives a list of these countries, whose integrity is likely to be violated, refers to the general fear of war throughout the world and says that if the assurances he asked for were given, he would transmit them to their Powers and secure reciprocal assurances from them. The President's initiative has met with warm approval in Britain and France.

Hitler's Address to the Reichstag

Herr Hitler, in his address to the Reichstag on April 28, replied to the President in detail explaining point after point categorically and repudiating the charge that Germany wanted war. He was against the Conference idea as he had no belief in solution of international problems that way.

The German Chief expressed his readiness to give an assurance to each State named by the President conditionally on absolute reciprocity, provided the State concerned requested such an assurance from Germany "together with appropriate proposals".

A significant development of the crisis is his repudiation of the Naval Pact with Britain and his declaration that as Poland had rejected his proposals, the Polish-German treaty was no more in force. Thus the situation is unrelieved and is as tense as ever before.

A Democratic Front

The time has come when England and France, unaided by Russia, can give no effective help to the Balkan States in the event of German aggression. But Russia has always suspected England and France of double dealing since the betrayal of Abyssinia, and she has good reasons too to suspect. For the Munich pact was a rude slap to Stalin with the object of placating Hitler and Mussolini. Events have shown the folly of that misadventure, and one wonders if Mr. Chamberlain as yet realises the grave danger of ignoring Russia. "If you are going in without the help of Russia," said Mr. Lloyd George during the debate in Parliament, we are walking into a trap. Russia is the only country whose arms can get there.

South Africa and War

General Smuts, Minister of Justice, outlined the South African Government's war policy in a recent speech at Paarl. He said:

"But, if things go as they appear to be going to-day, and if a group of nations tries to dominate the world and annex other countries to strengthen themselves at the expense of the other nations, then the people of South Africa will not have much difficulty in deciding their attitude."

General Smuts urged South Africa to stand by the other members of the British Commonwealth in the present hour of world danger.

The Tragedy of Spain

The tragedy of Spain is now complete. The Republican resistance has collapsed and Franco is master of the whole country.

"Chamberlain and Daladier," says Mr. Lloyd George, cannot honestly wash their hands in the basin of Pilate and declare that they have no personal responsibility for the assassination of Spanish freedom although they have accorded official sanction to the outrage.

Without their acquiescence at every stage, the friends of liberty in Spain could never have been overcome.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 31. Mr. Chamberlain announces British pledge to Poland guaranteeing her independence.
- April 1. Herr Hitler ridicules Britain's "virtuous attitude in old age".
- April 2. H. E. Sir Henry Craik opens the Emerson Barrage.
- April 3. Sir Maurice Gwyer in his award on the Rajkot dispute upholds Sardar Patel's claim.
- April 4. Mahatma Gandhi interviews H. E. the Viceroy.
- King Ghazi of Iraq is killed in a motor accident. His three-year old son is proclaimed King.
- April 5. The Maharaja of Benares is dead.
- M. Lebrun is re-elected President of France.
- April 6. Death is reported of Dr. Har Dayal in Philadelphia.
- April 7. Mr. J. A. Lyons, Australian Prime Minister, is dead.
- April 8. Italian troops occupy Turana, the capital of Albania.
- Mr. Bhulabhai Desai opens the Federation buildings--the gift of Lala Shri Ram in memory of his father--at Delhi.
- April 9. The Pope delivers an Easter Message of Peace from the Vatican.
- April 10. Muslims in London condemn Italian action in Albania.
- April 11. British Ministers confer and the King confers with the Prime Minister.
- April 12. Sgr. Mussolini gives an assurance to Greece that he has no territorial designs on her.
- April 13. Mr. Chamberlain announces Britain's pledge to support Greece and Rumania against aggression.
- April 14. Mahtma Gandhi submits a list of 7 names for the Rajkot Reforms Committee.
- April 15. President Roosevelt addresses a personal message to Hitler and Mussolini.
- Viceroy certifies the Tariff Bill.
- April 16. Rajkot Muslims and Girasias stage a demonstration against Gandhiji, soon after his evening prayers.
- April 17. Mr. Jinnah asks Muslims to boycott Rajkot Committee.
- April 18. The Council of State adjourns *sine die* after passing the Certified Tariff Bill.
- Serious Railway accident at Majdia Station.
- April 19. General Smuts outlines South Africa's War Policy.
- April 20. Addressing an Exhibition Committee in Rome, Sgr. Mussolini sneers at Roosevelt's suggestion of a Conference of Powers.
- April 21. Sir John Woodhead is appointed Governor of Bengal.
- April 22. Hitler discusses Roosevelt's message with smaller States, who declare that they are not menaced by Germany.
- April 23. Gandhiji announces that negotiations with Mr. Virawala for the settlement of Rajkot issue have failed.
- April 24. Conscription is discussed by the British Cabinet.
- April 25. Lord Zetland moves the Second Reading of the India Amendment Bill in the Lords.
- April 26. Britain advises the Fuehrer to accept the U. S. offer.
- April 27. Gandhi--Bose--Nehru talks in Calcutta.
- Mr. Chamberlain's motion for conscription is adopted by 376 votes to 145 in the Commons.
- April 28. Herr Hitler addresses the Reichstag replying to President Roosevelt's message.
- April 29. All-India Congress Committee meets in Calcutta.
- Mr. Subhas Bose resigns presidentship.
- April 30. Babu Rajendra Prasad is elected President in place of Mr. Subhas Bose.



The WORLD of BOOKS



HOW THEY DID IT: LIFE STORIES.
Pallas Publishing Co. Ltd., London.
(G. A. Natesan & Co. 12 As. each.)

The first instalment of biographies of contemporary celebrities includes such names as Chamberlain, Hitler, Goering, Dr. Benes, De Valera and Franco--typical representatives of the different countries to which they belong. The lives are written by eminent English and Continental authors with a wealth of biographical details which must interest the lay reader. They are particularly valuable to the young to whom the words of such outstanding personalities of our time, so fully quoted, must have a special appeal. Dealing with dominant political characters, the sketches are part history and part biography, and what could be more fascinating for the young than to read the story of our time through the lives of the great actors who are making history. The lives show that the days of adventure are not over, as some of these leaders have literally risen from the log cabin to the white house. A happy feature of these studies is their up-to-dateness. The record of events is brought down to recent months--to the Munich settlement and Dr. Bene's acceptance of an American Professorship. The authors have attempted to show how the achievements of these leaders are made possible by their early training and character. We have vivid examples of Chamberlain's cautious optimism, Hitler's ruthlessness, and Goering's vulgarity. The downright earnestness of De Valera, and the amazing perseverance of Franco, have made a

difference in the fortunes of their respective countries. Recent happenings in Central Europe have, to a certain extent, upset the apple cart of Mr. Chamberlain, whose complacency over the Munich settlement must now be rudely shaken by the complete annexation of Czecho Slovakia. The studies, however, are written with a certain degree of detachment and serve as a lucid commentary on some of the tremendous political transactions of our time.

FROM MY AFRICAN NOTE BOOK. By Albert Schweitzer. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 5s. net.

Here is an interesting and simply written account of the peoples among whom the famous Dr. Albert Schweitzer has worked for so many years. It will be an interesting fact for many a reader that the Hill of Adolinanongo, on which Dr. Schweitzer's hospital stands, is the site of the home of Trader Horn. In this hot and sticky country on the west coast of Africa, the doctor has laboured for many years and in this slim little volume, he has collected for our interest and entertainment many a story of the primitive folk he has done so much to help. Their system of magic and taboo, their strange marriage and birth customs, their folklore and superstitions, are all related here with such a sympathetic and humorous pen that we are enabled to see into the workings of their primitive minds. The book is simply enough written for an intelligent child to enjoy and is illustrated with many photographs.

MOWRER IN CHINA,
BRITAIN BY MASS OBSERVATION,
THEY BETRAYED CZECHO SLOVAKIA.

Penguin Specials. G. A. Natesan & Co.
As. 7 each.

These are welcome additions to the Penguin Series published at an astonishingly cheap price. The three books, as their titles show, deal with topics of current interest. The first gives a graphic picture of "an ancient civilisation caught in the turmoil of a bitter war"; the second is the work of two adventurous young men, who deal with some of the most immediate and urgent aspects of contemporary culture and crisis; while the third narrates the tragic story of the greatest betrayal of all times.

THE SPANISH PISTOL AND OTHER
SHORT STORIES. By A. G. Macdonell.
Macmillans. 7s. 6d.

To those who have enjoyed Macdonell's long stories and plays, this book will come as a pleasant surprise; for, one finds him equally clever at short stories too. Each story is marked by a distinctive flavour ranging from a delightful foolery to a sheer biting satire. He does not spare his victims whom he chooses from a varied and extensive field. He attacks among others the modern film stars and producers, the war mongers and profiteers, the proud and wealthy aristocrats fond of pomp and show, and some specimens of lovers. The cricket match between Dingley Dell and All Muggleton is exceptionally amusing, while the modern version of Ali Baba and the forty thieves is thoroughly original. It is quite an entertaining book.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD-BIN-TUGHLUQ. By Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, Agra College, Agra.

Modern opinion is wearing round the belief that Muhammad Tughluq of the Kaurana dynasty is more sinned against than sinning. By a careful sifting of the testimony of the medieval historian Ziauddin Barani and the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta, Mr. Husain brings out in detail their biased rendering of the history of the reign. The author has been fortunate enough in having secured fragments of the autobiography of the Sultan which clarifies several hotly disputed issues of the period. The two Sanskrit inscriptions of 1327 and 1328 and the poetical history of Isami, present true accounts of the life and policy of the Emperor who was "an enigma to Barani," "an enemy of Islam and friend of Hinduism" to Isami, and "a mixture of opposites and a freak of Nature" to other historians.

In laying down the book, one feels that Mr. Husain plays the part of the true historian, setting out the facts in an impartial manner and does not reveal himself as a biased Muhammadan.

HALI'S POETRY: A study. By M. Tahir Jamil. Taraporewala Sons, Bombay.

Hali stands as the leader of a new movement in Urdu poetry, diverting it to fresh channels of vigorous nationalism—a note altogether novel and inspiring. His poetry roused the Muslims from their deep slumber. A study of such a poet must be invaluable to a generation that is growing conscious of its national inheritance. Those who cannot appreciate Hali in the original, must be thankful to the author.

STUDIES IN BENGALI LITERATURE. By Kalipada Mukherjee. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London.

The author makes a praiseworthy attempt and succeeds in interpreting for the English readers the beauty and the iridescent spirit of the poetry of C. R. Das and Kamini Roy. C. R. Das was famed as a Lawyer and Politician, but his real ambition was to be and live as a Poet. A devout Vaishnavite, his sea-songs (Sagar-Sangita) of forty-nine verses form a unique collection, which will delight the lover of poetry and devotion. The author gives his own renderings in English of several of the verses which are in Bengali. Mrs. Kamini Roy, who died at the age of 69 in 1933, was one of the most famous poets in Bengal and known for her social service in the cause of her country and fellow-women.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Dinker D. Desai. Published by the Servants of India Society, Girgaum, Bombay.

Written by a member of the Servants of India Society and dedicated, as is quite appropriate, to G. K. Gokhale, the book attempts to carry on the good work started by the late Gokhale, who was the first to champion in 1912 a scheme of Free and Compulsory Primary Education for all the boys and girls of the land. During the three decades since Gokhale took up the scheme some progress has been achieved, though the results are not at all commensurate with the expenditure incurred. Stagnation and wastage are responsible for the poor results and the suggestions made by the author for combating this evil, as well as for getting additional money that may be required, are bold and original.

BOOKS RECEIVED

TALKS WITH SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora.

THE GIRL-BOY MYSTERY as told to Waac. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

OUR PROBLEMS. By Mr. N. Roy. With the collaboration of V. B. Karnik. Bayendra Library, Calcutta.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA for the year ending 31st March 1938. Manager of Publications, Delhi. Rs. 17-4.

BASIC AND THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA. By Adolph Myers. The Times of India Press, Bombay.

DRAFTING AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE. By A. N. Khosla, B.A. Vocational Institute, Lahore. Rs. 2-8.

SMALL-POX: An exposition of the Indian system of treatment. By Nagendra Kumar Majumdar. Chatterjee, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

PSYCHICAL FORCES AND YOU. By Louis S. Vernon-Worsley. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDIA. Edited by Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

PREFACE TO FAITH. By Louis' Arnaud. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN INDIA, 1936-37. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT. By S. Radhakrishnan. Oxford University Press, London.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. By H. G. Rawlinson. Oxford University Press, London.

SELF-RESTRAINT vs. SELF-INDULGENCE. Part II. By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

SURVEY OF INDIA: GENERAL REPORT FOR 1938. Published by order of Brig. C. G. Lewis, O.B.E., Surveyor-General of India, Calcutta.

REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE OPIUM DEPARTMENT for the year ending September, 1938. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE CRISIS BOOKLETS

THE CRISIS AND WORLD PEACE. By Leyton Richards.

WHAT DOES A DO NEXT. By F. A. Cockin.
THE COMMONWEALTH OF MAN. By Ruth Rouse.
Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta.

Hyderabad

THE NIZAM AND THE VICEROY

The following exchange of telegrams between H. E. H. the Nizam and the Viceroy on the occasion of the latter's speech to the Chamber of Princes was released through the Information Bureau:—

The Nizam telegraphed:

I trust Your Excellency will allow me to express my personal views about the admirable speech which you delivered the other day on the occasion of the opening session of the Chamber of Princes. I cannot help saying how deeply grateful the whole Princely Order should be at your strong support to their treaties and rights and yet at the same time your wise and friendly counsel for those who have not yet put their houses in order, to do so without further delay in view of the present time of rapid change. I am sure that all those present must have deeply appreciated and taken to heart the lesson which Your Excellency conveyed to them in such eloquent words. If they do so, it would then be only for their good and happiness.

The Viceroy replied:

I send my warmest thanks to Your Exalted Highness for your kindest telegram of March 18. I greatly appreciate it and am touched by the interest which Your Exalted Highness has been kind enough to show in my speech to the Chamber of Princes and the very important subjects which it covers.

NIZAM GOVERNMENT'S DECISION

A recent *communiqué* following demands by a section of the Moslems regarding the proposal and the suggestion that the reforms be postponed, says:

"It is the desire of the Nizam's Government that the public should know in this connexion that the Government cannot accept any suggestion for a postponement of the reforms. On the contrary, it is the settled policy of the Government to expedite their announcement and to inaugurate them with as little delay as possible."

Baroda

REPEAL OF PROTECTIVE DUTIES

The Baroda Government have responded to the popular wish regarding the protective duties imposed by them in the interests of the trade of the Okha Port. The people of the Mehsana district felt that they were aggrieved by these duties. Government accordingly considered the position, revised the schedule of tariff duties and simplified the procedure of collection so as to give facilities to local merchants.

THE NEW RESIDENT

His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to select Lt.-Col. G. V. B. Gillan, C.I.E., for appointment as Resident for the Baroda and Gujarat States *vice* Lt.-Col. E. J. D. Colvin on leave.

Rajkot

THE RAJKOT AWARD

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, to whom the Rajkot dispute was referred for adjudication, has upheld Sardar Patel's claim that he (the Sardar) should have the last say in the nomination of seven out of ten members of the contemplated Reforms Committee and not the Thakore Sahib.

Accordingly, Mahatma Gandhi has submitted a list of seven names to the Thakore Sahib for inclusion in the Rajkot Reforms Committee. In a statement, Gandhiji explains that his nominees have been selected after fulfilling the first indispensable condition of team work so that they would all make a conscientious effort to represent the whole interests of the people of Rajkot. It will be the duty of the members of the Committee, emphasises Gandhiji, to safeguard and protect the rights of all minorities in the State.

Mysore

MYSORE REFORMS

That of the seven seats for Mysore in the Federal Assembly, four should be filled by election and three should be filled by H. H. the Maharaja was the far-reaching recommendation decided upon by the Mysore Reforms Committee at its recent sittings in Bangalore.

The Committee has decided to recommend that of the three seats allotted to Mysore in the Federal Upper House, two should be filled by H. H. the Maharaja and the third by election, but whether it should be direct election with the whole State as a single constituency or indirect election through the Mysore Legislative Council has not been decided.

Mysore's representation in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature will be even more democratic than British Indian representation, as the franchise in Mysore will be lower than in British Indian Provinces.

Kashmir

REFORMS IN KASHMIR

In pursuance of the proclamation of February 11, His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has been pleased to commend the appointment of Praja Sabha Under-Secretaries to ensure the co-operation of representative and responsible public opinion and to establish close relations between the Council and the Sabha. The number of Under-Secretaries is fixed at four.

Cochin

COCHIN REPORT FOR 1937-38

The report on the administration of the Cochin Income Tax Department for the year ended August, 1938, shows that by the introduction of super-tax, Government were hopeful of securing a net annual revenue of about one lakh of rupees.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

The first meeting of the Senate of the Travancore University met in April under the presidentship of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in the Council Chamber. All the recommendations of the Syndicate were accepted by the Senate, and the resolutions given notice of by the members of the Senate were discussed one after another.

In view of the fact that arrangements are now in progress for the opening of a College of Engineering in July 1939, under the faculty of Technology, Mr. T. H. Mathewman, Principal of the proposed Engineering College, moved the recommendation of the Syndicate to the effect that the Engineering Degree, which has not been included in the Degrees of the University, might be brought under the statutes and for this purpose the statute might be accordingly amended. The recommendation which was seconded by Dr. K. L. Moudgil was accepted by the Senate.

Benares

THE MAHARAJA OF BENARES

The death occurred, on April 4, of His Highness Sir Aditya Narayan Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Benares, at Ramnagar Fort, Benares State, at the age of 65 after a prolonged illness. His Highness had not been in good health for several months, but his death was unexpected.

Sir Aditya Narayan Singh Bahadur is to be succeeded by the heir-apparent Maharaj Kumar Bibhuti Narayan Singh, born on November 5, 1927, adopted by His late Highness as his son and successor on June 24, 1934.

Rajaputana States

REFORMS IN THE STATES

In view of the growing agitation for responsible Government in the States, the recent speeches of H. E. the Viceroy at Jaipur and Jodhpur and Udaipur have been welcomed as a sure indication of the policy of the Paramount Power in regard to Princes and their States. In all the three centres, His Excellency welcomed "the steps taken to secure the closer association of your subjects with the development of your administration.

It is in these days of vital importance not only that the administration should be conducted on sound up-to-date lines but adequate provision should exist for ventilation of legitimate grievances and for bringing to the notice of the Government the wants and suggestions of its subjects.

But the experimental reforms now introduced should not be considered the last word. In a striking passage in his Banquet speech at Jaipur, H. E. emphasised that progress has to continue to meet the trend of modern development, and modifications of the reforms have to be provided for through machinery susceptible of readjustment as occasion may arise.

Kolhapur

KOLHAPUR REFORMS

References to the steps contemplated by the Kolhapur State to create a Legislative Assembly and to Federation were made by the Viceroy at Kolhapur when speaking at a State Banquet given by the Maharaja in His Excellency's honour. Lord Linlithgow said:

I have been greatly interested to hear that a form of local self-government based on a *panchayat* system has been in force in Kolhapur since so long ago as 1928, and that the Ilakha Panchayat should have discharged so successfully the purposes which it was created to serve. I need not say how earnestly I trust that the reforms which Your Highness tells me that you now have in contemplation for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in your State will be attended with no less success.

Indore

THE MAHARAJA'S MARRIAGE

At a special Durbar at Indore, on March 27, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar announced his marriage with Miss Marguerite Lawler in Europe.

His Highness added that his health now has sufficiently improved not to necessitate his going abroad and, therefore, he intended to remain here and work amongst his people, whose service His Highness considered to be his first duty. But, for the proper performance of his duties, he required health and domestic happiness for securing which he had married a lady whom he loved from his heart, and now he and the Maharani Holkar proposed to devote themselves to their people's service.

His Highness announced that this marriage will not affect succession to the State.

Patiala

THE REFORMS COMMITTEE

A Committee to scrutinise the existing laws and regulations in the State and suggest amendments and modifications suitable to the present requirements of the State has been appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

The Committee consists of the Minister of Law, Chairman; Foreign and Education Minister, the Government Advocate and Legal Remembrancer, and the Under-Secretary to the Minister of Law, Secretary.

Bhopal

PROHIBITION IN BHOPAL

In the Bhopal Legislative Assembly, a resolution by Pandit Chatar Narain Malaviya to introduce total prohibition in the State was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Reports from South Africa show that the Government of India's suggestion to hold a Round Table Conference over the question of Segregation and other proposed disabilities of Indians in that Dominion has been accepted by the Union Government.

Interviewed on the subject, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor of this *Review*, welcomed the proposal and said:

The proposed legislation to prevent Indians in South Africa from occupying houses within the suburban areas to which the majority of European residents raise objection, is one more attempt to brand our countrymen in South Africa with the bar sinister of inferiority. It is scandalous in conception and will prove in the end to be as dangerous as the provisions of the Class Areas Bill of 1924 and the later ill-fated attempt in 1930 to virtually segregate Indians. It is undoubtedly a clear attempt to deprive Indians of even some of the citizen rights which they have at present.

One is not surprised that the South African Indian Congress has regarded the proposed measure as a matter of life and death to them. They have luckily sent to India a tried patriot and worker in the person of Swami Bavani Dayal, and I do hope he will be able to rouse India to a sense of the gravity of the situation in South Africa.

For over half a century our countrymen in South Africa have been the victims of persecution and ill-treatment in various forms. By their own courage, their strength, their firmness of purpose and their readiness to sacrifice, as in the past, they with the help of the Government of India have been able to prevent attempts so constantly made at their extinction. Fortunately for us in the matter of ill-treatment of Indians overseas, Government of India and Indian nationals speak with one voice.

The representatives of the Union Government at such a conference should be from among the first-rate politicians who have a broad outlook, who will have the courage of their conviction and who will be in a position to influence their countrymen for the better.

There has long been a feeling in our country that most of the ills of Indians overseas is due to India's political inability to assert herself, and that the British Government at home have not been sufficiently strong in demanding fair and equitable treatment for a large section of His Majesty's subjects. First-rate knowledge of the feeling in India and strong representations from the Government of India and the Imperial Government will, I am sure, enable the proposed deputation to restore peace and confidence to the Indians in South Africa and, need I add, better relationship between India and South Africa.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S MESSAGE

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, in a farewell message to South Africa, says that it is admitted that Indians in South Africa have contributed to some extent to the building up of the country. "I am convinced that they will make even more effective contributions to the general life of this country if they are given a chance to do so."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan recognises that Indians of South Africa are at one in regard to their objective, though there are some differences due to assertion of personalities more than principles. "The strength of honour of the Indian community lies in their united and organised effort to improve their present position. I must emphasise that they must do nothing to make themselves disagreeable or unacceptable to their neighbours."

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

The needs of Indians in Malaya, their service conditions and questions regarding their owning rubber estates in the Island are among the topics dealt with in the annual report of the Agent of the Government of India in British Malaya for the year 1937 published only recently.

There is a feeling, says the Agent, that in India there should be a strong, representative and influential overseas league or association, non-sectarian and non-political in character which, through its membership and organisations, should bring about a more personal and intimate touch between the mother-country and the two and a half millions of Indians who are living in the overseas countries.

One of the constructive methods to improve the condition of Indians abroad is to develop cultural contacts between India and the Indian colonists.

Ceylon

INDIANS AND SINHALESE

We are prepared to extend our goodwill and co-operation to every community in this country and we are in sympathy with the national aspirations of the people of this country. But it must be clearly understood that we cannot as a very important section of the population accept the position of mere aliens which the Sinhalese leaders wish to thrust upon us," said Mr. R. Rustomjee presiding at the All-Ceylon public meeting of Indians held in Colombo Town Hall on April 2. Continuing, he said:

Let not also Sinhalese community imagine that an unequivocal demand made by us for our political, economic and civic rights is to be interpreted as an indication of hostility. We have been witnessing the growth of this unfortunate tendency in the minds of the Sinhalese leaders in recent times. Time was when the Sinhalese themselves condemned in unmistakable terms the "White Australian" policy of the Commonwealth Government, and the policy of discrimination against Indians pursued by the Governments of East and South Africa. But to-day they are raising the cry of "Ceylon for the Sinhalese", unmindful of the political and economic consequences of such a cry.

No less a person than the Minister of Health himself has warned us that in the near future if the Indian community in this country is not prepared to toe the line at the dictates of the Sinhalese leaders, repercussions such as those witnessed in Burma to-day as a result of the anti-Indian cry raised by the Buddhist Burmese will be witnessed in Ceylon.

We cannot but take such utterances seriously. It is difficult for us to conceive that Britain which has held the scales even between the various communities in her Eastern Empire, will permit on the part of the Sinhalese leaders such action as would not be justified even against aliens who owe no common allegiance to the King-Emperor.

Tanganyika

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

The *Indian Social Reformer* advises our countrymen in South Africa not to make common cause with Kenya Europeans against the German demands for the restoration of Tanganyika.

When the time comes, the British in Kenya will make terms with Germans and impose on them their own anti-Indian prejudices. Incidentally, the argument that Germans are unfit to be entrusted with the control of territories containing native populations because of their oppression of their Jews is patently disingenuous. The Boers and British in Africa are very accommodating to Jews, but that does not make them tender to native Africans or Indians. Indians are opposed to the settlement of Jewish refugees in Kenya, while the Europeans there favour their importation. The Governor of Tanganyika has offered a large area of land for Jewish settlement if the international Jewish organisations will finance the project. If there is truth in the allegation sometimes made that the rival of the Indian in South Africa is the Jew and that anti-Indian measures mainly are to his benefit, the settlement of a large Jewish colony in Tanganyika or Guiana will certainly affect the position of Indians there. We mention all these circumstances and possibilities so that Indian leaders in Africa and in this country may decide upon their course of action in full view of them.

Kenya

KENYA INDIANS

The Hon. Mr. J. B. Pandya, a member of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council of Kenya, is now on a visit to India. "The question is not merely an economic and a local one. It is an insult to the Indian race," said Mr. Pandya, in an interview, on the Kenya Highlands Order in Council. He said that in effect the Order debarred Indians from acquiring a share of the fertile highlands.

He emphasised that while even a non-British white man could acquire land on the Kenya Highlands, the British Indian subject who, it was claimed by the British Government, enjoyed equal rights in the British Empire was debarred from that privilege.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



AMERICA AND THE DEMOCRACIES

"There are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor Governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people," said President Roosevelt in his annual message to the American Congress. America's foreign policy seeks to combat the totalitarian states with every means available short of force. The main points in the present American foreign programme are listed in *The Round Table* of March 1939. They are:

1. An intensive armament building program, under which American fighting forces for the coming fiscal year will cost about \$1,500 million.
2. Projection of a naval base at Guam on Japan's front door-step over 3,000 miles west of Hawaii.
3. Extension of trade preferences, meaning economic and perhaps political stability to the Philippines and perhaps eventual "dominion status" for the islands.
4. Substantial financial aid to China.
5. Diplomatic insistence on American "rights" in Asia.
6. Constant verbal warnings and thrusts directed toward the Nazis.
7. Direct assistance to France and Great Britain through the export of American aircraft and other materials.
8. Proposed amendment of the Neutrality Act to assure France and Britain of continued War supplies so long as they can pay for and transport them.
9. Projected economic, monetary, and tariff "sanctions" against the authoritarian Governments.
10. An effort to strengthen economic ties between normal trading nations through reciprocal pacts.
11. An effort to forge inter-American continental solidarity and keep the totalitarian states out of the New World.
12. Every practicable step to aid the Jews, particularly in refugee work.

The armament programme, the *Journal* adds, will make the American navy second to none comparable only to the British.

It will eventually bring the American air force and aircraft factories up to the German level, particularly if there is a good deal of exporting. It will make the navy's task of defending the western hemisphere a guaranteed success. Most important, perhaps, will be the American aircraft factories if they are an assured secondary source of supply to Great Britain and France.

The proposed naval base at Guam right on the flank of the Marianas and the Carolines is a direct challenge to Japan. But it is thus far a diplomatic move, a blue chip valuable in a possible poker game with Tokyo. Guam is no more than 1,500 miles from that capital. A full American naval base there capable of supporting the American fleet with our unexcelled aircraft carriers, taking planes perhaps half the remaining distance to the Japanese mainland, would gravely threaten Japan's present naval supremacy in her own waters. This is something for Japan to think about as she struggles with the Chinese octopus.

AMERICAN VIEW OF ENGLAND

"We lose either way whether we support England or not," writes Elmer Davis in the *New Republic*, "and the only question is which way we lose more heavily."

"Before Munich, I thought it would be less costly to stay out; but if the British buy themselves off by putting their fleet at Hitler's disposal, God only knows. It would be a different story, we might join in the resistance with some feeling that it would be worth its cost if anybody but the Chamberlain-Hoare-Simon crowd were running England. But if anybody else had been running England in the past few years, Japan would not be half-way across China and fifteen million Czecho-Slovaks, twenty-odd million Spaniards could still be counted against the Fascist Powers instead of for them. No wonder Hitler has indicated his satisfaction with the present British Government."

"MY STRANGE ILLNESS"

This is the subject of an article contributed to the current number of the *Modern Review* by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, President of the Congress. It relates in some detail the cause of his illness since he last met Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha after his presidential election.

He points out when he suggested that the meeting of the Working Committee be postponed till the Tripuri Congress Session, he had not the faintest idea that the majority of the members of the Working Committee would resign. He adds:

Much fuss has been made by interested parties over the above suggestion and it has been alleged that I did not permit the Working Committee to transact even routine business. Such an allegation is altogether unfounded.

My concern was over the draft resolutions for the Congress, which are usually framed by the Working Committee on the eve of the annual plenary session. In the second place, in my telegram to Sardar Patel, after giving my views regarding postponement, I requested him to ascertain the views of other members and wire the same to me. The reply to my telegram was the resignation of 12 members.

After describing why he determined to go to Tripuri and while at Tripuri how false rumours were set afloat that he was not really ill until a medical board examined him, Mr. Bose writes:

Owing to the morally sickening atmosphere of Tripuri, I left that place with such a loathing and disgust for politics as I have never felt before during the last 19 years. As I tossed in my bed at Jamadoba by day and by night, I began to ask myself again and again what would become of our public life when there was so much of pettiness and vindictiveness even in the highest circles. My thoughts naturally turned towards what was my first love in life—the eternal call of the Himalayas. At times the call of the Himalayas became insistent. I spent days and nights of moral doubts and uncertainty. Then slowly a new vision dawned on me and began to recover my mental balance as well as my faith in man and in my countrymen.

Mr. Bose then recounts the nature of his illness and says that amulets etc. were often suggested to him but he had no faith in such a treatment.

PATH TO INDIA'S FREEDOM

The political emancipation of India lies in the intensification of her spiritual ideals, points out Swami Nikhilananda in the latest issue of *Prabuddha Bharata* and not in the blind imitation of Western communism, which is quite unsuited to the cultural genius of the Indian people. He says:

If communism aims at giving people, especially the neglected masses, food, clothing and other amenities of life which are theirs by birthright and at the same time allow them the completest self-unfoldment which is their divine heritage, then we approve of it. But if it promotes class hatred, if it resorts to violence and oppression in order to silence those who honestly differ with its method, if it destroys one class in order to further the interests of another, if it aims at creating a dead uniformity in society on the basis of materialism alone and if it interferes with man's legitimate freedom in thought, speech, and action, then I submit in all humility that it will not help us in our struggle to emancipate the nation from its present stage of degradation. No civilization or culture can be created or developed on the basis of class prejudice alone.

Everywhere in the world, continues Swamiji, a high degree of culture has been achieved only by religion.

The tall sky-scrapers of New York, the concrete roads in the Alps over which rumble on high-powered motor trucks, the battleships, the air-planes or the underground fortresses are not the indicators of European civilisation. Take away from Europe the great monuments of religion and it will appear bleak and desolate. The masterpieces of Raphael, Da Vinci and Michael Angelo have been inspired by religion. The leit-motif behind the creations of Brahms, Beethoven, and Wagner has been religious. Take away the sculptural exhibits inspired by religion from the pillared museums of France and Italy and there will be nothing left to attract the world's attention. The cathedrals of Rheims and Milan, the flowering of the Gothic architecture, testify to the religious fervour of the Middle Ages. And in point of literary excellence, the Holy Bible still stands superior to Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth or Browning.

Many radical changes in our society are quite necessary, agrees Swami Nikhilananda, but he warns

in order that these reforms may be conducive to our national welfare, they must be in tune with our inherited instincts and racial traditions. Any scheme of reforms in India which is not in keeping with our spiritual ideal must fail and if it ever succeeds, it will certainly destroy our society.

THE MIDDLE CLASS MENTALITY

"M. M. J.", writing in the *Humata* for March, says that Parsis present to the world the strange phenomenon of a community composed entirely of the middle classes.

We have a lower middle and a higher middle grade but no labour class, menial or servant section or any of the so-called "lower strata" of society that may or may not be something on which we can pride ourselves, but it seems to me that the entire tragedy of our community lies in the fact that some of us are either by tradition, socially, intellectually or spiritually aristocrats. A true aristocracy has always been the repository of art, culture, of fine and gracious living, of all those qualities which make up that wonderful composite known as "breeding". Our trouble has been that we have no one to imitate, to look up to, or live up to in our own ranks.

When money descends on a Parsi, he is not called upon to make any cultural or intellectual adjustments, but he

migrates from his two rooms and a kitchen to a large and opulent bungalow over-stocked, over-furnished and over-decorated, subscribes a couple of lakhs to some senseless charity or another, decks his wife and children with the maximum of expensive things, trots them off to Europe to see all the obvious places and do all the obvious things and lives at just the same level of unawareness that he has done before. He has not the opportunity to realise that there are other values besides economic values and that they are far more important than those he has been taught to worship, or has unconsciously learnt to worship all his life.

The pest of the twentieth century is the middle class mentality, the feeble, half-baked and melancholy compromise between the wholesome attitude of the peasant and the elegant, sophisticated and brightened sensibilities of the aristocrat.

That kind of sophistication into which the individual flows through experience is a thing one cannot in one's wildest dreams imagine as belonging to one of us. And yet if we are to get anywhere, we have to realise that it is the measure of a man's sensibilities which determine the stage of evolution he has reached; that it is not enough to live well but that it is important to live fully; that a man must be willing to endure hunger and thirst, scourge his body, undertake arduous pilgrimages for the sake of finding the truth, creating beauty and understanding the loveliness of human souls.

GANDHIJI'S FAST

Gandhiji's public fasts are not instances of reckless martyrdom but the *tour de force* of his campaign of non-violence," writes the *Indian Affairs* explaining the significance of the fast.

Equally, it is foolish, the journal continues, to regard fasting as the means of achieving victory in every political issue. The anti-Hindi agitators, for instance, who took to fasting even at the door-steps of the Mahatma, could not understand the difference between Gandhiji's fast and their own.

"Where was the spirit of non-violence, the sanction of a wide-spread popular movement, the restraint that cries halt almost at the moment of triumph, the clear-cut issue, not to speak of the towering personality which alone can quicken the moral conscience of a whole people? When Gandhiji fasts, he supplies moral nutrition alike to rulers and the ruled."

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Issued and Subscribed Capital .. Rs. 47,92,800

Paid-up Capital .. Rs. 12,79,280

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N. GOPALA IYER,

Secretary.

May, '39.

PROHIBITION

Now that the Major Provinces have formulated a programme of prohibition, Mr. V. G. Ramakrishnan's examination of its financial implications in the pages of the *New Review* for April is of particular interest. The total revenue of British India from restrictive Excise varied from 20 to 21 crores of rupees.

The percentage of Excise to total revenue in the various Provinces is as follows:—Madras 39; Bihar & Orissa taken together 34; Bombay 28; the U. P. 12; the Punjab, 11. It is evident from this that of all the Provinces, Madras stands first in the matter of Excise revenue and that a policy of total prohibition would financially affect Madras more seriously than the other Provinces.

Mr. Ramakrishnan reviews the position of the Provinces one after another with special reference to the results of prohibition in limited areas. Writing of a typical village in the Madras Presidency, where the experiment has been carried out, he observes:

With the advent of prohibition, there has been a great improvement in the standard of living of at least 17 families. . . .

More money is spent on the necessities of life and debt liquidation too is facilitated. It is computed that between October 1937 and June 1938 the money saved by the people of this village was about 75 lakhs of rupees. That is, after prohibition 7 lakhs of addicts have had a *per capita* increase of income of Rs. 11 for 9 months. There has also been a diversion of expenditure from unwholesome to fruitful channels. Money-lenders who were supplying loans, report a fall in the demand for loans. Crimes too are on the decline, for the average man is not a wilful addict but only drifts into the habit through sheer pressure of circumstances.

What is true of one place is equally true of others. But "the financial implication of total prohibition in Madras will ultimately be a loss of revenue of about 4½ crores per annum, for which additional taxation will have to be introduced in the form of death duties, agricultural income-tax, and tobacco tax".

It is worth mentioning in this connection that, apart from a sudden and dramatic introduction of prohibition, experiments might be made in the industrial use of alcohol so that the resources of the country now devoted to the production of

drink might be utilized in equally profitable and less harmful ways. The U. P. Government have set up a Committee to devise ways and means to manufacture power alcohol from molasses. It has been estimated that unless power alcohol is about 15 per cent. cheaper than petrol, it cannot compete with it.

All efforts should, therefore, be concentrated on the introduction of power at the cheapest possible rate. Already four Provinces are conducting experiments in this direction—Madras, Bombay, Bihar, and the U. P.—and we shall await with interest the commercial possibilities of these provincial experiments and see how far they are likely to fill the financial gap created by prohibition programmes.

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

Suggesting that the attention of the Indian Chamber of Princes must be directed into other useful channels for the common welfare of India, Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe writes in *Triveni*:

"The present condition of the League of Nations ought to be taken into consideration. The growth of nationalism has been fatal to the full growth of the League. Yet, it has been doing a steady and useful work in matters of a technical and humanitarian nature in which the states of the world, which had held aloof from the beginning, are co-operating. There is ample scope for such activities on the part of the Chamber.

Indeed, had it taken these up previously, it would not have been reduced to its present plight. In these matters even the Autonomous Provinces in British India will join hands, not to speak of the Federal Government when it comes into existence. In fact, the initiative is passing into other hands. Will the Princes take note of this development? All their well wishers hope that they will take note at any rate before it is not too late by rejuvenating the Chamber of Princes.

THE HINDU SOCIAL ORDER

What is the end of the State according to the Indian conception, asks Mr. V. R. machandra Dikshitar in the *Aryan Path*. It is to ensure the liberty of the citizen and to secure the general moral welfare.

Thus the state was not a centralised despotism but a benevolent monarchy; the king was looked upon by his subjects as a father. The proper notion of the Hindu state has hardly been realised by modern critics. Every effort was made by ancient kings to found a cultural state in several ways with success; the names of Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka, Samudragupta, Harsha, and others are mentioned. One way of promoting the moral welfare of society was to see that all castes conducted themselves aright in their respective spheres. If they swerved from the ordained path, the state had the right to punish them. In this sense the state, which represented the common will, was the promotion of the common good.

The Hindu social division aimed at unity in diversity. It had, unlike the modern social organisation of the West, elements of permanence, side by side with orderly movement.

Being saturated by ideals of common good, it was nothing too high, nothing too low, but a social organisation. Each individual rose to his full mental vigour in his own sphere and left his mark. In the light of a stanza in the *Bhagavata*, the so-called superiority of caste disappears. It says: "He who would serve as the anchor on the shoreless place and as a boat in a boundless place, is always entitled to respect, whether he be a Sudra or any other." Such an organic organisation made it possible to absorb the activity of the individual in different forms of grouping, where the individual, to repeat again, lost himself in the general will of the state.

The Hindu social organisation very nearly approximates to the Platonic doctrine of justice, which included a society divided into three classes according to function. The Indian system stands in striking contrast to the modern totalitarian state, where the worth of the individual as such is not regarded.

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Dr. Kagawa, the Japanese Christian leader, recently paid a visit to Mahatma Gandhi. The following is the conversation as recorded by the Editor of *Harijan*:

'What is the feeling of people in Japan about the war,' asked Gandhiji.

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'I would put the co-operatives and your work in one scale and put the honour of your nation in the other and you found that the honour was being sacrificed. I should ask you to declare your views against Japan and in so doing make Japan live through your death. But for inner conviction is necessary. I do not know that I should be able to do that. I have said if I were in your position but I must give you my opinion since you have asked for it.'

'The conviction is there. But friends have been asking me to desist.'

'Well, don't listen to friends within the Friend inside you says: "Do this. And friends, however good, can sometimes easily deceive us. They cannot argue otherwise. They would ask you to live and do your work. The same appeal was made to me when I took the decision to go to jail. But I did not listen to friends with the result that I found the glow of freedom when I was confined within

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PARLIAMENTARY LIFE

"In all parties there is a lack of men of ability between the ages of 40 and 55," writes Sir Charles Petrie, BART., in the March *Windsor Magazine*, discussing "Possible Prime Ministers of the Future".

The members of the present Cabinet are for the most part far beyond what is usually accepted as the prime of life, but the generation which should be treading on their heels does not exist. It lies in its graves in Flanders, in Gallipoli, and in Irak.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that a Parliamentary career is a risky business for a young man without sufficient money or influence to obtain a safe seat at the beginning.

Just when he is successfully launched at Westminster and has been given his first appointment, he may be defeated; then he may quite likely have to wait three or four years before he is able to get back into the House again. By that time his contemporaries with safer seats, though not necessarily with greater ability, will have been promoted over his head, and he must start afresh.

Financially, the M. P. is better off than he was a few years ago, but it is doubtful if more than a handful of members, at any rate on the Government side, save a penny of their £600 a year. An election may cost anything up to £1,000, and there has, since the War, on an average been one every three and a half years; most constituencies expect an annual subscription of not less than £200 and then there are incidental expenses, of which postage and entertaining are not the least.

Nor is this all; for it is not easy for a young man to make a living while a Member of Parliament. To-day to be an M. P. is practically a whole-time job.

The older men may acquire remunerative directorships which interfere little, if at all, with their Parliamentary duties, but such things do not come the way of youth.

To succeed at Westminster, and earn a livelihood elsewhere at the same time, means unremitting toil. In these circumstances what is

remarkable is not that there are so few but rather that there are so many young men of promise in Parliament. The temptation to go into the City was never so great as to-day.

In business or a profession there is, too, relative security of tenure, which is certainly not to be found at Westminster. It is, of course, true that for these reasons many a young man has eschewed a political career who in the past would have adopted one, but the fact that this tendency has not become universal is in itself a tribute to the public spirit of the much abused younger generation.

PT. JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

The remarkable human being whose name is Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is, next to Mr. Gandhi, the most important Indian in India, writes John Gunther in *Asia*. "This handsome, cultivated, and exceptionally fastidious and sensitive Kashmiri Brahman, who is generally accepted as the Mahatma's successor in the nationalist movement, is not so baffling a creature as Mr. Gandhi, but he has complexities enough. The struggle in Nehru is triple. He is an Indian, who became a Westerner; an aristocrat who became socialist; an individualist, who became a great mass leader. More than this, he is a man with a modern mind, a man of reason, a devout—if this is the proper adjective—rationalist. And in India—the continent of caste and holy cattle, of religious fanaticism in an extreme degree—India, which is a sort of cesspool of rival faiths, but in which faith, any faith, is a paramount desideratum, Nehru the agnostic, Nehru the modern man, faces the colossal mediaevalism of India. He fights the British, but he fights the entrenched conventions of ritualism of his own people too. His struggle is that of twentieth century mind, trying to make a revolution of material going back beyond the Middle Ages."

PRACTICAL VEDANTA

Swami Pranavesananda, writing in the *Vedanta Kesari*, makes a comparative study of the teachings of Sri Krishna and Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The author of the Gita, he says

repeatedly goads us to work. Yoga is dexterity in work. We have to work in this world without attachment to reward or punishment, with mastery over one's body, senses, and mind.

Sri Ramakrishna also made Vedanta practical in all fields of life and places of existence. Before his advent, Vedanta was being worked out only by *sanyasins* and recluses on the plane of spirituality in caves and forests. He, on the other hand, showed that the truths of religion can be practised by one and all, not only by *sanyasins* but also by students and householders in the midst of their sorrows and troubles.

Sri Krishna attempts to synthesise in the Gita the different schools of Vedanta philosophy, Sankhya doctrines, Mimamsa injunctions and Bhakti cults prevailing at his time and correct their extravagances.

That is why we find in it conflicting views about the means of discipline and end of freedom. Yet he harmonises them and shows them the exact place and value of each of them.

The Gita recognises that the Infinite God can be approached and worshipped through any of his aspects. Through this tolerant spirit, Sri Krishna made Hinduism a synthesis of different kinds of worship and spiritual experience, a harmony of all cults, creeds and systems of spiritual culture based on the fact that the one Truth has many aspects.

Although during his lifetime, Sri Krishna attempted to combine the different forces as there was no practical sanction behind that unity, the sects went on with their campaign of mutual hatred and fight till India became hopelessly divided and fell an easy prey to foreign conquerors.

In order to remedy this evil, immensely magnified by the passage of time and to

effect a solid unity among the different peoples of India, the merciful Sri Krishna, we are told, came again in the form of Sri Ramakrishna. He not only harmonised but also kept the door open for synthesising all religious ideas that might crop up in the future; for, human mind is ever progressing and broadening.

India to-day is the home of all religions and in order to meet the demands of this age, it looks as if the same Sri Krishna, who united the different sects and aspects within the fold of Hinduism, came again as Sri Ramakrishna, in order to show that the religion of the Hindus is universal and has in it the monotheistic view of the Islamic religion and the dualistic aspect of the Christian religion and can easily absorb all the religions in its fold, just as Sankara made it possible for Buddhism to be absorbed into Hinduism.

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NO COMPROMISE WITH VIOLENCE

"Mussolini, like Hitler, understands only one kind of argument—firmness with adequate strength behind it, says Mr. Wickham Steed in the *Contemporary Review*. "It is true that the Italian people and the German people do not want war. Mussolini knows it; Hitler knows it. But it is truer that the German and the Italian peoples will have no say in the matter if Hitler and Mussolini push their threats to the point of war. Neither the Italian nor the German people has any real dislike of 'peaceful' concessions extorted from us or France by threat of war; and every such concession rivets Mussolini's and Hitler's hold upon their respective countries. The only way to save those countries and our own from war is, I am convinced, forthwith to show that we will yield nothing, nor will we advise France to yield anything to threat of war; and that we take our stand not on the defence of this or that territory or strategic position, but on the principle which we have so long trampled underfoot—that until lawless violence ceases to be the rule in international affairs, those who follow this rule and spurn both human right and democratic freedom, must reckon with our unflinching resistance.

With the rule of violence we cannot compromise, nor can we make fear—masquerading as prudence or appeasement—our counsellor when we are bidden to 'stand and deliver' colonies or anything else. Otherwise we shall merit all the evil that will come upon us. But we need to be quite clear in our minds that in withstanding the rule of violence and armed menace, we shall be challenging the very existence of the totalitarian systems."

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

Views about Russia are still as varied as ever before. Why did Russia discard religion, asks Mr. Basant Kumar Chatterjee in *Kalyana Kalpataru*, and answers as follows:—

"Bolshevism has attacked religion in the garb of philanthropy. Hence it is that in Russia although churches are destroyed, theatres, bioscopes and other means of enjoyment have not been prohibited.

If it were true that Russia has accepted philanthropy as the only aim of life, it would have prevented the large expenditure of money on these means of enjoyment. As a matter of fact, Bolshevism has taken enjoyment of the senses as the aim of life and because religion is an obstacle to enjoyment, it has declared a crusade against religion. It is following the path of pleasure without religion and is wading through immorality and licentiousness."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR INDIA. By Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. [The New Review, April 1939.]

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON WESTERN THOUGHT. By Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. [The Aryan Path, April 1939.]

IS CONVERSION ALIEN TO THE SPIRIT OF HINDUISM. By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A. [Prabuddha Bharata, April 1939.]

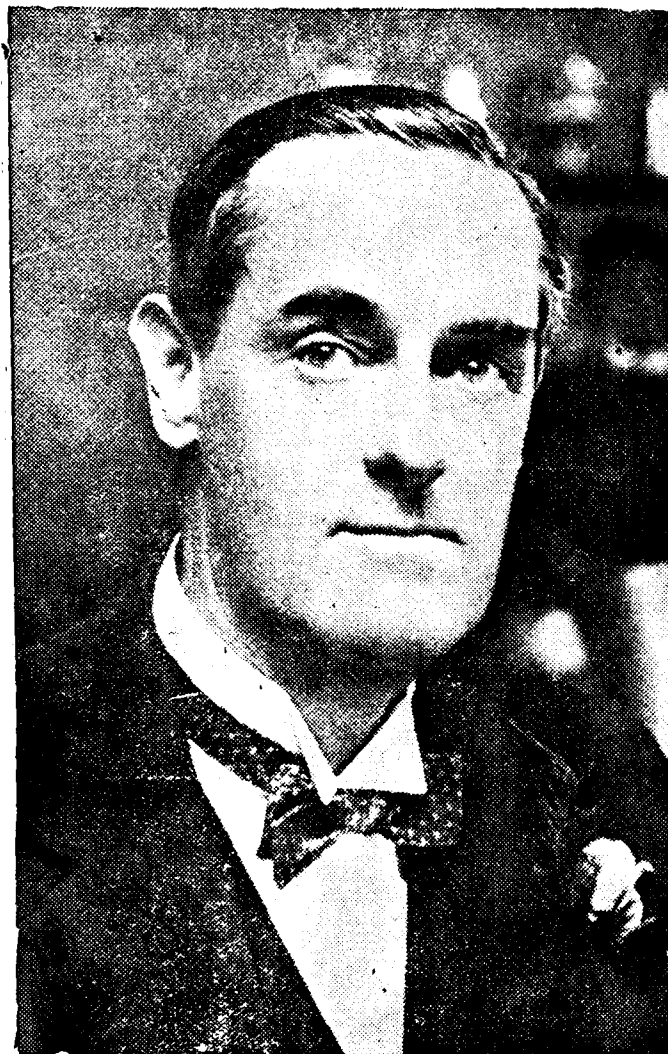
CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA. By Dr. H. C. Mookerjee M.A., Ph.D. [The Modern Review, April 1939.]

INDIAN FEDERATION. By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma. [The Twentieth Century, April 1939.]

INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH. [Science and Culture, March 1939.]

NURSERY SCHOOLS IN INDIA. By C. J. Bhatt. [Humata, March 1939.]

THE REJUVENATION OF THE PRINCES' CHAMBER. By Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe. [Triveni, March 1939.]



H. E. LORD LINLITHGOW
Viceroy and Governor-General of India

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

WAR EMERGENCY MEASURES

The main provision in the Bill to amend the Government of India Act introduced in the House of Lords on the 5th April is thus explained in a New Delhi message:

Under Section 102 of the Act, the Governor-General could proclaim an emergency and when he has done that the Central Legislature would have wide and unfettered power to legislate on any subject including subjects in the Provincial List. But the section leaves unchanged the executive relations between the Central and Provincial Governments. The amendment is designed to correct this position and to secure for the Centre essential powers of direction and control without, however, aiming at any general inroad into provincial powers.

The amendment proposed consists of the addition of a new clause as Section 126A to the Act as follows:

Where a proclamation of emergency is in operation whereby the Governor-General has decided that the security of India is threatened by war—

(a) The executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the giving of directions to a province as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised, and any directions so given shall, for the purposes of the last preceding section, be deemed to be directions given thereunder.

(b) Any power of the Federal Legislature to make laws for a province with respect to any matter shall include power to make laws as respects a province conferring powers and imposing duties or authorising the conferring of powers and the imposition of duties upon the Federation or officers and authorities of the Federation as respects that matter, notwithstanding that it is one with respect to which the provincial legislature also has power to make laws, &c. etc.

At the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Lords on April 25, Lord Letland assured the House that it was simply and solely a war measure and nothing more".

THE RAJKOT AWARD

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, to whom H. E. the Viceroy referred the Rajkot dispute for arbitration, gave his verdict on April 3.

Referring to the documents under dispute, Sir Maurice Gwyer declares that according to them the Thakore Sahib undertook to appoint the persons recommended by Mr. Vallabhai Patel and that he did not reserve to himself any discretion to reject those of whom he disapproved.

The Thakore Sahib, says the Chief Justice, was entitled to criticize the recommendations and to urge their reconsiderations but unless it could be shown that any of the persons were neither servants nor subjects of the State, Mr. Vallabhai Patel was entitled to have the last word.

"It is true," he says, "that the appointment of all the members of the committee is vested in the Thakore Sahib alone even when they are recommended by Mr. Patel. A committee of this kind could scarcely come into existence in any other way.

"There is nothing inconsistent between the reservation by the Thakore Sahib of the right of appointment and an undertaking by him to appoint a certain number of persons who are recommended by another."

With regard to the appointment of the chairman of the committee, he says that the second paragraph of the notification of December 26 restricts the number of members of the committee to 10 and that, therefore, the chairman, who is to be appointed by the Thakore Sahib, must be one of the 10 and not an additional member.

DR. MUKHERJEE ON PROHIBITION

Dr. H. C. Mukherjee, M.L.A., Head of the Department of English, Calcutta University, delivered on April 3 a public lecture under the caption "Is Prohibition practicable?" In the course of his speech, he said:

We have come to realise the damage done to our motherland by using stimulants and narcotics and all educated and uneducated, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and Christian should unite to root out this evil from our country. I contend that in the face of the universal demand which exists for the introduction of prohibition, it is the duty of every responsible Ministry to take immediate steps to make this movement an absolute success. No consideration of the revenue which may have to be sacrificed should be allowed to influence any Government in the decision regarding this vital question.

Turning towards the activities of the Congress provinces in favour of prohibition, Dr. Mukherjee observed:

The success of the prohibition campaign in the different Congress provinces has proved that it is not at all necessary to wait and see if once public opinion can be mobilised in its favour. How this can be done successfully may easily be ascertained by reference to the respective governments. My experience in Madras has convinced me that this can be done. The time has passed when prohibition was at the experimental stage.

Assuring the people who would think that adoption of prohibition entailed a serious loss of revenue, he said:

This argument of loss in revenue is very dangerous on account of the temptation it holds out to a number of people who are led to overlook the immense gains which would accrue to the addicts by prohibition by legislation.

Marshalling all past experiences of other countries and their great men, Dr. Mukherjee went on to say:

Sir Josiah Stamp has shown that if the money spent on drink was diverted to other channels, there would be more and better food for the children, additional clothing and more amenities and an increase in the general savings of people. There is an incontrovertible relation between drink and poverty, and often between drink, crime, and immorality.

No relief from the burden of taxation can ever be expected by retaining the present system. On the other hand, an increase in the revenue from more prosperous citizens can be looked for only when sobriety and temperance are universal. The opinion of Joseph Chamberlain whom no one can even dream of labelling as a prohibition crank

is worth remembering. He said: "If I had an enchanter's wand and could destroy in one day the desire for strong drink in English people, what changes we should see; we should see our taxations reduced by millions sterling in a year; we should see our jails and workhouses almost empty; we should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed in a country of bitter savage war; we should transform the whole country. Let us not think that what is true of England is not true of our country."

Dr. Mukherjee, collecting reports on Prohibition activities in the Congress provinces, remarked finally that the social and moral effects of prohibition had been remarkable; the position of women and children among working classes in particular had substantially improved.

CHAMBERLAIN ON BRITISH POLICY

Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on April 3, reiterated British support to Poland and declared that it was "a tremendous departure from anything that this country had undertaken and constituted, if not a new epoch, a new point in their foreign policy."

If Poland were threatened, I have no doubt that the Polish people would resist. In that case, the declaration means that France and ourselves would immediately come to her assistance.

German assurances have now been flung to the winds. That is the new fact which has completely destroyed confidence and forced the British Government to make a great departure. I am not asserting that a German challenge has been made officially, but it is no exaggeration to say that public opinion throughout the whole world has been profoundly shocked and alarmed. This country is united from end to end in the conviction that we must make our position clear and unmistakable whatever may be the results.

There is no threat to Germany so long as Germany is a good neighbour. I am no more a man of war to-day than I was in September. I have no intention and no desire to treat the great German people otherwise than I would have our own people treated here. I was looking forward with strong hopes to the result of the trade discussions, but confidence so grievously shaken is not easily restored.

We are now entering into a specific engagement. If this German policy were pursued, Poland would not be the only country in danger. We welcome the co-operation of any country, whatever its internal system of government, not in aggression but in a resistance to aggression.

THE COMMUNAL BOGEY

The communal question with particular reference to the allegations by Muslim League Leaders regarding the so-called "oppression" of Muslim minorities is the subject of a vigorously worded statement by Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M.L.A. Mr. Satyamurthi suggests that the Premiers of all Congress Provinces should issue a categorical joint statement regarding the Muslim League allegations and "proving that there is no basis for these wild allegations made deliberately to foment communal hatred".

I want to invite the attention of the people and of the Governments in this country to the speeches of those gentlemen which read by ignorant people are calculated to incite them to violence; such phrases as 'fighting with coats off,' 'going down dying,' reminding them of 'their past achievements in conquering India' and such appeals to passion and prejudice are bound to result, as contemporary events show, in riots and disturbances. The law is no respecter of persons and I think that if law and order are to be enforced, the tallest must be taught that the extent of their tallness is the extent of their responsibility. This appeal is sought to be enforced by continual assertions in spite of the continual contradictions of so-called 'oppression' of Muslim minorities in the Congress provinces.

"The perpetuation of separate electorates is not only a danger to democratic government but is also becoming a danger to peaceful government of any kind.

This problem must be solved on a provincial basis and joint electorates should be introduced wherever possible with the consent of the minorities concerned and with reservation of seats for minorities on a just and generous scale.

In this connection we must add that Hindu communalists are no less to blame than the Muslim communalists

and it is the duty of all friends of peaceful and ordered progress in this country to put a stop to this violent incitement on the part of people, Hindu and Muslim, who ought to know better, to this false and malicious propaganda of 'oppression' of minorities in the Congress provinces and to this fantastic demand of vivisectioning the country.

I appeal to the best minds of both communities to adjust their differences in peaceful and honourable ways and achieve the freedom of India which is the common objective of the Congress and the Muslim League."

THE SALES TAX BILL

As we go to Press, the Select Committee, which examined the Madras Sales Turnover Tax Bill, has made its report which leaves the Bill substantially unaltered though with a few changes incorporated in the light of the examination. The rate remains the same, namely, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on turnover, but this percentage is made applicable to all turnover exceeding Rs. 10,000 per annum, the second slab, Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 having been eliminated. Dealers whose turnover is less than Rs. 10,000 will pay Rs. 5 per mensem, a reduction of Rs. 15 per year, and one which brings their total payment to a figure more nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Bill as revised specifies the goods which it is proposed to exempt from its operation either wholly or partially. Stocks and shares, securities, bullion, cotton and yarn, and handwoven cloth sold by persons dealing in them exclusively are to be exempt from liability to pay the tax. Hides and skins are to be taxed at one stage only. Another category of goods which will receive special treatment is wholly manufactured goods exported to places outside the Province. In their case, provision is made for a 50 per cent. rebate.

PROHIBITION IN U. P.

The second anniversary of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in the United Provinces in March 31 was marked by the extension of Prohibition to four more districts in the province: Bijnor, Budaun, Farrukhabad, and Jaunpur. The total area of these districts is 6,996 square miles with a total population of 3,959,112.

Etah and Mainpuri districts covering 3,392 square miles with a population of 1,610,111 were declared "dry" in April 1938.

DR. SAPRU'S WARNING

In his convocation address to the Osmania University, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru took occasion to tackle the problem of education in India in a realistic manner. "While religion and politics divide society into sections and accentuate the acerbities of opinion," he said, "the pursuit of common culture tends to unite us and soften those acerbities." That is the key-note of his address.

Unemployment among the educated and discipline among the students—two topics of immediate interest in the country—engaged his attention. He would have our education in the three stages—primary, secondary, and university—reorganised to suit the conditions of each area.

Stressing the need for discipline, he deprecated the methods of the factory in the school room.

Young men have got to recognise—and must be made to recognise—that there is no affinity between a university and an industrial concern, and a strike against the university or against the teachers is, in my judgment, a strike against knowledge, culture, and good manners.

But even worse than the ordinary strikes are the hunger-strikes resorted to by some young men to enforce their will or their judgment against the will and judgment of those who are in authority over them.

It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the appositeness of these remarks to the situation in more than one university in India.

TEACHING OF HINDUSTANI

The Madras Government have decided to introduce compulsory teaching of Hindustani in one hundred more secondary schools in different parts of the Presidency in the year 1939-40. It will be remembered that the compulsory teaching of the language was first introduced by the Government last year in a group of one hundred secondary schools.

POWER-POLITICS

Sir G. S. Bajpai, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, summed up the thesis of his Convocation address to the Delhi University in these words:

The quest of political and economic power is both an urge of human nature and a necessity of civilization. Rightly used, it is not immoral. It is evil only when directed to curtail man's legitimate freedom or corrupt his will. The crux of the matter, therefore, is how power, be it political or economic, is used. It must seek to assure to every citizen the fullest scope for self-expression.

Sir Girja said that power was one of those words for which few people could find a concise definition. Broadly, it may be described as an ability to produce an intended effect.

Acton's phrase—that all power corrupts—was too wide to be true. It was not the possession of power, but the use to which power was put that determined its morality. The political power of the State, based on the consent of the governed, was not only objectionable but essential for human progress.

He emphasized that, in its origin, the power of both the democratic and totalitarian State may be popular.

But the methods that duped or destroyed one's freedom of choice would rob assent of all title to that name and only convert it into an uneasy mask for what was in reality coercion. Judged by the test of the purpose to which totalitarian power was put, it failed to satisfy any rational moral standard. What action said of absolute power was true historically of all experiments in domination. Where the individual was looked upon as the means to an end and not an end in himself, the power of the State turned into tyranny.

Sir G. S. Bajpai next addressed himself to the question as to what should be the true aim of power of the State. The answer was, he said, simple.

The ideal aim of such power must be to secure to each individual the fullest opportunity for self-expression. The ultimate purpose of man is man himself. The power of the State must, therefore, be harmonised with the liberty of the individual.

WOMAN'S CLAIM FOR MAINTENANCE

A case of pathetic interest came up before Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Iyengar of the Madras High Court. It was that of a girl wife ill-treated by her husband. In his learned judgment, His Lordship pointed out when ill-treatment of a wife amounts to legal cruelty. In allowing the woman's claim for maintenance, His Lordship observed:

This is a very unfortunate case. Within less than a year of the marriage, the quarrels between the husband and the wife, which seem to have started almost immediately, came to a head resulting in separation, followed soon after by the suit for maintenance. Both the courts below have concurred in rejecting the claim hoping at the same time that a reconciliation would take place.

But the gulf widened and reconciliation became impossible. The respondent would not have the appellant except on one condition, namely, that she should be a complete slave to his will in everything.

The appellant's errors were those of a girl wife, too young to understand life and too inexperienced to realise the probable consequences of her husband's displeasures.

The ill-treatment and chastisements to which the respondent subjected her were the result of a settled conviction that a husband has the right to apply physical violence and inflict corporal punishment on a wife who does not conform to his wishes even in matters of dress or other equally non-essential particulars. It may be desirable that the wife should, as far as possible, yield to the husband and conduct herself according to his tastes. But I cannot agree that either her omission to accept his dictates in matters which do not affect the purity of her character or her conduct towards him so long as it does not degenerate into positive misbehaviour justifies the husband's inflicting physical punishment. Neither can it warrant her being cast off without even the right to be maintained by him.

Her civil rights, in this regard, are not forfeited by any and every act of insubordination even though it be but venial or inconsequential. Judged by this test, which I consider is the only proper test, I hold that the appellant has not by her conduct forfeited her right to maintenance. The courts below have erred in not paying due regard to the age and inexperience of the appellant nor did they take note of the wrong mentality displayed by the respondent which was the cause of the ill-treatment and the troubles that followed.

THE T. N. & Q. BANK

The Privy Council dismissed the appeal filed by the ex-Directors of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank (in liquidation) against the judgment of the Madras High Court regarding the legality of the extradition warrant.

In pursuance of an order issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate at Madras on warrants issued by the Resident, Madras States, Trivandrum, Messrs K. C. Mammen Mapillai, C. P. Matthen, K. M. Eapen and K. V. Verghese, ex-Directors of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank, Ltd., were sent in custody and escort, on April 4, to Trivandrum where they are under State custody while the case against them is proceeding.

PROSECUTING OFFICERS

The Madras Government have ordered that, as an experiment, prosecuting Police Officers in the Mofussil be replaced by Advocates. The experiment will be tried for some time in five districts, one of them being Malabar. The prosecuting Police Officers in those districts will be reverted to executive police work.

The scheme, it is understood, will be extended to other districts if the experiment is successful.

HIGH COURT FOR SIND

A resolution urging the Government of India to convert the Judicial Commissioner's Court at Karachi into a High Court in Sind was passed at a largely attended meeting of Sind Bar Association.

IS GANDHIJI'S LIFE INSURABLE?

This is the subject of an interesting article in the current issue of the *Insurance Herald*. It will be remembered that on the eve of his historic Rajkot fast, Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of a statement, said:

A breach of promise shakes me to my root, especially when I am in any way connected with the author of the breach, and if it cost my life, which after all at the age of 70 has no insurance value, I shall most willingly give it in order to secure due performance of a sacred and solemn promise.

To his countrymen the life of Gandhiji is invaluable, and India cannot think of any assessment of the value of Gandhiji's life in terms of money. But the question of an insurance policy on the life of Gandhiji can be discussed from an impersonal, scientific point of view. The *Insurance World* requested an eminent Actuary (Fellow) to ascertain the premium at which a policy could be issued on Gandhiji's life. Here is the quotation:—

Normal mortality above age 70 years.

According to Oriental experience (Vaidyanathan) actual deaths about 105·4 per cent. of deaths expected by OM (5) Table. Normal mortality above age 70 has been assumed to be OM (5) with 5 years added to the age.

Gandhiji's Blood Pressure—Systolic 160 m.m.
Diastolic 90 m.m.

Normal „ „ Systolic about 137 m.m.
Diastolic about 87 m.m.

Departure from Normal Diastolic + 3 m.m.
„ „ „ Systolic + 23 m.m.

From a table published by Hunter in J. I. A. Vol. LXV p. 78 (the data collected from the experience of New York Life 1923-32) in the case of above departures from normal blood pressure the ratio of actual to expected deaths would be 132 per cent. The experience of the Metropolitan of New York (1922-31) giving the departures from average Systolic B. P. gives the ratio of the actual to expected deaths as 148 per cent.

In the present calculation it is assumed that the ratio of actual to expected deaths would be about 200 per cent.

On this basis, the premium for a 10 years' Double Endowment Assurance (sum assured Rs. 1,000 on death or Rs. 2,000 on survival) comes to Rs. 305-6-0, the normal premium for the same age being Rs. 203-14-0.

INSURANCE ACT, 1938

Official announcement has been made by the Government of India that the Insurance Act of 1938 shall come into force on the 1st July, 1939.

The Insurance Amendment Act (1939) had been duly passed by the Central Assembly and the Council of State, and it received the assent of the Governor-General on the 28th March 1939.

The provisions made by the Select Committee of the Central Assembly were duly incorporated in the Act. No material change has been made thereafter.

The revised Draft Rules under the Insurance Act, 1938, have been published in New Delhi on the 1st April, 1939.

The most important changes in the revised draft are:

(1) Rule 4 in the original draft regarding definition of Insurance business transacted in India has been entirely deleted.

(2) Regarding election of policyholders' Directors,

(a) the minimum qualification is fixed as holding policies of Rs. 2,000 in companies of over five years' standing and Rs. 1,000 in other cases,

(b) the meeting for election can be convened by publishing notices in newspapers or by sending same by post to every policyholder.

(c) votes may be given either personally or by proxy.

INDIAN ENTERPRISE ABROAD

Some Indian Life offices have extended their operations outside India, mostly in British East Africa, Ceylon, and Straits Settlements. The total new sums assured by these offices outside India in 1936 amounted to Rs. 1,80,00,000 yielding a premium income of Rs. 11,00,000.

PROTECTION FOR HOME INDUSTRIES

The Government of India has announced its decision regarding farther protection to the sugar, paper, wood-pulp, and magnesium chloride industries of India.

In regard to the first, the Government proposes to fix the amount of protection accorded to the Indian sugar industry for a period of two years from April 1, 1939 to March 31, 1941. During this period the Government proposes to impose the present protective duty less 8 annas per cwt.

The Government agrees with the Tariff Board that it is necessary to continue the protection to the paper industry, but it has not found it possible to accept the Board's conclusions with regard to the measure of protection. The Government also considers that no case has been made out for the continued protection of woodpulp.

In regard to magnesium chloride, the Government has decided to impose a duty of 13 annas per cwt.

TRADE BETWEEN JAPAN AND INDIA

The trade balance which was favourable to India to the extent of 27,600,000 yen in 1937 went in favour of Japan to the extent of 10,800,000 yen, states the quarterly report of the Indian Government Trade Commissioner in Japan for the period July to September 1938. As compared with 1937, exports showed a decline of 45·8 per cent. and imports of 68·4 per cent.

Indian rubber and guttapercha, which accounted for imports valued at 37,400 yen during the last quarter, disappeared altogether from the foreign trade accounts. Oil-cake met with a similar fate, whereas imports of beans and peas, which in the corresponding quarter of 1936 and 1937 were valued at nearly a million yen, were reduced to negligible proportions.

THE SALES TAX: ITS PROS & CONS

The Madras General Sales Tax Bill was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Madras Economic Association. Professors of Economics and some leading businessmen in the city participated in the discussion. Among the speakers were: Dr. P. J. Thomas, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan and Mr. T. K. Doraiswami Aiyar besides Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, M.L.A., and Mr. K. J. Cleatus of Messrs. Tata and Company. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan presided.

"I claim that all sales taxes are not injurious and that even certain sales taxes which are regressive in incidence may be justifiable in the peculiar situation facing us here to-day," said Dr. P. J. Thomas, Professor of Economics, Madras University, who initiated a discussion.

A warning that the new tax would increase production costs was uttered by Mr. K. J. Cleatus of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce. He added that the consequent inability of employers to meet the demands for increased wages would lead to industrial and social unrest and accentuate the tension between capital and labour.

Both the academic and practical issues involved in the turnover tax were discussed at some length, while Economists and businessmen put their respective cases with vigour and trenchancy and continued to differ.

Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, who presided, said if they all believe in prohibition as being in the best interests of the country, they should support the tax, particularly as they were unable to suggest an alternative acceptable to all.

Women's Page

LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier, presided over a meeting held at Pantheon Gardens, Egmore, under the auspices of the Madras Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference on March 26.

Speakers at the Conference pleaded for legislation to secure various rights for women, including right of inheritance for Hindu women, for the abolition of polygamy, the prevention of begging in public places and establishment of homes for beggars, and the opening of more nursery schools to spread education.

The Premier said the beggar problem could not be solved unless its economic causes were removed. He thought that it was impossible to educate all children in nursery schools, and he regarded these schools more as centres giving knowledge to women to bring up children. Regarding legislation to abolish polygamy, he said that public opinion should be educated to secure obedience to law.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The Central Assembly accepted without a division Dr. Deshmukh's amendment to Mr. Hegde's resolution regarding the position of women under existing laws, recommending the appointment of a committee consisting of a chairman and six others, of whom not less than four shall be non-officials and of whom one at least shall be a woman, to report on the reforms which are necessary for establishing the right of Hindu women to residence and maintenance, and legislative measures necessary to give effect to such reforms.

ADVICE TO COLLEGE GIRLS

The Hon. Mr. C. J. Varkey, Education Minister, addressing the girls of St. Agnes College, Mangalore, on April 12, asked them none of them should imagine she was the prettiest and wisest star on the horizon of this planet and exhorted them to wear *khaddar* and buy *swadeshi*.

"What I have observed in the world that a woman intoxicated by pride and self-conceit is more difficult to deal with than a man intoxicated by alcohol. By preaching and practising the gospel of the simple life and plain living with or without high thinking, we hope to bring about an unconscious, silent revolution on the social and economic side of our society."

Mr. Varkey passed on to observe:

The principle of the dignity of human labour is essentially a Christian conception as we see from the past history of the world. It is a lack of this principle among the ingredients of the present system of education that makes parents and husbands sometimes feel sorry for some modern girl. It is to counteract this evil that our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi, has suggested his novel system of education based on the sound pedagogical principle of learning by doing now popularly known as the Wardha Scheme of Education.

BOMBAY WOMEN'S CORPS

Steps towards the preparation of a register for the formation of a women's organisation to be called the Bombay Women's Auxiliary Corps of the Indian Red Cross Society, which will function in Bombay in times of emergency, have been taken by the Bombay branch of the Indian Red Cross Society.

His Excellency the Governor, President of the Bombay branch, has given consent for the formation of such an organisation.

The whole scheme is being worked out by the Bombay branch, which is working in co-operation with the St. John's Ambulance Brigade.

LITERARY

EMPIRE PRESS UNION

Major J. J. Astor has been re-elected President of the Empire Press Union on the motion of Sir Roderick Jones at the Union's annual meeting.

Major Astor, referring to the forthcoming activities of the Union, pointed out that this year's annual conference in London would provide a more ambitious programme than of recent years. The conference would discuss the relationship between the Government and the Press.

ASSEMBLY PRESS GALLERY

The Hon. the President of the Central Legislative Assembly has reconstituted the Press Gallery Committee for the year 1939 as follows:—

Mr. U. N. Sen, C.B.E., Chairman; Mr. J. W. Collins, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. A. S. Iyengar, Mr. I. Jehu and Mr. Muhammad Jafri: members; and Mr. P. D. Sharma: member and secretary.

THE LONDON MERCURY

The "London Mercury" has ceased to exist and its rights become merged in "Life and Letters To-day," a magazine founded by Mr. Desmond MacCarthy a few years ago and now in other hands. Sir John Squire, the founder of the "London Mercury," who made it, among other things, the vehicle for the younger poets of England, gave up the editorship four and a half years ago, and Mr. R. A. Scott-James when he took charge maintained the early standards of the "Mercury".

DR. KUNHAN RAJA

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Madras, has been elected President of the Sanskrit Section at the session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Hyderabad in December 1939.

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

The Government of India have re-appointed Sir Jadunath Sarkar as an ordinary member of the Indian Historical Commission for a further period of three years with effect from the 20th March, 1939.

PERSONAL

THE LATE DR. HAR DAYAL

Dr. Har Dayal, M.A., Ph.D. (London) who went to the United States last October for a short visit and to help to organise the Fifth World Parliament of Religions of the World Fellowship of Faiths, suddenly passed away in his sleep from a heart attack on March 4, 1939.

Har Dayal originally left India in 1911, though before that he was known in India and had impressed people by his remarkable intelligence. In 1911, he left India for America where he organised the Gadhar Party, which aimed, it is stated, at overthrowing the State by revolution. It was on account of his connection with this Party that he was prohibited from entering India. Since the War, however, his ideas changed, and since 1927 till lately, when permission had been obtained, he had been making occasional attempts to obtain an amnesty from the Government of India.

SIR W. BOOTH GRAVELY

The Hon. Sir Walter Booth-Gravelly is appointed Acting Governor of Burma during the absence of Sir Archibald Cochrane, who has been granted leave of absence for urgent reasons of private affairs for four months with effect from July, 1939.

Sir Walter Booth-Gravelly is Counsellor to the Governor and is on leave in England at present.

THE LATE MAHARAJA OF SANTOSH

The esteem in which the late Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury of Santosh was held in Bengal, found expression in the Bengal Legislative Assembly when all sections of the House paid tributes to his services to the country.

The House stood in solemn silence as a mark of respect to his memory, and it was resolved to send a message of condolence to his family.

SIR HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, has appointed Lieutenant Colonel Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E. as his Adviser under Section 278 of the Government of India Act, 1935, in succession to Sir Abdul Qadir whose term of office expires on July 1939.

ANDHRA MEDICAL DEGREE

The progress made by the Medical Council of India in the matter of obtaining recognition for Indian medical degrees by foreign countries was mentioned by Major-General E. W. C. Bradfield in his presidential address at the eleventh session of the Council, which concluded its two-day sitting recently.

The Council decided to recognise the M. B. B. S. degree of Andhra University and to hold a further inspection of the Medical College, Vizagapatam, at the end of two years with special reference to the progress of the extensions, and improvements which the Council considered necessary so as to place the facilities for teaching on a more satisfactory basis.

LADY DUFFERIN HOSPITAL

A high tribute to the humanitarian work that is being carried on by the Lady Dufferin Hospital was paid by Lady Reid in opening the new building of the Hospital in Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Built at a cost of nearly Rs. 6,30,000, the building is designed in accordance with the modern style of architecture, with strongly marked horizontal lines.

With the opening of the new Lady Dufferin Hospital by Lady Reid, a further step was taken in affording medical relief to the women of Bengal.

The enterprise is another of the important results of the success attained in Bengal by the organizers of the Silver Jubilee Fund.

TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION

Inaugurating the Tuberculosis Association of India at New Delhi, Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow said that it was with a feeling of pride and gratitude that she addressed them, pride at the partial achievement of her hopes and gratitude for the help she had received from all over India.

She said partial because she had aimed at a larger sum than the amount of over Rs. 79 lakhs collected so far. The most important result of her appeal had been the permanent establishment of the provincial and states associations.

FAT IN DIET

You can get along with very little fat, says *Science Service*. An experiment has been reported in which a man lived for six months on a diet containing only two grams of fat per day. Two grams is equivalent to about seven-hundredths of an ounce—a mighty small speck of butter. Surprisingly this man felt no fatigue. The rest of his diet, however, was very carefully planned. An ordinary fat-lacking diet such as was eaten in European countries during the World War, results in premature hunger, lowered energy and reduced capacity to work.

The average adult should eat about one-third of his daily calories as fat. Margarines or processed vegetable fats give better value for the money than butter, but ordinarily lack the vitamins A and D which butter supplies.

HEALTH AND THE FEET

The wise woman who considers foot comfort important to health is careful in her choice of shoes. Shoes have to be strong enough to protect and naturally shaped otherwise they hamper movement. To force a normal foot into an abnormal shoe is to ask for trouble.

When the big toe is pressed out of line and against the others, the inner support of the forefoot is removed and the ankle is allowed to cave inward thus destroying the line of balance. Pains in the arch, the ankle, the knee, the hip as well as backache are the result. The foot itself rebels and develops corns, bunions, ingrowing toe-nails and similar deformities.

INFANT MORTALITY IN BOMBAY

The death-rate at Chowpatty, Malabar Hill and other aristocratic localities is nearly half the death-rate obtaining in the humbler parts of the city like Umerkhadi, Parel and Byculla.

"Infant mortality for the same localities shows a ratio of nearly one to six, as many as 828 children dying out of every 1000 born in one-room tenements. Diseases like tuberculosis and pneumonia are almost exclusively confined to the overcrowded localities," observed Mr. S. V. Parulekar at a recent discussion.

THE INDIAN BANK

A profit of Rs. 45,000 more than in the previous year, a dividend of 10 per cent., further augmentation of the Reserve and other Funds, new branches in Pudukottah, Quilon and Kumbakonam, the transformation of the Bangalore Cantonment sub-office into a full-fledged branch and the establishment of a branch at Tanuku, and more town branches—these are some of the features of the working of the Indian Bank Ltd. as revealed at the 32nd annual general meeting of shareholders, held on March 4.

This record is particularly striking in view of the fact that 1938 was an unusually trying year for South Indian banking.

THE INDO-CARNATIC BANK

Before Mr. Justice Gentle, at the Madras High Court, an application had been preferred on behalf of Mr. K. N. Guruswami of Bangalore, a creditor and shareholder of the Indo-Carnatic Bank, Ltd., for the winding up of the Bank, on the allegation that the Bank had failed to pay a sum of at least Rs. 3,000 by way of interest for over 21 days after demand. After hearing counsel on either side, His Lordship was of the opinion that the Bank should be wound up and passed orders accordingly.

GOLD IN GUJARAT

According to the *Times of India*, gold has been discovered in what are claimed to be paying quantities over a wide area in Gujarat, and a company is shortly to be formed to exploit the discovery.

The paper says that it is believed that the Government of Bombay may take an interest in the company, and a plant will be established within three years.

CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED

The net profit of the Central Bank of India, Ltd., for the year ended December 31, 1938, subject to audit, including Rs. 8,67,514-10-1 brought forward from last year's account, amounts to Rs. 36,27,061-7-9.

MONEY-LENDING

The Madras Government intend to introduce legislation as soon as possible in regard to money-lending and money-lenders, including pawnbrokers.

WORKING OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Gross receipts of Rs. 95 crores on the State-owned Railways, Rs. 3'25 crores in excess of the previous year, which made possible a contribution of Rs. 2'75 crores to the Central Revenues; an increase in passenger earnings from Rs. 29'37 crores to Rs. 31'08 crores and in goods earnings from Rs. 67'83 crores to Rs. 68'66 crores (a figure which exceeds the earnings for the peak year 1928-29) and the highest total receipts since 1929-30 on the Bengal-Nagpur, Bombay, Baroda and Central India and East Indian Railways are revealed in the report of the Railway Board on Indian Railways for the year 1937-38.

The report also gives particulars of the action taken by the authorities to provide for passengers' comfort, to ensure civility on the part of the Railway staff, and to stimulate goods traffic and combat competition by road services.

THE M. S. M. RAILWAY

Encouraged by the success of the North-Western Railway in running a subsidiary road service, the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway are proposing to start on a similar venture on a larger scale. A private limited company has been registered for acquiring existing road services and opening new ones. The capital is limited to one lakh of rupees and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway will take 55 per cent of the shares. The Madras Motor Vehicles Act is expected to eliminate uneconomic competition and it is confidently and justifiably expected that the new venture will prove a commercial success.

A RAILWAY ACCIDENT

Yet another regrettable Railway accident is reported. Twenty-five people were killed and 26 injured following a severe collision between the North Bengal Express and the Dacca Mail, both Down trains, at Majdia, 66 miles from Calcutta, on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The accident occurred at about 3-23 on April 17.

As we go to Press, it is learnt that the casualties are much greater than reported and that the disaster is one of the worst of its kind in recent years.

ITALIAN HONOUR TO INDIAN ARTIST

The King of Italy has conferred the title of Cavaliere of the Order of the Crown upon Mr. Jamini Prosad Ganguly, the well-known Bengali artist.

Mr. Ganguly was educated at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, and came to the fore in the artistic world by winning the Viceroy's Prize in 1908 with a landscape entitled "Sunset at Simultolla". He was appointed Vice-Principal of the Calcutta Government School of Art in 1916, and officiated as Principal of the Institution on several occasions.

In recognition of his services to Indian art, Mr. Ganguly was awarded a Certificate of Honour by King George V on the occasion of the Delhi Darbar in 1911. At the exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta, in 1938, Mr. Ganguly's picture "Light of Asia" was awarded the Popular Prize.

He retired from the Government School of Art in 1930, and since then has executed a large number of private commissions for Princes and noblemen throughout India.

Mr. Ganguly's forte is portrait and landscape painting.

CENTENARY OF PHOTOGRAPHY

The Hundredth Anniversary of the discovery of the photography was celebrated at Lahore on April 4 by the opening of the First Punjab (All-India) Salon of Photography by the Hon. Sir H. Wilberforce-Bell, Agent to the Governor-General for Punjab States, at the Literary League Hall, under the auspices of the Punjab Photographic Association. A remarkable collection of exhibits, which had been hung at famous salons totalling 400, were on view.

Sir H. Wilberforce-Bell, declaring the Salon open, dealt with the evolution of photography from the days of its discovery to modern times, when photographs were also works of art. He congratulated the President on the success which he had achieved in instituting the first Salon.

THE ANNUAL BOAT RACE

The Annual Boat Race between Oxford and Cambridge, rowed on April 1, over the 4½-mile course from Putney to Mortlake was won by Cambridge in a most comfortable manner by four lengths.

The timing, 19 minutes 3 seconds, was the best for many years except for the record set in 1934 by Cambridge, 18 minutes 3 seconds.

Cambridge have now won 48 races to Oxford's 42. One race ended in a dead heat.

CRICKET PAVILION FOR BENGAL

A large gathering of cricketers witnessed the laying of the foundation-stone of the Bengal Gymkhana by the Maharaja of Mymensingh at Calcutta on March 21. Mr. J. C. Mukherjee, in welcoming the Maharaja, said that Bengal needed a pavilion and they were glad that after years of struggling they were able to erect one.

Mr. A. L. Hosie, of the Calcutta Cricket Club, congratulated the Bengal Gymkhana on their efforts to make cricket popular in the province.

WORLD'S SWIMMING RECORD

Richard Hough of Princeton University claims to have broken the world record for 200 yards breast stroke again, his time being 2 mins. 22 secs.

Recently Hough covered the distance in 2 mins. 19.8 secs.

The record holder is Jack Kasley of Michigan with 2 mins. 22.5 secs.

A WALKING RECORD

Athol Stubbs, who will probably represent Australia in the 1940 Olympic Games, established a world mile walking record with 6 mins. 18.2 secs. beating the previous record of 6 mins. 21 secs. held by Asernard of Latvia.

WOMEN'S WORLD SWIMMING RECORD

In women's swimming, Miss Soeren Sen of Denmark broke the world's 500 metres breast stroke record with 7 mins. 58.8 secs. beating 8 mins. 16 sec. of Miss Vande Kerkchove of Belgium.

PROF. EINSTEIN'S RESEARCH

On the eve of his 60th birthday, Professor Albert Einstein stated at Princeton University, where the great scientist is now working as Professor, that he had discovered what he believed to be the solution to the riddle of what was the cause of gravitation. He was at present engaged in developing his findings at the point where they could be checked by experiment.

Professor Einstein said that since the formulation of the General Theory of Relativity, there had existed the problem of bringing under the unifying mathematical concept the gravitational field, the electro-magnetic field, and the material fields.

To explain what he meant by a unifying concept, Professor Einstein took as an example Newton's Theory of the Motions of Heavenly bodies. The fundamental concepts of this theory were two hypotheses: first the Law of Motion and second the Law of Force. These two, he said, were logically independent of each other, in that it was possible to modify one while retaining the other in its original form without running into any contradictions. In formulating a fundamental mathematical concept to place such a theory as this, Professor Einstein believes that he may help to solve the origin of gravitation, which remains unsolved among the problems of matter and radiation.

SIR C. V. RAMAN

Sir C. V. Raman has been elected an honorary member of the Societe Philomathique de Paris on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Society. The list includes the names of most of the famous men of science in the history of France, commencing from Lavoisier in the 18th century and ending with Curie in the 20th century.

MR. J. J. GHANDY

J. J. Ghandy has been elected an honorary fellow of the Institution of Scientists (India).

INDIAN FILMS

A spirited appeal for more Indian films was made by Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute, when he addressed a meeting of the East India and National India Associations in London.

Sir Harry, who spoke on "India's Place in Empire Films," showed two short Indian films—"Romantic India," which he described as one of the most popular films in the Empire Film Library at the Institute and "Song of Ceylon", which he called "the nearest approach to the Eastern mind".

But although India had a marvellous story to tell," he did not remember ever having seen a single Indian film which told this story perfectly.

SNOW WHITE'S RECORD

Walt Disney's presentation of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* has been an unrivalled success. It is said to have created a world record.

The film has made a tour of 41 countries and has been produced in 10 languages. During its eight-week run in New York, it was seen by 800,000 people, and it ran for 35 weeks in London, 31 weeks in Paris, and 16 weeks in Stockholm.

Still more amazing was the success of the film version in book form, over 22,000,000 copies being sold, which means 50,000 copies have been bought every day.

More than two million Snow White dolls have been sold.

PRAHALADHA

Prahaladha, Central Studios Tamil mythological, is making rapid progress. The picture features popular artistes like Master Mahalingam, Miss M. R. Santhanalakshmi, R. Balasubramaniam, Master Sethuraman and others. Santhanalakshmi appears as Leelavathi, Prahaladha's mother, while Sethuraman and Mahalingam play the title role in two different stages. Under the direction of Mr. B. N. Rao, the picture is expected to set a new standard with an appeal both to the classes as well as masses.

SUGGESTIONS TO MOTORISTS

Bennet's Budget offers the following good advice to motor drivers:—

Regard pedestrians as having prior rights on the road; you and your family are sometimes pedestrians.

The road hog is with us twelve months out of every year. If he tries to monopolise the road, don't stand too firmly on your rights.

Never overtake another car at crest, corner or curve.

Life is more valuable than time.

Never park just round a corner.

Do not count upon children to look out for themselves.

Cross crossings cautiously.

Never "cut-in". Taking a chance may take a life.

Use care when approaching a crest that obscures the road in front.

Give the recognised hand signals when leaving the kerb, or turning or stopping, or slowing down. It protects yourself as well as others.

THE OPELS

With all the many makes of superlatively improved cars on the market, it is not every one that meets the discriminated ideas of the average motorist. Here and there are cars that do. One of the blessed few is the Opel, as near "right" as it is technically possible to produce in respect to looks, style, power, size, performance, capacity, comfort, safety, and (last but not first) economy in running and unkeep.

The Opel 10 is built for the countless thousands who want high-class motoring at cut price cost. It is a powerful car incorporating every style feature of General Motors design, such as genuine knee-action, all steel-body, uni-stool turret top, hydraulic brakes and all-weather ventilation. It costs no more than a good motor-cycle. More powerful and with a wheelbase of 96 inches as against 92 inches in the "10", is the Opel 12, again a true car bargain in every way. Either of these is individually ideal for use.

AIR MAIL IN INDIA

Which country was, perhaps, the first to start aerial post in the world? The answer is not Germany, France, England or America, but India.

In 1911 it was arranged that an aeroplane conveying mails should make a point-to-point trip for demonstrational purposes at the United Provinces Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held at Allahabad.

The trip was made on February 13 by M. Piquet from the grounds of the Exhibition to Naini, a distance of about five miles and involved a flight over the river Jumna which is about a mile wide in that part. The flight began a little after 5-30 p.m. The plane circled twice above the starting point in the Exhibition grounds and then made for Naini where it alighted 13 minutes after its departure. After depositing the first official air mails, M. Piquet returned immediately to Allahabad, the whole affair taking about half an hour. The aviator signed some 40 post cards.

HENSHAW'S FEAT

The airman, Mr. Alex. Henshaw, who took off from Gravesend in an attempt to fly to the Cape and back in four days, arrived at Gravesend beating the London-to-Cape-and-back record by 30 hours and 45 minutes.

The time taken was four days, 10 hours and 15 minutes against the five days and 17 hours taken by Flying Officer A. E. Clouston and Mrs. Kirby Green in 1937.

WAR PLANE'S RECORD

All speed records were substantially exceeded by a Curtiss Hawk pursuit plane, which made a free dive at over 575 miles per hour and may even have exceeded 600 m.p.h. as the indicator's range was exceeded, according to the claim of Curtiss officials.

The plane is one of a hundred being built for the French Government. The pilot said that he felt no ill-effects.

MR. DESAI'S APPEAL TO INDUSTRIALISTS

A twofold warning to Indian industry was uttered by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly when opening the permanent building in Delhi given to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry by Lala Shri Ram in memory of his father.

Mr. Desai defended the policy of protection and maintained that the penalty of increased price was worth paying in the larger interests of keeping money within the country. "But," he continued, "I appeal to industrialists that they may not, under the wall of protection, exploit the poor consumer of the country and they may not, even if the Government were favourable, ask for protection for longer than is necessary."

These are the two warnings which Indian industrialists should take note of. They must give up protection soon by the application of better methods and by satisfaction with lesser profits to make India self-sufficient and to give her as high a standard of life as America."

FEDERATION OF COMMERCE & INDUSTRIES

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries at its annual meeting, held in Delhi, passed important resolutions relating to the position of Indians abroad and the question of establishing an agency for co-ordinating labour legislation in the Provinces. One of the resolutions condemned the Government's currency policy and another recommended to the Government of India the adoption of a more dynamic and active policy of full-fledged protection for industries.

INDUSTRIAL GRANTS

The Provincial Government have promulgated new rules for regulating grants to assist young men in starting industrial undertakings.

Grants may now be made to educated young men who have been trained to set up business or trade, and to those already in business to help them to expand their activities. The grants will not ordinarily exceed Rs. 1,000.

LANDLORDS AND VILLAGERS

The Maharajadiraja of Dharbanga, presiding over the All-India Landholders' Conference at Lucknow, on April 8, urged the members of his class to alter their outlook and reorientation of their policy to fit in with the changed conditions and things if they wanted to exist as a class. He advised the landlords to think in terms of the welfare of the villagers. He blamed the Provincial Governments for the spread of agrarian troubles in the country and appealed to the Indian National Congress to take immediate steps to remedy the situation. The suggestion was made in the Conference that a syndicate, which would serve as an agency for the marketing of crops, for supplying short-term credits and for easier rent-collection, could be started to afford help to the growers.

CROP INSURANCE SCHEMES

The United States Government have just brought into operation a scheme of crop insurance. To begin with, the benefit of the scheme is confined to wheat. Under it, in return for a bushel of wheat an acre, more or less dependent upon the crop record of the farm and district, a farmer secures protection up to 75 per cent. of the average yield against all weather losses and pests. For a lower premium, an insurance policy up to 50 per cent. of the yield could also be secured. When a policyholder's crop falls below the 75 or 50 per cent. stipulated in the policy, he will be reimbursed in wheat. That is to say, the farmer can for this small premium get every year an assured crop regardless of weather and pests.

AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF BILL

A Bill seeking to relieve the agriculturists of the burden of indebtedness was introduced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on April 4.

It will apply to agriculturist debtors who cultivate lands personally and whose debts do not exceed Rs. 15,000 and are not less than Rs. 100 and provides for the scaling down of the debts to the paying capacity of the debtor.

WARNING TO WORKERS

A warning to the workers of Jamshedpur against resorting to wrong tactics such as boycott of the recent Tata centenary celebrations is given by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a statement issued to the Press. Mr. Bose says:

"It would be wrong to try to hit the employers by all possible means, fair or foul. Our hands must be clean as also our methods so that even if we have to fight the employers hard, we may be able to fight them clean. Even if at any place the employers are not clean, there is no reason why we should imitate them. There was no sense in boycotting the centenary celebrations. It was the duty of the workers, as also of the management, to pay homage to the memory of the India's Premier industrialist, who built a modern industrial city out of a jungle and provided all of them with bread. My object in issuing this statement is to give a friendly warning to the workers of Jamshedpur that this sort of policy is quite wrong and will do no good to them. It will only bring about further estrangement between the workers and the Company.

Let us be honest and straightforward and build up our trade unionism on the right principles."

LABOUR WELFARE

The United Provinces Government, it is understood, are making a provision of Rs. 30,000 in next year's budget for the Government labour welfare work in the province.

Of this grant, a sum of Rs. 20,000 will be spent in Cawnpore, Rs. 5,000 will be spent on labour welfare work in Lucknow, and another Rs. 5,000 on labour welfare work in Hathras or Firozabad.

Labour welfare work through Government agency has already been started in Cawnpore, and last year the Government sanctioned Rs. 20,000 for this city.

The funds will be administered through the Labour Welfare Advisory Committee, of which the Labour Commissioner is the chairman, and Mr. S. P. Awasthy, M.L.A., the chief honorary organizer.

THE GANGES AND THE JUMNA

The wonderful mysticism which seems to surround these two great rivers has for itself also some other reason which is supported by modern scientific investigation. The Hindus think that the Ganges and the Jumna are not just rivers. They are more than rivers. observes Mr. Dhirendranath Roy in his "Spirit of Indian Civilization". They are possessed of mysterious powers which are not found in any other rivers of the world. That this is true has been borne out by renowned scientists of our time.

For instance, the distinguished bacteriologist, Dr. F. C. Harrison, Principal of the Macdonald College, McGill University in Canada, writes in an article "Micro organisms in Water":

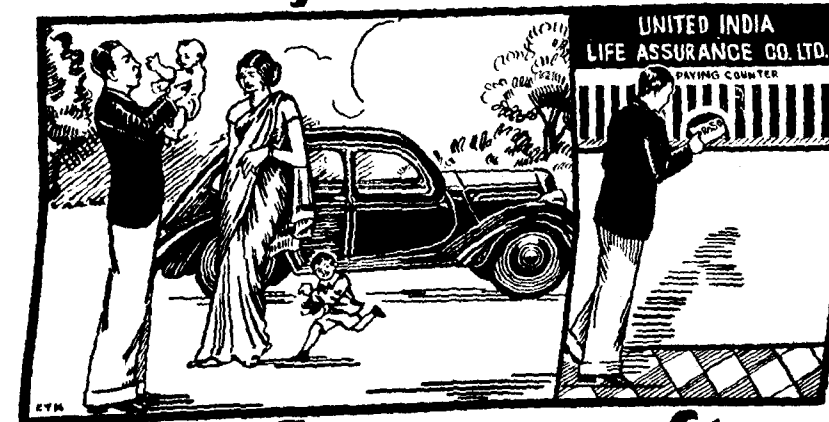
A peculiar fact, which has never been satisfactorily explained, is the quick death (in three to five hours) of the cholera vibrio in the water of the Ganges and the Jumna. When one remembers sewage, by numerous corpses of native (often dead of cholera), and by the bathing of thousands of natives, it seems remarkable that the belief of the Hindus, that the water of these rivers is pure and cannot be defiled, and that they can safely drink it and bathe in it, should be confirmed by means of modern bacteriological research. It is also a curious fact that the bactericidal power of the Jumna water is lost when it is boiled; and that the cholera vibrio propagates at once if placed in water taken from the wells in the vicinity of the rivers.

A very well-known French physician Dr. D. Herelle, made similar investigation into the mystery of the Ganges. He observed some of the floating corpses of men died of dysentery and cholera and was surprised to find "that only a few feet below the bodies, where one would expect to find millions of these dysentery and cholera germs", there were no germs at all.

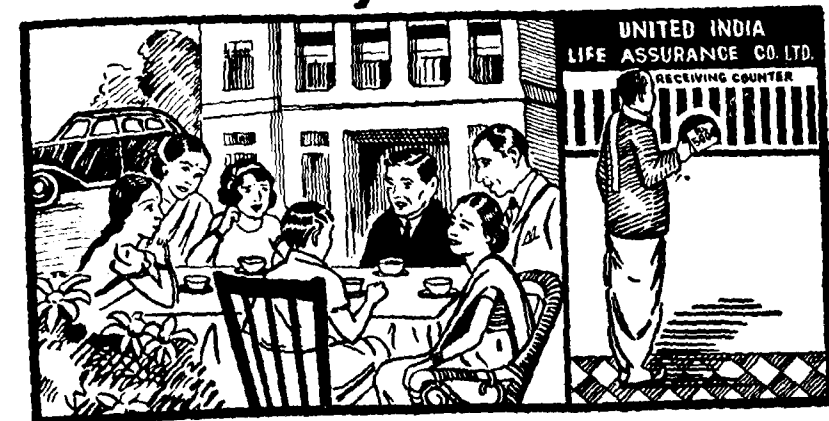
A British physician, Dr. C. E. Nelson, F.R.C.S., tells us of another striking fact. He says that

ships leaving Calcutta for England take the water from the Hugli River which is one of the mouths of the filthy Ganges and this water will remain fresh all the way to England. On the other hand, ships leaving England find that the water they take on in London will not stay fresh till they reach Bombay, nearest Indian port, which is a week closer to England than Calcutta. They must replace the water supply at Port Said, Suez or on the Red Sea.

To-day.....



....and years after

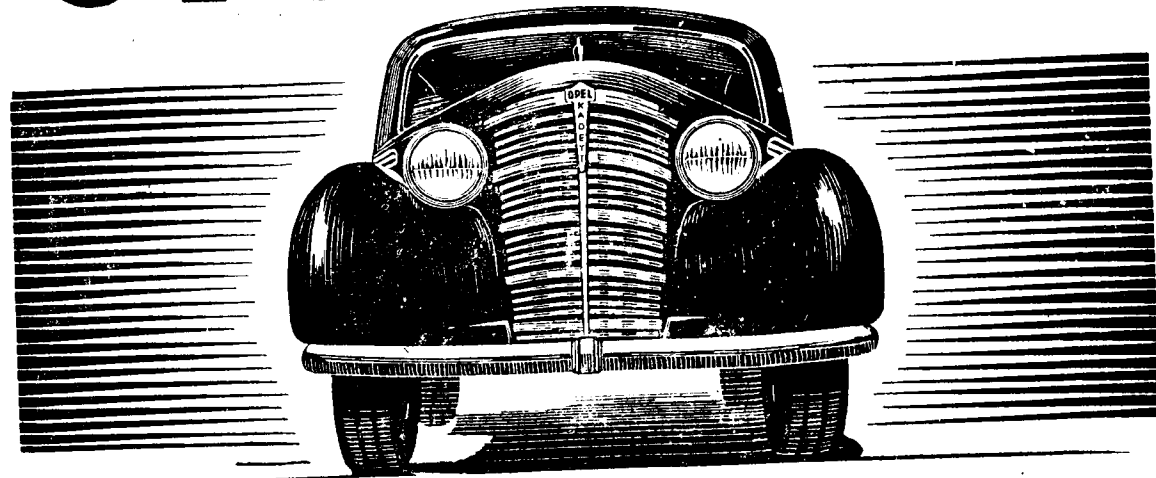


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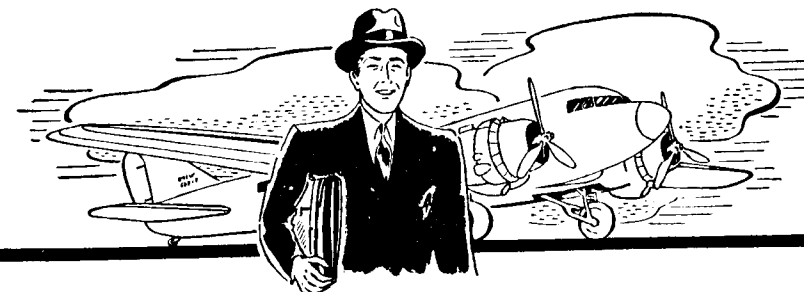
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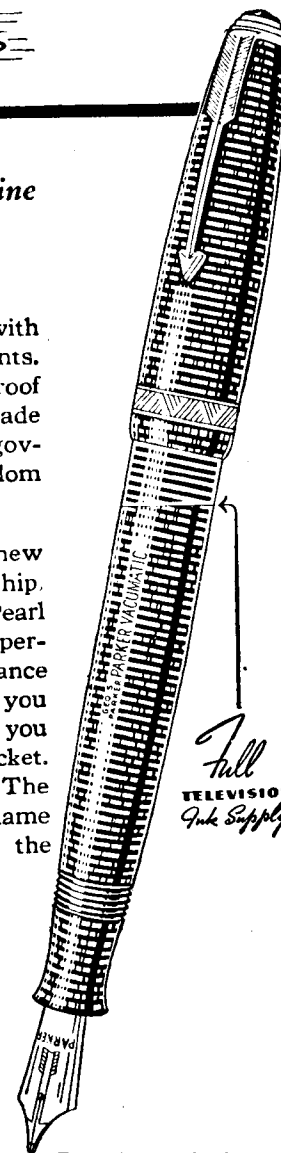
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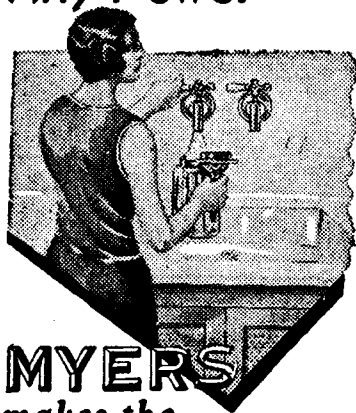
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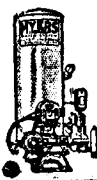


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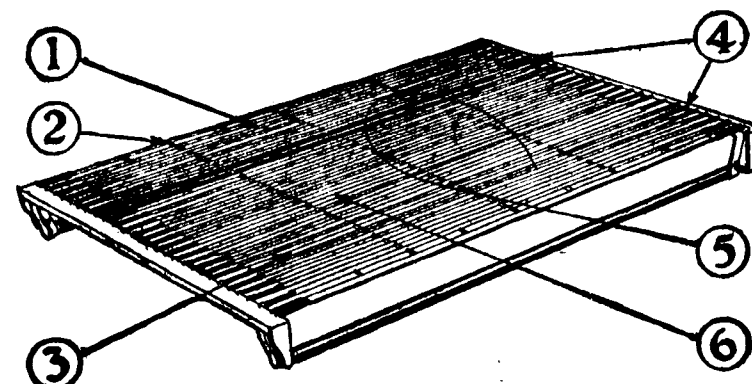
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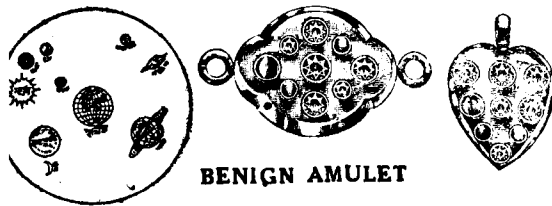
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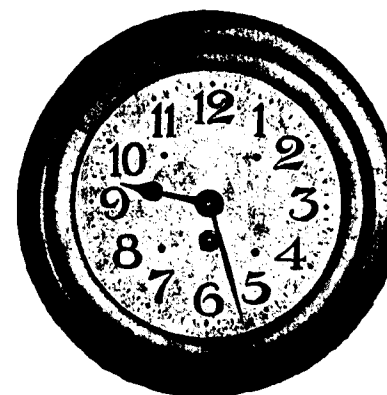
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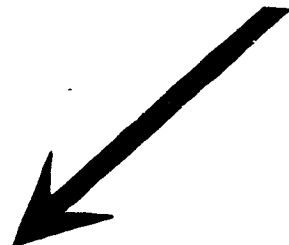
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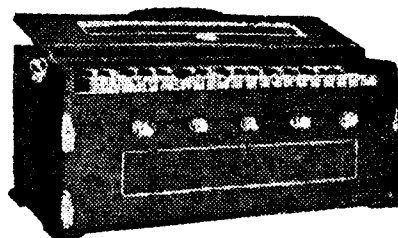
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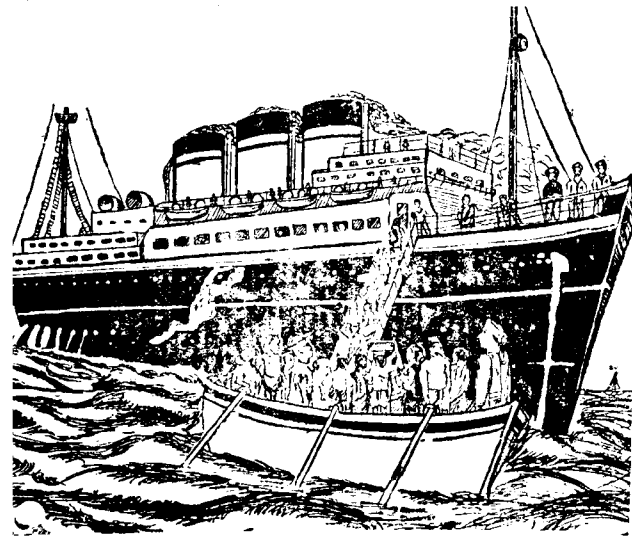
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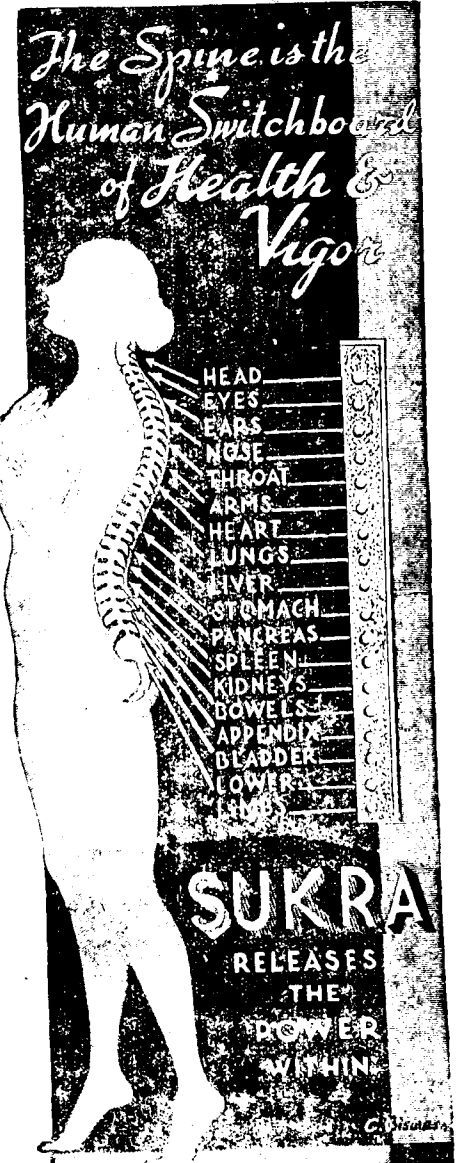
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[No.

Lord William Bentinck and Madras

BY SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I.

SO much is happening in these crowded days that the centenary of Lord William Bentinck's death, which took place at Paris on June 18th, 1839, will probably attract scant attention. There is curiously little material available from which to weave a funerary wreath.



SIR FRANK NOYCE

pity that the correspondence which Mr. Boulger said had recently been discovered has not been edited and published, for it would have thrown much interesting light on conditions in Madras at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the memory of the Governor-General, who abolished *suttee*, suppressed the Thugs, made English the official language of India for admission to the public services and proceedings in the Courts and pursued a policy towards the Press which was singularly liberal for his generation, deserves a tribute in the pages of a progressive Journal published in the capital of the Province of which he was Governor for four years. It is that four years which forms the subject-matter of this article.

It cannot be said that they gave any promise of Bentinck's subsequent eminence. He came to Madras in August, 1808, when he was only 29, probably the youngest Governor ever sent from England to India. But promotion came early and easily to sons of Dukes in those days. Three years after he joined the Army as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards, Bentinck was Lieutenant-Colonel in the 24th Light Dragoons!

The utter lack of distinction which characterised Bentinck's tenure of the Governorship of Madras is shown by the fact that Mr. Boulger mentions as one of

Bentinck, by some extraordinary chance, escaped the usual two or three decker biography so popular in Victorian days. Search in the vast library of the India Office has only yielded to the present writer the brief and inadequate biography by Demetrius Boulger which appeared in "The Rulers of India" series nearly sixty years after Bentinck's death. It is a

his most important acts the introduction of a passport system! Partly as a precaution against the machinations of French agents and partly to safeguard the commercial interests of the Company, Europeans were prohibited from travelling more than fifteen miles from Madras without a passport.

It is to Bentinck's credit that in the contest which was waging in Madras when he arrived there between the advocates of the ryotwari and those of the zemindari system, he supported Sir Thomas (at that time Colonel) Munro, then Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts. He held that "the creation of zemindars, where no zemindars before existed, was neither calculated to improve the condition of the lower orders of the people, nor politically wise with reference to the future security of the Government". In spite of his support, the battle had yet to be won for, after both he and Munro had left India, a system of triennial leases was introduced in the Ceded Districts which was followed by one of ten years' leases as a preliminary to the adoption of a permanent settlement. Experience of this system proved that Munro and Bentinck had been right and after eight years of it, the Court of Directors ordered a reversion to the ryotwari system.

Very few of the Governors of Madras of that era were fortunate enough to enjoy a full term of office. Only a quarter of a century before Bentinck, Lord Pigot had been deposed and imprisoned by a majority of his Council and had died in their custody. His successor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, who unkind rumour said had originally been a waiter at White's Club in London, managed to get away from Madras only a month or two

before the receipt of a despatch dismissing him for questionable proceedings connected with the Vizianagaram zemindari. The Vellore Mutiny, of which we shall have more to say later, led to Bentinck's recall a year before the end of his normal tenure and his successor, Sir George Barlow, who had been Governor-General for two years after Lord Cornwallis died, was also recalled for a similar failure to deal as adequately as the Court of Directors thought he should have done with another Mutiny, this time not of Indian troops but of British officers.

In accordance with the Madras tradition of that time, Bentinck's relations with his Council were none too happy. When a vacancy in Council occurred in 1806, he decided to appoint Mr. Robert Strange in preference to his senior, Mr. Thomas Oakes. Oakes appealed to the Court of Directors who overruled the Governor and appointed him to the vacant seat. It is not surprising that there was constant friction between Bentinck and Oakes, but a far worse thorn in Bentinck's side was one of the Judges of the High Court which had been established in 1801, Sir Henry Gwillim. The trouble arose over the trifling matter of a legacy which had been left to a local charity. The Government consulted Sir Henry Gwillim about it, but, as is the way of Governments, pigeonholed his suggested scheme of administration and forgot all about it. A year later, another scheme for dealing with the money was submitted to them. Bentinck sent it on to Gwillim, asking for his opinion but incautiously adding that it had his complete approval. The fat was then in the fire. Gwillim replied in an abusive letter and the

correspondence grew more and more heated until Bentinck declined to continue it any further unless "I am addressed in the language of polished intercourse rather than in that of judicial rebuke". Gwillim neither forgot nor forgave. The establishment of a police force in Madras after the Vellore Mutiny and the appointment of a military officer, Captain Grant, to the charge of it aroused his fury and, in January 1807, in a charge to a Grand Jury, he denounced the "repeated insults which had been offered to himself by the Government and by the very ill-advised young gentleman at the head of it". The climax was reached in February 1807, when the Government ordered the Superintendent of Police to arrest an Indian against whom a criminal charge had been made. One of Gwillim's friends, a barrister named Marsh, moved a motion for Habeas Corpus before Gwillim. "Can these outrages," said Gwillim in the course of the hearing, "be sanctioned by a Bentinck, by one of the family so illustrious in the cause of liberty? It is impossible! None of the noble blood of the Cavendishes (Bentinck was descended from the Dukes of Devonshire on his mother's side and his full name was Cavendish-Bentinck) can flow in the veins of this man. He must be some spurious changeling that has been palmed off on that noble family and contaminated it. What! put a soldier to act at the head of the police where he is to deprive men of their liberties? Not one of us is safe." This amazing outburst was altogether too much for the Government which promptly protested to the Court of Directors. Gwillim was recalled to explain his conduct but did not leave Madras until

October 1808, a year after his enemy had done so.

One could wish that Bentinck's share of responsibility for the Vellore Mutiny had been as exhaustively appraised as has that of Barlow for "The White Mutiny" in Sir Alexander Cardew's book of that title, but the episode is better known to students of Indian history than any other in Bentinck's Governorship of Madras. Vellore had been chosen as the place of residence of Tipu Sultan's family after the fall of Seringapatam. Its garrison consisted of four companies of His Majesties 69th Regiment, one complete regiment of Indian Infantry and six companies of a second. In November, 1805, an order was issued prescribing a new turban, the intention being to introduce a greater measure of uniformity of head-dress throughout the Madras Army. This, in itself, might have given rise to little trouble but, unfortunately, a month or two later, another regulation was promulgated forbidding the sepoys to wear caste marks and ear-rings when in uniform. The two together caused profound dissatisfaction which came to a head in April 1806, when the 4th Madras Native Infantry refused to wear the new turban. Twenty-one of the ringleaders were tried by court martial in May; two of them were sentenced to be flogged and dismissed from the Army and the rest were pardoned. This did nothing to allay the prevalent discontent. Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief, who had been solely responsible for the objectionable orders, at last became thoroughly alarmed and appealed to the Governor for advice. He was unwisely told by Bentinck, who had been a soldier himself and, at that period of his life

was unable to rid himself of the rigid military point of view, that, whatever the objections to the issue of the regulations, "yielding in the face of force was to be avoided". The consequences of this untimely advice were such as should have been foreseen, a mutiny on a large scale. On July 10th, the sepoys at Vellore rose in revolt, and killed thirteen officers and a considerable number of men. Help was summoned from Arcot, nine miles distant, and Colonel Gillespie, the hero of one of Sir Henry Newbolt's most spirited ballads, rode to "false Vellore" at the head of a squadron of his own regiment, the 19th Dragoons, a troop of Indian cavalry and two galloper guns. He was hoisted by a rope by the men of the 69th on to the ramparts and the survivors were rescued. The fort was speedily occupied by the British troops, four hundred sepoys were killed and many more wounded. Only then were the objectionable orders cancelled under Bentinck's express instructions. Both he and Cradock held that the mutiny was the outcome of a wide-spread plot to massacre the English and to re-establish a Muslim dynasty in South India. Munro, who knew Madras far better than either of them, did not share their opinion. He told Bentinck bluntly that there could have been no question of the restoration of the dynasty of Tipu Sultan since that could not have been desired by the Hindus who were in the majority in the Madras Army and could only have been wanted by a section of the Muslims. He attributed the mutiny to the unwise orders which had been construed as an attack on religious ceremonies as a prelude to forcible conversion to Christianity. He predicted quite rightly, that with the capture of

Vellore and the cancellation of the orders, there would be no further trouble.

The Court of Directors agreed with Munro's view and both Cradock and Bentinck were recalled. History does not say what eventually became of that irascible and slightly demented gentleman, Sir Henry Gwillim, but Cradock was afterwards Lord Howden and Bentinck, who had in the meantime become Member of Parliament for Lynn, Governor-General of India. He had protested vehemently but at the time ineffectively against his recall before his defence of his actions had been heard. That in the end he must have convinced the Court of Directors that he had legitimate grievance would seem to be established by the offer, in 1819, of the Governorship of Madras for the second time. This he not unnaturally refused and his next visit to his old Province was in 1834 as Governor-General. The state of his health had compelled him to leave Calcutta for the more salubrious climate of Ootacamund and there he established a temporary Council consisting of himself, Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras, Colonel Morrison, an officer of the Madras Artillery, Mr. Ironside, a provisional Member of the Bombay Council, who happened to be available, and Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay, newly arrived from England. The composition of this Council was so obviously irregular and its actions so obviously illegal that an Act of Indemnity had subsequently to be passed by Parliament to put matters right. But that, as Rudyard Kipling would say, is another story. Lord William Bentinck's connection with Madras was certainly not such as to redound either to his fame or that of the Province.

THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

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

THE problem of Palestine is a creation of British statesmen. It is a tangle resulting from conflicting promises made in the open and in secret to different parties in the midst of the world war. To win the war was the sole aim at the time; there was no consistent or unified guidance of political policy, and British statesmen readily agreed to do everything that promised an advantage in the prosecution of the war. Their necessities drove them to pledge their support after the war both to the Arab national movement and to Zionism in return for immediate aid from the Arabs and Jews against Germany and her friends in the Great War. With the return of peace, the occasion came for redeeming these contradictory promises, and since then the problem of Palestine has been to the fore.

Besides the large number of official reports and papers issued in the course of the last twenty years by the Commissions and enquiries that were instituted to deal with the problem in its successive phases, there has grown up a considerable volume of literature round the subject, and one of the most recent contributions to it is the brilliant book of Mr. J. M. N. Jeffries¹ who tells the entire story from the Arab side of the case which till now 'has remained unheard before the court of public opinion'.

Both Arab Nationalism and Zionism have their roots in the pre-war period. Both Arabs and Jews naturally tried to ensure the future realisation of their plans before they threw in their lot

with the Allies. In 1915-16, an arrangement was reached by which Hussein, the Shereef of Mecca, undertook to lead the Arabs against the Turks (and Germans) in return for a British guarantee of Arabian independence after the war. Palestine, a part of Syria, was necessarily included in this guarantee, and the only discussion regarding the lands comprised in the guarantee related to some districts of North Syria, 'Beyrout and its coasts' as Hussein described them. As Britain had urged that there were prior French claims to these districts, Hussein agreed to leave the subject over for future negotiations, while he was quite emphatic about his rights even there. He said: 'At the first opportunity after this war is finished, we shall ask you (what we avert our eyes from to-day) for what we now leave to France in Beyrout and its coasts It is impossible to allow any derogation that gives France, or any other Power, a span of land in those regions'. The British answer was: 'All your demands are accepted.' And the Arab revolt became, from 1916 to 1918, 'a definitely contracted part of the operations, developed in a clear cut way and crowned with success in every fashion'.

The Jews, under the leadership of Herzl, had developed the definite aim of regaining their ancient national home in Palestine. The Jewish Congress of Basle 1897 may, for our purposes, be taken to mark the birth of Zionism, and to Herzl and his followers this meant the attainment of the goal of national independence and self-government in Palestine. The ground for political Zionism had been prepared by more than a decade of more or less successful attempts at establishing Jewish

¹ "Palestine the Reality". Longmans, Green & Co., 1939, 25s. net.

lonies in Palestine. These colonists faced enormous difficulties and the Colonies were rendered possible at all only by sustained financial support from the richer Jews of other countries, particularly of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. In 1914, there were about twelve thousands of Jewish inhabitants in Palestine; and for the support of half of this number, Baron Edmond is said to have spent about twenty million dollars. Some of the Jews, however, have been struck by the smallness and inhospitability of the Palestine area which could hardly be thought of as a national home in any political sense for fifteen million human beings. They also fear that a national state for the Jews in Palestine might worsen the position of the Jews in other lands in many ways. To them Zionism meant the creation in Palestine not of a separate Jewish state but a spiritual and cultural centre for the Jews, which would renovate and maintain their time-honoured traditions of spiritual life and activity, and to which the Jews of all lands may resort for inspiration. But like all pleas based on moderation and reason, this view failed to attain sufficient influence in the face of the more thorough-going programme of the political Zionists.

Lloyd George and Balfour were responsible for the British Government adopting the Zionist programme in the famous Balfour declaration of November 1917, and their blunders and inconsistencies are mercilessly exposed by Mr. Jeffries. He traces Lloyd George's motives for supporting Zionism from his own utterances and says: first he supported Zionism as a reward for Dr. Weizmann's help in manufacturing chemicals during the war; secondly, the co-operation of the Jews,

notably in America, converted him to Zionism. His comments are as true as they are caustic: 'There was no question of Zionism converting Mr. Lloyd George to Zionism. In his own words. "There is nothing in that case." The Balfour Declaration, so far as it concerned the Prime Minister, was a salary he paid the Zionists for their services, no more, and if the metaphor be taken to the end, I fear it must be said that it was paid out of Arab trust funds.' Elsewhere Jeffries writes: 'It is an interesting point that in the volume of Mr. Lloyd George's memoirs which treats of American entry into the war, he makes no mention of Zionism as a contributory cause.'

Asquith was always against the policy of the Declaration. After reading a memorandum from Herbert Samuel (as he then was) on 'The future of Palestine' in January 1915, he wrote in his diary: 'I confess, I am not attracted by this proposed addition to our responsibilities.' Six years later, in the House of Commons, he described the Zionist proposals as 'a staircase of fragile, precarious and stumbling hypotheses', adding that 'it was a very large hypothesis to assume that "by judicious administration and by pacific penetration and in other ways the Jews and the Arabs were going to live side by side".'

The Balfour Declaration was unknown to the Arabs long after its publication to the rest of the world, and the Zionist Commission set up in Palestine soon after agreed to curtail their political activities, because 'a full display of the Government's pre-Zionist attitude had better be postponed till after the victory'.

With the aid of several documents, some of them published in this book for the

time, Mr. Jeffries shows what a polluting influence was exercised by the Zionists in the shaping of British and foreign policy, in the drafting of the Balfour Declaration, and in the wording of the Mandate for Palestine.

The operative part of the Balfour Declaration stated that the British Government would use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. The very first local enquiry into the War conducted by an American Commission in 1919 proved conclusively that the policy of the Declaration was against the principle of self-determination and that the non-Jewish population of Palestine—ninety-nine-tenths of the whole—were violently against the Zionist programme.

Wilson fell ill, and the Crane-King Commission's report was suppressed till it had confirmed the Balfour Declaration and approved the Mandate for Palestine by resolutions of the Congress in July, 1922.

We cannot follow here the detailed story of the perplexities and blunders that attended the execution of an impossible task. Britain began to act as Mandatory in Palestine three years before the Mandate formally came into force and abruptly terminated the military administration of the country, because the Zionists found it convenient. Mr. Jeffries draws the lesson; the Army, the only set of average British citizens who had direct access to the so-called 'Palestine problem', had rendered their verdict of 'guilty' upon Zionism in Palestine.

There were six popular outbreaks of a more or less serious character, as many

delegations of Arab leaders to Whitehall, and even more enquiries and reports. And then the chronic disorder of the country grew to such an alarming extent as to lead the Arab officials in the Civil Service of the country to submit a joint memorandum on the subject to the High Commissioner in 1936. Through it all, a hundred thousand Jews have been imported into Palestine, considerable portions of the arable land of the country have been bought up and entailed to Jews, and large numbers of Arab peasants rendered homeless. Minor disputes on whether the Jews could take benches and screens to the Wailing wall, or the Arabs call for prayer or put up certain buildings near about, there have occurred often. The League of Nations and its Mandates Commission have proved pliant instruments in the hands of Britain. On only one occasion did the British (Labour) Government try to modify its policy by means of a White Paper (issued by Lord Passfield in 1930) which sought to curtail Zionist immigration and land acquisition in Palestine; but the protests from the Zionists and their friends compelled the Government to abandon the attempt. And things have steadily gone from bad to worse. Even the desperate remedy of Partition put forward by the Peel Commission has turned out to be impossible on further enquiry; and another conference on the Palestine problem has concluded its sittings only recently.

The Jews stand by their bond, the Balfour Declaration; the Arabs appeal to their inherent rights as children of the soil and the Covenant of the League of Nations. The attempt to put them off by pointing to the fulfilment of their hopes in Iraq and Hedjaz has not convinced them that England is playing them fair. And Italy and Germany are active in adding to the troubles of Britain in every quarter.

An Arab delegate to the recent Palestine Conference is said to have remarked: "The trouble is that during the War, the British Government sold the same horse to two men." Mr. Jeffries' book puts up a powerful plea for the animal being recognised as truly Arab property, and for the sale to the Jew being set aside.

BY DR. R. P. PARANJPYE, M.A. (Cantab)

(Ex-Member, India Council)

THE late Congress President recently pleaded for realism in politics and gave his own ideas of what the policy of Indians should be in the present international situation. In one sentence his attitude can be summed up thus: Britain is our enemy; England's difficulty is India's opportunity; hence if England is engaged in a life and death struggle with the axis-powers, India should make matters as difficult as possible for England, and not only not allow India's resources to be used in the empire's defence but if possible necessitate a certain diversion of England's military resources to this country to keep it quiet. I hope I am not misrepresenting Mr. Bose's views and I propose to examine them from a purely realistic point of view.

To obviate any misunderstanding, I wish to make it perfectly clear that I am guided solely by the interests of India and shall omit any considerations of general human progress or other philosophical abstractions. Some may perhaps feel, and I generally share the view, that Indian progress is essentially bound up with the progress of humanity. But it is best to have perfectly definite data in the course of any discussion. I also share the view held by Mr. Bose that British policy in India has often been short-sighted, that our rulers have, at least to a certain extent, followed the policy of divide and rule, that they have tried to consolidate only those Indian elements which are on the whole reactionary like the states and landlords, that they have not given enough attention to the educational,

industrial and social advance of the Indian people, and that, above all, they have left India utterly incapable of defending herself against a major enemy. One could re-enact the history of India for the last hundred years keeping in mind the experience acquired during that period, it is obvious that many things would be done differently and many others would remain undone. But such longings are vain and one has to chalk out one's line of action for the future taking the present position for granted. For a political realist this is the only possible course.

Everybody will agree that Mr. Gandhi in spite of his astute political insight, is not a conscious realist. His doctrines of non-violence and *satyagraha* and his specialised technique of fasts do not appeal to me, nor do they, I believe, appeal to Mr. Bose in their full rigour. If Mr. Bose and his friends could feel that methods of violence have a reasonable chance of success, they would not be the vociferous disciples of the Mahatma that they claim at present to be. But if Mr. Gandhi is not a realist in the true sense of the word, no more is Mr. Bose. He too appears to be the slave of certain words and ideas which do not conform to a realistic attitude. One of these words is imperialism and one of these ideas is a constituent assembly. We all understand what is meant by imperialism though we may not be able to give a comprehensive definition of it. But it will be enough to say that imperialism consists in the use of superior political, military, or economic power by one people to keep

down another people, or at least to make the latter subserve the interests of the former. History is concerned with recounting the political manifestations of such imperialism. British imperialism is not its first instance in the political field nor will it be the last. But the religious supremacy of the priest, the economic supremacy of the capitalist, or the intellectual supremacy of the educated are near cousins of the main imperialistic species. Against some of these, Mr. Bose rebels like myself, others he may welcome. We may try to do our best to fight this imperialist monster in our midst, but it appears that we can only scotch it for a time. It is bound to reappear in some form or other as long as human nature remains as it is.

Pickwick recommended shouting with the mob, and, if there were two mobs, advised that one should shout with the bigger. Similarly if there was only one imperialism with which one is concerned, Mr. Bose's cry "Down with imperialism" would be intelligible. But he must be prepared, if he is fair, also to say when we have to deal with more than one: "Down with all if possible; if not down first with the worst." In the present international situation we have to do not only with British imperialism but also probably with German, Italian or Japanese imperialism. In the present defenceless position of India, we would not be let alone whatever the Mahatma might say. We may fret over the policy followed by our rulers since the Mutiny, which rendered us dependent for our defence on the British military and naval power. The results of that policy cannot be undone in the course of a few months or years. Consequently while we may

urge a long-range policy of self-sufficiency in defence, our immediate consideration has to be about the comparative merits and demerits of these various imperialisms. Which of them do we dislike least? Do we want India to be a second China or a second Abyssinia or a second Czechoslovakia instead of remaining for the moment as we are, members and even subordinate members of the British Empire?

Under the rule of a Hitler or a Mussolini, we may perhaps be better organised to serve the ends of Germany or Italy; but even such a modicum of liberty as we have at present, such freedom to complain or agitate to a reasonable extent will be taken away from us. The slightest dissent from the policy of the dictators will lead one straight to the concentration camps. The threat of fasting will leave Hitler and his henchmen cold; for we are told that in concentration camps means of suicide are always kept ostentatiously handy for the internees and the public learns only long after the event, if at all, that any particular undesirable person had died in the camp. If elections are a mockery in Germany or Italy itself, can we contemplate even our present elections, whether for the legislatures or the Congress organisations, going on peacefully under German or Italian rule? Would it be possible to have a League of Liberty, to enjoy a moderately free press, or to agitate for more political rights? Would not all important positions be the monopoly of true Fascists or Nazis to a far greater extent than they are at present the monopoly of the British? Shall we be allowed even to vote on the Indo-German trade agreement? Is it likely that *swadeshi* or *khaddar* propaganda

will be permitted if it is against the interests of Italian or German manufacturers? Will not the Nordic cult be propagated far more vigorously than the present British assumption of white superiority? It is as certain as anything can be that under German or Italian rule, Indians will fare infinitely worse than under the present British rule.

If, as appears to be more probable in case the British connection with India is dissolved, it is Japanese imperialism with which we shall have to deal, there will not only be all the disadvantages just mentioned about Italian or German imperialism, but there will be many additional ones. The European races cannot thrive in a tropical climate and it would be difficult for Italians or Germans to colonise any but a very small portion of our country. The Japanese are Asiatics and have a low standard of living approximately similar to our own. With a rapidly increasing population, the Japanese will flood India with their superfluous millions; even such work as will not tempt an Italian or a German will be cheerfully taken up by a Japanese, and the Indian masses will not have even the hewing of wood or drawing of water left to them. Any manifestation of discontent will be sternly repressed, and if a modern Tarquinius Superbus from Italy or Germany will cut off the heads of all even moderately tall poppies like the heads of Congress organisations, his Japanese counterpart will not spare even the humbler members of those organisations. Should a political realist let his resentment against our present rulers run away with him and bring on his country a fate a hundred times worse?

It is not my object to defend British imperialism or the means by which it has established itself in India. Many wicked things have been done in its name in all conscience. But most of these occurred long ago and many of the British are now heartily ashamed of them. In any case there has been a very considerable amount of progress towards freedom and democracy, even though we may legitimately complain about the pace of that progress or regard some of the steps as ultimately harmful. Having for several centuries enjoyed freedom in his own country, the Englishman thinks it at least necessary to cover his selfish actions under a cloak of freedom. When his own interests are not too intimately involved, he lets other people alone. He has to preserve before the world a decent appearance of freedom under the British flag. His rough and ready methods are a contrast to the relentless efficiency of a German or a Jap. A British Viceroy will move heaven and earth to save an Indian Mahatma from starving himself to death. A German, Italian or Japanese Viceroy will welcome this simple way of getting rid of a pestilent enemy. Bad as British rule of non-white peoples is in many respects and unabashed as is his treatment of natives when British interests conflict with theirs, it is still far better than any alternative that is open to us at this moment. Probably, French rule of non-white races compares favourably with the British. Even under Dutch rule, which is moderately benevolent, the Javanese have not progressed politically in three or four countries as India has under British rule in a hundred and fifty years. The Italians and Germans and the Japanese are new-comers in the

government of alien races. Even if they were racially as humane as the British, they will subject India to the same hardships through which she passed in the earlier days of British rule. These are some points which a political realist must take into account before he makes up his mind to take advantage of England's difficulty.

A realist must have a short range as well as a long range policy. The former has been briefly sketched above by implication. The long range policy is partly in his hands and partly in that of the rulers. What he himself can do is to make his people strong and united, to get them out of their old ruts of superstition and obscurantism and to reform radically their social system which is out of date. The rulers should at the same time take steps to prepare the country to shoulder its own defence by organising its man power, to utilise the vast natural resources of the land, to educate the people and to make India industrially self-sufficient. If these steps seem for the moment to be against the immediate interests of the British, they will be found ultimately to be a bulwark of his own safety. If at the present moment India's millions had been properly trained for defence and its vast resources had been utilised to the fullest extent, English statesmen would not have had to fly to Munich or be negotiating in various European capitals for consolidating an anti-aggression front. The sands are running fast; will they be wise even at this eleventh hour? Political realism is required just as much in British statesmen as in Indian leaders.

While from a realistic point of view, it appears to be to the undoubted interest

of India that if Britain is engaged in a life and death major struggle India should co-operate with England, it is equally true that any help that India will give in the present circumstances will be only half-hearted as it will come only from the head and not from the heart. If it could be brought about that in this struggle India's heart is engaged as well as its head, then both the quality and quantity of this support will be very much superior. Some of our leaders advocate that India should sell its co-operation at the maximum price. But modern wars come unannounced all of a sudden and there would be no time for any negotiations of this kind. Conferences then will be out of question. While the dark clouds are gathering fast, would it not be a manifestation of complete realism on the part of our rulers to take some steps that will appeal to the imagination of India, not consider what is the least that could serve the purpose but give the maximum amount possible, with the promise of granting complete freedom in a very short time? It is no use saying that the new Government of India Act has already been enacted; it has not satisfied any important section of the Indian public. It should, if possible, be drastically modified and if this cannot be done, it should be repealed and replaced by another satisfactory to Indian opinion. If this is done, India will continue to be a willing member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and will prove a greater bulwark than anybody imagines. Realism is all right in politics but it should be inspired by high ideals and permeated by imagination. British connection with India and Ireland has been one long record of good measures too long delayed and consequently evoking no gratitude. Only in the case of South Africa was a bitterly hostile nation transformed, as if by magic, into a friend by the grant of timely freedom. Is there a Campbell-Bannerman among British statesmen at this moment? If there is, I am sure that Gandhi and Bose will also change into a Smutts and a Hertzog.

SAFETY IN NUMBERS

BY DR. E. ASIRVATHAM, M.A.

SHOULD a country aim at a large population or a small one? Is there safety in numbers or are numbers a menace to the well-being of a people? How are we to know whether a given population is large or small? Are we too many, too few, or just right? These are questions to which no categorical answer can be given.

Prof. T. N. Carver holds that the tests of national progress are that people should live in large numbers and should live well. Increasing numbers and increasing individual and national prosperity are to him the criteria of advancement.

From the early days of civilisation people have understood the importance of numbers in relation to the means of subsistence. Conscious attempts have been made both to limit the family and to stimulate population. In our own day, Italy and Germany are doing all that they can to stimulate population. Mussolini has repeatedly said that his country is over-populated, which is a fact. Yet he has been taxing bachelors and childless couples and encouraging the breeding of large families by allowances and tax exemptions. The psychological reason behind it is that when people come to feel that their country is over-populated and there is not enough elbow-room for all of them, they fall in easily with grandiose schemes of colonial expansion.

It is obvious that a country may be thickly populated and yet not be over-populated. Conversely, a relatively small population does not necessarily mean under-population. The average density per square mile in England is 695. Yet

it cannot be said that England is over-populated. To use the words of Prof. Carver, people are living in large numbers and are living well. The U. S. A., which is a much larger country and has a density of only 50 per square mile, has in recent years experienced a much worse unemployment situation than England. The British Dominions are all sparsely populated, and yet they do not welcome large additions to their numbers, because at the present stage of their economic development and organisation, they are unable to take in all those who seek their hospitality. Africa, south of the Sahara, is undoubtedly sparsely populated. At first glance it would look as though Africa could easily take in millions of surplus population from other lands. But this is not really so. The African native used to grazing sheep and cattle requires large acreage to carry on his living. If Africa is to support a much larger population, "the whole scheme of African life must be transformed".

The balance between numbers and adequate economic production is not easy to strike. Economists and statisticians have been at pains to discover that balance, but have not always succeeded. Up to a certain point numbers are important, because that means greater division of labour and advantages of co-operation, resulting in the reduction of the costs of production and distribution and greater prosperity all around. This statement has an application to conditions in the U. S. A. to-day, although organised labour in that country fights tooth and nail any attempt at substantial increase to the working population. Belgium is much more densely populated than

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Norway. Yet Belgium is more prosperous economically.

Beyond a certain point increase in numbers means increasing economic want and even distress. Yet it must be said that density of population does not necessarily mean unemployment nor does sparsity of population necessarily involve employment for everybody. Several factors enter into the picture; and without a precise knowledge of these, we cannot come to any sound conclusion.

A phenomenon which strikes the observer of modern population trends is that the population of a country does not keep on increasing steadily till it reaches *ad infinitum*. After a certain point is reached, it shows a natural tendency to decline. Countries in western and north-western Europe have reached or are about to reach their maximum population. Many of them have begun their declining process already. In all of them, due to rising standards of public health and sanitation and progress in medical science and surgery, the death-rate is low and the expectation of life is twice as great as for a country like India. Yet not enough children are born to replace the existing generation. Limitation of the family is the order of the day. There is also reason to believe that the specific legitimate fertility of the people is declining. Birth-rate in England, for example, has fallen from 292.5 in 1871 to 110.4 in 1933. According to Carr-Saunders, England and Wales are likely to reach their maximum in 1913. The same writer believes that by 1975, the population of these countries will have declined by two millions followed by rapid decline reaching by 2.035 a size half the present.

In other parts of Europe, the fall is sure to come although more slowly. Among the European countries to-day, Italy and Poland are somewhat overcrowded. But even these will in course of time follow the trend of other European countries. Considering the present rate of increase in Russia, the population is likely to double itself before it declines; and once fertility falls, it is likely to fall with great rapidity.

Turning to non-European countries, we find that they have between them two-thirds of the population of the world. This does not mean, however, that the white races have been losing ground. During the last three hundred years they have increased from 1.5 to 1.4 of the world population. While in 1650 they were about 100 millions, to-day they number 720 millions. The people who have suffered most are the black peoples of Africa, who have sunk from 1.5 to 1.15 of the world population. Primitive races coming into contact with the Western civilisation have almost perished. They have succumbed to guns, alcohol, and certain diseases which were unknown among them in their days of primitive simplicity. But those who have survived are showing signs of renewed vigour. Such is the case in Fiji and among many African tribes and the Maoris.

Japan is a thickly populated country, the density being 439. The statistics cited are from A. M. Carr-Saunders: World population per square mile with a total population of 61.5 millions in 1930. During the last 60 years, Japan has doubled itself and people have become better off. According to Carr-Saunders, further increase of population is likely to be a menace. Since

1921, birth-rate and death-rate have been on the decline. But even now about two million babies are born every year. At this rate of increase, Japan may reach 78 millions in 1950.

It is generally admitted that India is over-populated. The first census was taken in 1872 when there were 206 million people in India. Since then a census has been taken every 10 years. In 1931, the population shot up to 352 millions, the rate of increase per year during the previous 10 years having been over three millions. Economists have been much alarmed at this unprecedented increase. But a glance at the population curve shows that there is really no cause for panic, as the population of India has not been rising in a gradually ascending scale all the time. It has been rising in a jerky manner according to the economic prosperity of the country. The long period of peace and orderly living, provided by the British Government, has undoubtedly been one of the important factors contributing to the increase of population.

While there is no sound foundation for the belief that numbers will soon be out of all proportion to the means of subsistence, due care should be taken to maintain a balance between numbers and means of living. Reclamation of waste land, large schemes of irrigation, and expanding industrialisation have played their part in materially improving economic opportunities. But further progress along these lines is limited. Wider dissemination of health rules, and observance of higher standards of public health and sanitation, will result not only in declining death-rate but also in declining birth-rate. The voluntary restriction of the family is not yet wide-spread. Religious practices and

long standing social customs are all against it. The only trouble with the efficiency of the small family system is, that those who can understand and practise it are the very ones who should be encouraged to breed faster than the thoughtless and eugenically inferior people. Care should be taken not to tax the middle class out of existence, since the middle class is the backbone of any nation.

We in India are certainly living in large numbers, but are not living well. A vast majority are living near the subsistence level. The material and moral progress of India does not demand that we should blindly ape the West. The unnecessarily expensive ways of Western life have no meaning or justification. But still we need higher wages for the vast masses in order to bring the ordinary amenities of life within their reach. Such pernicious customs as child-marriage and unhygienic ways of living should be given up. Deficiency diseases, which disable people for the battle of life, should be brought under control by a systematic nation-wide effort to popularise knowledge regarding nutrition. It is a pity that since 1891, there has been no material improvement in the expectation of life for the average Indian. Even to-day the expectation of life for the male population of India is only 26·7 years, while in several of the Western countries and in New Zealand, the expectation for both men and women ranges between 50 and 60. Quality is just as important as quantity if not more. But in our enthusiasm for improving the stock and for keeping the population level above the means of subsistence, we should not let the reproduction rate fall below the replacement rate.

THE PROFESSION OF PREVARICATION

BY DR. J. H. COUSINS

IN the course of the evolution of human conduct, the practice of prevarication (vulgarly known as lying) became in one department so highly placed that Jonathan Swift identified "the art of political lying". Later, Oscar Wilde brought the whole circumference of lying to one level by omitting Swift's adjective. One gathers that a sort of holy joy was experienced in the whirling of whoppers. The modern joy in lying, however, is not that of the artist; "a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself" which Bacon reminds us certain later Grecians pondered the mystery of, "where neither they (the lies) make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake". To-day a substantial number of men (and women) lie for advantage: they have lost the *art* of lying and made it a *profession*. They follow the principle that, while two wrongs may or may not make a right, they will certainly make an excellent write-up. That is partly the reason for the campaign of villification of India in American journalism and book-writing.

Generally speaking, professional prevarication begins in the literary realm with the "blurb". For example: "It took Hendrik Van Loon 30 years to learn enough to write *The Arts of Mankind*. It took him 10 years to write it. The result is . . . a book about *all* the arts for *all* the people," and the blurb's italicising of *all* indicates a claim to a universal inclusiveness. An office in Bombay on the publisher's title-page suggests that the *people* of India and their *arts* are in the *all*. And this is how the *all*-ness works out. In a book of 559

pages, "India, China and Japan" are put into a chapter of 15 pages of text, in which Indian art gets two pages with no hint of Indian painting. This is all that the author could make in 30 years of preparation out of the library of works on Oriental art that have been produced in that time; three per cent. of space for the art of one-sixth of the population of the planet during five thousand known years!

This is the quantitative aspect of the profession of prevarication, the spatial suggestion of unimportance. It has, however, a psychological basis. As J. H. Newman said in one of his Oxford sermons: "Of course, it is very common in all matters, not only in religion, to speak in an unreal way,"—and he presents us with the politest excuse for the professional prevaricator—"when we speak on a subject with which our minds are not familiar". The author of the book that provokes this protest pleads gross ignorance on certain aspects of Oriental art. But stark ignorance is too naive to falsify others; it merely falsifies itself. This book has the certainty of its own rightness that is the root of all misrepresentation and all hypocrisy. For example—

On the Hindu temples, the author writes and I comment in brackets. "Those vast temples . . . are rarely pleasing to the European eye" (a quite legitimate reaction of unfamiliarity). "Most of them, unless seen from a long distance, fill one's heart with a sense of imminent doom and seem to preach the utter futility of all human effort against the implacable forces of nature." (A Hindu temple of the "vast" type cannot

be seen from a distance: all that can be seen are the great gateways and outer walls. They do not suggest "imminent doom" to those who realise that they refer only to eternal verities expressed in symbolical personages and events. They do not preach "futility", but that humanity can rise beyond its external and internal limitations). "The bathing pools, which are full of light, would form a pleasant contrast to the interior if one were not conscious all the time that the gold smeared all over the roof and the jewels stuck in the holy images could be better used if spent upon hospitals to cure at least part of the deformed humanity that creeps through these dismal sepulchres." (The bathing pools that are "full of light" in those "dismal sepulchres" are not as bright as the author paints them. Gold is not smeared all over the roof. If the gold and the jewels, donated by devotees over centuries, were sold, the amount obtainable for them, if marketable, would give a day's food or medicine to a number of people and leave them just as they were the next day with no economic or hygienic problem solved; and the shifting of the jewels would only shift a sin which the author thinks he sees but which he does not understand. There are lots of hospitals in India, but they are not visited by the peripatetic prevaricators. "Deformed humanity" does not creep through the temple interiors. The interiors are not "dismal sepulchres" but pathways shaded from tropical glare and heat; and are luminous highways to religious joy to the individual worshipper and centres for the conjoint fervour of fine men, gracious women, happy children, on numerous local and general

festivals which are occasions of joy and generosity. To omit these is an act of *suppressio veri* much used in the profession of prevarication.

So much for the temples. "As for the sculptures that are all over the place" (which, of course, they are not), "they have been twisted and tortured into figures that seem created for the express purpose of repelling at least the casual spectator." It is doubtful, however, if the sculptors of some centuries ago had any thought of annoying the casual spectator of to-day. Their *dharma* (job) was the serious and impersonal one of representing in visible form invisible powers, qualities, functions conceived as having embodiment in personages beyond human form and limitations, yet only representable in human form and extensions of it in multiple heads and arms symbolising endowments of mentality and activity more extensive and varied than that of normal humanity. The author concedes technical achievement sometimes to some of the sculptures. "But (and here we pass from the falsification of fact to that which, in the predilections of the falsifier, motivates the falsification) the subjects, the Brahmas and Vishnus and Shivas and their endless cousins, uncles, brothers and sisters seem only very little more attractive than the nasty-minded holy monkeys and the half-starved holy cows which infest the premises." It is not easy to face in measured terms the turpitude disclosed in so flagrant a breach of ordinary decency in references to the personages of another's faith. Missionaries of Christianity in India have passed beyond such boorishness. But this author not only places the Hindu plastic conceptions of the powers of the universe "only

very little" above monkeys and cows, but invites a stage lower in referring to temples as "gilded towers covered from top to bottom with statues of their myriad gods . . . and the whole nauseating collection of sacred animals and the quite-so-sacred deities and their very appetising female relatives". The untruth of the foregoing sentence, and the senescence disclosed in the last three words of it, makes any contradiction of mere fact an anti-climax. One inclusive rectification will serve. "Those vast temples" with which the author crowds the terrain of his references to Hindu India are a small percentage of the total number of Hindu shrines. There are vast numbers of small shrines in which a single worshipper renders homage to the Supreme being through a single representation. Even in one of "those vast temples" of South India, the climax of its cycle of worship through various forms is homage to the formless One Who includes the many. But matters such as these have no value for professional prevarication.

With an air of complete knowledge and impartial judgment, the author informs us that "all this changes the moment we come in contact with Buddhistic art". And without a glimmer of cerebration he adds: "I have been told by reliable authorities (being myself grossly ignorant upon the subject) . . .", a confession which pulverises his ability to make any distinction between Hindu and Buddhistic art or even to gauge the reliability of his "authorities". What he details at fourth hand is the stale stuff of the Grecian origin of Indian sculpture; and on an edifice of ignorance he sets the final: "And, indeed, Buddhistic sculpture did not begin to flourish until

several hundred years after the death of the Buddha himself, when Asoka, his devout disciple, was ruling over the Punjab." The facts deduced by scholarship show that from the seventh century before Christ, Hindu sculpture possessed a native strength that rendered it immune from the Grecian infection outside a small area in the remote north-west. Such foreign elements as entered into the art of Buddhism at the time of Asoka, not "several hundred" years but three hundred years, after the Buddha, were not Grecian but Iranian. And Asoka, far from being the ruler of the Punjab only, was both the temporal and spiritual head of a vast empire. On the matter of art, the author disposes of the "notion still held by a great many people that the art of India was something mysterious that went back thousands and thousands of years, being even older than the pyramids". This he, out of his confessed ignorance, characterises as "entirely erroneous", and relevancy and reason go to the winds in the addendum: "We have a great deal of literature that was composed in the days of Homer, but the earliest Indian architecture goes back only to the days of Buddha in the sixth century B.C." Apart from the lesion between Homeric literature and Indian architecture, the sign of dead compilation instead of living creation, there is a literary tradition in India as old as that of Homer. But incongruous comparisons are not needed to establish the age of Indian architecture. The excavations in recent years in Sind and the Punjab have carried the history of admirable town-planning and building in India back to nearly 3,000 years before Christ, with the implications of centuries of preparation.

Curiously, or perhaps naturally, the change declared when we pass from the religious life and art of Hindu India (which is still in action) to "Buddhistic art" (which is a thing of the remote past) does not emerge in any comparison that would satisfy a reader of average intelligence. All that emerges is a complex so strong that even when the outer portion of the author's apparatus of consciousness is stretched as far as China, it goes back with a snap to its anti-Hindu fixation. Thus in setting out the forces that "greatly affected the Chinese mentality", he includes Buddhism which he summarises as "an attempt to make the human race conscious of its divine possibilities". But it was "as complete and disheartening a failure as Christianity afterwards Soon the Indian was once more slaughtering his goats, burning his incense to his ancient idols and doing all sorts of terrible things to himself to propitiate the evil spirits whom he feared much more than he loved the good ones". The change back to Hinduism indicated above, and the bringing of the narrative back to China, is thus amplified: "Buddha's ideals, however, were much too high-minded for the average Hindus, and after six hundred years they quietly went back to their familiar old gods. Buddha, who had done his best to reform their disgusting practices, was completely forgotten. But by this time his ideas had crossed the Himalayas and Tibet and in A.D. 67 during the Han dynasty, Buddhism was accepted as the official religion of China."

Untrue, because exaggerated, is the statement that, after the alleged failure of Buddhism, the Indian returned to the practices quoted above. Goat-slaughtering

has never been a universal Indian practice. The author did not see it in the "vast temples" to which he refers. Where it is practised it is condemned by other Hindus and has been dropped in some of the minority of places in which it was an occasional custom. But a nauseating thing about such references to animal sacrifice in India is that they are usually made by Westerners while they are digesting the remains of crucified animals; and those who condemn the practice by Hindus have no qualm of conscience and no sense of hypocrisy in participating in the vast Christmas orgy of slaughter and gormandising.

The same prevarication in over-statement is in the author's references to "ancient idols", "terrible things", and "evil spirits". (1) There is no special virtue in ancientness in Hindu deific images. When an image develops a flaw, it is rejected from its shrine. Images are made for certain festivals and destroyed when the festival is over. Hindus do not worship images as such. (2) Certain Indians, not the priests of temples, have asserted the will of the spirit over the flesh through practices in affinity with the flagellations of mediæval monasticism in Europe. But these are a very small proportion of the population; and (3) their *tapas* (discipline) is not in propitiation of spirits evil or good but for personal psychological purposes. "Buddha's ideals" were no higher than the Upanishadic ideals" and the proportion of "average Hindus" interested in religious ideals was, perhaps, no smaller than the proportion of average Christians who are at the level of understanding and practising the Christ ideals. Buddha's ideals and his memory did not fade out in India "after six

hundred years", that is, by the author's calculation, in the first century A.D. the great era of the Buddhist frescoes, which the author gives no heed, went on until the seventh century A.D. the Buddha has never been "completely forgotten" in India. One school of Hindu iconography gave him a place among the *avatars*. There are Buddhists in many parts of India. One of the earliest shrines of the Buddha and his relics is a room in a palace in India under the patronage of a Maharaja who is the hereditary head of the Hindu Church in his State. The same Hindu ruler, when passing through a Buddhist country, reverently scattered flowers at the feet of an image of the Lord of Illumination.

There are other errors of fact and interpretation in the masterpiece of prevarication under notice concerning the art and life of India; for when ignorance sets out the peddling of caricatures of knowledge, and when a vicious and unfounded antipathy styles both truth and decency off the curb, the material for criticism by any one who knows and understands takes on the appearance of illimitability. But the foregoing will serve to indicate one of the forms of pathological infection to which the mind of America is liable through the artificial magnification of intellectual mediocrity to the detriment

America's own generous spirit and its reactions to international affairs. The timate anti-toxin against this infection

the bacillus of truth received by contagion from the actualities of life and culture. The measures now under consideration for the introduction of Oriental studies in the Universities of the United States of America will help towards

this desirable end. Every atom of help towards the projected establishment of an Indian section in the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii at Honolulu will be a contribution towards the cessation of professional and amateur villification of India in America and elsewhere.

Punitive measures, or even action for national defamation in a court of international justice, which does not yet exist, would be repugnant to the spirit of India. Neither are they indicated in the original "Thou shalt not" against bearing false witness, probably because there is sufficient punishment in the mental, æsthetical, and spiritual deprivation involved in being such a bearer.

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Health and Unemployment Insurance for India

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

IN a country like India where statistics are very defective, it is difficult to outline a scheme of health insurance without a careful enquiry into every aspect of the problem. But certain generalisations can be made on which, with the help of statistics that are collected, a scheme can be formulated. In order that a risk should be insurable, the minimum number of conditions which should be satisfied are:—

(a) a clear statement of the nature of the risk;

(b) the possibility of protecting a large number of people against such risk;

(c) the ability to calculate with a certain degree of probability the incidence of the risk; and

(d) the risk must be of a nature as to contribute a menace against which those who are subjected to it should desire to provide.

Apart from this question of having schemes of social insurance for workers in factories, the problem may be viewed from a larger angle and a scheme of social insurance may be formulated after a detailed study for any one who wishes to cover himself against the various contingencies which may happen to an average human being. Such contingencies may rise from:—

(1) temporary incapacity of a person or his wife for work, or temporary loss of one's job under the following cases:—accident, disease, bad health, maternity;

(2) permanent impairment of a person's capacity to work and earn, invalidity, old age;

(3) death of the principal bread-winner involving financial loss—unprovided widowhood, unprovided orphanhood.

Briefly, social insurance aims at providing a certain amount of security against a group of contingencies. The difference between social insurance and life assurance would be, that in the former case the group of contingencies covered are in a sense more detailed and varied.

In the United Kingdom, the scope of national health insurance covers all manual and non-manual workers between the ages of 16 and 65 with incomes under £250 a year. The scheme is contributory and, as in Japan, the costs are divided between the employers, employees, and the State. The benefits include medical attendance, sickness benefit, disablement benefit, maternity benefit. Sickness benefit begins on the fourth day of incapacity and continues for a period not exceeding 26 weeks after which disablement benefit is payable.

The Government of Madras intend introducing a Bill for the introduction of unemployment insurance. The Honourable V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour and Industries has decided to introduce the scheme as an experimental measure on co-operative lines in the textile industry alone. This is because this industry is well organised in the Presidency and labour is perennial and not seasonal as in the sugar industry. Official statistics show that unemployment in the textile industry in the Madras Presidency ranges between 7 and 8 per cent. It is proposed to collect a quarter of an anna from each employee for each day he is working and an equal amount from the employer. An alternative proposal is to collect 1/64th of the wage earned by the employee and the same fraction of the wage bill of the employer. The benefit

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proposed to be paid would be roughly a week's wage for each month of unemployment under the second scheme and a flat rate of Rs. 4-8-0 per month for single men and Rs. 7-0-0 for those with families if the first plan is adopted. The success of this pioneer venture in India in unemployment insurance will be eagerly expected by all well-wishers of labour in the country. It seems to be the opinion of the Government that so far as the settlement of labour disputes is concerned, the arrangement now obtaining has been beneficial both to employers and employed and that, therefore, no additional legislation is necessary for the purpose. The Madras Government are of the view that any additional legislation providing for compulsory arbitration should be taken up as an All-India measure in consultation with other Provinces. The feasibility of weekly payment of wages in all factories is stated to be favoured by the Government and has been approved by the Department of Industries. The problem of liquidating indebtedness among industrial workers is also being examined and legislation similar to Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act will soon be put on the legislative anvil.

In the light of experience of other countries, the following may be taken up as the means of dealing with unemployed assurance in India:—

(1) co-operative insurance against unemployment among workers in seasonal trades;

(2) poor relief in villages administered in the first instance by village authorities and coupled with schemes of local works guided by higher administrations;

(3) establishment of unemployment exchanges at least in the bigger industrial towns and in special industries; branches of these agencies in the principal recruiting areas;

(4) Subsidised Union Funds fed by contributions from members and employers;

(5) poor relief in urban areas and organised public charity administered by Municipal authority through a Poor Relief Board;

(6) extension of the Poor Relief Scheme to distress in rural areas caused by industrial factors.

The early introduction of these measures is both necessary and feasible.

GARDENING AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY

By MR. M. K. RAJAGOPAL

GARDENING is avowedly one of the costlier hobbies. But for the Indian villager it constitutes by far the most vital and profitable cottage industry.

Indian rural life is of necessity almost exclusively vegetarian, due to economic and not so much as to religious, social or cultural reasons. The normal every-day meal of an average Indian villager consists of *roti* (bread of wheat or of

any other cereal) or boiled rice and *bhaji* (cooked vegetables). It is but rarely, except in the United Provinces, that milk and the other dairy products or meat find a place in the villager's menu, excepting on occasions of festivity. Thus to the very poorest even, while dairy products and meat are more in the nature of luxuries, vegetables are a necessity. There is a constant and

unfailing demand for vegetables from the urban areas, too, which the villages have to meet. Thus vegetable gardening exists not as a potential cottage industry but is carried on, though not in a properly organized way; invariably one cannot find "gardens" as such, but vegetables are grown in old patches, and mostly irrigated and looked after in moments of leisure. If modern scientific methods are introduced, and an impetus given for affording an organized footing, vegetable gardening is bound to be of as much relief to the rural farmers as hand-weaving or hand-spinning itself.

Flower-gardening is another traditional occupation of some of the villages. Flowers are required not only for purposes of personal decoration but are a necessity in the Hindu temples and orthodox Hindu homes for purposes of *pujas*. Though restricted in scope, it is a potential source, and some of the villagers engaged in flower gardening are quite well-off having a good time of it, especially in the proper seasons as those of *melas* and *utsavs* and social functions.

Fruit-gardening is organized on a larger scale. Mangoes of Western India, plantains of the South and the grapes of Nasik may be cited as instances. "Orange" the luxury of the "high and exalted", grown in the hills, is naturally the most organized fruit industry. But whereas the potentialities of the cultivation of Indian fruits and their marketing and now of fruit-preservation, too, have come to be recognized and utilized, vegetable gardening has hardly been noted or considered at all.

There are more than hundred kinds and varieties of vegetables in use in all parts of India, while only a few of

them are universally popular; most of them are peculiar to provinces. Detailed study as to their nutritional value, productive value, proper modes of cultivation, modes of scientific intensive culture, scientific classification and collection of relevant data would ensure the placing on a firm footing of this vital cottage industry. Possibilities of desirable modes of preservation of vegetables, efficient marketing and adequate distribution of seeds are necessary developments that will follow in the wake of enterprise. Rehabilitation of the villages is fundamentally based on the physical betterment of millions of the *Daridra Narayans*, a restoration of their normal physical efficiency. It is a question of proper nutrition. Milk as a factor of nutrition has been recognized and there is activity in that direction. But vegetables, as has already been pointed out, form a necessary food of the villagers, and consumption of better vegetables in more adequate quantities will go a long way in relieving the rural distress. From the nutritional point of view, a study of vegetables of foreign countries, for instance, spinach which is said to be so good for health, and the desirability of their introduction and use in India would seem necessary. The value of Soya beans and of cabbages and cauliflower and tomatoes and potatoes has already been popularly recognized and their use is widely prevalent.

The fact that the total consumption of *onions and potatoes* in our cities and towns and *even villages* is met with by imports from Italy must serve as a significant eye-opener, not only as to the *actual* loss sustained by our villages due to lack of leadership, enlightenment, and enterprise, but also to the *potentiality* of vegetable-gardening as a cottage industry.

WOMEN AND WORK

BY SRIMATHI SAKUNTALA THAMPI

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THE emancipation of the modern woman has been a classic incident in the history of human liberation; women



SRIMATHI THAMPI

are taking an equal share with their menfolk in efforts to improve general conditions; they are using their powers to serve the motherland; work has made them believe that they are not mere soulless beings but an integral part in that higher life which has a great deal to contribute in shaping the welfare and destiny of the nation.

I have never understood how it all comes about that for so long our grandmothers were content to sit meekly behind the *purdah*, while animated grandpas unsettled their destinies and made and muddled the world in which the old folks lived. It is a great wonder why people should think it extraordinary that intelligent women could be as efficient and capable of holding a position in the surgery, the newspaper office, in the administration of the land, or performing feats of skill and endurance.

But our political patriarchs will say: "give them complete emancipation and let us see what they will do with it". The answer is that women have taken their share in the work of the world once considered exclusively man's; it has made women happier, helped them to forget the exaggerated sex-consciousness and inferiority complex prevalent in the country; given them economic independence; satisfied their questing minds; enlarged their mental horizon and proved women's mental capacities.

It is unfair to say that women are inconsistent, lacking in concentration, courage and intellect. Any one who has heard the weighty and brilliant speeches of Dr. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini, and Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya will have to alter that view; their beautiful prose style, depth of thought, professional attacks, the exquisite light and shade of their speeches will outclass many a veteran masculine speaker.

I am not writing as a feminist; a world solely dominated by women will be a sorry enough place. I cannot fail to add that from the moment our women learnt to read and write and speak, however illogically as men seem to believe, they have claimed and got equal rights with men and have achieved a great deal already.

No longer are women victims of the mere male, to be hustled, hurried, teased, nagged, flattered, fettered, cursed and openly defied. No longer will the atmosphere in the home be one of cramping limitations, or ambition and initiative of any

kind be crimes. The idea of independence is firmly gaining ground in this country, and nothing is more powerful in this world than this idea, and nothing can stop it, not armies, or bombs or battalions of husbands. Some of our women have been growing steadily vigorous; they have fought for their claims and eventually won the right to become bread-winners. In this incredibly mad new order of things, the man of the family is often the dependant and the woman the provider and economic mainstay. She fills the family purse, he adjusts himself meekly to the role of hearth-tender. There are pathetic instances of working wives and stay-at-home husbands; dozens of women are supporting whole families; full-time bread-winners because of the force of the inexorable economic law.

It is a curious fact that for untold ages, women's chief job has been looking after the house, but there are no outstanding Indian hotel managers to speak of. Cooking was decidedly woman's particular province. Yet all the famous Indian cooks are men; restaurants and cooking establishments run by men are far and away better; and in every-day life if you want to strike a balance of household capacity, you will surprisingly find that the man is quite handy with the stove and finds it great fun.

While on the contrary his wife can drive a car a little better than he can and supervise the building of a house.

Needlework which is woman's chief hobby, has been in the hands of men and there are many tailors both well known and unknown who are skilled with the needle.

The making of cakes, an exclusively feminine occupation, is now in the hands of men; bakers can be seen everywhere, so are embroiderers, costumiers and connoisseurs of perfume and jewellery.

Even as I write this, the times spiritedly call for a changed outlook with regard to the nursing profession; the incomparable Afghan, Maharatta, Nair and Telugu stalwart will soon be seen in our numerous hospitals. Their benignant presence will be an influence for calmness and good comfort even amid the struggles of expiring nature. 'Ministering angels,' their agile forms shall glide quietly along the numerous bed-sides and will help to soften the poor pale faces of the patients with confidence at the sight of them!

Men are finding happiness and success in following occupations regarded as unmanly. What then is the general idea of woman's work being entirely in the home? What can be more satisfying, more conducive to human dignity? Certainly not the ability to get the husband earn and keep one in cushioned idleness and enforced inertia. Work is the only thing that can bring happiness to a human being and there is nothing more absorbing than sharing in the work of the world.

For my part, I think men will just find it easy in India to put back the hands of the clock. I do not believe either that they will see women trooping back to the hearth in large numbers.

Lastly, women work better because of education, independence and ambition; deprive them of these—and I won't answer for the consequences.

HINDU CULTURE IN THE WEST

BY

MR. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW

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“THE supreme task of our generation is to give a soul to the growing world consciousness, to develop ideals and institutions necessary for the creative expression of the world soul, to transmit these loyalties and impulses to future generations and train them into world citizens. To this great work of creating a new pattern of living, some of the fundamental insights of Eastern religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism, seem to be particularly relevant.” And the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics has in his latest book comprising nine chapters, addressed himself to the task of indicating these insights. It is appropriately published by the Clarendon Press and forms a noteworthy contribution to the *liaison* work that he had started even before elevation to the Oxford Chair and has so successfully continued since.

The first three chapters are reprints of lectures delivered on various occasions. The first on the *World's Unborn Soul* is the author's inaugural lecture wherein he shows the present need for an emphasis of Eastern religions, and the essentially rationalistic and humanistic character of the Hindu view of religion. Such rationalism is not, however, to be confounded with intellectualism which, as shown in the second chapter (*The Supreme Spiritual Ideal: The Hindu View*) is a phase of *avidya*. True religion is based on insight and is characterised by love (*ahimsa*) and freedom from fear (*abhaya*). The third chapter which is a reprint of Sir George Birdwood lecture, 1937, offers a detailed *critique* of Schweitzer's estimate of Indian mysticism as life and world-negating. Though such a view has some

foundation in current misconceptions, fostered even by some of our own publicists, it is far from the truth. “Mysticism has its fanatics who look upon the real as spiritual freedom and contrast it with the actual in its bondage, declaring that birth is an error of the soul and our chance of liberation lies in shaking off these shackles. The theory of *maya* has been interpreted in this negative sense” (p. 99). Though such exaggerations are common even in the West, “Sankara has nothing in common with people who will not accept the visible world any more than with those who will accept nothing else . . . the eternal is not out of all relation to the world of history. Though caught in the finite, we aspire for the infinite” (p. 100). The insistence on the continuity between phenomenon and noumenon, and the exhibition of the due recognition of the body as perfectible, not negligible*, constitute very distinctive and valuable features of this chapter. Ethical endeavour is not divorced from metaphysical realisation. The *advaitin*† would have it that even the ordered scheme of *varna* and *ashrama* helps like a saddle horse to reach the goal quickly, though one may arrive there some time even without a horse. The persistent misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Hindu culture as mainly, if not wholly, negative, receive a sound and much needed corrective in this chapter.

The four succeeding chapters are concerned with the inter-relations between Hindu and Buddhist thought on the one side and the thought of Greece and Christendom on the other. The Greek

* The body becomes a transparency through which the spirit shines, a glass for its indwelling flame. (p. 98).

† Surely it is Mandana who says this, not Sankara, but see p. 382.

*EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT. By S. Radhakrishnan. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1939. Price 15 Shillings, Rs. 10 As. 5. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

spirit of finding the good in this world alone is contrasted with the mystic spirit of seeking the good beyond this world and in the spirit. The latter finds frequent expression in the Greek and Christian thinkers, but is foreign to the native current of their speculation; it seems naturally traceable to Eastern influence for which there is a perceptible historical background. The question of the affiliation of ideas is both difficult and unprofitable as the author himself realises.* And as he shows more than once, the validity of mysticism may be based in part on the universality of its forms wherever manifested. It will not, however, be wholly unprofitable to note the possible derivation of certain manifestations of spirit from the East in general and India in particular, especially when the influence is admitted by Occidental scholars of weight and repute. The wealth of scholarship and the balance of judgment displayed in these chapters are as striking as they are characteristic. Here are some representative conclusions: The Orphics held in common with the Hindus the beliefs "of rebirth, the immortality and God-like character of the soul, the bondage of the soul in the body and the possibility of release by purification. If we add to them metaphors like the wheel of birth and the world egg, the suggestion of natural coincidence is somewhat unconvincing" (p. 138). "In His teaching of the Kingdom of God, life eternal, ascetic emphasis, and even future life, He (Jesus) breaks away from the Jewish tradition and approximates to Hindu and Buddhist thought" (p. 176). "The only Judaic elements [in Philo] are the insistence on monotheism, contempt for image worship, and the claim that the Jews had in the Mosaic revelation the highest religious knowledge. All the other elements of his system are those found in Hindu thought" (p. 197). "In Paul, we find two conceptions of the Supreme, God and Christ, two kinds of knowledge, the reality of mystic experience, the indwelling of God, indifference to ceremonial piety, conversion as

* Ch. p. 149 "... it is indifferent whether similarities are due to borrowing or are the result of parallel intellectual evolution."

rebirth, the need for the crucifixion of the flesh, salvation of oneness with Christ to be transformed into oneness with God with the redemption of the cosmic process. These are all features associated with mystic [as contrasted with Messianic] religion" (p. 225).

The last two chapters on *The Meeting of Religions and the Individual and the Social Order in Hinduism* are in some ways the most noteworthy in the book since they present to us the scholar not in his study but in the concrete setting of life. In the first of these chapters, we have an interpretation and defence of the tolerance exercised by Hinduism—a tolerance due not to cynical indifference or political expediency but understanding and appreciation of other faiths. "The attitude of the Hindu and the Buddhist to other forms of worship is one of sympathy and respect and not criticism and contempt for their own sake" (p. 314). Such an attitude comes from the understanding that religion is a matter of personal realisation, and that in the pursuit and mode of achievement variations are inevitable in spite of the identity of the goal. "Creeds and dogmas, words and symbols have only an instrumental value. Their function is to aid the growth of spirit by supplying supports for a task that is strictly personal" (p. 317). Hence historical events and geographical conditions far from being irrelevant have a profound bearing on the faiths men profess. Christianity in its spread over the face of earth has repeatedly taken on local colour compromising with the religious systems that preceded it. An absolute change of religion amounting to the displacement of one nature by another is neither possible nor valuable. "Religion is like the string of a violin; if removed from its resonant body, it will give the wrong tone, if any" (p. 328). While this realisation has kept Hinduism alive, it has not kept off conception altogether with the result that, like the curate's egg, it is good only in parts. Catholicism has tended to be confused with complaisance; the danger is "that what is may be accepted because it is, and progress may be infinitely delayed" (p. 339).

The last chapter seeks to exhibit the Hindu social order with its four-fold ends of life, four classes and four stages of life as devised in the interests of the full expansion of the individual and as working to that end except when it degenerated. The division into the four classes—the intellectual, the fighter, the trader and the general utility man with no special aptitude is truly democratic and designed to save the highest interests of society and the individual. It was by no means perfect as a system; and it became less perfect when it degenerated into a rigid caste distinction. It would, however, be rash to conclude that the claims of individuality were ignored in the Hindu scheme of life.

While the reader will undoubtedly be both exalted and profited by the study of the book, he may in the end find himself left with some questions not answered or not fully answered here. "The ideal," he is told, "is the Brahmanic one of non-resistance: for the means are as important as the end. In this imperfect world, however, the non-resisters are able to practise their convictions only because they owe their security to the maintenance by others of the principles which they repudiate" (p. 361). Is this cynicism or only an avowal of imperfection? If the latter, when and how is the imperfection to cease? So long as we seek to maintain the perfect (as ideal) by the imperfect (actual), is there any chance of the latter approximating to the former? Is it intelligible to maintain that non-resistance will triumph in the long run, only because resistance is our present duty? This may be the correct position, but the present reviewer has great difficulty in accepting it, and he may not be a solitary figure.

Again, it is good to be told that Hinduism neither condemns the world nor despises the body. It is good to know that "the body becomes a transparency through which the spirit shines, a glass for its indwelling flame" (p. 98). It is heartening to realise that the performance of the round of worldly duties (of course, in a spirit of detachment) will help and

not hinder spiritual realisation. But how is one to reconcile all this with the asceticism and other worldliness so often stressed as characteristic of Hinduism? The mystics would appear to have viewed the body as an encumbrance. The doctrine of "the fall into corporeality" is said to belong to a tradition "which Hellenic thought, untouched by alien speculation, was perhaps not very likely to have developed" (p. 149). The Upanishads too often seem to imply that final release requires physical disintegration, as when they speak of the enlightened man being again (finally) released at death. Which is the real Hindu tradition? Is it the perfection of body and mind together to be sublimated into spirit? Or is it the mortification of the flesh for the glorification of the spirit? There is no doubt on which side the author's sympathies lie.

We trust that ere long we shall have another volume when the positive implications of the present work are expanded and fully explained; for the moment we shall record our gratitude for the excellent fare now provided.

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THE INDIAN SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY REV. C. F. ANDREWS

I HAVE been waiting until the last moment before writing this article on the Indian situation in South Africa in



REV. C. F. ANDREWS

order to see whether there would be any development before the end of the month. Now the request has come from the editor and I must immediately send the statement about the situation which I have promised.

In order to understand what has happened so suddenly in South Africa, it is necessary to recapitulate very briefly the many incidents which have led up to this new crisis. First of all, the numbers of Indians in the whole of South Africa amount roughly to about 225,000. The great majority of these are in Natal and are the descendants of the Indentured labourers who came to Natal from the Madras Presidency between the years 1860 and 1910. During those 50 years it is estimated that somewhat less than 300,000 labourers with their children must have gone out from South India, but since a return passage was a part of the contract, a very large number of those

who emigrated came back soon after their indenture was over. Only a comparatively small number stayed on, but these have multiplied and there are now nearly 200,000 Indians settled in Natal.

In the Transvaal there are also a large number from South India, but the majority of the Indian population came from Gujarat and most of them are traders. The Tamils, who were able to migrate into the Transvaal from Natal, are mainly market gardeners and hawkers. The whole number of Indians in the Transvaal is at the present time about 20,000.

In Orange Free State there are only a few Hotel waiters and the whole number of Indians is only about 200. The restrictions on entering this part of South Africa are very severe.

In the Cape Province, there are comparatively few Indians scattered over a vast area. I do not remember what the exact census figure was, but there are probably 10,000 in the whole of the Cape Province. These are mostly Muhammadan traders and a few Hindus from Tamil Nadu and Gujarat.

When the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement was made in 1914, it was supposed on all sides that the Indian problem had received a fair and honourable settlement. During the War, the treatment of Indians on the whole was in accordance with the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement, and no serious action was taken against them in any province. The trouble began again in 1919, when an effort was made to restrict still further the very meagre rights of the Transvaal Indians, to hold property and carry on their business. I was sent out by Mahatma Gandhi on that occasion, and paid two visits at different times in the next three years in order to deal with this very complicated problem. The truth was, that the old Gold Laws of 1885 were the basis of all later legislation, even after the

South African Union had been formed; and these Gold Laws were very oppressive. Every effort, therefore, was made by the Indian community, quite rightly, to obtain what they needed by various methods which did not actually infringe the letter of these very obnoxious laws. Since the laws themselves were acknowledged to be thoroughly bad, and yet it was impossible to get them rescinded, the only way which the Transvaal Indians had to obtain their elementary rights was the method of finding loopholes in the law itself.

Since that date, many new laws have been passed against these Transvaal Indians shutting up every possible loophole and thus making the Gold Laws more and more stringent. At the present time this struggle in the Transvaal is not yet over. The Union Government will not do the obviously right thing, which ought to be done, namely, to cancel the Gold Laws themselves and allow the Indians the same privileges which they allow to Syrians, who have been permitted to enter the Transvaal without the restrictions put upon them which the Indians have had from the very first. The Feetham Commission which has now sent in its Report, has taken a liberal view of the situation, but has been handicapped throughout by these obnoxious laws in the background.

The Indians in the Cape Province have never had much trouble hitherto, compared with those in Transvaal and Natal. The reason for this is simple. They have, what is called, "The Education Franchise". Thus their political rights have enabled them to stand up for their rights in other directions.

As early as 1924, the Union Government itself began to put forward certain measures for segregating Indians in special quarters of their own. Different measures have been brought forward for segregating Indians, not only in the matter of residence but also in business. The object of all these bills has been to make Indians live apart in special local areas and from the very first the people of India have resisted with all their might any such form of segregation. The first bill was not carried through into law, owing to the defeat of General Smuts' Cabinet on

other South African issues. General Hertzog and Dr. Malan came into power and they immediately brought a still more drastic measure for segregation; but this was abandoned by the Government on account of the holding of a Round Table Conference at Cape Town in 1927. Undoubtedly the Union Government hoped that through this Conference they might be able to obtain the voluntary repatriation of a large number of Indians in Natal, where the Indian problem was most acute.

The one substantial gain of this Cape Town Conference, and of the Conference which followed in 1932, was the appointment by the Indian Government of an Agent-General, who should be able to represent Indian rights in South Africa. Along with this there was also given a promise that where Indians in Natal were anxious to reach the Western standard of living in economic and social matters, the Union Government would do everything possible to help them to do so. This, which was called "The Uplift Clause", gave some satisfaction in India; and it was hoped that through such Agent-Generals as the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and others, this uplift clause would be fully implemented by the Union Government. But, up to the present, there has been very little sign of this very important clause being put into force. Indeed, this part of the Agreement has been steadily neglected. The Union Government have recently complained that there has been very little help given by the Indian Government with regard to repatriation. It has been, however, pointed out that the Agreement, which was signed in Cape Town, only referred to *voluntary* repatriation; and even here there has been a considerable lessening of the numbers in Natal through this voluntary movement. Evidently, the Union Government thought that the numbers who would take the Government's offer of a free

The uplift section of the Agreement runs thus: "The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplift of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities".—[Ed. I.R.]

passage and bonus would be much greater than has actually been the case; but the fact that only a few have returned has in no sense been a breach of the Agreement; for it was made quite clear that its basis was entirely voluntary. At the second Round Table Conference a new clause was added that enquiry should be made as to whether any other country than India would be suitable for an emigration scheme on liberal lines from South Africa. But when the enquiry was made and it was discovered that no country except British North Borneo was anxious to encourage any such colonisation scheme, this part of the Agreement ended in complete failure.

During the last few years a very subtle form of segregation has been encouraged in Natal by means of what are called "Servitudes". This word implies that a special clause can be put in any document, with regard to the holding of property, which would prevent Indians from becoming property owners in that district. This has been going on privately for some time, but in order to make such a private arrangement public and legal, it is now proposed that in any district or area where 75 per cent. of the European population desire that no Indian shall be allowed to reside, this wish shall be made legal by means of these Servitudes. If such a law is passed it will put into the hands of groups of Europeans in different parts of the country a method whereby they may squeeze out Indians from one area after another and in this manner obtain the racial segregation which they have set their hearts upon. Even though a fair number of Europeans may not wish for such a drastic segregation measure to be passed in a district, they may be socially compelled to give their vote along with the majority in order not to suffer from social boycott. Thus this new proposal carries with it some of the worst forms of racialism. Its effect will be to create race prejudice rather than to allay it.

Mr. Stuttaford, the Minister of the Interior, has taken up an intransigent attitude and has declared that he does not wish for any further Round Table Conference on this matter, which the

Government of South Africa are determined to see carried into effect. I have already published in the papers that there is no method of retaliation open to us, but there might be great value from a strong European demand from the Europeans in India that such an insult should not be levelled against the Indians in South Africa. More than any other people in India, the voice of the European residents in this country would be likely to carry weight in South Africa. It would also be necessary for the Government of India, over which the Viceroy is head, to make known as plainly as possible that India will not submit to such a degrading treatment of its own nationals whereby they are racially segregated from other members of the community.

Mr. Kodanda Rao has suggested that the Christian Missionaries in India might themselves help in this matter by pointing out the un-Christian conduct which such racial segregation implies. This seems to me to be one of the best proposals that has yet been made and I am doing my utmost to find out if there is any way in which this form of approach to the South African Europeans can be made.

The situation is as dark as possible and though we have been able during the last 20 years to tide over one crisis after another, it would seem, humanly speaking, that this new crisis is too serious and alarming for any half step to be taken. It would probably mean the breaking off of all negotiations with South Africa if the final Segregation Bill is passed and the withdrawal of the Agent-General of India from that country.

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Russia—Before and after the Revolution

By MR. A. G. VENKATACHARY

—:O:—

TO-DAY the attention of the entire world is rivetted on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Her grim determination to enforce respect for International Law has heartened Democracy and given the fright to Fascism. Britain and France who drove Russia into isolation by their Munich betrayal, feel to-day that there is no escape from an alliance with her if their own security, now pretentiously proclaimed as world peace, has to be safeguarded. This towering position of the U. S. S. R. has inevitably attracted considerable attention to her potentialities and incidentally her achievements. There is an eagerness perceptible everywhere to study the gigantic experiment going on over a sixth of the world's surface. Books on Russia usually stress particular viewpoints, or are merely historical and statistical narratives. In refreshing contrast to these comes Pat Sloan's "Russia without Illusions". Well documented and born out of deep and close understanding it is almost unique. Pat Sloan, after taking a first in Economics at Cambridge got interested in Russia and in 1931 went to live and work there. He lived there for six years returning at intervals to make his study complete. He toiled among Russia's millions first as a school-master and then as a trade union organiser. His book is a dispassionate study in contrast of the conditions obtaining today with those of the pre-Revolution days. The approach is new and original. Mr. Sloan has cleverly chronicled his own experiences illustrated with brilliant and convincing details of Russia old and new.

Mr. Sloan records with an easy familiarity the essential role of the trade union movement in the building of a new social order. Trade unions in Russia may seem rather queer to some persons. The book tells them that trade unions there are responsible not only for the welfare

of the workers but for the efficient conduct of industry. They are, in effect, charged with the democratic control of Soviet life. The problem of unemployment has been solved. The right to live and the right to work have been assured. Rationalisation does not affect the workers adversely. Along with the introduction of innovations and the resultant increased output, the prices of goods are reduced to the consumer, so that a continuous rise in the standard of life is being maintained year after year. Thus the Soviet Union has accomplished what capitalism has never at any time been able to do, while maintaining the best working conditions in the world.

In the sphere of education the record of the Soviets can hardly be equalled. 'A more or less illiterate population in 1917 is now more or less literate. Education is uncrippled. Naturally enough the Marxist approach is emphasised. Students do not hesitate to criticise the administration and teachers and *vice versa*. Uninteresting teachers and those who have not the right to approach students are replaced on demand. This might, indeed, sound fantastic to many of our educationists lacking both in breadth of vision and psychology.

The family is an important institution in the Soviet Union. Perfect sexual equality has been guaranteed, while the Soviet marriage is a mutual contract and its dissolution is equally simple. Pat Sloan points out that this freedom is little abused compared with conditions in capitalist countries. Women are protected against exploitation by men for sexual purposes. No man can become too intimate with a woman if he is not ready to shoulder the possible responsibility. Full-bosomed working mothers with all conceivable facilities are found nowhere but in the U. S. S. R.

Russia's inability to co-ordinate her transport with the ever-growing needs has been pointedly emphasised. Very interesting information for the edification of nutrition-experts is afforded.

* "RUSSIA WITHOUT ILLUSIONS." With a Preface by Mrs. Beatrice Webb. Rs. 3. Kitabistan. To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Is there personal liberty in the Soviet Union? What about the Censor? What is the role of the Church today in a predominantly atheist country? Why does the Communist Party alone function in the Soviets? Is it Democracy? Is it conducive to the well-being of its citizens or the country's future? These and similar questions are most argumentatively answered by Mr. Sloan.

"Is it Socialism?" ask many critics. Sympathetic Communists who expected to see a Utopia and got 'disillusioned', and doubtful friends whose peculiar prejudices have found expression in biased books are sought to be answered by the author in great detail. Without trying to defend the U. S. S. R. through each and every criticism, Mr. Sloan answers Sir Walter Citrine, Andre Gide and other well-known publicists who not unoften regaled the world with the 'Truth' they saw. Mr. Sloan makes a powerful plea for avoiding historical outrages while estimating the achievements of the Soviet Union. He wants every one to bear in mind that in 1917 Russia was one of the most backward countries and that today Socialism is in its infancy and even now has been in full working order in town and country for a period of five years. But he makes it crystal clear that the system is just what was foreseen by Marx and Engels. Above all, it has been achieved with a whole world not only against but continuously threatening. Drawing the Soviet balance-sheet, Mr. Sloan emphasises that it will be a land of milk and honey only when the pistol aimed at her head by the capitalist world is laid once for all.

While victoriously forging ahead, the Soviets had to contend against danger both from within and without. Discredited politicians like Kamaney, Zinoviev, Trotsky and Bukharin, ex-war lords like Marshal Tukachevsky and ambitious but unscrupulous careerists like Yagoda could not adjust themselves to the needs of the Revolution. Their political opportunism, vividly portrays Mr. Sloan, got drawn into the network of conspiracy which centred on all those people who,

because of their lack of mass support sought to achieve power through violent means. Old Bolsheviks, Nazis and Japanese agents formed a united front to disrupt discredit and disorganise Soviet economy through sabotages and subterfuges. The established contact with Reichwehr general and planned for an onslaught against their own state. These enemies of the people, thanks to the eternal vigilance of the toiling masses, failed miserably. The vexed tale of the recent purges and their reactions make interesting reading.

While Freedom and democracy are being trampled down everywhere, Stalin has confidently extended both. At the same time Russia's uncompromising stand for the 'indivisible Peace' has today secured universal respect and confidence. How this has been achieved is a moving story convincingly told.

Mrs. Beatrice Webb, that great authority on Russia, says: "I strongly recommend this book," and Jawaharlal Nehru hopes that it will have many readers in India. No greater tributes could be paid to its merits.

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THE EUROPEAN SITUATION

By "POLITICUS"

THE European situation is daily, almost hourly deteriorating. The aftermath of Munich has been swift and sudden: the delusive confidence of the British and French Governments in the success of their methods has been destroyed at a stroke; and appeasement has given place to warnings and mutual aid against the aggressor. The basis for international negotiation having been undermined by a faithless Germany, the Powers are fast playing for position. A great line-up for an inevitable conflict is taking place.

The two most likely zones of conflict now are Poland and Rumania. For, the neutralisation of Poland and the oil and wheat of Rumania are the most essential things for Germany in her attempt to achieve hegemony in Central Europe. If her eastward drive is to be real, she must secure her flanks. She has absorbed Austria and reduced the fortress of Czechoslovakia; only Poland remains as an enormous salient on eastern borders. Moreover, Poland has invaluable deposits of iron ore in Silesia which Germany would like to acquire; Poland is also since last October the master of Teschen-Bohumin, the most important network of railways which commands the gateway to the Danubian basin. Finally, the recovery of the Polish corridor has been one of the main points in the Nazi programme, and Hitler will fulfil his promise sooner or later. Memelland has been wrested from Lithuania; Danzig should now be got from Poland. So the propaganda about Polish atrocities has been in full swing in Germany. The familiar technique of aggression is being applied to the Polish case.

With respect to Rumania Nazi policy has been one of steady economic and diplomatic pressure. Anti-Semitism and anti-Russianism inside the country have been fully exploited. The anti-Nazi ministers have been jockeyed out of power; the Iron Guard was formed into a spearhead of the Nazi machinery. Dr. Schacht and Dr. Funk proposed economic deals, while the Dresdner Bank permeated Rumanian finance with German capital. And when Czechoslovakia was

sliced up, Germany succeeded in retaining an independent Ruthenian state under her vassalage, which opened the back-door into Rumania and made the Nazi menace in the Balkans ruthlessly real.

Thus, Munich has encouraged Nazi influence to grow from strength to strength. The Axis diplomacy has resulted in the entrenchment of Germany in the most strategic positions. Italy at the lower end of the Axis has become but the tool of the major partner. Afraid of the German presence on the Brenner and a German sweep to Trieste, her only function now is to distract democratic attention while Germany made another inroad on the independence of yet another Central European state. It is true that the Axis is by no means a perfect alliance. Mussolini would be happy to swim clear of the Nazi stranglehold; he would like to buttress Italian interests in the Balkans and stem the Nazi tide. But German help in Spain and German diplomatic support in general are indispensable. No longer can Mussolini hunt with the hounds and run with the hare. With the fall of Austria he went into the background and has been held in leading-strings by Hitler. The Axis was a diplomatic necessity for Italy. It is unpopular; it is humiliating. But the helplessness of Italy gave Germany the upper hand, which she is now exercising with consummate ease and skill.

But the moment appears to have arrived at last when the Nazis cannot hope to get away with their technique. Munich, if it brought nothing else, at least gave a breathing space to Britain and France and they have exploited it to great advantage. The understanding between the two democracies has now almost become an alliance. Moreover, their statesmen are no longer willing to be publicly fooled by Hitler. The British Government appear to have undergone a conversion and changed their tack. In France, the internal situation is rapidly improving. M. Reynaud has stabilised the financial position and the Radicals and Socialists hold similar views

on foreign affairs. And in both England and France, the idea of Russian collaboration is taking definite shape. In the event of aggression against Poland or Rumania, Russian military help is indispensable, and strategic factors will compel the democratic statesmen to overlook the ideological differences. Finally, President Roosevelt has spoken with unusual firmness and has warned Hitler of the might of America which would be ranged on the side of peace and liberty.

The diplomatic outcome of this stiffening up is seen in the British guarantee to Poland and Rumania and in the Anglo-Turkish alliance. The guarantee has made a great impression on the Continent; and the mutual assistance pact with Turkey has secured Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean against further Fascist aggression. In England itself conscription has been introduced and defence measures of considerable importance have been taken. And in France, the position is rapidly becoming one of war economy.

But it is realised that the British guarantee to Poland and Rumania would be valueless unless it is reinforced by an Anglo-Soviet alliance. If war broke out in Eastern Europe, Russia would have to be first in the field to prevent a German advance; Britain and France could attack Germany only in the rear. Poland and Rumania are, therefore, anxious for a quick and successful conclusion to the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. But no such conclusion appears to be yet in sight.* Britain desires to limit the commitment to the specific issues of Poland and Rumania; but Russia naturally wants her frontiers to be guaranteed also. Britain hopes to retain freedom of action; Russia to conclude beyond escape a pact of mutual assistance. Britain believes in bilateral pacts; Russia in a scheme of collective security. The resignation of M. Litvinoff may be said to have

modified the Soviet view in favour of bilateral pacts, but the gulf between the British and Russian attitudes still remains to be bridged. And on this depends the peace of Europe.

But even if an Anglo-Soviet alliance is concluded, the situation in Europe will not appreciably have improved. Alliances and understandings are the result of power-politics which end in war. If the present respite is to be turned to good account, the democracies should at once start a diplomatic drive to establish a stable system of collective security. An international conference should be summoned to discuss the economic position of Danubia and the legitimate claims of Germany. Britain and France should underline the appeal of Roosevelt and exploit every avenue to economic appeasement. For, unless this is done, the basis for conflict would remain and war would only be postponed instead of being prevented.

EUROPEAN POLITICS

EUROPE INTO THE ABYSS. A symposium by Vincent Cecil and others who narrate events behind the scenes from politics. Rs. 11-4.

PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONS. By R. B. Mowat. Rs. 2-10.

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A HISTORY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY. By Ian C. Hannah, M.A., M.P. Rs. 3-6.

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WHAT EVERY YOUNG MAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT WAR. By H. R. Shapiro. Rs. 2-10.

AIR ATTACK ON CITIES. By J. Thoburn Muirhead. Rs. 3-6.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF EMPIRE. By Earl Baldwin and others. Rs. 2-10.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., ESPLANADE, G. T., MADRAS.

*As we go to Press, the prospect of an Anglo-Soviet alliance seems brighter and the definite Anglo-French proposals for a triple alliance are awaiting Moscow's acceptance.—[Ed. I.R.]

The Forward Bloc

In resigning the presidentship of the Congress, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose acted in the true interest of the country and with a fine sense of dignity. He used words of memorable wisdom:

"What does it matter," he said, "if I am not in the presidential chair? My services will be always at the disposal of the Congress and country for what they are worth. I claim to have sufficient patriotism and sufficient sense of discipline to be able to work as an ordinary soldier in this great fight for India's political and economic emancipation."

If the same spirit had continued to actuate him, we would be spared the unseemly debacle of recent months followed by a plethora of charges and countercharges. The crisis should have been tided over with the election of so good and patriotic a leader as Babu Rajendra Prasad whose task at the present juncture is as difficult as it is unenviable. Mr. Bose, if he had acted in the true spirit of his words, would have proved an invaluable asset to the Congress, as a *liaison* between different ideologists and an effective counterblast to any attempt at the defection of Bengal. But unfortunately he has been so ill advised as to start a campaign of separatism. It is true, we are told, that his new bloc will function as an integral part of the Congress, accept the present Congress Constitution—its creed, policy and programme—and will cherish the highest respect and regard for Mahatma Gandhi's personality and complete faith in his political doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation.

But he has not ceased to harp upon an "internal crisis", mainly of his own creation. Why put off the evil day, he asks, we are fast approaching an internal crisis. It would be disastrous to have an internal crisis when the external crisis overtakes us. It would be much more desirable to face the internal crisis now, go through it and emerge out of it before the external crisis seizes us.

And in the name of Bengali patriotism he "calls upon Dr. B. C. Roy and Profulla Chandra Ghose to resign from the Congress Working Committee forthwith". With such warnings his idea of a platform without a party is strangely incomprehensible!

Sir Radhakrishnan's Message to S. A.

Sir Radhakrishnan's brief stay in South Africa during the Easter holidays was crowded with public engagements so numerous and so important that the South African papers to hand are full of them. As an outstanding representative of modern Indian culture, he was welcomed by his countrymen everywhere with an enthusiasm seldom surpassed, and his brilliant speeches were listened to with due respect and attention.

His visit, says *Indian Opinion* with evident enthusiasm, was like a flash of light from heaven, while the dark and gloomy clouds of war with all its horrors are hovering over Europe which, if they burst, will have repercussions over the whole world. It was, as it were, a divine message to us all human beings to awake and be alert before it is too late.

Europeans and Indians alike flocked to hear him, and we have abundant evidence of the profound impression he created alike by the wisdom and eloquence of his utterances. Sir Radhakrishnan has the gift of reaffirming some great truths in impressive style. Speaking at Mauritzburg, the Indian philosopher pointed out how with all our marvellous progress in science we are yet living as on a volcano, desperately insecure, and he chastised a generation "that knows how to fly in the air, how to swim in the sea, but that does not know how to live as human beings". His broadcast speech at Durban was conceived in the same high moral tone and concluded with a characteristically lofty message to the South Africans. His words will bear repetition:

To make the different communities feel that they belong to South Africa, to stimulate in them a pride in the country, to enable them to rise to their full manhood under its laws and institutions should be the aim of far-sighted and liberal statesmanship. I have found leaders of such conviction who feel that moral principle, peace and tranquillity, safety and stability of the State alike demand a re-ordering on the principles of freedom and justice for all. It is my earnest hope and prayer that they may succeed in building up a just and prosperous South Africa; for prosperity without justice is like a house built on sand.

Anti-Asiatic Drive in S. Africa

There seems to be no end to our troubles in South Africa. In one form or another the anti-Asiatic drive is being forged with a persistence that is as unscrupulous as it is amazing. No consideration of common gratitude or even imperial interest seems to weigh with the obstinate reactionaries of the Union Government. "The South African Government," declares Mr. Stuttaford, the Minister of the Interior,

will not deviate from its policy of residential segregation for the Indians, whatever the Government of India may say. There is no question of intervention by the Indian Government as the majority of Indians in South Africa who would be affected by the proposed measures are born in South Africa and are, therefore, Union nationals.

One wonders if any good can be expected of negotiations approached in this temper. And yet we are asked to be thankful for small mercies. Moving the second reading of the Asiatic Lands Bill, the Minister of the Interior declared that the main legislation had been shelved in deference to the wishes of the Government of India.

In the meantime, the Union Government has sponsored an *interim* measure which, though it has not removed any Indian from the property which he already occupies, is directed against "further infiltration of Indians". Who can deny that the *interim* Bill is based on the same obnoxious principle on which the main legislation is based?

Segregation under the present Bill means in practice nothing less than compulsory repatriation without even the benefit of compensation. Apart from its obvious injustice and cruelty,

the Bill violates the promises made on behalf of the Union Government to the Indians regarding the protection of their rights and interests. According to the Gandhi-Smuts agreement of 1914, no further anti-Asiatic legislative measure was to be passed by

the Union Government. The understanding at the time was that the legal position of Indians would be gradually improved and that the existing anti-Asiatic laws would in time be repealed. These laws have not been repealed. Instead the number has increased and is increasing.

Is it any wonder that the Indian community should refuse to submit to this wanton injustice and resolve in desperation to resort to passive resistance? Need it be said that the sympathy of this whole country, not to speak of its Government, will be entirely with the cause of our much enduring countrymen in South Africa?

The Walk-outs in our Legislature

Walk-outs like fasts have become rather a tiresome feature of our public life. There was a time when they were rare and did create a certain amount of sensation. Now that they are becoming so common and staged for even frivolous reasons, they have lost alike their novelty and effectiveness. Congressmen, it must be confessed, set the fashion which has caught on, and it is now carried by the Opposition in their chagrin to ridiculous lengths. A dramatic-gesture of protest may compel redress of a wrong when all other humdrum methods have failed. But there is little propriety or judgment in some recent walk-outs in our legislatures. Thus a contemporary draws attention to what distinguishes the Congress walk-outs in the days when it was in opposition:

The Congress Party never confounded executive propriety with the duty of tendering submission to demands capable of mustering but a minority of votes in their favour. Congress "walk-outs" were devised to invite the attention of a larger public than the Legislature to the bureaucratic machinations whereby the authentic voice of public opinion as reflected on the floor of the House was flouted and its recommendations defeated. When a majority of elected members find their way blocked by arbitrary executive ukases such as certification and the veto against the fulfilment of their objectives as representatives of the people, a walk-out will be redeemed from the taint of mere melodrama and acquire importance as a justifiable act of political strategy.

No wonder that recent walk-outs have been so farcical and have failed to impress.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

The King's Visit to Canada

DESPITE the uneasy situation in Europe, the King and Queen are carrying out their historic tour to the American Continent according to scheduled programme. It signifies the unbounded self-assurance of the British Government in the face of the present crisis in Europe.

The visit is well-timed too, for there could be no more appropriate hour for cementing the bonds of imperial unity than now, when the Axis Powers are threatening a trial of strength with the British Commonwealth.

Poland and Germany

Poland's desire for peace, her readiness to enter into friendly negotiations over the Polish Corridor and her determination to withstand any coercion in respect of the status of Danzig as a Free City were emphasized by Col. Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, when he made his eagerly-awaited speech in the Polish Chamber in reply to Herr Hitler.

As to Danzig, he said, the population is predominantly German, but its livelihood and prosperity will depend on Poland.

We stand firmly on the grounds of our rights of overseas trade and maritime policy in Danzig.

In regard to the Corridor, we have suggested extension of the present facilities to road transport, but we have no grounds for restricting our sovereignty over our own territory.

The Reich seems to be demanding one-sided concessions in these matters.

Col. Beck rightly asks whether the German Chancellor was justified in denouncing the Pact simply because Poland refused to acquiesce in the new demands. On this basis, of what use will any future understanding with the Reich be?

For once, Poland, like Belgium of old, has called the bluff, and Hitler's dream of an easy walk over to Danzig and the Corridor stands confounded.

The Italo-German Pact

While the much-discussed Anglo-Soviet agreement is still in the process of incubation, the alert Dictators have already concluded a mutual pact of military and political alliance between Italy and Germany. The military articles declare:—

Firstly, in the event of a European conflict, Rome and Berlin will immediately undertake military consultations.

Secondly, the contracting parties will agree to consider their interests indissolubly bound, meaning that in the event of a conflict they will form a military *bloc* immediately to unify their commands and strategic action.

Thirdly, the contracting parties will bind themselves to lay down arms only simultaneously after an agreement.

The political section is based on the principles of the Rome-Berlin "Axis" but Germany has added two supplementary points.

Firstly, the contracting parties will agree mutually to respect each other's friendly relations with third Powers where determined by well-defined treaties or *ententes*; secondly, they will agree not to negotiate or sign any new agreement without previous consultations between Rome and Berlin.

The period of the pact is 10 years after which it will be subjected to revision.

Palestine White Paper

The British Government's proposals for the provisional establishment of an independent State in Palestine within 10 years are set forth in the form of a White Paper. His Majesty's Government reject the Arab claim for the conversion of Palestine into an Arab State and the Jewish claim for a Jewish State. The essential interests of both communities are to be safeguarded, as also free access to the Holy places and certain interests of foreign countries.

The proposals thus adumbrated are subjected to severe criticism both from the Jews and the Arabs. Not until they decide to work in peace and goodwill will any scheme of pacification be successful.

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Anglo-Turkish Agreement

Consultations between the British and Turkish Governments have resulted in a welcome agreement of a reciprocal character in the interests of their national security. It is a definite move in the direction of an anti-aggression bloc and a convincing answer to the Italo-German threat to the Balkans. The agreement binds the high contracting parties to co-operate effectively and lend each other all aid and assistance in their power in the event of any act of aggression on the part of the Axis Powers in the Mediterranean area. Thus its main significance lies in the enhanced sense of security it gives to the Eastern waters. Apart from this it is likely to add greatly to the value of the Anglo-Russian agreement when it is concluded, for British forces can be linked up through the Straits with Russian for the defence of countries bordering on the Black Sea.

An Anti-Aggression Bloc

The Soviet Press welcomes the agreement with Turkey

as a step towards the creation of an effective peace front and a link in a chain which is the best effective means of preventing the spread of aggression.

But the anti-aggression *bloc* could never be complete without Russia.

The delay in accomplishing this obvious task is due to the mutual distrust of Britain and Russia. Mr. Chamberlain is still dallying with the hope of appeasing Hitler with further concessions at somebody else's cost, and M. Stalin is determined not to be isolated and betrayed as in the Munich settlement. An inspired article in *The Times* led people asking: "Is Chamberlain preparing another Munich? Is Hitler to get Danzig without fighting

—Chamberlain and Mussolini abetting—as in the previous betrayal of the Czechs?" And so the Soviet answer to the British counter-proposals follows the line of the recent editorial in *Izvestia*, which apparently sets forth the policy firmly pursued by the U. S. S. R. The *Izvestia*, it may be recalled, said that to create a barrier against aggression in Europe a united front of mutual assistance should be created primarily of Britain, France, the Soviet and Poland, or at least of Britain, France and the Soviet. These powers, bound by a pact of mutual assistance on the principle of reciprocity, should guarantee other States in Eastern and Central Europe threatened by aggression.

Anglo-French-Soviet Alliance

It is now practically certain that Russia will be in the chain of anti-aggression bloc, which already includes Britain, France, Poland, Rumania, Turkey and Greece. This must have a wholesome effect on the totalitarian states as is evident from the cry of "encirclement" that has been raised in Britain. Yes; it is an effective encirclement against aggression.

Official circles are reticent regarding the nature and scope of the proposals now discussed with Russia. It is believed they will cover

1. a mutual assistance pact, which will operate in the event of direct aggression upon the European territories of any of the three parties. This will be preceded by a tripartite declaration covering such a menace until a formal pact is concluded.

2. Provision for consultation and action in the event of direct aggression upon the territories of any states guaranteed by the three parties. The question of which states will come under the guarantee has yet to be discussed. It is also gathered that any state which is a victim of aggression must resist before the guarantee operates.

3. There should be consultations between the General Staffs of the three parties to ensure the most efficient collaboration between air, sea and land forces.

There seem to be good grounds for believing that any agreement reached will follow these general lines.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. A.-I. C. C. meeting concludes at Calcutta. New Working Committee is appointed.
- May 2. The text of the Conscription Bill is published.
- May 3. Germany is negotiating for a "Neutrality Front" in Northern Europe.—Six British subjects are expelled from Germany as reprisals for the six Germans expelled from Britain.
- May 4. Sir N. N. Sircar vacates and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar assumes office as member of the Governor-General's Council.
- M. Litvinov resigns and M. Molotov becomes Commissioner for Foreign affairs.
- May 5. Polish reply to German memorandum.
- May 6. Their Majesties the King and Queen leave for Canada.
- May 7. A political and Military alliance between Italy and Germany is agreed upon between Count Ciano and Herr Von Ribbentrop at Milan.
- May 8. The Asiatic Bill is read a second time in the Union Assembly.
- May 9. The House of Lords passes the third reading of the India Amendment Bill.
- May 10. Mr. Chamberlain explains Anglo-Soviet negotiations in a statement in the Commons.
- May 11. The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill is passed by the Bengal Assembly by 128 votes to 65.
- May 12. Mr. Chamberlain makes a statement in the Commons on Anglo-Turkish consultations.
- Mahatma Gandhi arrives at Rajkot.
- May 13. Terms of Italo-German Pact are published.
- May 14. Gandhi-Bose correspondence is released.
- May 15. Russia's note to Britain urges a pact of mutual assistance instead of an one-sided bargain.
- May 16. King Zog appeals to the League against Italian annexation of Albania.
- May 17. Their Majesties the King and Queen land in Quebec amidst tumultuous welcome.
- Gandhiji renounces the advantages of the Rajkot award and appeals to the Prince to concede people's wishes.
- May 18. Foreign affairs debate in the Commons. Mr. Chamberlain defines British policy.
- May 19. General Franco's official entry into Madrid.
- May 20. The Thakore Sahib of Rajkot announces appointment of a Committee to draft reforms for the State and cancels all orders against agitators.
- May 21. In a speech at Cawnpore, Pandit Nehru deprecates Mr. Bose's move to form the Forward Bloc.
- May 22. Mr. Cordell Hull replies to Hitler and defines American foreign policy.
- Tension in Danzig.
- Italo-German Pact is signed.
- May 23. Debate on Palestine Report in the Commons.
- May 24. Gandhiji issues a statement on the Segregation legislation in South Africa.
- May 25. Thakore Saheb entertains Gandhiji.
- May 26. Sir R. Venkataratnam Nayudu, former Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, is dead.
- May 27. Anglo-French proposals are handed to M. Molotov at Moscow.



The WORLD of BOOKS



RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN LIBERALISM.
By Dr. Maganlal A. Buch, M.A., Ph.D.,
Baroda Publication.

The book under review is the doctrinal thesis on the philosophy of Liberalism submitted to the London University. It is a masterly exposition of the different interesting aspects of liberalism. There is a scholarly documentation of the various political facts pertaining to liberalism. The author takes extreme care to present in a very objective manner the contribution of the philosophy of liberalism to Indian culture in general.

He discusses the entire philosophy of liberalism under three distinct heads, namely, religious liberalism; 2. social liberalism, and 3. political liberalism. The first current of Indian liberalism is religious in its aspect. It began with Ram Mohan Roy. All the religious and social institutions were examined in the light of reason. The rationalistic view of the liberals contributed a great deal in introducing a sort of mental hygiene in the interpretation of religious creeds. Liberalism stands for all that is rational and good in Hinduism and it believes in the progressive modification of the ideals to suit the need of the times. The Liberals have tried to reconcile the persistent claims of individuals with the needs of society. The great wave of social reform inaugurated and accomplished by the Liberals has indefinitely diminished though not totally abolished the corrosive influences such as untouchability, early marriage, burning of widows, and inequality

before the eye of law, which were eating the vitals of Hindu society.

The political achievement of the liberals is not without its significance. There is no denial that they wanted to revalue and judge and correct the standards of Indian civilization by their knowledge of the Western thought. They believed in the scientific view of life and industrialisation. They represent the radical realistic view of politics. They praised the ideal of the empire, and they thought that India should not sever its connections with it. They held that the national ideal of India was not contradictory to the Imperial ideal.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. By H. G. Rawlinson. Oxford University Press.

Admirable attempts have of late been made by English and Indian Scholars to present the history of the Indian people in proper perspective. But Prof. Rawlinson's work combines in itself three distinctive features, which must add to its value to the reading public. In the first place it incorporates the latest archaeological discoveries; secondly, the book is brought up-to-date from the earliest times to the present day; and, thirdly, it is at once concise and comprehensive so as to give a connected story of the Indian people through the ages. Not the least of its attractions are the illustrations and maps which must prove helpful to the student and the lay reader, while the list of leading dates at the end of each chapter, the examination questions and the exhaustive index of names and places must afford useful guidance to the High School student for whom the book is specially designed.

THE GIRL BOY MYSTERY: A Waac Novel.
Werner Laurie Ltd. 7s. 6d.

It is a daring but uncompromising story of a strange case of sex metamorphosis. Chris Bathers, the sex problem, a boy till fourteen, escapes from his fold to evade a sex operation and falls in the company of Derek Manners of about the same age. With their names interchanged, they go to the flat of Bruno Manners, Derek's uncle, a wealthy young man of pronounced nudistic and æsthetic tastes. Bruno's flat, the last word in luxury, and scientific ingenuity, forms the central stage for the whole plot. A complicated love affair between Bruno in love with lovely Mrs. Sheila Spate, Anette a pretty French maid in love with Bruno, and handsome Gustave, a clever surgeon *cum chef*, in love with Anette, culminates in the mysterious and gruesome murder of Bruno in his own artistic flat. The mystery of the murder is solved by an amateur, Jude Spencer, an experimenter, who clears the compromising presence of Derek, his devoted mother and Chris in the fatal flat. Chris, now a complete girl after a marvellously dexterous operation by Gustave, marries Derek and leads a normal life.

KUNDALINI OR UNIVERSAL LOVE REFOUND.
By T. S. Ramanujam. Published by All-India Tutorial College, Ranade Hall, Mylapore. Re. 1.

This is an interesting drama describing the process of evolution. It is a very imaginative account of the process of evolution. The seven stages of evolution are described in detail. There is a dramatic account of the origin of pure love. The theme of human love is treated from a cosmic point of view. The Drama Kundalini is very pleasant reading.

CAUSALITY AND SCIENCE. By Nalini Kanthu Brahma. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8 sh.

The volume under review is an able and critical study of the problem of causation central to all philosophic and scientific theories. The threefold theories of causation: (i) Arambayadha, (ii) Parinamavayadha, and (iii) Vivartavayadha are discussed in some detail. There is constant comparison instituted between Eastern views and Western thought.

The Advaita point of view that cause and effect are not two entirely different things, as the Nyaya School conceives it, is brought forth with great force and lucidity by the learned Professor. The monograph under review is an excellent addition to the existing literature on Indian metaphysics.

INDIAN TALES. By Elizabeth Sharpe, F.R.G.S., K.H.M. Luzac & Co., London.

This is a collection of tales culled from legends, old manuscripts and the bards of ancient India, strung together in a form acceptable to European and Indian alike. The spirit of old India is still alive in these tales—the dreamy, tender, mystical India of legends and folk-lore.

The biography of the Jain Monk Hirasuri, with which the volume closes, is a literal translation of a four hundred year old manuscript. The English rendering has all the picturesque naivete of the original.

THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES IN WORLD ECONOMY. Published by the Delegation of Northern Countries to the League of Nations, Geneva.

This is an excellent survey of the economy of the Northern Countries, and of Scandinavia in particular, and of the part it plays in world economy.

BOOKS RECEIVED

RABINDRANATH TAGORE. His Personality and Work. By Prof. V. Lesny. Translated by Guy McKeever Phillips. With a Foreword by C. F. Andrews, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

CENTRAL ASIA. Personal Narrative of General Josiah Harlan. Edited by Frank E. Ross, M.A. Luzac & Co., London.

ASTROLOGY SELF TAUGHT. By "Astrophel". L. N. Fowler & Co. Ltd., London.

INDIA'S NATIONAL INCOME, 1925-1929. By V. K. R. V. Rao. George Allen & Unwin, London.

HEART FRAGMENTS OR THE CALL OF MY SOUL. By J. Yogananda. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd, London.

SOME INFLUENCES THAT MADE THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN INDIA. By M. Ruthraswamy. Luzac & Company, London.

REPORT ON THE MARKETING OF TOBACCO IN INDIA AND BURMA. Government of India Press, Delhi.

FEDERATION VS FREEDOM. By B. R. Ambedkar, BAR-AT-LAW. Shree Laxmi Narayan Press, Bombay

REPORTS OF THE INDIAN TARIFF BOARD. i. On the Sugar Industry. ii. Protection to Paper and Paper Pulp Industries. iii. Protection to Magnesium Chloride Industry. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE NYAYA THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. University of Calcutta.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE U. P., 1936-37. Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U. P., Allahabad.

LETTERS TO A MILLIONAIRE. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie, London.

ESSENTIALISM: THE NEW DYNAMIC PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE. Pollen House, Cork Street, London.

THE GREAT MYSTERY OF LIFE BEYOND DEATH. As dictated by a Spirit to Diwan Bahadur Hiralal L. Kaji. New Book Company, Bombay.

SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES OF SIR MIRZA ISMAIL. With a Foreword by Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A. Compiled by D. R. Ramaya, B.A., Secretariat, Bangalore.

WORDS OF WISDOM. Collected from the Speeches of H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore. By. D. R. Ramaya, B.A., Secretariat, Bangalore.

INDIAN COOKERY AND CONFECTIONERY. By Mrs. I. R. Dey. The Royal Book Store, New Market, Calcutta. Rs. 2-8.

HINDUSTANI: A Politico-linguistic catchword. By Din Monammad, Amritsar.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. Translated into English by J. M. Sanyal. In 5 Vols. Datta Bose & Co., Calcutta. Rs. 18 per set.

THE CASE OF ARYA SAMAJ IN HYDERABAD STATE. Published by International Aryan League, Delhi.

VISIT SOUTH INDIA: A guide for tourists and travellers visiting the important places of interest. Spencer & Co., Madras.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATION PAST AND PRESENT. By Sir Philip Hartog. University of London Institute of Education. Published by Oxford University Press, London.

THE BESANT SPIRIT. Compiled from the works of Dr. Annie Besant. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 3 Vols.

MEMOIRS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. 73. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIA'S MILITARY DEFENCE. By D. H. Limaye, M.A. New Book Company, Bombay. Rs. 2-8.

KNOW THIS OF RACE. By Cedric Dover. Secker & Warburg, 22, Essex St., London.

THE MINIMUM WAGE: An International Survey. International Labour Office, Geneva.

VICTORY WITHOUT VIOLENCE. Compiled by A. Ruth Fry. Thorpeness, Suffolk.

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1939. City of Birmingham Information Bureau, Birmingham.

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA. ANNUAL REPORT, 1938-39.

REPORT OF THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, 1934-38. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.

CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE. By Abul Hasanat, J.P. Published by the Standard Library, Dacca, Bengal.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR BRITISH INDIA. From 1927-28 to 1936-37. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

POETRY FROM THE SINHALESE. Put into English by George Keyt. The Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., Colombo.

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH RESIDENCY IN BURMA, 1826-1840. By W. S. Desai, M.A. Published by the University of Rangoon.

RUSSIA WITHOUT ILLUSIONS. By Pat Sloan. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

WHERE ARE WE? By Jawaharlal Nehru. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

BIOGRAPHIES OF A GRANDFATHER (THE HON'BLE C. V. RANGANATHA SASTRI) AND HIS GRANDSON (SIR C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRI). By Dewan Bahadur C. V. Visvanatha Sastri. The Huxley Press, Madras.

A PLEA FOR RESEARCH FOR HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY. By Chandra Prakash Gupta. Association for the development of Swadeshi Industries, Chaudni Chowk, Delhi.

GLORY OF SANKIRTAN. By Swami Sivananda, Published by Sri T. Venkataramaya. The Divine Life Society Branch, Rangoon.

REPORT ON THE MARKETING OF LINSEED IN INDIA. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE HOUSEKEEPER'S DAUGHTER. By Donald Henderson Clarke. T. Werner Laurie, London.

TESTAMENT OF INDIA. By Ela Sen. George Allen & Unwin, London.

HOGARTH SIX PENNY PAMPHLETS

i WHAT I BELIEVE. By E. M. Forster.

ii THE NEW REALISM. By Stephen Spender.

iii ANTIQUARIAN PREJUDICE. By John Betjeman. The Hogarth Press, Tavistock Sq., London, W.C.

Rajkot

REFORMS FOR RAJKOT

As a sequel to Mahatma Gandhi's dramatic announcement renouncing the advantages of the Gwyer award and appealing to the Thakore Saheb "to appease the people of the State by fulfilling their expectations and dispelling their misgivings", a Committee consisting of Durbar Shri Virawala, Adviser to the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot as President, and nine members has been appointed by the Thakore Saheb to draft constitutional reforms for Rajkot. The Committee has been directed to submit its report within a month.

An announcement to this effect was made on May 20, at a Durbar held at Rajkot by the First Member of the State Council. Mr. Gandhi was among those present at the Durbar. The leaders of the Praja Parishad were not present at the function.

In response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal, the Thakore Saheb has issued a notification cancelling all orders passed in connexion with the agitation in the State since August 1, 1938, and restoring all fines and confiscated property in view of the restoration of normal conditions.

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD PERMISSIONS

H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in the Revenue Department have passed orders granting a number of concessions to the ryots consequent on the unsatisfactory outturn of the Rabi crop this year. These concessions include suspension of Rabi kist, Taccavi grants, relief works and various others of a miscellaneous nature. The total amount of suspensions allowed now in the Rabi kist, together with those granted in Kharif kist announced in December 1938, comes to approximately Rs. 27.8 lakhs.

RURAL UPLIFT IN HYDERABAD

The first report on rural reconstruction since the inception of the movement in Hyderabad by the Nizam's Government describes the progress achieved so far and says that the movement is conditioned by a right spirit among the workers. Councils were set up in 16 districts and 75 talukas; the number of selected villages was 90, and rural reconstruction societies were registered in 86 of these villages. Fifty selected villages had credit societies, some of which attained a fairly high standard.

Baroda

AMENDMENT TO MARRIAGE ACT

The Government of Baroda have sanctioned an amendment to the Act relating to the Registration of Marriages and divorce by which a certificate of marriage or divorce would be now evidence of such marriage or divorce until the contrary was proved.

RADIO STATION FOR BARODA

His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda laid the foundation-stone of the Broadcasting Station of the Baroda Government to be erected on the Padra Samiyala Road some miles away from the City. Mr. Motiram H. Bhatta, the Electric Engineer, requesting His Highness to perform the function, said: When this station was ready, it would give a great impetus to the activities in the State in the cause of rural uplift.

BARODA CO-OPERATIVE BANK

The Government of Baroda have sanctioned a proposal to give a total cash credit of Rs. 3,00,000 at 4 per cent. interest for 10 years to the Baroda Central Co-operative Bank to extend its scope for advancing loans to co-operative societies of agriculturists in the Baroda district.

Mysore

THE VIDURASWATHA EXHIBITION

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Congress Leader, opening the Khaddar, Swadeshi and Village Industries Exhibition organised by the Mysore State Congress at Viduraswatha on April 12, said:

The age of the machine is fast disappearing. It has held an empire for 150 years and enabled man to conquer the world and at the same time to lose his soul. The countries of the world have been brought nearer together by it, but the hearts of the people have gone farther away from one another. The glories of the machine age are to be recounted in the arts of death, in the birth of selfishness, and the death of fellowship and corporate spirit.

In a striking tribute to the Mysore Government, Dr. Sitaramayya said:

Mysore stands foremost in the sustained patronage it has extended to the khaddar industry. Channappanna toys, Mysore silk, sandalwood and soap industries have all prospered at the hands of the State. Let me, therefore, take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation as an outsider of the achievements of the Government of Mysore.

LAND REVENUE REMISSION

Government have granted remission of 50 per cent. of the assessment on rain-fed wet lands in 22 villages in Kumsi sub-talug of Shimoga district for 1938-39. They have also granted a similar remission of assessment on rain-fed wet lands in 70 villages in Sorab talug. Remission of assessment has also been granted to 130 villages in Madhgiri talug.

Travancore

REMISSION OF LAND REVENUE

The Travancore Government have sanctioned a general remission of 20 per cent. in land revenue for five years on all wet lands in the Shencottah, Tovala and Agusteesvaram taluks except Neendakkarad A and B divisions.

This concession will come into operation from the second half of the current talabar year.

ELECTORAL CHANGES

The Government of Travancore have issued a Press *Communique* changing the electoral system for the Legislature. The single non-transferable system of voting in multi-member constituencies with reservation of seats has been altered and every elector becomes entitled to as many votes as there are reserved seats in addition to one vote for the general seat.

A special concession has been granted to minority communities of Muslims and Latin Catholics, whereby any candidate who secures more than 60 per cent. or more of the votes polled from his community will be declared elected.

Gwalior

THE MAHARAJA'S WARNING

H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, inaugurating the Ministers' Conference at Gwalior on April 18, declared.

Our ideal of constitutional development in the States should be the progressive association of our people with the administration of the State in keeping with their economic and political development so that ultimately by a healthy process of organic and natural growth, they will be able to attain full political status under the benevolent rule of their Rulers.

Dealing with the present critical situation in India and the international field, the Maharaja said the time had come when all the Princes should have to adjust themselves to the changing conditions and urged the Ministers assembled in conference to tender the right advice to the Princes without consideration of fear or favour and with the fullest courage of their convictions.

The Maharaja emphasised that the cultivator had become the real crux of Indian politics and said that no solution could survive which did not take note of the economically depressed cultivator.

Bhopal

HOUSING SCHEME IN BHOPAL

The Bhopal Government have sanctioned a housing scheme, which will beautify the city and will provide better houses for the people, thereby removing many of the existing structures which are either unhealthy or ugly. Four classes of houses costing respectively Rs. 15,000, Rs. 10,000, Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,500 will be erected. When those who wish to erect houses submit plans for the buildings, together with one quarter of the cost of the particular class chosen, Government will advance the balance at 4 per cent. interest per annum, the only condition being that pending the final settlement of the loan, the property will be considered State property. The sites for such buildings have been already marked out.

Indore

TEMPLE ENTRY IN INDORE

For the first time in the history of Indore, Harijans including Chamars, Mahars, Bhairavas and Sweepers led by Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, Depressed Class leader, proceeded right up to the altar of Gopal Mandir, the chief State temple, where they offered flowers and received *prasad*. Till now they were allowed entry up to the platform only. The new rules under the Harijan Temple-Entry Proclamation have removed all restrictions.

A Harijan meeting, Mr. Rajbhoj presiding, passed a resolution thanking H. H. the Holkar of Indore for going farther than Travancore and granting Harijans both civic and religious liberties.

Kashmir

KASHMIR REFORMS

Under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja, Pandit Hira Nand Raina, Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly, has been entrusted with the work of drafting the New Constitution Regulation giving effect therein to the changes in the constitution mentioned in His Highness' Proclamation, dated February 11, 1939. The Electoral Regulation would also be revised.

Sanction has also been accorded to the appointment of Pandit Loknath Sharma, Advocate and State Councillor, as collaborator with Pandit Hiranand Rama in this work.

It is understood that the work would be carried out under the immediate supervision of the Hon. the Law and Revenue Minister within a period of three months.

Bhavnagar

THE SARDAR'S APPEAL

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, presiding over the 5th Session of the Bhavnagar Praja Parishad on May 14, appealed to the princes to recognise the march of the times and to associate their subjects with the administration of their states.

Whatever attempts the princes might make to set up a dummy constitution, the people will be never satisfied so long as real power is not transferred to their representatives.

Despite this fact, futile attempts are being made to push back in all conceivable manner possible the progress of the people towards their goal. The princes possibly are not aware that however much they might try and whatever means they might adopt to suppress the people, the day was bound to come when they would have to give up their present attitude towards their people and transfer real power to them.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

THE ASIATICS BILL

Under the Asiatics (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill, the grant of certificates for issue of new licences to Indians in the Transvaal would be prohibited till May 1, 1941, unless it be with the permission of the Minister of the Interior. Similarly the letting to or occupation by Indians of land in the Transvaal not occupied by coloured persons on April 30 last is prohibited till May 1, 1941, except with the Minister's permission. The provisions of the Bill are, however, stated not to apply to any area which, under the terms of the Transvaal Law of 1885, is assigned to Indians or is set apart for occupation by Indians under the Transvaal Municipal Ordinance, 1905.

The South African Government have claimed for this Bill that it tends to maintain the *status quo* in the Transvaal, and that it is temporary in its duration, viz., two years. Moreover it is provided that the Minister of the Interior will have power to grant exemptions. Finally, it is claimed to be radically different from the original proposals of Mr. R. Stuttaford which are more stringent than those of the present Bill, and which would have applied to all the Provinces of the Union and not only the Transvaal, to which the present Bill is limited.

SEGREGATION LEGISLATION

That the trend of the segregation legislation sponsored by the Government of the Union of South Africa is directly opposed to current Indian conditions and sentiment is stressed by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Imperial

Indian Citizenship Association in a cablegram to Mr. R. Stuttaford, Minister for the Interior, South Africa. The cable reads:

With reference to your statement about the origin and social status of South African Indians in this country, these cannot be compared to the Depressed Classes as known in India.

They are the descendants of early emigrants, drawn from our cultivator class, who are, and have always been, good caste Hindus.

As for those known as the Depressed Classes, civil and social disabilities have been abolished by legislation and special provision has been made throughout the country for their education, uplift and election to the legislature.

The trend of your segregation legislation is directly opposed to current Indian conditions and sentiment. May I request you to take an early opportunity of removing the misconception among members of the Union Parliament and the South African public on this score?

SOUTH AFRICA'S PROSPERITY

In the course of an interview with the *Natal Daily News*, Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan said:

You in South Africa are building a wonderful structure of prosperity and progress, but this structure is built on an unsound foundation.

At present nothing was being done to instil into the Native, Coloured and the Indian peoples the feeling that South Africa was a country of which they might be proud and which they could live for. There was a feeling among these peoples that they worked only for the benefit of the European class.

It is these feelings that will ultimately cause the destruction of this country; for it is impossible for a country that believes in subduing the ideas and feelings of one section of the people by force to last in the long run.

The European people say they must have security. Well, I say to them that the only way to have complete and lasting security in this country is to evolve a policy that will be for the well-being of every member in it, irrespective of class, race or creed.

The policy that is being pursued is extremely short-sighted and unsocial; in the end it must fail. We need only look back into history to see that.

Kenya

RESOLUTION ON KENYA HIGHLANDS

The following is the text of the Congress resolution on Kenya highlands moved by Dr. Rajendra Prasad from the chair at the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Calcutta:—

The All-India Congress Committee notes with grave concern the promulgation of an Order-in-Council regarding reservation of the Highlands in Kenya for Europeans which is a violation of all announcements and assurances by the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Government of India, and perpetuates the policy of racial discrimination and is an insult to India. The All-India Congress Committee also places on record its opinion that the Government of India have failed to do their duty to Indians in Kenya. The All-India Congress Committee is further of opinion that situation in Kenya cannot be met by any efforts on the part of the Government of India and requests the Working Committee to take necessary steps in this behalf.

The resolution was passed.

East Africa

DEFENCE OF EAST AFRICA

Indians are likely soon to participate in the arrangements for the defence and policing of some parts of East Africa, according to messages from Mombasa and Uganda.

It is stated that efforts are being made by the Municipal Council of Mombasa to raise a special Indian Constabulary, while a territorial battalion is about to be formed in Uganda to which Indians are eligible for admission.

Ceylon

SACKING NON-CEYLONESE

The Government of India, it is learned here, have been officially informed by the Ceylon Government of its intention to discontinue for the present all daily paid non-Ceylonese who have been in Government service for less than five years.

Central Africa

INDIANS IN CONGO

An *Associated Press* message says that Mr. G. C. Ishmael, BAR-AT-LAW, Uganda, has been in Simla for the past few days representing the grievances of certain Indian subjects in the Belgian Congo. He interviewed the Secretary for External Affairs on their behalf and explained as their legal representative the difficulties which they have been and are meeting with on account of the prosecutions launched against them. It is understood that the Government of India, who have already made representations in respect of the matter to His Majesty's Government will make further efforts.

West Indies

MR. TYSON'S MEMORANDUM

It is learnt that Mr. J. D. Tyson, I.C.S., submitted a comprehensive memorandum to the Royal Commission on the West Indies. The memorandum is divided into three parts dealing with Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana. It gives *inter alia* details of the conditions of Indians in those three colonies and gives the number of those employed in trade and labour. The memorandum also sets out the grievances of Indian settlers in the three colonies.

Malaya

CENSUS IN MALAYA

At the end of 1937, the Indian population in Malaya was 754,849 showing an increase of 180,840 over the enumerated population of the 1931 census. South Indians form nine-tenths of the total population. Seventy per cent. of the South Indians are engaged as wage-earners in some form of manual labour.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



JEWISH IMMIGRATION IN INDIA

Dr. Suddhindra Bose in an article to the current issue of the *Modern Review* vehemently protests against the immigration of the Jews in India. He says:

As if Indians had not troubles enough already, newspapers now report an uproar over admitting droves of European Jews in India. What a terrible amount of moral eloquence is being delivered on fictitious international philanthropy! I am completely amazed.

The people of India are a kindly and amiable people whose hearts are all too quickly touched by the sufferings of others. Perhaps the moral fervor of the Indians is aroused more easily by wrongs to foreigners in distant lands than to their own disinherited and persecuted millions in their midst. Isn't it a kind of perverted emotionalism? It seems to me that unless we can hold fast to reason, we shall fall into the absurd error of thinking that we can offer security to the persecuted of the world at large when we have not won it ourselves. We have to meet this fact squarely.

Proceeding, the writer points out that India has not been thriving cheerfully with the refugees and outcasts of other lands. The ghastly problem of communalism is deep-rooted and eats into the vitals of national life. Dr. Suddhindra Bose asks pertinently, why then now prate about importing some more of these alien hordes and create another communal problem? As for the Jews, the writer observes that they will never consent to assimilate with the Indians and help to build the Indian Nation.

With their racial and religious prejudices, they will always remain apart and demand special privileges and special concessions. They regard themselves as the representatives of righteousness upon earth, the "chosen race". The myth of race superiority is almost as strong in the Jews as it is in the Nazis. The Jew, with a deep-rooted notion in his superiority as the chosen vessel of Jehovah, will continue to be an unassimilable and aggressive element. Shrewd, practical, always alive to the main chance, anxious to rise in the world and keenly alive to money grubbing above anything else, the Jew would

have no sympathy for the political, economic or spiritual aspirations of the Indians. Indeed as far as it lies in his power, he would push the "native" Indian back into "his place".

In fine, the writer points out that there is already distress in India of the most appalling sort. Business is poor. Money scarce. Thousands of college graduates are without jobs and without hopes of getting any. Indians are the suppressed and persecuted people of the world—one-fifth of the human race.

They are already experiencing vicious attempts to pit community against community, language against language, religion against religion, and keep them divided. They cannot afford any more a sanctuary to Jews, or any other peoples of foreign races. To be more specific, they must let the "elect of heaven" alone. Their first obligation is to save the lives, provide the livelihood of their own people and build their own nation. There is plenty of moral heroism in that.

Self-interest is the guiding principle of every nation in America and Europe. The leader of Indian nation, too, must have a sense of political and economic realities and lay off international altruism for a while. The fundamental Indian policy must never be diluted by any rapid and mushy sentimental impulse. It must be founded on the practical sense and proper self-interest of the Indian nation. Leave high-flown international idealism, however eloquently urged, severely alone. Stop chasing moonbeams.

TURKEY'S EXAMPLE

Paying a tribute to the hallowed memory of Kemal Ataturk, Sjt. Subhas Bose says in *New Asia*:

I believe that his life and achievements will be an inspiration not merely for the people of his own country, but for the whole humanity. He was one of the most romantic figures which the Great War threw up. He was great not merely as a general and a strategist; he was great not merely as a diplomat and statesman but he was also great as a builder, and the new Turkey that he has left behind him will be an object-lesson to the whole humanity. I think those who are steeped in communalism in the country will do well to pay a visit to modern Turkey.

BICAMERALISM IN INDIA

In India, the bicameral principle was for the first time introduced in the Government of India Act of 1919. Mr. Chelapati, writing in the *Triveni* for April, draws attention to the fact that the Councils Acts of 1861 or of 1892 or the Government of India Act of 1909 contained no provisions with regard to the formation of bicameral legislatures. In the Government of India Act of 1919 for the first time it was provided that the Central Legislature was to consist of two Houses, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

The idea in creating the Council of State was to concentrate in that Chamber men of wisdom and sobriety. The Council of State was not a mere traditional House of Elders possessing much pomp and little power. It had the power to initiate Bills though the Bills for revenue and appropriation were to be made exclusively in the Lower House. A Joint Session was provided for in case of differences but as a matter of fact no occasion arose when the provision was resorted to.

The argument that the Second Chamber would operate as a check upon the Lower Chamber so as to establish an equilibrium of power is unrelated to reality.

For every Constitution in varying measures has seen to it that the Upper Chamber in ultimate resort has the worse of the argument. The House of Lords tried to assert its ancient privilege and the Parliament Act of 1911 was the result. Besides, the need for efficient check on democratic excesses may be real when interest in politics was confined only to the upper classes and government was to the many a sealed book. But in the present day, when through the Press, the Radio and the platform there is so much of community-thinking and expression, a Second Chamber is not necessary to correct the vagaries of the Lower. It is the public opinion, strong and articulate, that can control legislative power.

The danger of the Lower Houses having a tendency to seize upon a sudden

impulse and initiating vast legislation is more imaginary than real.

Arguing from the extraordinary delay in important measures being passed into law, such as the Irish Home Rule, the Education Act, the recognition of the Trade Unions, etc., Prof. Laski has said that every Act takes at least 30 years to reach the Statute Book. The criticism that is generally levelled against modern democracy is not that it is over-hasty but that it is too slow. Not haste but the want of it is the distinct feature of modern democratic rule.

The case for unicameralism has gained in strength with a clearer perception of the nature and scope of Cabinet government.

A strong co-ordinate Second Chamber is held to be inconsistent with the principle of ministerial responsibility. In England, the Cabinet government is considered the success that it is, because in effect the House of Lords is merely a consultative body and England functions practically on unicameral principles. It is significant that one of the chief recommendations of the Bryce Committee, which went into the question of the House of Lords Reforms, was that the Upper House should not make ministries.

It is true that a large body of important States still retain bicameral legislatures. But it is equally important to notice that in a number of States there are only unicameral legislatures.

I need instance only Bulgaria, Turkey, Finland, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Costa Rica and some of the Canadian Provinces, Queensland and many of the States of the old German and Austrian federations. There is no warrant for the assumption that in these States legislation is not as good as in States with bicameral legislatures.

Philosophically, bicameralism has been challenged by several thinkers. Nurtured in the strictest dogmas of the General Will of Rousseau, the Encyclopedists were against the Second Chambers as being in the nature of unwarranted inhibitions to the expression of the popular will.

Abbe Sieyès reflected this repugnance in a phrase that has struck to the mind of men. "If the Second Chamber agrees with the lower it is superfluous. If it differs it is obnoxious." Much to the same effect, Benjamin Franklin with his experience of the unicameral Pennsylvania State compared a democratic State with two Chambers to a carriage drawn by two horses one in the front and another in the rear. But it is idle to make this discussion resolve itself into a point and counter-point of metaphysical argument. A pragmatic approach is the only proper approach to this question.

UNITY OF LIFE AND TYPE IN INDIA

Prabuddha Bharata for May contains an unpublished article from the pen of Sister Nivedita in which she tells how behind and within the unity of humanity, there is a stratification of man, which is as interesting as the tale of the formation of the sedimentary rocks.

Race over race, civilization over civilization, epoch upon epoch, the molten tides of immigration have flowed, tended to commingle and finally superposed themselves. And systems of thought and manners have grown by the accreting of the burdens of one wave to those of another and their blending into a whole under the action of the genius of place.

Writing about the fundamental laws of nation birth, Sister Nivedita observes:

Any country which is geographically distinct, has power to become the cradle of a nationality. National unity is dependent upon place. The rank of a nation in humanity is determined by the complexity and potentiality of its component parts. What any one of its elements has achieved in the past, the nation may expect to attain, as a whole, in the future. Complexity of elements, when duly subordinated to the nationalising influence of place, is a source of strength and not weakness to a nation.

But is there any unity of life and type perceptible amongst the Indian people, which might sooner or later serve as the foundation for a realised Indian nationality?

It is perhaps true that the Bengali is the Irishman of India, the Mahratta the Scot, the Punjabi the Welshman or Highlander, as we choose to name him; but is there anything common to all these, and to others, that relates them to one another, as the central fact of Briton-hood relates their western counterparts? On the existence or non-existence of such community of life and type must depend the ultimate reasonableness of Indian national aspirations.

In conclusion, the writer's characterisation of the various communities that populate India will

She says truly:

I find an overwhelming aspect of Indian unity in the fact that no single member or province repeats the function of any other. Against the great common background of highly developed feeling, the Bengali stands out, with his suavity and humour; the Mahratta exhibits his grimness and tenacity. The one may glory in his imagination, the other in his strength of will. The Punjabi has the faultless courage and also something of the child-like-ness, of a military race. The Madrasi has the gravity and decorum of one whose dwelling is in the shadow of a church. The Mohammedan, wherever we meet him, stands unmatched for his courtesy and grandeur of bearing. And every one of these, we must remember responds to the same main elemental motives. With all alike, love of home, pride of race, idealism of woman, is a passion. With every one, devotion to India as India finds characteristic expression. To the Hindu of all provinces, his Motherland is the seat of holiness, the chosen home of righteousness, the land of seven sacred rivers, "the place to which sooner or later must come all souls in the quest of God". To the son of Islam, her earth is the dust of his saints. She is the seal upon his greatest memories. Her villages are his home. In her future lies his hope.

FORTY YEARS AGO

In a centenary tribute in the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Francis Hirst recalls a statement that John Morley made some 40 years ago. The war clouds were then gathering in Europe and a race in armaments was beginning. Morley said:—

It is time that something should be done to strengthen the hands of our Government in resolute and zealous co-operation with other rulers and statesmen in the over-blessed cause of peace. Never was the moment more opportune for rousing the judgment and feelings of civilised men against these competitive and over-swelling armaments, which load the taxpayer, dislocate industry, waste capital, and in Continental Europe scourge the family and the home. Economic policy commands reduction; for militarism impoverishes states. Social order commands it; for militarism, in swallowing up resources that ought to go to the elevation and contentment of the people, engenders the whole dark progress of Continental anarchism. Humanity commands it.

These things are well known to all the rulers and nations of the world. They stand numbed. What is wanted is, will to act upon the knowledge and statesmanship to find a better way.

"Had Morley been alive to-day," comments Mr. Hirst, "he might have written the same words for a similar occasion."

BUDDHA'S INFLUENCE ON WOMEN

Dr. B. L. Law in an article to the *Maha Bodhi* Vaisakha number, on the above subject says that Gautama Buddha exercised a great influence on women. The influence of his Dhamma had a splendid effect on the character of women. This is illustrated in the following instance:—

Khujjuttara, a maid servant of Sawarati, queen of Udena, King of Kosambi, had to buy flowers daily for 8 kabaparas for the queen, but daily she used to steal 4 kabaparas. When she heard Buddha's Sermon, she obtained fruition of the first stage of sanctification. Since then she discontinued stealing.

It is interesting to note how Buddha succeeded in making beautiful women realize the worthlessness of their beauty and inducing them to lead a virtuous life so that they might attain arhatship.

The Buddha's doctrine produced a marvellous effect on many women, rich or poor, married or unmarried. They were moved by the attractive power of the Buddha's Dhamma and they gave up the household life to lead a virtuous life in the expectation of a happy rebirth or to annihilate rebirth altogether. Besides, the courtesans already referred to, ladies of the Sakya family were naturally the earliest women to come under the influence of the new creed.

Buddha's benign influence on household women was very great.

Mahaprajapati Gautami and 500 Sakya ladies were the first to cut themselves off from the bondage of the world and to institute the Order of Nuns. The Buddha had to give permission reluctantly to women to enter the Order. But his prediction on the effect of admittance of women into the Order was fulfilled when many troubles arose on account of the frequent meetings held between the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis and the bhikkhunis and lay people as we find in the case of Thullananda and Dabba, the Mallian and also Abhirupananda and Salho, grandson of Migara, a Savatthian banker.

Women who were not a negligible factor in the ancient Buddhist community of India were very much influenced by the Buddha's dhamma.

THE CALL OF THE VILLAGE

Writing on the above subject in the *Rural India* for May, Mr. R. N. Muttoc points out that the hard lot of an ever increasing number of educated unemployed is a dark cloud on the country's horizon, but it is not without its silver lining and adds that it is the duty of every young man to take up to rural work. Cottage industries and village life point the way out.

If a large number of educated and patriotic young men decide to live in this India, life in the country would soon become richer in every way. The many educated young men scattered in the villages of India will form valuable links in a chain which will cement young India the India of our dreams.

Village life has various advantages which will be differently valued by different temperaments. Their appeal cannot be the same for all. It is, however, well to remember that life in the villages is not such an unmitigated evil as some try to make it out to be. Life in the village has its own compensations and now, with the advent of the radio, even its monotony has been broken into. Village is the place where even the poor can live without having to be confined to the soul-destroying atmosphere of the city slums.

The fight against poverty, ignorance and apathy of the villager is the noblest fight in India today.

Will not the educated classes, especially the so-called "educated unemployed", enlist as soldiers in this the noblest of all fights in history, asks the writer.

Our civilization is on test. We must remember that we have been able to obtain a higher standard of education through the help of various educational institutions created and nurtured by our countrymen. The sweat of the brow of the villager has provided the revenue which has kept our many colleges and universities going. Do we not owe a duty to these countrymen of ours who have made it possible for us to obtain an education which they themselves could not afford?

The village needs you today. What is your answer?

THE ART OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

To realise how comprehensive the art of public speaking is, we have to consider the numerous objects the speaker may be striving to attain. Writing in the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. P. C. Manuk points out:

He may, for instance, be out to convince and persuade or to instruct and enlighten, or again to stimulate or provoke interest on any matter connected with the public weal; or merely to amuse and entertain as in the case of after-dinner speeches.

Mr. Manuk examines some concrete instances of great orators and notes the background behind their success, i.e., their educational career, their physical and mental qualities, which have won for them the success they have achieved as orators or public speakers. Of Lenin who effected the greatest revolution in history, he writes:

Lenin was more a thinker than a scholar with background of long and persistent intrigue for the overthrow of Tsardom. Steeped in the achievements and political philosophy of Marx, with Marxism became a religion and a panacea for all the people's ills. Sprung himself from humble origin and having tasted the full bitterness of Tsarist oppression, he became a great speaker rather than a great orator, swaying the populace more by his personal contact with their minds than by well-turned phrases and eloquence of speech. His biographers generally concede him the right to be called a great public speaker, but I apprehend he was hardly a Demosthenes or a Burke despite his astonishing achievements.

Next in the line comes Mussolini, the Italian, of whom it is said that he wrote himself to power.

Such of his speeches as have been reported in the European Press convey an impression of bombast and hysteria, assets which, with any but emotional Latin race, would have got him where at all. Now Italy has a great history behind her of a once powerful Roman Empire and Mussolini's slogan has, therefore, been "a new Roman Empire", to be rebuilt by conquest and use of arms. I have no doubt that he looks on himself as a reincarnation of "Imperious Caesar dead and turned to clay". His background of the humblest; but enormous energy and lustre have enabled him to acquire more knowledge than the average man would acquire with a liberal education at College and University.

More interesting still is the case of Hitler, because speechifying is probably

the chief external explanation of his success. We are told he literally talked himself to power.

Yet the strange thing is that Hitler is a bad speaker; he screeches, his mannerisms are awkward, his voice breaks with every peroration. I have heard his speeches myself over the wireless. Another criticism is that he never knows when to stop, which is what a public speaker should know. Those in a position to judge say that his magnetism across a table is almost nil, and yet by a strange anomaly even his critics admit that he can arouse a big audience to frenzy. Like Mussolini, however, he knows all the tricks, and Mussolini's slogan of "a Roman Empire" has its counterpart in Hitler's: "We Germans had or did not have, or wanted to do and could not do, this that and the other as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty." This constant reiteration of the word *wir* (we). Hitler drove into his audience with rhythmic savagery in his early days, and then he would pause dramatically and add something like this: "That is the whole trouble in Germany; the word *wir* has no meaning now, the country is disunited—there is 'no we'". Thus did Hitler unite a people to whom he himself did not even belong; for Hitler is an Austrian, born and bred. His origin, too, I should add, was of the humblest, and unlike Mussolini, he has not educated himself up to the standards of a liberal education.

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N. GOPALA IYER,

Secretary.

INDIAN MYTHS

Prof. Heinrich Timmer, in the course of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari*, observes that Indian myths are very obscure. They seem to have had a past, no longer known, from which they have derived their meaning. But though they have apparently no perceptible past and seem to have led to any future, they remain as relics of unchanged meanings.

Thus the myths of the Brahmanas of the Vedas in the beginning of Indian tradition, serve to explain nature and humanity. Imaginative and rationalistic at the same time, they trace the existence of things to their particular origin. The priestly omniscience of the time asserting that offerings and prayers can conjure, constrain, curse, bewitch, heal and rule over all living beings, powers, creatures and things with a similar living personality has its basis in myths. The result of the magic rites confirms their practical value; the myths explain the coherence and the characteristics; they form the theoretic element. The myth gives a sense of assurance to the traditional practice of the customs and explains their origin: it gives them certainty through knowledge or appearance of knowledge of the secrets of the powers which are at play. It confirms the magical technique as our science attests the rational.

It is manifestly the poets, the true poets alone, as those of old hymns, not ritual teachers or piece-writers, who can give a glorious life to changing myths—bird-free as they are with all the past spiritual heritage.

Their world-feeling or sense of nature, their function to be the mouth-piece of the vicissitudes of man can enliven with the stamp of new meaning the motive-web that lies always ready. They tear the secrets from the dim and dark forms in which they are hidden. Their experiences reveal the soul of the time. Then the myth grows up and the fate of man along with it to formful lives—then comes the myth out of half light and stupor to clear light and shine—as bearer of a high meaning, and the formless feeling of the poets finds in it the matter to incarnate.

In conclusion, the writer says that the Myth has become a miracle story from which we can scarcely understand the inner meaning.

THE MAHARASHTRAS

Shivaji established a Hindu Raj in Maharashtra; was it his aim to eradicate the Muslim element? Mr. G. S. Sardesai, discussing this point in the *Indian World*, observes:

"The Maharattas claimed only full religious liberty and tolerance from Muslim rulers and they did not care who ruled at Delhi. Shivaji himself remained contented with gaining independence for his home land. His famous letter to Aurangzeb clearly sets forth his ideals, which later the Peshwas tried to translate into practice. They had not a few opportunities to instal a Hindu monarch at Delhi; in 1754 and 1759 they could easily have carried this out if they had so willed.

The Maharattas had no correct notions either of religion or of politics and failed to realise that religion cannot be dissociated from politics as we find even today in our present efforts to bring about Hindu-Moslem union of national interests.

Innumerable letters have been printed, addressed by the Peshwas during nearly a hundred years of their regime to their Sardars in the north, urging the latter not to interfere with Moslem rule but only have the holy places released from Moslem to Hindu control.

Shivaji respected the Quoran as much as his own scriptures. One of his own spiritual Guru was Baba Yakut of Kelashi.

The Great Akbar and a number of saints and politicians, such as Kabir, Nanak, Abul Fazul and Faizi were fully imbued with this spirit of mutual help and respect. Thus did the two races mould the history of the past and thus will the two once more enact the history of future if only they evince the same spirit of tolerance and helpfulness."

GERMANY'S COLONIES

Germany's claim to her old colonies is based upon her plea that other great Powers have colonies and that the *Entente* deprived her of them unlawfully in 1919. On the first count, says the *Christian Democrat*:

It need only be said that international law knows no right to colonies any more than civil law recognizes John Smith's right to have the same number of dress suits as Tom Brown. As for 1919, the transfer of territory at the end of a war is permissible if it is designed to increase the security of nations which have been attacked. Great Britain and France could have made out a good case along these lines (and indeed Point V of Wilson's Fourteen Points contained such a provision). Unfortunately they chose to base the transfer upon Germany's alleged unworthiness to control defenceless native peoples (the 'colonial guilt lie'), a boomerang charge which applied equally to themselves. This aspect of the 1919 settlement gave Germany a strong moral case against the Allies.

Germany stands on more doubtful ground when we examine what she intends to do with the colonies once they are returned. Every thing which has been said or written in Germany in the last three years points to one conclusion:

Germany is determined to exploit her colonies ruthlessly in the interests of the German community. All calculations of output are based upon an exclusive German control of the colonial market (thus 'the Open Door' is to be resolutely slammed). Production to be raised by 50 to 100 per cent. in a decade (the welfare of the natives drops out of the picture), and the colonial domain is added as a permanent adjunct to the German economy (the 'ape-headed creatures' to whom Hitler refers in *Mein Kampf* are thus not destined for self-government). In other words, Germany's colonial programme is in direct contradiction to the principles of colonial ethics laid down by the Church.

The opportunity offered in 1926 of restoring the German colonies to Germany in the form of a Mandate was—disastrously as we see now—allowed to pass. To-day Germany wants no Mandates. She wants the right of exclusive exploitation in perpetuity. Nor can it be said of the 'Have' powers that their own record is

altogether clean. For, as the writer shrewdly points out:

They have been careful not to extend the Mandate principles to their own colonies. Ottawa laid the basis for exclusive inter-imperial trade; native trusteeship in South Africa, Kenya, or the West Indies is a farce. We cannot afford to be more moral with Germany than we are with ourselves. That was the mistake of 1919 which has landed us in our present dilemma. We are quite right when we point out that Germany's views on colonies are entirely retrograde. But are our own any better? We must put our own house in order before we talk of a just and progressive colonial system; for at present we are denying Germany access to colonies, because she means to put into practice a policy of exclusive exploitation of which we are among the finest living exponents.

THE CRISIS IN THE WEST

"Dictatorships and Democracies are creating different traditions of international manners, observes the *New Review* for May: dictators act without warning, democracies warn without acting, dictators have made ready for action, democracies have not. There is a two years' lag between the two regimes, as Mr. (now Lord) Baldwin confessed in 1935. What is much worse is the state of public opinion.

Men's nerves are set on edge and the public mind is getting jumpy. The Old Lady of Threadneedle is not ruling London any more, she has given way to Lady Rumour, the huge and horrid monster covered with many feathers which Virgil has depicted. Statesmen do not escape: even the Foreign Offices of England and France can hardly make out the bearing of every report they receive from their agents abroad; the gentlemen who play the markets may find it convenient and profitable, but the man in the street has become panicky.

Rumour and the art with which it is fabricated have outrun the ordinary means of checking simultaneous preparations at different points and in different directions; a report reaches the Foreign Offices from every corner, action is expected anywhere and everywhere, but means are lacking to offer all-round counter-maneuvres.

The defensive, they say, has many advantages in modern warfare; but short of an armed conflict, initiative keeps the handicap it had in the old days of the corsairs.

SRI RAMANUJA AND THE HARIJANS

"Sri Ramanuja had the compassion of Buddha, the love and patience of Jesus, the rapturous devotion of Namadeva, the sincere surrender of the Alwars and the apostolic zeal of St. John," writes Sri Satyarka in *Kalyana Kalpataru* on the remarkable orientation given by the Saint to Vaishnavism.

Sri Ramanuja, he continues, was initiated in the *Ashtakshara mantra* by Saint Nambi of Tirukottiyur. Saint Nambi had advised him to keep the *mantra* a secret. But Ramanuja collected a large multitude of men of all castes and preached the blessed *mantra* to them from the top of a tower. "Hell shall be the reward of your impudence!" cried Nambi. "I shall gladly go to hell, my master, if the multitude can escape hell by pronouncing the *mantra* of mantras," said Ramanuja meekly.

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In all parliamentary institutions it is a common and ordinary procedure that, in case of difference, the strength of parties is tested by a vote of no-confidence. There is nothing personal in such a procedure and it does not show any want of respect or any kind of bitterness either towards or on behalf of the personalities concerned. When we found after the election that a majority of the delegates had gone against our advice, it was but the proper course for us to resign and when we did so, the only intention was to give Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose an absolutely free hand so that he might not feel embarrassed by our presence on the Working Committee either in framing a programme or giving effect to it.

When the Congress met at Tripuri, it was with a view to testing the feeling of the delegates that Pandit Pant's resolution was moved and to find out whether they still adhered to the policy and programme represented by Mahatma Gandhi, or wanted a reorientation of the same. When the delegates adopted that resolution, it followed that even apart from the instruction contained in it, the Working Committee should consist of persons who agreed with his views. When Mahatmaji refused to nominate a committee as it would amount to an imposition on Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in view of the differences, Mr. Bose was left absolutely free to appoint a Working Committee according to his wishes and this freedom was further emphasised by our assurances not to obstruct.

We were put in a very tight corner. The President would not form a Cabinet of his own in spite of our assurance; he would not appoint a compact Cabinet as suggested by us after some accommodation in the matter of time necessitated by reason of the absence of some members of the Working Committee; and he would not consent to accepting a Working Committee which the A. I. C. C. would give him except on his own terms. All this when he was aware that the majority of the A. I. C. C. was not with him. We were prepared not to use that majority against him if he formed his own Cabinet. We were prepared to join his Cabinet if he gave the accommodation mentioned above or if the A. I. C. C. passed Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's resolution and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose withdrew his resignation; but he refused to do so. In these circumstances, it was not without much regret and under a sheer sense of duty that some one had to be pitchforked into the Presidentship.

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The three-day session of the All-India Congress Committee concluded on May 22 after President Rajendra Prasad had announced the personnel of the Working Committee. Resolutions against war, purification of the Congress organisation, position of Indians in South Africa and release of political prisoners in Bengal and the Punjab were adopted without much discussion.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR DANGER

The following is the text of the resolution on Congress and the War Danger adopted by the A. I. C. C. Meeting at Calcutta:—

In view of the imminent danger of an international war, the A. I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy regarding to war which the Congress has often proclaimed. This policy will be strictly adhered to, and the Congress is determined to oppose attempts to impose a war on India and to utilise Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people.

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of an Indian troop towards Aden, as this can only mean the employment for British imperialist purposes.

The Committee in particular records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power in the event of a war emergency in the hands of the Central Government, which function completely as an agent of British Imperialism. While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the very basis of provincial autonomy and renders it a farce in case of war; and which, in effect, creates a "war" dictatorship of the Central Government over India and which makes the Provincial Governments helpless agents of Imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. The Provincial Governments are warned to be ready to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee as the case may be.

THE SARDAR'S CALL FOR UNITY

Sardar Patel, addressing the concluding meeting of the general session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Brindaban, explained his position *vis-a-vis* the recent events in the Congress and replied to the various criticisms levelled at him.

People call me a Hitler. I may tell you Gandhiji is the greatest Hitler I have seen. But the influence he exerts is born out of his inexhaustible love and patience. This is the essential difference between him and the Hitler of Germany. The difference between Mahatma Gandhi and other people is so vast that he stands alone as the one and only leader of the people. I do not know whether we are fit to work with him, but we seem to have won his confidence. And whatever he has to suffer in the shape of malicious criticism is due really to our own shortcomings. There is no one in the country, however eminent, who dare to do without him. Even the tallest among them wants his co-operation.

Reverting to criticisms made against certain Congress leaders, the Sardar said:

Pernicious propaganda is being carried on against me in two or three provinces and now particularly in some of the States. I am free to confess that I have my own shortcomings and these may be responsible to a certain extent for the criticisms levelled against us. But this is not to say that criticisms are either justified or true. The fact of the matter is that certain vested interests have started propaganda due to the sheer instinct of self-preservation. The purity of our means do not render us immune from such malicious attacks. That is why even Gandhiji has been compelled to issue, what I cannot help characterizing, as a tragic statement. For, what can be more tragic than for him to say that he is feeling old and despondent and that he no longer feels young?

These vested interests all over the country have now begun to fear that their day is nearing its end. They have enjoyed almost unrestricted power for centuries and naturally they do not want to part with it without resistance. Their fear, however, is not unfounded; because though we may have to suffer a lot and the people in the States may have to suffer imprisonment, lathi beatings and even receive bullets, victory is certain, provided we do our work in the proper spirit and the right manner. Much depends on us who are now working in the political field in British India. One thing essential is that the organisation that will fight the combined forces of Government, Princes and other anti-national interests, must be of one mind.

Discord and disharmony will be our undoing. That is why Mahatma Gandhi has been saying that the Working Committee of the Congress, which is the only organisation which can fight the Government, must be homogeneous both in spirit and action.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S WARNING

Mr. Lloyd George initiated the Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons on May 18, when he declared that he wanted to find out exactly where they were.

We have reached a point where the decision taken in the course of what might be the next few hours, certainly the next few days, by Britain, France and Russia will be more fateful than any decision of those countries taken since 1914.

Mr. Lloyd George referred to the general nervousness in the world, which reminded him very much of the feelings that prevailed in Spring of 1918 when he knew that a great attack was coming from Germany but none knew quite where the blow would fall. He added:

Let us make peace inevitable instead of war. There are two ways of doing this. One is preparing our military forces for an emergency and the other to secure the co-operation of as many nations as possible in order to resist aggression.

LORD BALDWIN'S DECLARATION

Lord Baldwin, speaking at Worcester, declared that he was in most perfect agreement with Government's policy.

This country is prepared to reason with any one who is reasonable. She is equally prepared to resist any one who bullies his neighbour.

Apart from what is called a devotee of Fascist and Nazi ideologies, nobody in the world wants war. If the leaders of Fascism and Nazism decide to apply force, they will be met with the disapprobation of every other country in the world.

That is a weight which no one can stand up against.

Napoleon himself could not do it; and, where Napoleon failed, no one is going to succeed. For a man of remarkable ability like Herr Hitler to make a political blunder of that kind seems almost incredible.

Lord Baldwin said he felt far more confident than ever that, in the long run, perhaps a short run, the ordinary people of the world, not excluding those of Italy and Germany, would win.

Political

THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

In announcing the names of Members of the New Working Committee, Babu Rajendra Prasad said at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Calcutta:

I requested and implored him (Mr. Bose) to form a Working Committee of his own liking, consisting of people who shared his views. He could not, however, see eye to eye with me. I am really sorry for that. I see that some friends are displeased with my election and I have no quarrel with them. I have been called to this onerous office by the Members of the A. I. C. C.

The following are the Members:—

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (Bengal)
Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu (Bombay)
Sardar Vallabhai Patel (Bombay)
Seth Jammalal Bajaj (C. P.)
Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram (Sind)
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (N. W. F.)
Acharya J. B. Kripalani (U. P.)
Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Andhra)
Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai (Bombay)
Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab (Orissa)
Mr. Shankar Rao Deo (C. P.)
Dr. Bidan Chandra Roy (Bengal), and
Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose (Bengal)

All Members belong to the Right Wing of the Congress.

PT. NEHRU ON THE FORWARD BLOC

Speaking at a meeting held in observance of the All India Political Prisoners' Day at Cawnpore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru deprecated the formation of the Forward Bloc. He said that he did not attach much importance to it. Although he allowed latitude to people with different views to form their organisation, he considered it improper to weaken the great organisation like the Congress by forming separate groups. In any active organisation difference of opinion must prevail, but this difference must not be confused with personalities which were harmful to the interests of the country.

INDIA AND WAR

It would be dishonest of and unfair to India if she refused to participate in any war in which Britain might partake, said Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, recently. India, he declared, would feel compelled to participate in such a war for her own sake.

Referring to the Congress resolution relating to non-participation in war, he said that he had no doubt that the Congress would soon modify it when the time came.

CUMULATIVE VOTING

A change in the present cumulative system of voting in elections to Provincial Legislative Assemblies is made in the Government of India Order which prescribes that—

"At a poll in any general or Muhammadan constituency when more than one seat is to be filled, a voter, while having as many votes as there are seats to be filled, shall not give more than one vote to any one candidate."

PARLIAMENTARY SUB-COMMITTEE

Pending the meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, has appointed the old Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Working Committee of the Congress to function till the Working Committee meets and takes such decision as it considers necessary.

GOLDEN MACE FOR COUNCIL

With full ceremony, the Council of State, on April 3, accepted from the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga the golden mace, which will lie in the centre of the Chamber. The mace is a copy of that which lies in the House of Commons.

SRI RAMANUJA AND THE HARIJANS

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The following is the text of the resolution on Congress and the War Danger adopted by the A. I. C. C. Meeting at Calcutta:

In view of the imminent danger of an international war, the A. I. C. C. reminds the country and all others concerned of the national policy in regard to war which the Congress has often proclaimed. This policy will be strictly adhered to, and the Congress is determined to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India and use Indian resources in a war without the consent of the Indian people.

The Committee has noted with disapproval the despatch of a small body of an Indian troops towards Aden, as this can only mean their employment for British imperialist purposes.

The Committee in particular records its complete disapproval of the attempt being made by the British Government to amend the Government of India Act with a view to concentrating all power in the event of a war emergency in the hands of the Central Government, which functions completely as an agent of British Imperialism. While the Congress is not interested as a rule in amendments to the India Act and has worked for the whole Act to be ended, it cannot tolerate an amendment which strikes at the very basis of provincial autonomy and renders it a farce in case of war; and which, in effect, creates a "war" dictatorship of the Central Government in India and which makes the Provincial Governments helpless agents of Imperialism. Any attempt to impose such an amendment on India must and will be resisted in every way open to the Congress. The Provincial Governments are warned to be ready to carry out the policy in this respect as may be determined by the A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee as the case may be.

PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR PRISONERS

The Punjab Government has decided to introduce a system of primary education for prisoners in their jails. Three central and seven district jails have been selected for the purpose. The primary education scheme, which was introduced on a tentative basis some years ago, has proved encouraging and has prompted the Government to extend it to 10 other jails. In the initial stage, each jail will be provided with a teacher of the senior vernacular cadre, who will teach the usual primary educational subjects and will also organise and supervise extra classes taught by literate convicts.

MODEL SCHOOLS IN PUNJAB

"Model schools" in 28 different parts of the Punjab will shortly come into existence with the following among their equipments:—

Radio sets, a school band, implements and tools for agricultural farms and gardens, a milk bar for the supply of milk to necessitous children, provision for proper medical inspection, some science apparatus, maps and educational devices, the equipment for the teaching of rural science, monetary assistance to schools to run their own magazines, and improvement in school libraries.

GIFT TO CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

A fine collection of rare art curios has been presented to the Calcutta University by Mr. Bijay Singh Nahar.

The collection is valued at Rs. 40,000. It consists of 250 rare paintings, 200 stone sculptures, a similar number of bronze statues and about 300 pieces of ancient Jain scrolls, manuscripts, ivory figs, coins, etc.

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

To promote cordial relation between India and Australia, the University of Sydney proposes to grant exemption from fees to students intending to pursue post-graduate studies in the Departments of Agriculture, Economics, Veterinary Science, Tropical Medicine, Zoology and Physics. The selected students will have to pay their passage to and from Australia and their living expenses is about £3 a week for the period of their stay. The academic year in Australia begins in March and the normal period of study for a post-graduate degree or diploma is two years.

Candidates may address their inquiries to Captain M. Abdul Hamid, Secretary, Madras University Students' Information Bureau, giving particulars of their educational qualifications and proposed subject of research.

THE VALUE OF EDUCATION

His Excellency the Governor of Madras, laying the foundation-stone of Pachaiyappa's Residential College at Madras on March 22, observed:

"Let those of us whose idealism can transcend the immediate present, remember our duty to posterity. We shall have failed in that duty unless we do the utmost in our power to see that our children have the best opportunity possible of becoming good men and good citizens."

Proper education is the chief means to that end. I am not among those who would decry extended higher education merely on a consideration of the statistics of educated unemployed. We are too often apt to disregard education as an end in a too nice calculation of its value as a means."

SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG

The speeches and judgments collected in this volume* bear testimony to the public spirit, sense of justice and zeal for law reform for which Sir Douglas Young has become famous in this country. After serving a notable term as a puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court, Sir Douglas was selected to succeed Sir Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Punjab. From the very start, Sir Douglas set himself to the task of discovering and removing the abuses of the legal system. Corruption in Courts, law's delays, perjury of witnesses and, above all, that sense of fatalism which made people endure evils without resisting and overcoming them were the factors against which the Chief Justice had to contend. He investigated the causes and ramifications of these long standing evils with infinite patience and combated them with sincere resoluteness. More than these, he created the necessary atmosphere of sympathy with his objective and efforts and the enthusiasm for speedy and unerring justice which he infused among the members of the Bar, the judiciary and the ministerial staffs of Courts earned for him the unstinted admiration of the community. We refer our readers in particular to the note circulated by him in which he analysed the causes and suggested the remedies for meeting the situation which is printed at page 28 of this volume. His judgments are characterised by lucidity and learning.

In public life, Sir Douglas Young displayed the same keenness and sense of fairness. He realised the value of

* FOR NECESSARY ACTION: Speeches and Judgments of Sir Douglas. Edited by Shri Ram and Kulkarni. Published by the Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore.

training the youth of the country along right lines: of dissolving communal antipathies in a common patriotism and of absorbing the energies of the youth in the service of the country. He found the Boy Scout Movement an extremely potent means of elevating the tone and temper of the young and the adolescent. The sentiments to which he gave eloquent and felicitous expression in these pages are unexceptionable. To love this country and to serve her people without distinction of caste or class, to shed the lethargy of ages and to be vigorous in a purposeful life, to fight corruption and to be brave was his great message.

India owes much to selfless and intrepid Englishmen like Sir Douglas Young, who hold up such high ideals before the youth of the country and enforce them by such exemplary personal life. We are sure that this book will enjoy a wide circulation and that Sir Douglas Young will receive the recognition that is due to one who served this country with such single-minded devotion.

HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW

"The Hindu conception of the divine origin of kings was very different from the mediæval theory of the Divine Right of Kings prevalent in Western countries," writes Justice Sir S. Varadachariar in *Immortal Message* and proceeds:

"The Hindu concept never placed the king above law in the sense in which the Divine Right theory did. It was never the Hindu theory that the king could change the law as he pleased. He was merely expected to enforce law. This accounted for the great difficulty that lawyers felt in changing Hindu law."

INSURANCE AS A CAREER IN INDIA

The growth of Insurance in India during recent years has been remarkable and the time has now come to absorb the young enterprising youths in this profession and relieve unemployment. There is a vast field still unexplored, namely, villages, says a writer in the *Anglo-Gujarati Bulletin Mass Uplift* published by B. K. Kapasi of Baroda.

Though the total life assurances in force in India at the end of 1936 are estimated at about Rs. 235 crores, still there is enough scope for its expansion in the field of Life Insurance. Fire, marine, motor, etc. are other branches where pioneers of Indian Insurance should direct their activities with double vigour to nationalise all kinds of insurances.

India is in a state of economic and political transition and the uplift of the masses is the main activity of every political party. The time has come, therefore, to acquaint the villagers and the poor labouring class of the urban areas with the benefits of Life Insurance. Life assurance is a vital necessity in the modern world and the villagers ought to be acquainted with it by introducing cheap insurance schemes. To explain this, every insurance concern would require a batch of good and sincere workers to talk and walk with the village folks.

Accident insurance business is in its infancy in India. The factory workers in the urban areas are in dire need of such insurance but there must be people to approach and explain. Service plays an important part in insurance business and thus opens many avenues for the youth of the country to earn their livelihood; but it does require the spirit of confidence to stick to it. To-day the tide has turned and may sweep on to national prosperity during the coming years.

As business advances, companies will be in need of more men and hence the youth must make up its mind to take to insurance as a permanent vocation instead of hovering round here and there to be a burden to the family and the nation.

NEW LIFE BUSINESS IN 1938

The insurance companies of old Germany, organised in the German Labour Front Association, wrote a total gross new life insurance business of Rm. 485.8 millions in 1938 as compared with Rm. 441.6 millions in 1937.

INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA

The large expansion of the business during the last one decade is shown by the fact that the total business remaining in force with Indian Life Offices at the end of the year 1927 was Rs. 60,00,00,000 and at the end of 1936, it was Rs. 1,75,00,00,000. The total new sums assured by the offices in 1936 amounted to nearly Rs. 38,00,00,000, the largest of any of the previous 10 years. Again, the total life assurance income of Indian companies was Rs. 4,29,00,000 in the year 1927, and Rs. 11,35,00,000 in 1936 exceeding the preceding year's income by over two crores.

The total number of Indian Life Offices which are subject to the Indian Life Assurance Companies Act is 213 of them, 178 being proprietary and 35 mutual.

NEW INSURANCE ACT

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Indian Insurance Companies was held recently at Cawnpore, to consider what attitude the Federation should adopt regarding the revised rules under the new Insurance Companies Act. It was decided that the Federation should make further representations to the Government of India with regard to the rules as well as on several other points affecting the interests of Indian Insurance Companies.

THE INSURANCE WORLD

We regret, by an inadvertance, the note—Is Gandhi's life insurable—appearing in the last issue was acknowledged to the *Insurance Herald* instead of *Insurance World*, an Illustrated Monthly Journal on Insurance edited by Mr. S. C. Ray and published in Calcutta.

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Revealing figures of India's diminishing trade with Germany, Italy, France and Japan were given by Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta when, in his presidential address at the annual meeting in Delhi of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, he said that the only way by which India could make her payments abroad was by developing her export trade to the United States, the United Kingdom and the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Trade with Germany gave India a favourable balance of Rs. 17 crores in 1927-28. This had changed by 1937-38 to an unfavourable balance of Rs. 5.7 crores.

The favourable balance of Rs. 6 crores in Indo-Italian trade in 1927-28 decreased to Rs. 2.3 crores in 1937-38.

Since Japan joined the ranks of the totalitarian countries and adopted measures of exchange control, the favourable trade balance of Rs. 11 crores has turned into a deficit of Rs. 4 crores.

Having urged the negotiation of separate trade agreements with countries like Germany, Italy, the United States and Japan, Mr. Mehta added that India should also try to find new outlets for her products in Afghanistan, Iran, Burma, Ceylon, East Africa and the Federated Malay States.

CUSTOMS REVENUE

India has earned during the year 1937-38 a gross revenue of about Rs. 47½ crores in its Customs receipts against an expenditure of about one crore according to the review of the Customs Administration in India for that year.

THE SALES TAX BILL

The General Sales Tax Bill passed its 3rd reading in the Madras Legislative Assembly on May 13.

Mr. G. H. Hodgson opposed the Bill on the ground that there was no justification for the tax at present.

After question time the members of the Opposition, excluding the European members of the House, walked out.

A similar walk out was staged in the Legislative Council also when members of the Justice Party and the Democratic Group marched out of the Chamber. All amendments to the Bill were either withdrawn or rejected and the measure, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, was adopted.

Sir K. V. Reddi Nayudu, Leader of the Democratic Group, said:

From the attitude taken by the Premier on the amendments proposed by the Opposition Groups and the replies given by him, we find that not only is the mind of the Premier made up to reject every amendment, but even ordinary courtesies commonly observed in parliamentary debates are not shown to us.

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier, replied:

I am at a loss to understand what discourtesies have been referred to in this matter. I myself am not conscious of any single act of discourtesy.

The Premier claimed that the Sales Tax Bill would broaden the basis of taxation and that there was general agreement on the main purpose of the Bill.

After the walk out, the Premier complained that the members who had left the House should have had the courtesy to point out where was the discourtesy. The President agreed with the Premier.

Sir Mohammed Usman supporting the Premier's motion that the Sales Tax Bill be passed expressed appreciation of the Premier's urbanity and courtesy throughout.

Sir Frank Birley (European Group) also spoke appreciating the Premier's courtesy.

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Writing on the ideal of education for Indian women, *Prabuddha Bharata* says:

Any attempt to encourage the sickening exhibition of feminine graces and parts in undesirable places and atmosphere and thereby to allow our mothers and sisters to imbibe ideas that are likely to weaken the moral foundation of our social life is to be nipped in the bud with a strong hand. The country is already too much steeped in such namby-pamby ideas.

What is needed is the worship of the ideal wherein heroism and nobleness, purity and strength, love and piety are blended in beautiful harmony. An evolution of such a balanced character will not only make every household a playground of peace and joy but would help as well the achievement of a nobler destiny in the collective life of the nation. It is then alone that children who receive their moulding of character from mothers would develop into eminent personalities.

MISS GARROD OF CAMBRIDGE

For the first time in Cambridge University history, a woman has been appointed to a professorship. She is Miss Dorothy Annie Garrod.

She has been appointed to succeed Professor Minns in the Disney Professorship of Archaeology, one of Cambridge's oldest professorships.

Miss Garrod has made resounding archaeological discoveries, the most important of which was in the Balkans in September last year when she found fifty thousand year old caves which yielded data for linking the cavemen of the Balkans with Palestine and the East.

FAIR PLAY FOR WOMEN

Mrs. Tate, M.P., in the A. R. P. debate in the Commons, said:

"I disapprove of the unequal rates of pay between men and women in the Civil Service.

"It is impossible to pretend that a woman driving an ambulance from morning till night will be doing less work than a man who is giving exactly the same service. She certainly will not need less food. She will not find the driving of that ambulance less of a strain, and she certainly will have to pay quite as much for lodgings.

"The country knows that whether you treat women justly or not, they will give their service freely and unstintingly in time of war when the nation calls for it, and that they will think not of themselves or of their sex but only of their country; but it does not do the country or the Government credit that there should be this wholly indefensible difference in the allowances paid to men and women."

WOMEN AND DICTATORS

"A world governed by force brutality and fraud will find no place for women save as breeders of men and forced labourers," said Mrs. Corbett Ashby in her presidential address to the Conference of Women's Freedom League, London.

"Three vast empires are rapidly extending their sway on a doctrine of brutal force of incredibly ingenious cruelty and of complete contempt for contract and pledged word. Wherever this doctrine prevails, the women's movement has disappeared."

VENKATESWARA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams Committee at its last meeting passed a resolution sanctioning the establishment of an Oriental Institute for the study and advancement of ancient Indian culture. The Institute, it is hoped, would develop at an early date with suitable financial backing into a great Oriental University, which will become a place of pilgrimage for all those interested in the cultural heritage of India and Greater India at Tirupati, under the designation of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, to become in due course the Sri Venkateswara Oriental University.

The scope of the Institute according to the resolution should not merely be the teaching and study of Sanskrit but that it should embrace the languages of South India, the work in the latter being confined for the time being to Tamil and Telugu culture and literature. The function of the Institute should be to translate and publish authoritative works or articles in modern European languages or in the languages of the East bearing on Indology; to translate from Sanskrit into Tamil or Telugu important works; and to publish original works; and translate important works in the three languages into English.

THE STYLE OF GANDHIJI

"It is frequently remarked that no Indian can ever hope to write impeccable prose in the English language for the reason that no man can best express his thoughts in a tongue to which he is not native. Those who argue along these lines," says the *Good Books*, "appear to overlook the fact that Mr. Gandhi himself in his inspired moments writes prose which in its clarity, dignity and feeling has the quality of Abraham Lincoln's."

THE LARGEST LIBRARY IN THE WORLD

America now claims to have the largest library in the world—the Library of the Congress in Washington. It contains 3,841,491 items. The British Museum Library has over 4,450,000 items and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris over 4,500,000.

A PORTRAIT OF DADABHAI

A graceful tribute has been paid to the memory of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, by the decision of the Speaker of the House of Commons to hang his portrait in the precincts of the House. Dr. Naoroji was the first Indian to be elected to Parliament being returned by Finsbury about the end of the last century. The portrait is the work of Mr. V. R. Rao of the Royal Academy, London, who has painted the portraits of a number of other well-known Indian personalities.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO GENEVA

The Indian delegation to the 25th Session of the International Labour Conference, which opens at Geneva on June 8, will be composed as follows:—

Government Delegates.—Sir Firoz Khan Noon and Sir Frank Noyce.

Government Advisers.—Messrs. A. Hughes and M. Ikramullah.

Employers' Delegate.—Mr. K. L. Dabnukar with Mr. K. Basu as Adviser.

Workers' Delegate.—Mr. R. S. Nimbkar with Mr. Aftab Ali as Adviser.

Mr. M. Ikramullah will be Secretary to the Delegation.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, vacated his office and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar assumed office in Sir Nripendra's place on May 4. Sir Jagdish Prasad is appointed Vice-President of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

MR. A. K. SINHA

Mr. Alakh Kumar Sinha, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., has been appointed Inspector-General of Police, Bihar, and will be the first Indian to hold that post. Mr. Sinha rose from the rank of Deputy Superintendent.

SIR A. H. GHAZANAVI

Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, Member of the Central Assembly, has severed his connection with the All-India Muslim League.

NEW CURE FOR DENTAL DECAY

Decaying tooth can be cured and replanted in the mouth—that is the claim made by Dr. C. W. Messinger of Michigan before the Chicago Dental Society.

He first extracts the decaying tooth, scrapes out all the pulp in the root canal, sterilizes it and fills it with guttapercha. It is again sterilized and replaced in the tooth socket. A gold frame is then clamped on the tooth to hold it in place till the gum and tissue have grown round it.

The dentist claimed that he had performed 65 such operations and that each replaced tooth has given good service for at least five years.

NATURE'S CURE FOR TUBERCULOSIS

After 25 years of research, a South American doctor claims to have found a simple yet effective treatment for tuberculosis which has resulted in a number of speedy cures.

Nature, according to this doctor, has provided her own defence against tuberculosis in the form of small deposits in the lung and joints. From these deposits serum is distributed about the body, which is thus armed to resist disease germs. Ill-health, argues the doctor, often has the effect of sealing up these deposits.

The doctor's remedy is to puncture one of the deposits in the lung so as to release the natural flow of disease-resisting serum previously held in check. Having performed the operation, which is painless and takes but a few minutes, he leaves Nature to do the rest.

CURE FOR CANCER

Dr. Douglas Quick gave the following startling advice recently at the New York Dental Society:—

Pull wisdom teeth to prevent cancer. The tissue in back of the wisdom tooth is one of the most frequent places for cancer to develop. This is because the position of the tooth makes it difficult to clean and the membranes near by become swollen and inflamed. It is believed constant irritation leads to cancer.

THE WELL-BALANCED DIET

In an address to the annual conference of the Andhra section of the Christian Medical Association, Dr. Aykroyd said that the ill-balanced diet common in South India cost about Rs. 5 a month and a well-balanced diet would cost Rs. 11 to Rs. 12. Dr. Gurupatham said that the diet of a Brahmin 20 years ago was fairly well-balanced. Although the ideal diet may be relatively costly, inferior diets may be greatly improved by minor additions. The principal problem then appears to be this: To encourage and cheapen the production and distribution of such valuable additions to the diet as milk and to foster their consumption by propaganda concentrating on these few selected products.

ALTERNATIVE TO INOCULATION

A novel method of immunising people from inoculation against many diseases has been discovered by Professor Alexandre Besredka of Paris. Addressing the Academy of Medicine, he stated:

"The method is simple. All one has to do is to scratch the skin just a very little and then apply a bandage with the serum for the particular disease. This way there is no danger of the patient becoming ill and no reaction."

The Professor claimed that the treatment is 100 per cent. safe, because the serum is allowed to act very slowly into the body through the skin. The body thus has time to absorb the serum in safety.

HOW TO DRINK MILK

Should milk be sipped, perhaps through a straw, to facilitate digestion? Most children at some time or another are told not to gulp down their milk. Is it scientifically correct?

The matter has been investigated by a group of German dieticians. After a series of clinical tests, they conclude that the advice to drink milk slowly was all wrong. They recommended the exact opposite. When milk was drunk slowly, they contended, there was more curdling in the stomach and consequently more likelihood of digestive troubles arising than when it was drunk quickly.

NEW INDIA LOAN

It is understood that the Government of India are likely to float a loan this year to convert the 5 per cent. 1939-44 Loan. The Government have the option to repay this loan on or after July 15. Notice of redemption of the Loan has already been given.

Referring to the question of the repayment of this loan, Sir James Grigg spoke as follows in his Budget speech: "Next year we shall have the option of redeeming the remainder of the Government of India 1939-44 Loan, the outstanding balance of which is a little over Rs. 20 crores. The time and manner of redemption will, of course, depend on market conditions and our ways and means position."

The object of the present conversion operations of the Government, as in the previous conversions by Sir James Grigg, is believed to be the gradual repatriation of the Sterling Debt of India.

Market conditions may be said to be very much in favour of a conversion operation. The money market continues quiet and all indications point to a surplus of funds seeking profitable investment. In such circumstances there can be little doubt that the conversion loan will be a success.

BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS' BILL

By 116 to 68 votes, the Bengal Legislative Assembly accepted recently the Amendment moved by Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy on behalf of Government, excluding scheduled and notified banks from the purview of the Bengal Money-Lenders' Bill.

The Select Committee had included scheduled banks within the scope of the Bill. The amendment which the House accepted on the motion of Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy by 116 to 68 votes excluded from the purview of the Bill a loan advanced before or after the commencement of this Act, by a bank which was a scheduled bank on the 1st of January 1939, or by a bank which has been declared to be a notified bank under Section 2 (A), whether or not such bank was a scheduled bank or was so declared to be a notified bank, as the case may be, at the time the loan was advanced.

BOMBAY-SIND RAILWAY

The Railway Board are now examining the estimates of the cost of construction of the Bombay-Sind connecting railway which have been submitted by the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association and the Buyers and Shippers' Chamber.

It will be recalled that the scheme for constructing this railway has been under the consideration of the Railway Board for some time. The difficulty felt by the Railway Board was that on their estimates, the project could not yield a sufficient return on the capital outlay. The Association and the Chamber, however, insisted that it was possible to have an estimate in which the return would be adequate and undertook to obtain estimate by their own men.

It is understood that the estimate show a return of about 3 per cent. on the capital outlay which is not regarded by the Railway Board as a sufficient justification for a new line as the policy that is now being followed is that a return of at least 4½ per cent. is necessary on the basis of estimated net revenue in the sixth year of working.

THE INDIAN RAILWAYS

"Indian railways set good example to the world". So runs a head-line over an article by the City Editor of the *Evening Standard*. He writes: "British investors hear very little about the British-owned Indian railways. The reason doubtless is that they are well conducted concerns doing a valuable service to the Indian community and providing their shareholders with a reasonable return on the capital invested. Their present prosperity is quite contrary to the experience of almost all other railways the world over. This is because the directors believe in a large volume of traffic at low prices rather than attempting to hold the community up to ransom at high prices."

AIR CONDITIONED COACHES

The Railway Board is reported to be considering a proposal for the introduction of air-conditioned coaches between Lahore and Karachi, and between Delhi and Peshawar. The new service is expected to start in February next year.

AN IMPROVED STAGE IN NEW STUDIO

Mr. R. Vastava of Lucknow has invented an improved stage in the New Studio for taking cinematographic pictures and for theatres. The invention has been accepted and sealed by the Government of India. This invention relates to a device which makes it possible for a film company to carry on the whole of the indoor and most of the outdoor setting at one stretch before shooting takes place. If desired, even the main play or any other play having a bearing on the setting can be staged and played several times.

The industry of theatre has been dying fast and at present it has almost become insignificant except in a few theatrical companies. Old and out-of-date methods are still in use in most theatres. In the theatre the play was not continuous and at the same time *natural scenes* such as running of a motor car, fall of rain, a tonga with a horse, a river, a motor accident and so on could not be brought over a stage for show in the play. The cinema took its place and removed these deficiencies. So the most important object of this invention is to revive the dying industry of theatre once more and this has been done by removing the deficiencies present before. Now by this method natural things such as a running horse, a motor car and some accidents can be shown on the stage. In short, every thing can be shown on the stage what is shown on the cinema screen. Thus by means of this invention a play can be staged without a screen and more real and animating scenes can be set in it.

PHOTO COMPETITION

Young people in every conceivable pose and activity, ranging from a boy patrolman in the U. S. to Japanese children praying before a family altar and a half-naked fisher-boy of India are represented in the 20 Prize Winners and Honourable Mentions in the Y. M. C. A. International Photo Contest. Prizes for entries from 16 different countries were announced on April 1.

First among the prize winners in the divisions "Youth at Work" was N. K. Patham, Bangalore, South India.

TRAVELLING FOOTBALLER EVIL IN INDIA

The much-discussed Rule 33 of the All-India Football Federation, which provided that no player could belong to any two clubs during one year was amended recently at a meeting of the Committee of the Federation at New Delhi.

As amended, the Rule lays down that a player cannot belong to two clubs at one and the same time, but permission to transfer may be given by the Provincial Association. It is further provided that a player may not belong to two Provincial Associations in one year.

The Rule, as it originally stood, prohibited a player, who may have played only once for a club, from joining any other club during that year.

WORLD'S HOCKEY CHAMPIONSHIP

Failing to persuade the Organising Committee of the Helsinki Games to include hockey in the Olympic Programme, the Federation Internationale de Hockey has decided to hold a World's Hockey Championship at Amsterdam in 1940.

The Championship will take place from May 2 to May 13. There will also be a Women's Hockey Championship from May 8 to May 13.

The Federation has also sent a strong representation to the International Olympic Committee to remove hockey from the optional section of its programme and to put it in the compulsory section.

BRITISH RYDER CUP TEAM

Henry Cotton has been appointed Captain of the British Ryder Cup Golf Team against the United States. The matches will be played on the Ponte Vedra course in Florida on November 18 and 19.

NEW WORLD'S SWIMMING RECORD

Miss Ragnhild Ilveger, the Danish girl swimmer, established a new 220 yards free style world's record on April 22, her time being 2 minutes 22'6 seconds. This beats her own previous record of 2 minutes 25'9 seconds.

NEW TRANSMITTER AT TRICHY

Before a large gathering including the Agent of the South Indian Railway, Mr. Lionel Fielden, Controller of Broadcasting, Mr. Goyder, Chief Engineer, All-India Radio, and local officials and non-officials, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Premier, inaugurated on May 16 the Trichinopoly Centre of All-India Radio with a Tamil speech relayed by telephone from Madras. The Premier put in a strong plea for bringing joy into the life in villages through the radio.

His Excellency the Governor's message on the occasion was likewise relayed from Government House, Ootacamund. "The ultimate aim of a radio service is 'a listener in every home'," declared His Excellency who made a special appeal to the philanthropic people whose means permit to step in and help to promote community listening in villages, as the financial capacity to purchase a private set was less general in rural areas than in the urban.

Mr. Lionel Fielden, in the course of a talk on "The Thirteenth Transmitter", made a fervent appeal for the constructive co-operation and tolerance of the listeners in India with the All-India Radio.

ELECTRICITY FROM SAND

Sir Ambrose Fleming, 89-year-old inventor of the valve, which made broadcasting possible, has now discovered a new way of making electricity. He has found that if powdered silica falls through a tube on to a perforated zinc plate positive electricity is formed. Simple as it looks, it is a complicated process and requires a cumbersome apparatus. It is stated, however, that the discovery has no commercial application.

BY-PRODUCTS OF COAL

At the Fuel Research Station (England), a process is being studied of producing motor spirit by heating the gases produced by passing steam over red-hot coal. In the course of this synthesis, a wax is produced from which soap has been made. Water softening materials have also been prepared from coal and the possibilities of using fine coal dust instead of oil in Diesel engines is being investigated.

THE BEST TEN OF THE YEAR

Hollywood Academy, "dictator of taste in the motion picture world", has announced its choice of the ten best film performers of 1938. The men are:

Charles Boyer in *Algiers*.
James Cagney in *Angels With Dirty Faces*.
Robert Donat in *The Citadel*.
Leslie Howard in *Pygmalion*.
Spencer Tracy in *Boys Town*.

The best women are:

Fay Bainter in *White Banners*.
Bette Davis in *Jezabel*.
Wendy Hiller in *Pygmalion*.
Norma Shearer in *Marie Antoinette*.
Margaret Sullivan in *Three Comrades*.

From these nominations final awards to the best man and best woman will be announced at the Academy's banquet, later.

FILM INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The view that the film industry could survive in its grim struggle with foreign competition only if it could develop effective organised strength was expressed by the Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Minister, Bombay, inaugurating the First Indian Motion Picture Congress at Bombay on May 7.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, presided over the Conference.

Exhibitors, producers, artists and others interested in the film industry from all over India attended the Congress.

TELEVISION FOR CINEMAS

Following the success of reception in cinemas of the Boon-Danahar fight in a television broadcast, the officials of Gamount, British and Baird Television have decided to proceed with the production of television apparatus to be installed in 350 British cinemas.

It is stated that British officials in New York are negotiating with famous artistes and sporting personalities to visit England and appear in future in television broadcasts.

MOTORING TEN YEARS AGO AND NOW

In a statement by the Chairman of General Motors Corporation, he outlined the astonishing progress that has been made in the design, construction and total all-round value of the motor car during the last 10 years.

Mr. Sloan pointed out that increased technical efficiency over the ten-year period has resulted in the consumer receiving an outstandingly greater value today than he received 10 years back.

Conclusive proof is found in this direct comparison between the 1928 Chevrolet Sedan and the Chevrolet Sedan of today.

The 1928 Sedan was a four-cylinder car—today's Sedan is a valve-in-head six.

The 1928 Sedan delivered 36 horsepower—today's Sedan delivers 85 horsepower.

The 1928 Sedan had an overall length of 161 inches—today's Sedan has an overall length of 190 inches.

Despite this increase in the number of cylinders, in horsepower and in overall length, today's Chevrolet six cylinder gives 21½ miles a gallon of petrol at forty miles an hour as compared with 16½ miles a gallon at the same engine speed for the four-cylinder car of 1928. This means 25 per cent. greater economy than the outmoded four of 10 years ago.

PETROL TAX IN BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay have decided that the Sales Tax on motor spirit should be recovered with effect from 1st May 1939, at the rate of one anna per gallon or 6½ per cent. of the selling price, whichever is less. As the price of petrol is not less than a rupee anywhere in the province, this means that the effective rate will be one anna per gallon.

MOTOR SPIRIT TAX

The Punjab Motor Spirit (taxation of sales) Act came into force with effect from the 19th April. Under the Act a tax at the rate of one anna three pies for each imperial gallon is levied on all retail sales of motor spirit on and after that date.

A Press *communiqué* draws the attention of retail dealers to this fact and stresses the need of dealers taking out licences.

AVIATION INSURANCE

Aviation is comparatively a modern art but it is making great strides to-day. Few life offices issue policies covering risk due to aviation and that also at heavy rates of premium.

America has made greater progress in Aviation Insurance than England has in other branches of insurance. In 1912, the first Aviation policy was issued by a well known firm of Aviation Insurance brokers in New York and this firm practically holds the monopoly of this kind of business in that country. In England, development of this branch has been slow but with the formation of British Aviation Insurance Group in June 1931, prospects have brightened considerably.

The principal factors which underwriters have to consider in accepting the proposal for this class are:

- (1) Type and air-worthiness of the air-craft.
- (2) Pilot's character, experience and trustworthiness.
- (3) Uses to which air-craft is put.
- (4) Whether air-craft is flown only over scheduled routes or at night. Night flying is excluded by most policies.
- (5) Area over which the air-craft is flown.
- (6) The airdromes usually used and types of hangers.
- (7) The moral hazard—information required being concerned with financial standing and general reputation of the proposer.

EMPIRE AIR SERVICES

The colossal growth of the Empire Air Mail Services, which culminated in 100,000,000 letters being carried by British aeroplanes in 1938, is expected to be further accelerated this year. The day when ordinary travellers can cross the Atlantic through the air instead of the water draws nearer. The arrival of America's great flying boat "Yank Clipper" on Southampton Waters at the end of her Atlantic survey flight marks an important stage in the progress of transoceanic air travel.

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL

In a brief but scholarly survey of the cotton mill industry in Bengal, Mukul Gupta, M.A., Personal Assistant to the Director of Industries, (Bulletin No. 75, Government of Bengal, Department of Industries, Price: Indian Annas 6, English 8d.) proves convincingly with the aid of facts and figures that "the circumstances are definitely in favour of Bengal and if conducted on sound and business-like lines, her cotton mill industry has a very bright future before it". The Province possesses almost extraordinary advantages in respect of labour and power. The average Bengalee labourer is more intelligent than his compeers in most other provinces of India. Bengal can command power very easily and cheaply having a large coal field near at hand and the province is fortunate in possessing a climate conducive to the development of the cotton industry. The only disadvantage is that Bengal is far removed from the cotton growing districts. But the excess freight paid on raw cotton will be largely compensated by saving in freight on finished goods. Mr. Gupta, therefore, contends that Bengal can very well aim at self-sufficiency in regard to her requirements of cotton textiles.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

"If there are industries either existing at the moment or likely to exist, they would require the services of well-educated Indians," said Mr. John Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, when interviewed in Calcutta as to his opinion of whether facilities for vocational training in India were adequate to meet the growing demands of the country or not. He added that these educated men should be given such preliminary training as would create in them a taste for commercial and industrial occupations.

Mr. Sargent is connected with two technical colleges in England where subjects like mechanical and civil engineering, commercial and arts subjects are taught. The object of the colleges, he said, is to impart vocational training with cultural training.

MILCH CATTLE IN BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay are evolving an elaborate scheme to improve the breed of milch cattle in the Presidency. With the Director of Agriculture as Chairman, a Committee has been constituted to draw up detailed proposals in this behalf. The idea is to start five centres in the province and work them as far as possible on co-operative lines. The Centre in Konkan will be of special interest to Bombay City, as the supply of milk for the city would come from Konkan.

IRRIGATION IN SIND

A scheme costing Rs. 3 lakhs to construct a canal for irrigating 20,000 acres of land in Eastern Sind Circle is being investigated by the Sind P. W. D.

Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, who has returned to Karachi after a tour in that Circle, stated that the adoption of the scheme would result in land sales amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs. Besides this, the Government would get Rs. 50,000 every year by way of land revenue. A detailed survey was now in progress in the Circle and the Minister said that he would ask for a supplementary demand for grant for this purpose during the next session of the Sind Assembly.

TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

The Government of Mysore have sanctioned certain recommendations of the Director of Agriculture for the establishment of an Agricultural School to train students in agriculture by giving practical training in dry, wet and garden cultivation, market gardening and poultry farming. The scheme involves a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 14,750 and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 6,150. The existing Vokkaliga hostel at Somanahalli will be converted into an agricultural High School.

A COURSE IN BEE-KEEPING

A fortnight's course in bee-keeping was inaugurated on May 22 for the benefit of 26 elementary school teachers in the Vellore range by the District Educational Officer.

The Senior Deputy Inspector of Schools, requesting the District Educational Officer to open the course, pointed out the necessity for teachers in rural areas to be acquainted with subjects like bee-keeping.

TRADE DISPUTES & CONCILIATION BOARDS

Resolutions urging the appointment of a Conciliation Board for the settlement of disputes, condemning the proposed constitution of the Railway Federal Authority and opining that the railways must be under popular control were adopted by the Annual Convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation held at Perambur recently.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta presided.

The Convention was opened by the Hon. Mr. V. V. Giri, after which Mr. Mehta delivered the presidential address.

Mr. N. M. Joshi then addressed the delegates. He said that he endorsed what the President had said about the meeting of the Convention separately from the meetings at Delhi and Simla with the Railway Board. If they met separately and discussed a few problems seriously and if they also decided to take serious action on them, he had no doubt that the meetings would begin to be taken seriously and would be better attended. First, they must strengthen their organisation. A campaign should be launched by the Federation and a week should be fixed during which all Unions should make a great effort to enlist members. Increased membership would add to the importance of the Federation.

Dealing with the grievances of railwaymen, Mr. Joshi suggested that as an experiment they should tackle one problem first. They must discuss proposals, get them approved not only by the Federation but also by the various branches, and then start an agitation seriously. It was quite possible by this method to get redress more effectively. If the authorities found that the railwaymen were agitating on one problem, creating public opinion not only amongst railwaymen but even among the public, it was possible they might be taken seriously. He would suggest their taking up first the problem of hours of work which required an early solution.

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

Addressing the fifth session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Brindaban, (Champanan), Mahatma Gandhi said:

"Why should there be so much corruption in the Congress? How can we with all that corruption deserve the name 'Congressmen'? Some of you are known as 'Gandhi-ites'. 'Gandhi-ites' is no name worth having. Rather than that why not Ahimsa-ites? For Gandhi is a mixture of good and evil, weakness and strength, violence and non-violence, but ahimsa has no adulteration. Now as Ahimsa-ites, can you say that you practise genuine ahimsa? Can you say that you receive the arrows of the opponent on your bare breasts without returning them? Can you say that you are not angry, that you are not perturbed by his criticism? I am afraid many cannot say any such thing."

According to the Mahatma, 'the function of *himsa* is to devour all it comes across, the function of *ahimsa* is to rush into the mouth of *himsa*'.

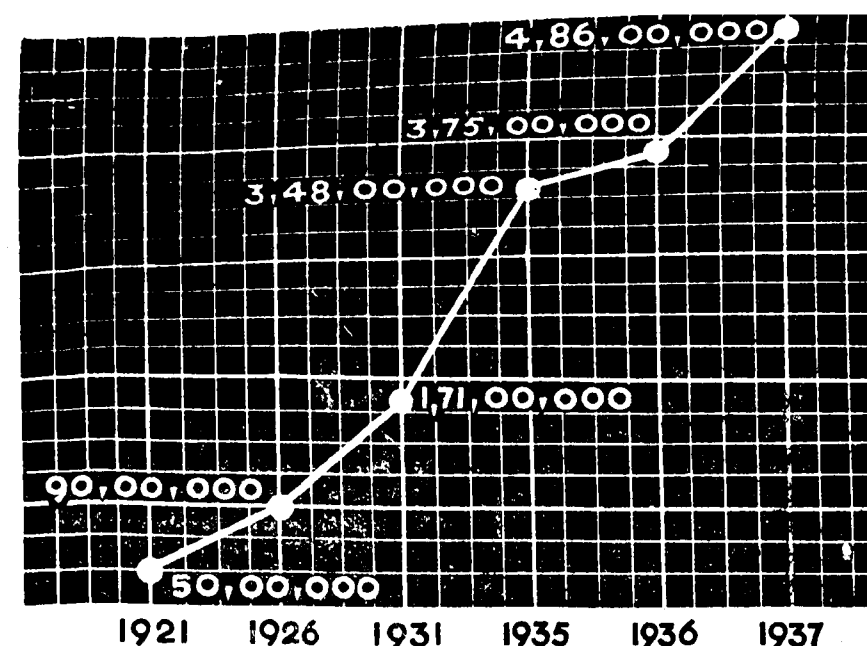
A NEW PAGE IN RAJKOT HISTORY

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing a large gathering on May 23, at Arya Chowk, which was his first public speech in Rajkot, declared:

"I believe that I have opened a new page in the history of Rajkot by my repentance and by the frank admission of my failure. In this, I require your help. I cannot go on single-handed. If the ruler and ruled both join hands and do their duty, this apparent failure would turn into a victory. This necessitates unity among the people."

PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY

Inaugurating the anti-drink campaign in Bombay, the Premier Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher stated that the Government would rather go begging than depend upon revenues derived from drink. Mr. Kher was addressing an all-parties' meeting and appealed to all sections of the population to see to it that Prohibition in Bombay was a success.



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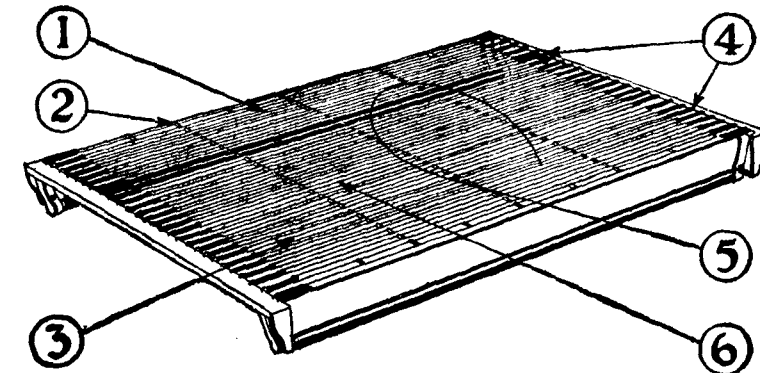
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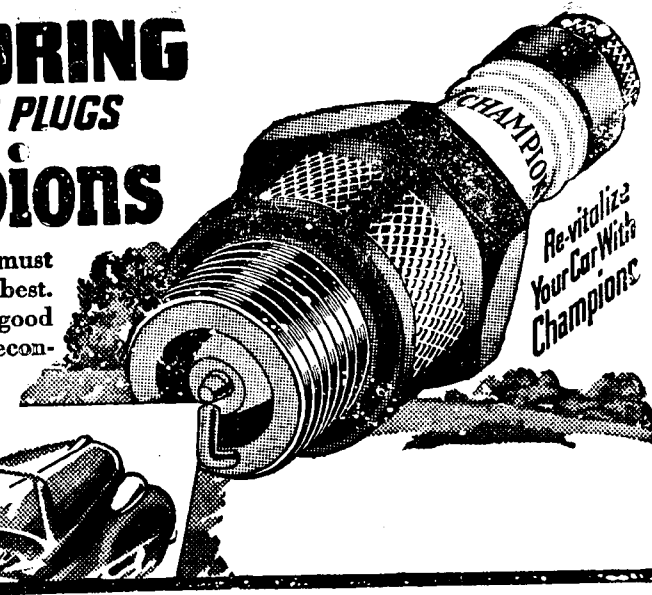
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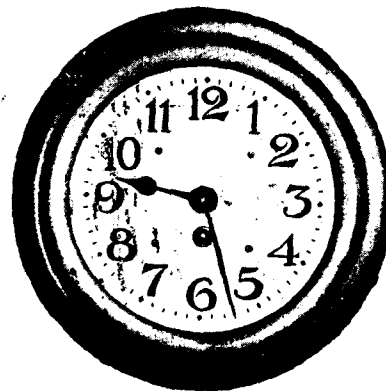
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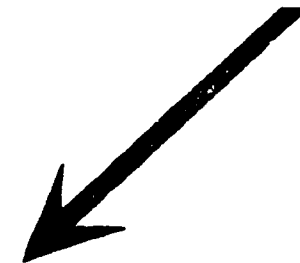
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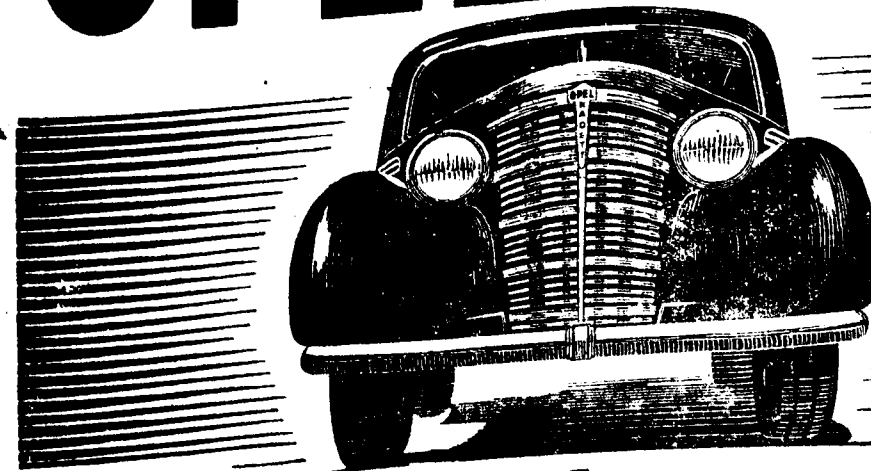
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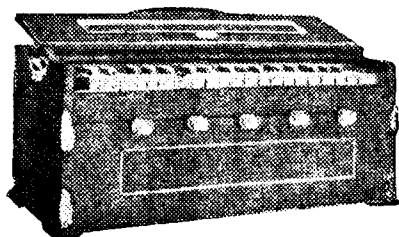
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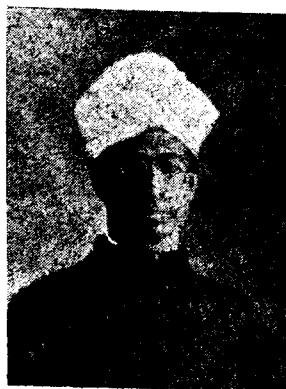
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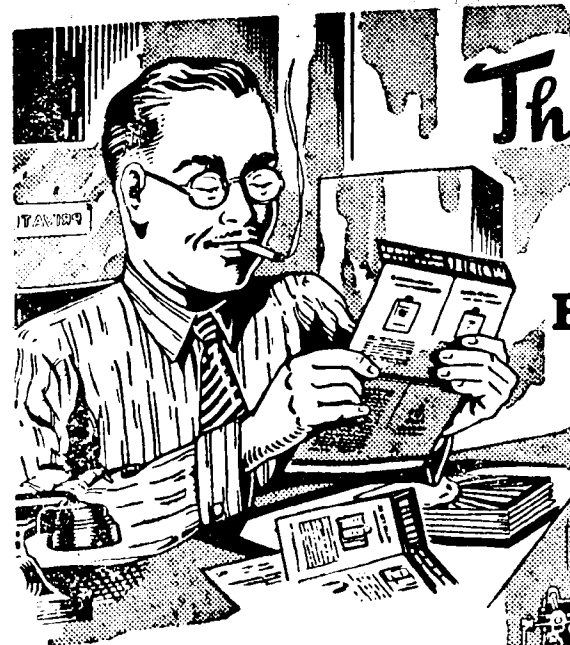
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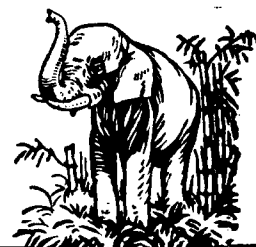
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