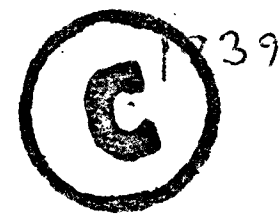


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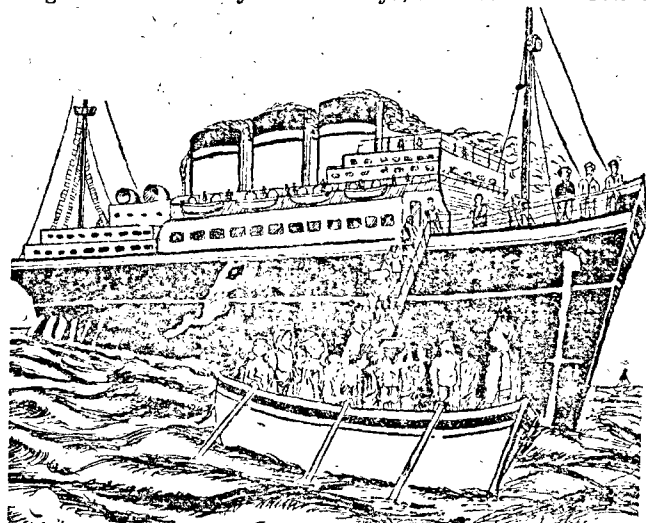
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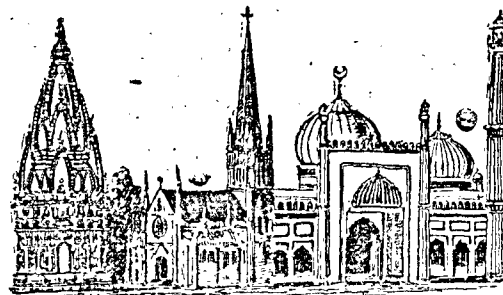
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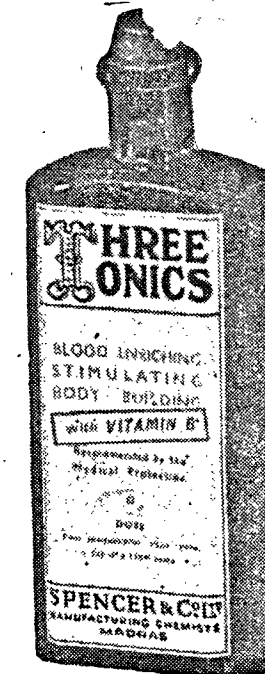
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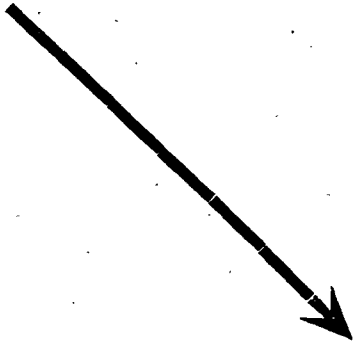
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JANUARY 1939

[No. 1.

INDIA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY SIR EDWARD CHARLES BENTHALL, Kt.

SO FAR as I can see from the opinions expressed by the leaders of opinion up and down the country, India has unequivocally aligned herself in recent

to the policy of the totalitarian States. But while certain sections of Indian opinion have declared themselves forcibly on this alignment, others, notably the Congress, have allowed the local problems with which they are to a certain extent in controversy with Great Britain, to withhold what I believe to be the deep-seated desire for the ultimate success of the policy and ideals of the democratic States.



SIR EDWARD BENTHALL, Kt.

years against the policy of the totalitarian States. Public opinion has from time to time declared itself against the aggression of Italy in Abyssinia, of Japan in China, and of Germany on the Continent, with no uncertain voice, and public opinion is indubitably right.

The corollary is that India must be on the side of those nations who are opposed

I appreciate the overwhelming importance which Indian politicians attach to the problems of the internal government of India, but far-seeing leaders appreciate that without a prolonged period of peace it will be extremely difficult to weld India into a united and prosperous nation. The tasks on the home front are colossal and can hardly be accomplished if the country is to be involved in the defence of its own frontiers. This fact is so obvious that Indian patriots must surely be content that the British fleet should keep the shores of India free and should prevent any possibility of events, such as have recently happened in China occurring during the period when India is building up her nationhood.

What are the prospects of India receiving this grace? To a large extent it depends upon the attitude of the Governments of

the totalitarian States. It also depends upon the strength and diplomacy of the other great powers and, above all, those of Great Britain.

During the recent crisis, Germany gambled on the unwillingness of Great Britain and France to fight in any circumstances. The leaders of the State knew how passionately Great Britain desired peace, while much of the culture of the totalitarian States, not unnaturally perhaps in view of past history, has been built upon glorification of war. By the mobilisation of the British fleet and French army, Germany was forced to accept peaceful methods of settling the Czechoslovakia question. Hitler climbed down from his "last word".

The history of the struggle of the German nation to solidify itself and to extend its power over the face of the earth is a long one and has been particularly intense during the last 70 years. During the Boer War, at Kiau-chau, in Samoa, the Cameroons, South-West Africa and Tanganyika, German leaders were prepared to attempt to secure a footing by threats and by bluff so long as they could succeed, trading on the pacific intentions of Great Britain and the other powers. History proved that they could do so once and again until finally they overstepped the mark. At that moment, Great Britain turned and there was consternation in Berlin in 1914, just as there was similar consternation in Berlin in 1938 when it again became apparent that Great Britain would allow

things to go no further. The world knows that the British want peace and will go to almost any extreme to secure it. They will even risk being thought afraid if the cause for which they are expected to fight is not a good one, and the retention of 3½ million hostile Germans within Czechoslovakia was not a good cause, not only on historical grounds, but because it was not strategically possible to save Czechoslovakia whose people would have been butchered to make a German holiday.

Two of the greatest gains which have been secured out of the events culminating at Munich are, that the German leaders now know that there are limits beyond which they cannot go, and the German people also know, and they are just as anxious for peace as the British. All the intensive thunderings of Goebbels failed to work up a war spirit in Germany against Czechoslovakia, and they will find it still harder if our statesmen follow the policy adopted by Mr. Chamberlain of giving the utmost consideration to the Germans' just demands, while showing the nation's determination to stand fast for the principles of international law and the rights of all nations, great or small.

It is my opinion that India will be ready to take her share in her own defence and in support of the ideals for which she stands. Only in this way can she go forward as a nation and carry her head high, playing her part in the vindication of democratic ideas in one of the most vital periods of the world's history.



FEDERATION AND INDIAN STATES

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A.

E, in the Indian Legislative Assembly, asked the Honourable the Leader of the House several questions on the progress of the negotiations between the



MR. S. SATYAMURTI

Government of India and the Indian States. The Honourable Sir Nripendra Narayan, the Leader of the House, who has returned stronger and healthier from Europe, is as uncommunicative as ever, and he has not forgotten his "astrologer". Especially on the question of the negotiations between the Indian States and the Governor-General and on the question of Federation, he is unable to give any answer. I rather sympathise with him; or I believe he knows nothing. I believe that the negotiations for an Indian Federation with the Indian States are concerned, they are being conducted by the Governor-General personally through the Political Department, and that the Government of India has ceased to function in this matter. It is why they are unable to give any information, although they say in order

to save their faces that they are unwilling to give the information in their possession.

But there can be no doubt about two or three things. Neither the Finance Department of the Government of India, nor the Political Department of the Government of India, is very enthusiastic about this Federation. Of course, His Excellency Lord Linlithgow, who is due to retire in April or May 1941, is naturally anxious that, before he leaves the shores of India, he should inaugurate this Federation. His predecessor Lord Willingdon himself hoped that he might inaugurate the Federation in his time. Perhaps, Lord Linlithgow might consider that he is not unduly optimistic when he hopes, five years later, to achieve the ambition which Lord Willingdon failed to achieve. Of course, I am not suggesting it is a personal ambition in the case of Lord Linlithgow at all. He believes that Federation is the best political solution for India.

But his trouble is that the Government of India Act provides that a prescribed number of States, having 51 seats in the Council of State and comprising half the population of the Indian States, must agree to the Federation before they can approach His Majesty's Government to recommend to Parliament, for them to recommend in their turn to His Majesty the King to issue the proclamation, inaugurating Federation. These two conditions taken together mean that most of the larger States, if not all of them, and a few of the minor States should agree; or that all the minor States should agree and a few of the major States to join the federation. Left to themselves,

these Indian States might have made up their minds more easily to join the Federation. But certain events have happened which have made their position somewhat difficult. In answer to a speech made by the Dewan of Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, pointing out certain difficulties in the way of Indian States granting responsible Government on account of their relations with the paramount power, Earl Winterton, on behalf of the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government, stated in Parliament that the paramount power would not stand in the way of Indian States granting responsible Government. Since then, the position has become very difficult. The movement for responsible Government in Indian States has gathered strength. The Indian States to-day are not so situated that they can resist this demand so long as it is more or less universal among the people and so long as it remains non-violent, except with the help of the British or the Indian troops to be sent by the Government of India to help these Rulers in putting down this movement. That is the position to which the Government of India may not agree, whatever the inclinations of some of the political officers here may be. But the Indian Rulers do not know exactly what the position of the paramount power is. Hence they are hesitating.

Without seeming to be presumptuous, one may tell the Indian Rulers that, when they find even the mighty British Empire has to yield to the pressure of the Indian National Congress, the Indian Rulers will not be wise in resisting the popular movements for responsible government. One grants and recognises that the personality of the Rulers in most of the States is still a vital factor and that the people of the States do love their Rulers. But that cannot be over-emphasized for the simple reason that the Rulers themselves do not govern. They have their Dewans or other Advisers in whom they have absolute confidence. But the demand for responsible government merely says that these Advisers should command not only the confidence of the Rulers, but also the confidence of

the people of the States concerned. The logicity and the reasonableness of this demand cannot be resisted. To the Rulers themselves, one may say with all respect that the position of constitutional monarchs in their States cannot be unacceptable to them especially as their Suzerain and Lord, the King-Emperor of England is himself a constitutional monarch and has to abide by the verdict and the opinion of his constitutional Advisers. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the wiser and the more statesmanlike among the Indian Rulers and their Advisers will see the signs of the times and will associate the people of the States in the administration of their States in the only possible manner, that is of making them responsible for the administration of the State. I do not believe myself that the leaders of the Indian States' people will grudge to accept the constitution which has been given by the Government of India Act 1935 to the Provinces. In that constitution, there are ample safeguards for safety and tranquillity for minorities and for the services, and in the case of the States additional safeguards may be provided for the Ruler's dynastic rights, for his Civil List, and for other necessary things, and the Ruler will take the place of the Governor in respect of the reserve powers and safeguards. I particularly hope that the South Indian States, which have always been more progressive and more enlightened than other States, and which are to-day ruled by enlightened Maharajas and statesmanlike Advisers, will set the pace and will agree to have responsible Government subject to necessary safeguards, and will also agree to send their representatives to the federal legislature by means of election, direct or indirect. That way lies peace and contentment and security for the whole of geographical India, that part known as British India, and the other part known as Indian India. The Indian National Congress is no enemy of the Indian Princes. It claims to be the friend of the Indian Princes. It only wants to act the part of a true friend who tells his friend what is good for him and not what he thinks the friend would like to have said to him.

TEN YEARS OF AVIATION IN INDIA

BY

MR. MOHANLAL P. GANDHI

—: O :—

THE mileage covered by civil air routes in India at present is well-nigh eight thousand miles. Every week twenty-five aeroplanes carry to and fro over fifteen tons of mail, nearly five million letters. All first class mail from the United Kingdom and other European countries as well is now reaching India within five days of its dispatch by air mail. Politicians, personalities, and businessmen to whom time is an all-important factor are using aeroplane frequently and some to the exclusion of all other modes of travel, when long trips are to be undertaken. India has become as air-minded as any other country in the world. Yet the growth of civil aviation in India is of very recent origin. Ten years ago, an aeroplane was much more than a novelty. It was a curiosity whose flight drew an inevitable crowd. Ten years ago, there was no air mail letter in India, there was hardly any Indian who was trained as a pilot and a few daring youths who applied themselves to the new craft received an ovation worthy of heroes on their return to their homeland. If there were any privately owned 'planes at that time, they were unknown, and possibly could not have been flown for want of pilots, landing grounds and lack of other facilities. There was no Aero Club in India to train students as pilots. In a word, ten years ago civil aviation had yet to make a beginning in this country and within this amazingly short space of time it has made such tremendous strides that already people are discussing of unemployment

among Indian aviators and philosophising over the high expenses that one has to incur in order to qualify as a professional pilot.

Aviation may well be said to have made a beginning in India exactly ten years ago when a survey 'plane of the Imperial Airways landed at Karachi to arrange preliminaries for the inauguration of their Empire Air route in the East. The extension of this limb of the Empire Air route from Cairo to Karachi was the first stage in establishing the Croydon to Australia direct air connection. The Imperial Airways had, in fact, intended to start this extension of the Eastern arm of their service two years earlier. All arrangements for it were ready in October 1926, but the service was held up at the Persian frontier for months. The Imperial Airways had understood that Persia which was a party to the Air Convention was willing to let them fly through their territory along the coast on the Persian Gulf. But Persia was evidently not satisfied with the proposed route. Negotiations dragged on for a long while and in the meantime, the Imperial Airways brought their extension up to Basra in Iraq. At last the Government of Iran gave an authorisation for three years to the Imperial Airways for an air service, once a week in each direction through a corridor leading from Baghdad to Isphahan, Yezd, Kirman, Bam and Gwadar. It was in 1929 that the Imperial Airways effected the extension of their weekly eastern service to Karachi. India thus had her first air

mail nine years ago. The Imperial Airways were, however, not satisfied with this route and after two brief extensions by the Iranian Government, they changed over to the route along the Persian Gulf on the Arabian side, which they are using at present for their services.

The distinction of making India air-minded goes to two private citizens, Sir Victor Sassoon, the Bombay magnate, and the late Sir Montagu Webb of Karachi. The latter foreseeing the possibilities of the development of civil aviation in this country which at that time was far behind the European countries in this respect almost simultaneously with the arrival of the survey party of the Imperial Airways, inaugurated in Karachi the Air League of India, the first organisation to be started in India for furthering the cause of commercial aviation, with the aims and objects, among others, of "creating public interest in aviation, fostering the development of air mail services in India, provision of aerodromes and landing grounds and training of Indian personnel for all branches of aircraft manufacture and operation". The Air League of India was followed a few months later by the foundation of the Aero Club of India by Sir Victor Sassoon whose interest in aviation commenced almost at the time when the heavier-than-air machines were yet in the infancy of their development, and whose practical skill in negotiating them had found for him an appointment as a pilot during the European War, 1914-18.

The Aero Club was an immediate success. In 1928, the Air League of India was turned into Karachi Aero Club, the first club to be started in India for training students as pilots. Soon afterwards, Aero

Clubs were started at Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta by the Aero Club of India. The various Aero Clubs drew around them a number of enthusiastic young men and very soon the enterprises of young Indian aviators began to be prominently displayed in newspapers. Among the early exploits of Indian aviators may be mentioned the flight of Kabali, a Bombayite, the flight of Aspy Engineer and Chawla in a push moth from Karachi to England and the successful effort of a Sikh youth to fly solo from England to India and thus win the Aga Khan prize of £500.

Within a year of the extension of the Imperial Airways' Eastern arm of the air routes, the K. L. M. and the Air Orient Companies of Holland and France respectively extended their air routes eastwards and started their services to their colonies in the Far East across India. The K. L. M's and the Air Orient's were the first trans-continental services to be run across India. With only working organisations, these companies had to operate a route of nearly ten thousand miles and, therefore, the actual inauguration of their services was preceded by a number of test flights extending to over three years. Spectacular among these test flights was the one undertaken by Von Lear Black who flew in a K. L. M. machine as a passenger from Amsterdam to Batavia and back in 1927 in thirteen flying days.

The Air Mail routes and the Flying Clubs were established in India almost about the same time and hence the internal air routes came in handy for the newly trained pupils from these Clubs for the operation of machines carrying air mails. Shortly after the Imperial Airways extended their Empire Air Service to Karachi, the Delhi Flying Club undertook to operate a

Karachi to Delhi service. The Tatas of Bombay also started an aviation department and very soon inaugurated an air service between Karachi and Bombay which they then extended to Madras. All these services were operated mostly by young Indian pilots. The Delhi Flying Club continued to operate the Karachi-Delhi route for two years till the Imperial Airways took one more step forward in extending their air services and extended their route to Delhi and shortly afterwards to Calcutta, Rangoon and ultimately linking England with Australia. While this extension of the Empire Air Services was in progress, the Imperial Airways duplicated the service which was further multiplied to four mails a week last year with the introduction of the air mail without surcharge in the Empire. Thus in a space of ten years the dream of establishing an Empire-wide link of air mail services for the carriage of mails at ordinary postal rates was realised. At present, there are five services a week. The services are being run partly by flying boats and partly by land planes and consequently a number of marine air ports have also been established in the country.

The K. L. M. and the Air Orient services have also been expanded and at present three services by the K. L. M. and two services by the Air Orient per week are being maintained on their trans-Indian route.

The successful operation of the feeder services in India with Indian pilots have proved their capacity and ability as aviators. Though some of these feeder services are in existence for over eight years, they have worked with remarkable punctuality and freedom from accidents—a fact which would make them hold their own in this respect against any air service

on the Continent of Europe or the United States. Particularly significant is the successful operation of the air services run by the Tatas without any aid by way of subsidy from the Government, except a charge of an anna per half ounce of postal articles.

Businessmen at once realised the importance of communication by air and they enthusiastically developed and picked up the air mail habit. The establishment of the air route proved equally useful to those who have to live on the Makran coast for their business and, therefore, had to live in isolation of the world at large. At present, fresh vegetables, eggs and many other articles of daily use are regular items of traffic by air between Karachi and places on the Makran coast.

Recently, particularly during the current year, gold has also increasingly figured as cargo that is being exported from India via air. Statistics up to the end of October 1938 showed that gold and bullion valued at slightly over two crores of rupees was exported to various places, mostly United Kingdom by air from Karachi.

That communication by air offers decided advantages over any other means of transport between places, which by their peculiar topographical lay out may be accessible only by long detours on the land route, has been proved by the successful operation of an air service between Bombay and important towns in Kathiawar. The distance between Bombay and Bhavnagar as the crow flies is hardly 250 miles. Yet by land route it takes 24 hours to reach Bombay from that place as the train has to traverse double the distance on account of the Gulf of Cambay. An aeroplane would cut down the time of

journey to a couple of hours and the service is growing in popularity as time passes.

The administration of the air routes in India during the first decade of the growth of civil aviation in the country has become an intricate problem. For this purpose, the country has been divided into several zones. The main overland air route between Karachi and Rangoon has been divided into five zones: Karachi to Jodhpur, Jodhpur to Allahabad, Allahabad to Calcutta, Calcutta to Akyab, and Akyab to Rangoon. The departure of any aeroplane within any of these zones is wirelessed to the next aerodrome. With the departure report, information is also sent about the mail, freight and passengers carried by a 'plane and quantity of oil and petrol required. On the receipt of these messages, the aerodrome of destination advises all the authorities concerned, such as the Post Office, the Customs, Health authorities and the agents of the operating companies, about the arrival of the 'plane. All these messages pass from the wireless station to the control room with minimum delay. In the air, aircraft fitted with wireless keep in touch with both aerodromes, the one it has left and the other that it is to reach, and to the latter it also wirelesses the time it is likely to take, an hour or two before it is due to reach there. So correct are these estimates that a machine is rarely more than five minutes behind or before its stated time of arrival.

Wireless and meteorology play an important part in aviation, and with the growth of aviation in India, the organisation of wireless and meteorological services have also enormously grown. Medium wave transmitting stations with ground-direction-finding transmitters have been established at thirteen places in India on the Trans-Continental route. But the earlier types of transmitters erected at various stations are liable to serious errors, particularly at night and twilight, and two of the stations have already been fitted with transmitters of more modern types which are comparatively accurate at all times of the day.

Some idea of the expenditure incurred by the Civil Aviation Department on providing wireless facilities to the aircraft will be gained from the fact that the total cost of providing these facilities in a year is five lakhs of rupees and this expenditure would be doubled when the developments contemplated by the Department of fitting four main stations with short-wave transmitters and replacing the transmitters at other stations with modern types are carried out.

The first decade of the civil aviation in India was, as it were, fittingly celebrated at Karachi during the first week of December when the new Administrative Offices of the Karachi Air Port were formally opened for use by His Excellency Sir Lancelot Graham, Governor of Sind, and an Air Rally was held in which aviators from all places in India participated.

SCIENCE FOR THE CITIZEN

BY THE HON. JUSTICE SIR MAHOMED SULAIMAN

ANCELOT HOGBEN, the author of "Science for the Citizen" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London) needs no introduction in view of the popularity of his previous book "Mathematics for the Million". The new book contains a wealth of information covering over 1,100 or sized pages, which must obviously be the result of many years' hard work. It deals with a large variety of scientific matters, even more fully discussed than they would be required by a student of Every-day Science. It is written in a popular and lucid style; and although not intended to be any advanced book on any of the subjects dealt with, it, nevertheless, contains plenty of useful and valuable information. The book, though technical in character, is an easy and interesting reading. The neat and excellent drawings and illustrations by J. F. Horrabin enhance its value.

As the subjects dealt with have not been grouped together in strict accordance with the recognised division of the Sciences, and are rather widely scattered, it may, but for the index, be difficult to find where they are. The book is divided into five parts: The Conquest of (1) Time Reckoning and Space Measurement; (2) Substitutes; (3) Power; (4) Hunger and Disease; and (5) Behaviour, each containing several Chapters. The headings of the Chapters, though chosen to make them attractive to the lay reader, do not at first impression serve as a true guide. For instance, the tenth Chapter is headed as "The last Resting Place of Spirits" and the title would hardly enlighten the reader until he discovers that it contains a fairly detailed description of chemical compounds, formulæ and analyses. Possibly an

artistic sense of alliteration has something to do with the choice of names for the various chapters, as "Pole Star and Pyramid" go together and so do "Spectacles and Satellites". "Pompey's Pillar" deals not only with the Science of sea-faring, including compass, longitude, altitude and meridian, but also the apparent motions of the Sun, the Earth and the Moon, Solar and Lunar eclipses, the Celestial sphere and even Star maps. But rather a happy choice is "Wheel, Weight and Watch-spring".

Even old exploded systems, like the Ptolemaic Geocentric system, have been given a detailed treatment more appropriate for the trained astronomer, who can appreciate the contrast between the old and the modern conceptions, than of interest to the Reader seeking a popular description of modern knowledge. But the modern innovations like Relativity or Quantum Mechanics, are perhaps considered too much for the common sense of ordinary readers, and have been studiously eschewed. One would strive in vain to discover any reference to neutron much less to neutrino. Nor do great Mathematicians and Scientists like Albert Einstein and Neils Bohr find any mention. It is difficult to vouchsafe for perfect accuracy of details in all particulars when a vast field is covered, but the author does not appear to have spared any pains in making the book both interesting and instructive. "The intellectual censorship" of three friends, described by the author in a complimentary way as the Brain Trust, ensures such accuracy. The author's knowledge of the classical sciences is wide and thorough, which has enabled him to deal with so many branches of Science with such admirable skill. The book will be a useful addition to any library.

JAPANESE EMIGRATION PROJECTS

BY MR. RASHID A. MUNSHI, B.A.G. DIP. FORESTRY (N. WALES), EX-F.R.M.S. (LONDON)

(Author of "Economic Fruit Trees and Their Culture")

IT is evident that general agricultural conditions in Japan are very poor and soils light in texture and many times unproductive. Nearly 80 per cent. of the total land area in Japan is mountainous and hilly, and out of the 20 per cent. remaining only 15 per cent. is fertile land.

Looking into the statistics nearly 5,600,000 families are found to be settled on 4,900,000 land acreage, and as such the economic holdings are very small and meagre. In many rural areas the holdings seldom exceed 1.1 *cho* or 3 acres.

The agrarian communities find it very difficult to make both ends meet and often they have to leave their villages in search of employments and higher wages. To add to these problems of over-populations, there are natural calamities such as typhoons and sleet and untimely rains. The villagers have seldom bumper rice harvests and the recent economic depression has aggravated their poverty and hardships.

In many Japanese villages people have no decent *kimono* or clothes to wear and the monthly earnings being 13-15 *yens* per month per head. Due to increase in rural population during the recent times, there is too much unemployment and the people generally send out their women and children to work in the factories and other places.

This problem of unemployment and over-population is being successfully tackled both by the Government and the public bodies by introducing birth-control measures wherever possible and giving adequate facilities for purposes of colonization.

During recent times the Overseas Office in conjunction with local authorities has

been trying its level best to encourage transplantation of families to fertile regions of North Manchuria and Brazil in South America.

It seems the regions adjoining Hsinking, Lunkiang, and Sankiang districts and along the banks of Sungeri and Niuling rivers are found to be most fertile and the climatic conditions are mild and suitable to the Japanese settlers in North Manchuria. The crops such as tobacco, sugar-beet and soya beans are remunerative enough to induce the farmers to purchase land and occupy their spare time in cottage industries.

The North Manchurian colonies fall within the same latitude as the Northern parts of Japan, *i.e.*, North from Akita prefecture to Karafuto, but the Japanese climatic conditions are humid and the temperature ranges from 80-90° F. with cold winds.

TOKYO OVERSEAS OFFICE PROJECTS

The Overseas Office along with the Finance Office authorities has elaborate emigration projects in view. It appears they are contemplating to send nearly 1,000,000 agrarian families within a course of 20 years and that too in four stages. It is further decided that each family is to get a 1,000 *yens* Government subsidy to start with and about 20 *cho* or 25 acres of land from the Manchou Government. These Japanese settlers are given arms for self-protection from the terrors of the petty war-lords and bandits, and in addition the Kuantung Garrison is to look further after their families and property.

The settlers are often encouraged to utilize F. Y. M. (farm yard manure) as

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far as possible in the cultivation of their plots. Out of the total 25 acreage at his disposal, nearly half is devoted to fodder crops and cereals while the rest is left for cattle raising and sheep farming. One or two acres are put under vegetables and home site.

The Government authorities are further advised to supply 30 sheep, 1 cow, 1 horse, hogs and chickens to the newly settled farmers on the agricultural plots.

These immigrants are expected to be self-sufficing and independent within a course of some three years or so.

They have every right to purchase new sites and grow economic agricultural crops in the near future.

The Government has arranged to give suitable loans and subsidies to those in need of farm implements and seeds and those too at low rate of interest.

These settlers are required to be physically fit and above 20 years and below 30 years' age limits prior to their attesting signatures to the forms of applications and emigration certificates.

They should be born agriculturists as far as possible and possess sufficient knowledge of the farm technique.

They are asked to approach the Tokyo Overseas Office through the village and prefectural authorities concerned and secure finally the approval and emigration certificates.

Very often these immigrants are divided into so-called "leaders" and "general settlers". These leader settlers are generally required to undergo a training course for 20 days or one month in Japan and later on arrival in North Manchuria. They are taken up either by the Colonial Training School near the various Japanese colonies of Chimussu or by the National

High School, Harbin, for further agricultural practical studies for 1½ to 2 months.

Most of these trained men are absorbed up in the field works and general management of the various agricultural colonies.

In certain cases special course has been prescribed for advanced students and supervising colonists.

The affairs of a colony are supposed to be looked after by a chief, four assistants and a supervising colonist and often these are graduates of agricultural colleges and schools in Japan.

The groups belonging to the class of "general settlers" have little or no responsibility whatsoever as regards to the future colonial developments and farm managements. These simply settle down to farm routine works in the ordinary course of time beginning sometime towards the month of March or so every year after the preliminary works of land survey have been prepared and chalked out by the leader colonists.

NORTH MANCHURIAN COLONIES

Most of the Japanese colonies are situated in Hsinking, Sankiang and Lunkiang districts in North Manchuria. The soils are cleared and cultivated by the agricultural overseers appointed by the Overseas Office and Japanese Government.

These are also looked after and protected by the Manchou Government authorities and the Kuantung Garrison stationed there. A colony comprises of some 300 families and 10 colonies have been joined together to form into a village. It is learnt from the agricultural office records that these Japanese villages are managed by the Hsinking Government and the village administration has been most thorough and up-to-date.

These villages have a sort of autonomous system of their own, and the financial and industrial affairs are often handled by the Village Economic Unions. Every village has a guard-leader, a chief, a physician, a veterinary doctor and some three agricultural experts to advise and promote the cause of rural reconstruction programmes in hand.

The Government has been liberal enough to grant handsome subsidies for public bath-houses and village schools.

In certain villages the schools have been brought up to the level of second grade schools and advanced curriculum of studies has been introduced just as the middle grade schools of Japan do.

The colonial communities seem to take growing interest in the education of their children from day to day.

So far several attempts have been successfully made by the Tokyo Overseas Office to transplant families in North Manchurian districts and its plan of work is being steadily carried out in the interest of the rural communities.

The first group of Japanese immigrants comprising of some 1,800 farmers left Japan for Chengtzuho and Hataho and thence to Chiamussu and Yenpaochen some time during the Spring months of 1932-33.

They formed themselves into four companies headed by four army officers and were seen off by Municipality members and school children amidst shouts of 'Banzai' and Bon Voyage. These settlers took about 10 days to reach Chiamussu. For the present there are very few road and railway travel facilities and every step is being taken by the Manchurian Government authorities to improve the situation and hasten Public Works Department's road-side

projects. These Japanese farmers have shown great interest during the short space of some three years and have established village hospitals, public halls and schools for their children.

Out of their contemplated projects, some two villages, viz., Naganomura and Yungpaochen, later came to be known as Iyasakamura, have advanced agricultural cultivations and those too on collective farming basis. These improvements have been chiefly responsible in seasonal bumper wheat and barley harvests.

The settlers seem to get good financial returns and are now in a position to grow such crops as sugar-beet, tobacco and hemp.

The Iyasakamura seems a model village and owns village hall where local and administrative affairs are conducted. It also boasts of a co-operative store, which has varied enterprises in connection with brewing of beverages, milling flour, refining rice and marketing crops. It is also interested in extraction of bean oil on small scales.

The village has a decent school and the staff comprises of village-master, deputy-master, and a treasurer.

It seems some 120 babies were born in the village by the year 1936 ending and that out of 493 settlers some 307 had their own houses and apartments.

Further figures show that there were some 222 horses, 109 cows, 580 sheep, and 234 hogs besides 560-735 chickens in the village.

The Japanese settlers have further secured the services of veterinarian doctors and quite a few agricultural advisers and experts. One of the colonies has three physicians and two hospitals for contagious and ordinary diseases. Most of the settlers

are content and prosperous and enjoy a sort of higher and better standard of living than they used to in their original homes in Japan.

The second batch of Japanese immigrants came to settle down in Chiburimura during 1933. These agrarian families were mostly recruited from Northern parts of the main Island.

Unfortunately these were attacked by some 3,000 bandits soon after their settlement and had to leave the colony and flee for shelter to an adjoining village called Honanying. These were given due protection by the Manchurian Government Officials and soon occupied themselves in peaceful vocations and rural reconstruction works.

This Chiburimura has now a rice refining mill, a flour mill, and a brewery.

production of 1,147 *kan* tobacco leaves valued at some 1,720'50 *yens*. It seems the Harbin Tobacco Factory pays as much as 1'50 *yen* per *kan* and the farmers are greatly benefitted due to incessant demand in the local markets. The Manchou Government itself requires some 4,000,000 *kan* tobacco leaves and most of it is imported from abroad.

The village owns 247 horses, 55 cattle, 25 colts, and 1,000 sheep. These have also small poultry concerns on the farms. The agricultural communities have established a primary school in 1935 and the village serves as a light-house for the spread of knowledge.

It is self-sufficing and enjoys an autonomous system of internal administration.

During 1933, a third group of settlers came to be established and settled



THE FARMERS GOING TO WORK

The Japanese farmers have improved upon seasonal harvests and secure about 30'5 bushels of barley and 20'9 bushels of wheat per acre. They also grow tobacco, and the 1936 crop shows a total

in Peitaiko-Suileng "hsien" (district) and Pinkiang province.

These numbered about 500 heads. Peitaiko is sometimes well known as the "Granary of North Manchuria" and

possesses rich and fertile stretches of agricultural lands.

The farmers soon established little colonies of their own and are doing well.

By 1936, the Japanese Government sent another batch of settlers 5,600 in the

They first came with the sole idea of spreading their religion, but most of them have taken to agricultural pursuits and farming. The Tenri Young Men's Association has a sort of rigorous daily routine of work in the Tenri village and conduct



WINNOWING OF RICE WITH HAND AND MACHINE

Mishan district of Pinking province. These emigrants split up and established themselves in Takaho and Chungtsuho villages adjoining Tunghai and Keisei railway stations. Most of the agricultural lands are found to be situated on the bank of the river Niuling-ho and as such are rich and fertile for rice crops and harvests.

Apart from these Japanese Government's emigration projects, several other missionary and public independent bodies have come forward to establish new colonies, especially in the Southern Manchurian Railway zone.

It seems the Tenri-kyo and Itto-en group of religious bodies have established their own colonies in Harbin and Toei.

regular mass services for the people. They generally get up as early as 3 A.M. and lead a hermit's life.

They have, however, earned a good name and own agricultural lands in the vicinity of Shinlitung, Changtsutun, and Cheng chiatun in the north-east of Harbin,

Lastly but of no less importance is the Tenshoen Institution duly promoted and managed by its able director, one Mr. Bon-yo Kosaka of Tokyo. It seems he has been chiefly responsible in successfully bringing together ex-service men and unemployed of Tokyo and Tokyo suburbs and establish them in agricultural colonies of the North Manchurian districts.

Prior to the working of this Tensho-En Settlement in Fukagawa slums of Tokyo. Much was done in the way of transplanting families by such bodies and institutions as the Tokyo Municipal Social Welfare Bureau, Gendarmerie Headquarters and the Kuantung Garrison. To-day the Tenshoen Colony in Manchuria has nearly 72-75 families and most of them are permanently settled on their estates.

In one of the industrial agricultural centres, these farmers own some 62 cows, 112 sheep, and 96 pigs. The place is getting ever so prosperous and the farmers are now in a position to buy new lands on their own account. There is also a weaving factory giving employment to those who are in search of work, especially during off-seasons of the year. Only recently another canned food factory has been established in the vicinity of this Japanese colony.

This colony has been working smoothly and the farming is being carried on collective farming basis so commonly in vogue in Siberian districts in the North.

The member colonists have no hard-and-fast rules as regards to the internal affairs and general administration of the place as the previous ones have imposed on themselves and the Manchurian Hararian communities are free to join the colony.

These Government Overseas and Finance Offices projects, in order to relieve the tension of overpopulation and unemployment, have been successfully carried out during 1933-1937.

Besides these, such private organisations as the Manchou Immigration Co. and the Manchou Colonization Co. have come into existence and are busy in aiding the colonial agricultural settlements. It seems

the Manchou Immigration Co. was formed during the latter part of 1935 with the sole object of training the Japanese emigrants to Manchuria. On the other hand, the Manchou Colonization Co., though formed in the same year, takes active part in purchasing suitable lands, managements and financing the rehabilitation projects.

The Japanese emigrants have proved themselves to be active workers and possessing technical field knowledge much in advance to those of the Shantoong coolies or the local Manchurian farmers. The new crops grown under the colonial managements and cultivations are decidedly remunerative and economic in the long run. New colonies and villages have sprung up along the banks of Sungari and Niuling rivers and the Manchurian Government is trying its utmost to encourage rural reconstruction works and giving adequate protection from the armed bandits.

There are again large-scale plans in order to establish railway centres and connect up important and industrial places, such as Chamusu and Tonan and Poli. It is expected that these railway branches and others would be directly responsible in converting these scattered colonies of North Manchuria into huge colonial regions.

It is interesting to note that these industrial enterprises have been successful and much has been achieved to mitigate the undue and sordid influences of the problems of overpopulation, criminology, and unemployment in the land.

The colonization schemes have further opened up new venues for the pavement of future economic and cultural ties in between the Japanese people and the Manchurians, and across the Pacific in Brazil.—
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THE HISTORY OF NON-VIOLENCE

BY MR. P. SPRATT

NON-VIOLENCE in its long Indian history has passed through several stages. It is the purpose of this article to distinguish four of them.

As it appears in the classical authors, it shows the characteristics of the thought of a priestly ruling class. In this stage it is itself a dogma, or it is deduced from dogmatic premisses—the existence in all living creatures of souls similar to those of men. The argument is followed out consistently. It applies to all kinds of animals: men are allowed no more value than mosquitoes. It applies also not only to violence in the ordinary sense, but to harsh words. There is, therewith, a sort of ruthlessness in the extension of the principle. It is to be observed, according to Patanjali, without regard to time, place, or circumstances. The doctrine has no regard for practical necessities. Dangerous animals are to be spared no less than harmless ones.

These features are characteristic of the thought of a priestly class. The dogmatic assurance, the consistent logic, the neglect of the practical every-day world—all speak of that peculiar, cloistered, other-worldly outlook. So also, perhaps a little contradictorily, does the neglect, in practice, of the spirit in favour of the letter. For this is the doctrine as it is generally held by Hindus to this day; and as Gandhiji has had occasion to point out, while orthodox Hindus protest against the benevolent taking of life, as when he had some rabid dogs killed, they "forget that there may be far more *himsa* in the slow torture of men and animals, the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfish greed, the

wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and killing of their self-respect".

The next stage of non-violence is that typical of the mediæval bourgeoisie. Here were a class of men in possession of wealth but not of political power, and under a regime which did not very effectively guarantee the reign of law. In Europe in similar conditions, the bourgeoisie sought security by taking the protection of some of the military class against others, or alternatively by organising in their own urban strongholds their own military defence. The former was but to yield oneself to systematic plunder, and the second method was therefore the more popular, and gradually prevailed.

In India, from whatever causes, the second method made little progress. Accordingly we find what can be interpreted as a defence-reaction of a different type. This is the adoption by the bourgeoisie class of a show—I do not mean merely a show—of piety, and in particular of non-violence. In order to avoid plunder by the authorities and irresponsible armed men, the rich in those times had to pretend to be poor. Similarly, to disarm envy and ward off aggression, they would themselves conform to the rule which they would like to see generally observed—non-violence. They did in fact do these things, and even to-day the tradition persists among Banias of strict vegetarianism and other signs of piety, of living cheaply and dirtily, but endowing highly ornate temples. Probably the popularity of Gandhiji's ideas among the bourgeoisie is partly due to these traditions.

It is not difficult to see traces of both these kinds of non-violence in the doctrine

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professed by Gandhiji. Formally his theory is that of the classics, as he himself says. It seems to a non-expert to resemble closely that expounded by Patanjali. Though he has often to commit breaches of the principle so laid down, Gandhiji does not regard these as weakening it. He remains the ideal towards which he gives one must strive.

Gandhiji associates with his non-violence the principle of humility, and lays great stress on it. The truly non-violent man must live poorly, like a peasant or a worker. Further he holds that his non-violence confers power upon him. "Where is the power of non-violence in me?" he is asked. He has even spoken of that power as "credit" given him by God.

There are no doubt other and weightier reasons which need not be explored here, why Gandhiji should hold these views and use these peculiar expressions. But I think it is not too extravagant to detect in them a trace of the attitude of the mediæval bourgeois.

It is obvious, however, that this is a matter only of traces. The first type of influence, that of the classical doctrine, is more important and more evident in relation to Gandhiji. But the most important class-influence in his non-violence is the third, that of the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern Europe is not lacking in expressions of this kind of non-violence. The doctrine of the Quakers shows it most completely, but many signs of it are to be seen beyond the bounds of that small sect. It is in fact but an extreme expression of the bourgeois individualist attitude to things. The earlier bourgeois desire to be left free from spoliation develops into a general outlook upon life, centering upon the

individual free from all interference by others, except such contacts as he chooses to enter into, and these regulated by law to secure justice. Non-violence may be said to sum up the ethics of free competition, equality of opportunity and individual liberty.

Further, non-violence is a virtue which will appeal as practically possible only to men who assume that their own rationality is shared by mankind as a whole. Dr. Mannheim has given a very lucid account (in contrast to the rest of his book) of this mentality. It is distinguished by extreme intellectualism; it neglects will, interest and passion; it is intolerant of emotionally determined and evaluative thinking; it puts its confidence in reason. It is the kind of attitude which the Marxists call "metaphysical" or mechanistic.

Non-violence evidently fits this kind of mental atmosphere very well. It assumes, as the utilitarians did, that men seek their own interests in a rational way, that they control their emotions and impulses in their own larger interests. Mr. Andrews and Prof. Whitehead have popularised Plato's "victory of persuasion over force". The phrase shows admirably the intimate connection between rationality and non-violence; and suggests further the connection of both with individualism—respect for the individual as in himself valuable.

Non-violence in this aspect is then but the primary condition of social co-operation, of living together on the part of free and equal citizens. It involves only internalising the restraint which is necessary in any society, especially in a free and equal one. It seeks to replace the criminal law.

No elaboration is needed to show that Gandhiji's non-violence partakes most of the nature of this modern bourgeois non-violence. His doctrine is strongly individualistic and rationalistic. It undoubtedly neglects the facts of psychology, in attributing to ordinary people, and especially to people in the mass, a higher degree of rational foresight and self-control than they actually possess.

Non-violence of this cold, rational sort has never succeeded. Non-violence has victories to its credit, but they have been won not by virtue of its rationality but by the strength of its emotional appeal. So it would be if the attempt were made to conduct a society with this kind of non-violence as its guiding principle. Bourgeois non-violence would not be enough. It aims at liberty and equality, but these unsupported by fraternity would fail. Non-violence must be given an emotional content.

Gandhiji has extended the doctrine of bourgeois non-violence in the restricted meaning here considered, by giving his doctrine some of the necessary emotional tone. He has identified it with love—social solidarity, fraternity.

Now the working-class socialist movement lays great stress on social solidarity, both emotionally and intellectually. It criticises the bourgeois social order as heartless, cruel and selfish; and as atomistic, and so as tending necessarily to social disintegration, and as leading to intellectual error. Socialists differ a good deal, but all would agree that fraternity is an essential part of their doctrine.

A principle of non-violence which stresses this emotional tie between the individual and society may then be associated with the working-class and its characteristic

doctrine of socialism. And so far as Gandhiji lays emphasis on this aspect of non-violence, he may be said to incline towards socialism. Of course, this profession on his part is not enough to entitle us to call him a socialist. But it is reasonable to call socialistic one side of his teaching, although it seems inconsistent with other theories of his which are kept more prominently before the public.

Gandhiji has said that while disapproving of the methods of the socialists he approves of their aims. He would like social and economic equality, and democracy, and the relinquishment of all private property-rights. He would place large-scale industries under public control. But these questions are for the present rather remote. What seems more immediately important is the aspect of socialism which he repudiates, its methods. These are, of course violence, confiscation of property, and class-struggle. Gandhiji believes that the necessary transformation of society can be brought about without compulsion upon property-owners; and nobody questions that if it can be so brought about it ought to be. I am not prepared to say that this transformation without compulsion is impossible, but I think it extremely unlikely. Here again, is to be seen the influence of the rationalism so characteristic of bourgeois thought, and of Gandhiji's. The power of reason is exaggerated, emotional factors are neglected. For in such a matter emotional factors are of decisive importance. The question has not arisen yet in India and can hardly do so for some time. But when if ever it does arise, it will be the subject not of academic debate but of passionate dispute, class ranged against class, power against power. As it is now

in Europe, so probably it will be in India, a question of change in the economic system, or collapse; of power to the fascists or power to the socialists. If the socialists win, they will have no time, even if they have the desire, for theoretical demonstrations and rational persuasion. They will have to act at once, or abandon the cause for which they have obtained power, and ultimately lose that power itself. Gandhiji's method of dealing with these problems reminds one of those theoretically perfect engines one reads of in Thermodynamics. Their efficiency is the maximum possible, one hundred per cent—but only if they work infinitely slowly. In practice there can never be time for peaceful persuasion and free consent.

This peculiarity in Gandhiji's thought seems to most socialists so important that they refuse to recognise what I have called the fourth phase of his non-violence.

Nevertheless it is real, and worth recognition. It is surely a fact of no small importance that he does uphold the main principles of socialism, that he does admit that a society based on equality and brotherhood, instead of inequality and competition, is the society we ought to aim at; and further, that he admits this not merely in an abstract way, as a remote and practically negligible ideal, but as a real possibility, which he regards himself as working to bring about. If the question of socialism becomes an urgent one within this generation, it may be predicted that what is now the united camp of the followers of Gandhiji will become divided over it. Socialists may then appreciate, what for the most part they do not appreciate now, the great value for their cause of the Gandhist teaching generally, and even of the much-derided principle of non-violence.

THE PROBLEM OF DOUBLE TAXATION

BY PROF. BOOL CHAND, PH.D. (LONDON)

DOUBLE taxation arises owing to the adoption of two fundamentally distinct bases of taxation by any two taxing countries or authorities: one country or authority may tax incomes on the basis of their 'origin', and the other may tax on the basis of the domicile or permanent residence of the recipients of such incomes. In effect, thus, the same income may have to bear the burden of income tax twice over in the two taxing countries; and this situation gives rise to a real hardship and grievance, which with the constant growth of international, commercial and industrial enterprise is assuming larger and larger proportions every day.

This problem of conflict between the laws relating to taxation in different states, and the consequential necessity of double taxation relief, was considered by a small Committee consisting of Professors Seligman, Bruins, Einaudi, and Sir Josiah Stamp appointed by the Finance Committee of the League of Nations. The Committee came to the conclusion that the most feasible principle of double taxation relief was the division of the total tax between the two taxing jurisdictions, and therefore suggested the advisability of concluding international, inter-state, and inter-communal agreements in order to achieve that object; for only by means of such

agreements could there be an effective assurance of uniform action on the part of the conflicting authorities. As for the basis of the division of the total tax between any two conflicting authorities, Prof. Seligman's opinion was that 'a large part of the tax should go to the place where the property lies or whence the earnings are derived, a smaller share to the domicile of the owner': this opinion was quite in consonance with the doctrine of economic allegiance elaborated by the Committee on Double Taxation. The implications, however, of these principles of double taxation relief have not been strictly observed in practice in the Western countries. They have been modified and generally interpreted to their own advantage, so that relief from double taxation has been given on two fundamental conditions, firstly, that any relief that is thus granted should be granted by a country only to its own nationals and residents, and secondly, that any inter-state agreement for double taxation relief should be of the nature of a trade agreement which secures the maximum of advantage for the nation corresponding to the advantage that is conceded to the foreign nation.

This same practice is followed in the Indian tax system also when the taxing authorities in conflict happen to be British India and any Indian State. In this case, the income subject to relief is Indian in the sense that it arises in India and the person given relief is also an Indian, so that the first fundamental condition of double taxation relief as practised in the Western countries is quite automatically secured. As regards the relief itself, the existing arrangement is that when a person who has paid British Indian income tax

on any part of his income has also paid on the same part of his income State income tax in any part of the States, he shall then be entitled to a refund from the Indian Government of a sum representing half the rate of the State tax levied on his income, provided that such relief is not to exceed one-half of the Indian rate of tax. The State, in return, refunds to the double taxed person the other half of the State tax. Thus a doubly taxed person has to pay, in the final analysis, since the rate of the British Indian tax is almost always higher than that of the State tax, only the higher of the two income taxes.

But the system of double taxation relief as between India and Great Britain is not governed by these national principles or equitable practice and necessarily causes to the Indian exchequer a large financial loss every year. Great Britain, as is well known, has a very comprehensive scheme of income tax, levying it both on the basis of 'origin' and 'residence'; India is partial to incomes from salaries and securities receivable abroad, but rigorously taxes incomes from business carried on in India without any regard to the place where such income is receivable: therefore in many cases there is double taxation of the same business income by the British and the Indian Governments. The existing arrangement for relief of this double taxation is to make the first charge on the British exchequer to the extent of one-half of the British rate including sur-tax, and then to have a refund from the Indian exchequer to the extent of the difference between the Indian rate of tax and the rate at which relief has already been granted from the British exchequer, subject however to the maximum

of one-half of the Indian rate. But although the income that thus receives relief is formally Indian income, the main beneficiaries from this relief are largely Englishmen. There are very few Indians who have any substantial incomes arising in the United Kingdom, so that the whole effect of the operation of present system of double taxation relief between these two countries is to benefit non-Indians upon their Indian incomes. All this is against one of the fundamental conditions underlying double taxation relief. The loss of revenue to Indian exchequer on this account is by no means small, and with every rise in the Indian rate of tax it must obviously increase. All this loss is being borne by Indian exchequer merely to afford relief to foreigners who are trading in India and exploiting Indian resources. There is no reason, therefore, why this system of relief should not be abolished, and there can be no justification for the new Income Tax Amendment Bill leaving the existing provisions wholly intact.

An argument is sometimes made that a change in the existing arrangement would, by forcing double taxation upon Englishmen, impede the free flow of British capital in India and tend to raise the rate of interest; but such an argument seems to us to be a mistaken one. The grant of relief for Indian income given at present by the British exchequer is not conditional and is not based upon reciprocity, so that if Indian Government should refuse to give any refund, the loss to the British profiteer in India will only be to the extent of that portion of the Indian tax which is in excess of half the British rate. Such loss cannot be large in dimension and should not be any great

discouragement to British capital in India; for it would at all events be counter-balanced by the high return which British capital normally obtains in India. But even if the withdrawal of double taxation relief should cause some discouragement to foreign capital in India, we do not see why that should make us unhappy. India has large reserves of capital which can be mobilised and which need to be tempted out by positive Government action; for only thus can Indian dependence upon foreign capital be brought to an end.

There is one kind of double taxation relief, however, for which there is ample justification as it would operate in the interest of Indian nationals. At present there is no agreement for double taxation relief between India and the Dominions, so that all Indian incomes derived from any of the Dominions are subject to the levy of double taxation in India as well as in the respective Dominion where the income arises. In order to encourage the acquisition of foreign profits, some of the Dominions, like New Zealand and Canada, are specifically exempting their citizens from being taxed upon incomes that have already paid income tax in any other part of the British Empire, so that incomes derived by their nationals from abroad are relieved from the burden of double taxation, even although such relief means a slight cost to the National exchequer. Many Indians have an extensive trade in South Africa and they have to pay income tax upon their incomes, not only to the South African Government but also to the Indian Government. Although the income thus doubly taxed is technically South African income, the persons who suffer by such double taxation are Indians. It is, therefore, desirable that the Indian Government should try to make permanent agreements with all those countries in which Indians are carrying on lucrative trade for the division of the total tax income and the corresponding relief of double taxation.

PROGRESS AND THE GOOD LIFE

BY MR. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, M.L.A.

“NOT life, but a good life is to be chiefly valued,” said Socrates. The concept of the good life is undergoing constant change with the progress of the sciences and of man's ethical standards. The ceaseless pursuit of the good life, good in that it is purposive, humane and beautiful ever more, is the end which is worthy of man's utmost endeavours in this world. Thinkers of every country therefore have to readjust their ideas in relation to the rapidly changing conditions about them. It is dangerous to proceed on the assumption that the systems and institutions that we live under, were built for all time. Institutions are but means to the great end of the good life and to fossilize and place them beyond the healthy influence of amendment and alteration is to mistake the means for the end and the resulting social lag brings on unhappiness and strife. If, similarly, people who are placed in positions of power, trust, influence and privilege are unable to readjust their views to suit changing conditions, a class of die-hards is created. Misfits and disharmonies occur largely because we are unable to keep pace with the changes in thought occurring around us and because we lack the capacity for changing our methods in certain matters in tune with the changes occurring in other aspects of life.

Let us apply this reasoning first to politics. In our own country, twenty or twenty-five years ago—and this is not a very big period of time—our leaders like Surendranath Bannerjee would have been content with a recognition of India's ultimate right to Dominion Status and the grant of a substantial measure

of reform towards it. Fifteen years ago, C. R. Das said he wanted immediate Dominion Status. To-day, the generally accepted political ideal for the country is *Purna Swaraj* which to most people means a fully national and independent international status for all-India. Political institutions are to be judged by their capacity to make for conditions to ensure the good life of the people and during the past two or three decades, these conditions have moved so incessantly that the country has changed its political idealism from a place in the back benches of the British Imperial Councils to the front rank of international life. This is not the work of agitators but this springs out of the deep desires and interests of the people and whether you call it a progress towards the good life or a reversion to the chaos of that anarchy which has filled our land in the past with misery, you have to register the fact of the overwhelming change.

What is true in the political field is even more strikingly true in other spheres of human activity in this country. In the economic and social spheres, the unrest is more deep seated. The institutions on which our social and economic life is founded, were based on a state of things that social evolution has long outrun. If the institutions are now less efficient or adequate, there is no use attributing these defects to temporary causes. The matter is of serious importance, for while the political struggle will, for the most part, be directed against non-Indians, the economic and social readjustments when tackled would release forces of internecine conflicts and the survival of institutions and their fitness for promoting the

good life will, consequently, be even more problematical.

Our economic problems are more or less inextricably bound up with our social structure. In the economic life of the people, we always come to a point when it is not possible to postpone a decision on the issue—what is the true basis of the economic structure? Is it work to be contributed by everybody in his own measure or is it the privilege of a few to get work done by the rest? What is the true criterion of social justice—a phrase very much in evidence in these days—and what is the machinery most suitable to achieve it? Taking stock, we find ourselves landed in some confusion so far as this question is concerned in India. Even the views of Mahatma Gandhi to whose voice people often look for guidance on similar questions do not help to clarify the issues. He has evolved a scheme of economic life which blurs the frontiers of this discussion by side-tracking it to an appraisal of the value of materialistic progress itself and by putting it down as both unsuitable and unethical.

Those who have vested interests, by which I mean interests vested in them by social consent and by the law of the land, are persons who in the past have contributed largely by reason of their initiative and enterprise to the economic uplift of the country. They naturally resent attempts at what they believe to be serious inroads into their rights. It is, therefore, natural to expect vehement opposition to the cry of social justice from this class. Again there are those at the other end of the scale asking for violent changes and bringing into play the full force of all the knowledge and prejudice that they have

obtained from the philosophy preached by various kinds and grades of socialists ranging from Robert Owen to Lenin. Throughout history, the have-nots have been ultimately prevailing though not to the same extent and as speedily as they desire to achieve success. The trend towards adoption of socialistic ideals is more and more clear even in countries which have an apparent objection to the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. The days of individualist and capitalist economics and *laissez-faire* seem to have come to an end. The limits to Governmental interference into the economic life of the people set by the 19th century standards have faded away. Governments even in avowedly capitalist countries have generally realised that it is their duty to step in and correct economic mal-adjustments, that they as representatives of the people have a right to order the economic structure in the best interests of the country, irrespective of their professed adherence to one or other of the conflicting socio-political ideologies of capitalism, fascism, communism and the like.

Socially established valuations have a way of persisting by reason of the inertia of institutional habits through inherited tradition, custom and laws beyond the point of equity or of their own usefulness. That this inertia is slowly disappearing is evident from frequent and continued governmental interference in the economic affairs of its people. But rigid adherence to these valuations by vested interests is bound to make the conflict acute. Social statesmanship on the part of those that have more of worldly goods is the one chief need at the moment and this must inevitably precede the forging of conditions making for the good life.

To a people dominated by Hindu ideals of *Dharma* in their every-day life, to a people who have not had to face the rapid industrialisation of the West, to whom the Darwinian theory of survival of the fittest cannot make a strong appeal, peaceful readjustment of our economic order need not present the same difficulties as it does to Western countries. Changes in our economic structure are

inevitable and it is only a quick, proper and correct realisation of this inevitable fact, a display of that virtue which has been called social statesmanship in an abundant measure by those occupying key positions in the economic field that will serve to avoid unnecessary and wasteful conflicts and help in the smooth reconciliation of diverse interests and thus promote the good life.

ART IN EVERY-DAY LIFE

BY

SRIMATHI KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

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WHAT is art is still an oft-repeated phrase and many puzzling interpretations are given of it. But the average "man in the street" conception is that art is an expression of beauty, something that transforms the ordinary crude form into one of delight. These expressions are both natural as well as studied. When an artist paints, a sculptor models, he does it under the force of his inner urge, he is seeking to give form to his dreams. When a potter gently moulds the clay and turns the wheel, it is only his spontaneous natural urge that guides him—an urge which has now become pronounced and set through the ages, it has passed into tradition. He creates a common object of utility but makes it an object of beauty. We call it craft.

At a cursory glance at any artist at work, the result may seem a sheer accident. Because the instinct for beauty is inborn. It may be polished and refined later as a rough diamond is made ready for jewel

setting. Throughout the ages man has craved to find himself in creation. It is the creative urge of Nature which made man that in its turn seeks to escape into expression. From the primitive times we find this turbulent spirit breaking out in various forms. The first attempts of man to draw pictures on the walls of his cave, his efforts to shape his implements into quaint forms of harmony, these are but a few examples. No matter how crude, we see the beginnings of an object of beauty, the faint traces of the work of art. Fashions and tastes may change, even our conceptions of beauty differ, but that fundamental urge is ever there.

But these objects of beauty fulfil different purposes. A piece of painting or sculpture will only be used as an ornament to lend beauty and loveliness to the surroundings. Then there are objects of every-day use which are also delicately modelled, that they may not only serve as utilitarian objects but also bring delight into our daily existence.

JANUARY 1939]

These we generally call the crafts. Roughly speaking they may be divided into graphic and plastic art, though they are expressions of the same spirit. But the two cannot be divorced from each other. A work of art is an object which has harmonious design and æsthetic appeal. There are objects which do not satisfy either of these and still in wide circulation because of their commercial value. But they could not be called objects of art unless they satisfied the above test. The two aspects of expression—arts and crafts—are closely interdependent. Even a painting needs a frame, it needs the proper setting. This can only be supplied by crafts.

Though roughly speaking we may say the craft came first and then art, it is wrong to make these crude distinctions. Every attempt which man has made to create any object of utility has betrayed his innate urge to make it beautiful. The creative vein runs through the most elementary effort even. Hence the close inter-dependance of arts and crafts which brings beauty into our dull, humdrum routine existence. Even in the wild days when man lived the dangerous life of a hunter and depended upon his bow and arrow to get him his daily food, he regaled himself by painting, giving a wistfulness to his harsh and hard struggle for existence. They used to taboo their bodies for decoration. They invented beads for ornaments, ever the desire for beauty and yet more beauty. Even in such practical objects as ancient flints, we notice all kinds of decorations, although one can easily imagine the immense task of tracing lines on hard stone in those days. In fact some of the workmanship of jewellery and other objects and ornaments

still puzzle the modern craftsman. Even his skilled fingers cannot always reshape them. These arts and crafts tell their own undeniable tale of the growth and development of man, the human mind, the social organism. They tell the story of civilization. Pottery, for instance, is the most common and probably one of the most ancient of objects that speaks most eloquently. From its crude earthy origin it emerged in its resplendent aristocratic form as porcelain. Here we have a very ordinary object of every-day use receiving the fastidious attention and care of master artists who devote their whole lives to perfecting it.

But arts and crafts are not always the result of purely indigenous genius. Every country which it invades is influenced by the new-comer's culture. Moreover trade and commerce also make for wider influence. But such interchanges make for the richness of art as Chinese porcelain or Indian muslins have made for pottery and textiles respectively, provided these influences are absorbed and harmonised into our daily lives. Then they make for greater variety and richness of beauty and such influences should be welcomed. In fact, India has been considerably influenced throughout by many other cultures, just as she in return has influenced others. The predominating feature of arts and crafts must lie in their dynamic rhythm, their capacity to harmonise with their setting. For this the artist has to take his cue from Nature. Whatever departures we may make from the accepted traditions, they must be such as find a place in our setting.

To-day in India we find great clashes of tastes and influences. The West has

brought a new civilization to us. It is inevitably bound to influence our arts and crafts. The danger to be avoided is imitation. Those objects which find a harmonious relationship in their own atmosphere, and blend into their background, become crude and incongruous in our land. The style of buildings, clothes, furniture so often imported wholesale have begun to become monstrosities instead of objects of beauty. We have ceased to take our cue from the Nature. We find our country flooded by cheap-looking objects that so mar the dignity of our existence. Even in remote villages where once festive decorations were woven out of leaves and palms, to-day we find them disappearing and giving place to ugly paper flowers. However beautiful the paper flowers may look in Japan, for there they have the appropriate background and setting for them, they become utterly incongruous in our setting.

One big factor that is upsetting our old arts and crafts is machine manufacture. Large-scale production and standardisation do not leave scope for that individual expression which has been such a feature of handicrafts. When cheap manufacture flood the market, the genuine articles of art are hustled out and the result is a rapid deterioration. Care has, therefore, to be taken to see that the machine does not entirely kill the soul of a nation. Even where goods are produced by machinery, the element of beauty must never be lost sight of. Care has also to be taken to see that all our handicrafts are not lost, but a place securely preserved for them in the scheme of things. Machine-made goods need not necessarily be ugly or crude. They can also express the hunger of man for beauty. The desire to shape the

cheapest or commonest of goods for every-day use with an eye to harmony of design and æsthetic appeal, is fast growing. But the fundamental thing is that it must be of such design as will stand out in loveliness and fit into our surroundings. Otherwise even a most beautiful thing will look incongruous and out of place. That is why education in fine arts, arts of one's own country must be made part and parcel of children's training from the earliest stage. To-day there is too much of "Foreign" element in education and our children's tastes are vitiated from the very beginning. Unless this is stopped and their taste is cultivated along right lines, our arts and crafts will degenerate more and more, and our culture deteriorate.

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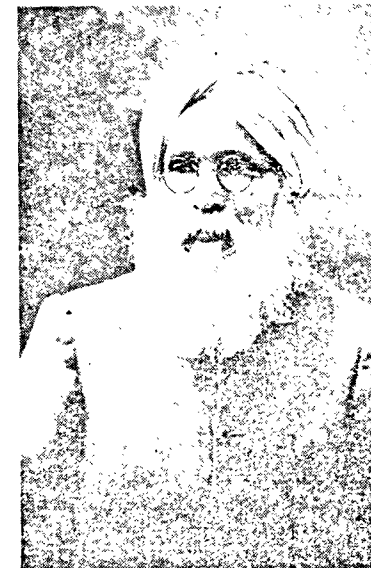
MAHATMA HANS RAJ AS I KNEW HIM

By PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
It is the generous spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his childish thought;
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright;
Who, with a natural instinct to discern
What knowledge can perform is diligent to learn;
Abides by the resolve, and stops not there,
But makes his moral being his prime care.

—W. Wordsworth.

IN these words does Wordsworth depict the character of the Happy Warrior and these words apply with equal force

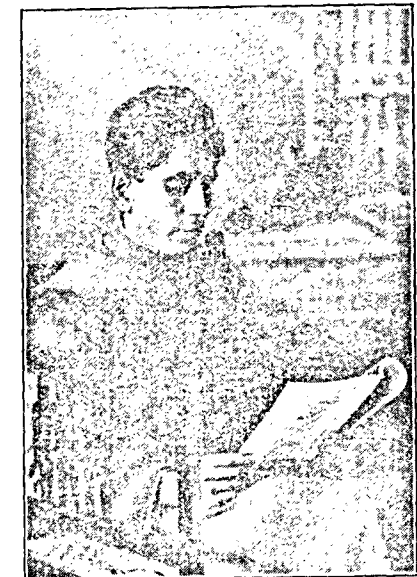


MAHATMA HANS RAJ

and appropriateness to the subject of this sketch also—Mahatma Hans Raj. Mahatma Hans Raj was, indeed, one who possessed the generous spirit, whose life was full of high endeavours, who was ever eager to learn, who abided by the resolve and who made his moral being his prime care. In fact, all his life, his moral being was his prime care and he strove to be good and virtuous rather than clever and brilliant. But was he a warrior? He was a warrior in the sense that he always sought to combat illiteracy, superstitions, social injustice and irreligiousness; otherwise he was one of the most pacifist of men. Lord Asquith once referred to himself as

one of the most pacifist of men by disposition who was engaged in the two most contentious departments of life: law and politics, and this was true. Mahatma Hans Raj was like Lord Asquith a pacifist by disposition but he was unlike him engaged also in the least contentious of all spheres of work—education. He did not take delight in setting people by the ears, in producing friction, generating heat and creating schisms, but he liked to reconcile even the most irreconcilable elements, to hold people together, to avoid bad blood and to produce harmony out of conflict. Thus, though he was not a warrior in the sense of a man in arms, he was ever happy. His happiness, however, was not dependent on the circumstances of his life, but the result of his attitude towards life and his own frame of mind.

The gentle-hearted Mahatma was at home amongst all. His sunny disposition, his contagious loud laughter, his contented looks, his equable life showed that he was happy and that he was pleased with what he was and what he saw around him.



PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

One secret of his happiness was the strength of his domestic affections. The writer had seen the Mahatma surrounded by his daughters and sons, enjoying a hearty

laugh with them, telling them an amusing story and unbending his mind in their midst. To Wordsworth, as to the Mahatma, the ties of home were the most sacred and the most dear. Every day when he was at Lahore, he would go to see his elderly mother as long as she was alive and his affectionate brother, and whenever he would find some time free from his pre-occupations, he would spend it in the midst of his family group. The family group was a sight for the gods to see. Emerson used to invite to his parties all children from six to sixty and the Mahatma's family group is also composed of children from six to sixty. The Mahatma was himself like a child there and put all at their ease in his presence. There you saw him with the wisdom, experience and looks of a great patriarch but with the loving heart of a child, the careless laughter of a boy—a laughter that came from the heart and showed his fresh and hearty delight in the simple joys of life. In fact, there was none who found so much pleasure in the simple and homely details of life as he; for to him God had given the capacity for enjoying the most ordinary blessings of life. A walk to the river would give him greater pleasure than a ride in a motor car. The cucumber and the turnip, the sugar-cane and the carrot were most dear to him, and he would eat them with a relish and gusto which would surprise all who have set their hearts on more fashionable luxuries. He would like to bask in the sun and not sit in a room heated by an electric furnace. He would like to wait for a breeze of God rather than have the breeze from the man-made fan. He would thrive on bread and pulse and never think of many dishes. He would dress himself in the hempen home-spun rather than in Assam silk. He would see the sun rise and hear the birds sing rather than go to a cinema or be entertained in a music-hall. In fact, luxury was a word not to be found in his dictionary and for him were the simple, unsophisticated pleasures which the ordinary things of life yield. The most homely of men, he was also compact of devotion to God. Like the Reverend Mr. Holman of Mrs. Gaskell's creation, he believed that we should work

for the glory of God. In him was manifest that spirit of resignation to the will of God which has been a distinctive feature of all God-fearing men. He worked for God, lived for God and did everything for the glory of God. As other people take pains to show themselves off, so he sedulously refrained from being in the lime-light. It might have been truly said of him:

He is retired as noon-tide dew.
Or fountain in a noon-day grove.

He was, to tell the truth, the happy sage. Hutton said of Wordsworth that there was self-government in every word, line and sentence of his and it may be said of Mahatma Hans Raj that there was self-government in every word, thought and action of his. He was not one of the impulsive, vehement and passionate people but he was sober, cautious and thoughtful. His motto of life was not merely to take care of the day passing over the head but to see into the future, to think ahead of others. He would take a step after due thought but he would never hark back after having taken a step once. He believed in slow and gradual evolution and not in any sudden transformation. He was a builder and he built slowly but on broad and firm foundations. He built the D. A. V. College and he perfected the organisation of the Arya Samaj as well as any human being could. He never liked to pose, to appear clever and to overawe others but wished to work slowly and silently. He did not work by fits and starts but with a steady aim and a steadfast purpose. People believed him to be sincere in whatever he said or did and therefore accepted his lead. Eminent as an educationist, he was not the less great as a friend of the poor. He did much to help the famine-stricken people in Garhwal in the State of Jammu, in Orissa and other places. He came to the rescue of the people in Malabar and earned the gratitude of all.

Such was Mahatma Hans Raj, a man sincere, devout and homely, a man of gentle persuasion and of an inspiring simplicity of life, a man whose self-denial proved contagious, and who wrought the people of the Punjab much good.

We may here give in brief outlines an account of his life. He was born in

1864 at Bajwara in the district of Hoshiarpur—a place remarkable for natural beauty, romantic scenery, historical associations and a bracing climate. His father died when he was only 10, and he was left under the charge of his elder brother L. Mulk Raj. His father, when on his death-bed, heartened his wife by saying that their family would not remain sunk in poverty and obscurity for long but would become distinguished soon. The prophecy of the dying father has been really fulfilled and the family is now as distinguished as any other. After receiving his elementary education, Hans Raj was brought to Lahore where his elder brother was employed in a railway office. There he was admitted into the Mission School and proved to be a bright scholar. One anecdote of his school days is worth remembering. One day a teacher made some unpleasant remarks about ancient India and this cut him to the quick. He could not tolerate that ancient India should be held up to ridicule and the ancient Indian culture derided in that way. He, therefore, respectfully suggested to the teacher that his views about ancient India were not correct. This annoyed the school-master, and Hans Raj had to go out of school for a day or two. The incident was not without its moral. It showed that even as a boy he felt much pride in India's past and was jealous of its honour. It also showed his self-confidence and his intimate knowledge and growing love of history. From his boyhood he had the courage of his convictions and this matured but did not decrease with years. After leaving the Mission School, Hans Raj entered the Government College, Lahore. While he was a student of the Government College, he fell under the spell of the late Lala Sain Das, a man of integrity, piety and simplicity. As Mr. Armstrong exercised a great influence upon Booker T. Washington, so L. Sain Das had a healthy formative influence upon the growing boy. The veteran inculcated in him fervour for Arya Samaj, zeal for service and a love of simplicity. Hans Raj was a constant companion of L. Sain Das and became a fervent worker in the cause of Arya Samaj. Nor was he alone in this. L. Lajpat Rai and Pandit Guru Datta Vidyarthi were his

contemporaries and his fellow-workers. This happy trio did not care much for the studies but set their hearts upon those things which are dear to social servants and public workers. Even in their youth they were distinguished by their zeal for noble causes and their love of progressive thought. Day and night they toiled for Arya Samaj, speaking from its platform, editing a newspaper and doing many other things. Hans Raj graduated from the Government College in due course of time and then he had to choose a career for himself. While he was yet thinking of what he should do, Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, passed away. It was then decided to commemorate his memory by starting the D. A. V. College at Lahore, which besides teaching English literature and Western sciences, should foster in the people love of ancient India, Sanskrit and Vedic religion. Consequently money was collected for this purpose, but money was not the only thing that was wanted. A man was wanted to be at the helm of the affairs of the College—a man who should identify himself with the cause and devote his days and nights to it. Hans Raj, therefore, offered his services as the first honorary headmaster of the D. A. V. High School, Lahore, and his elder brother, L. Mulk Raj, promised to support him. Both the brothers fulfilled their promise, the one served the D. A. V. College with his whole heart and the other supported him through thick and thin. L. Hans Raj was the head of the D. A. V. College for 25 years and made the institution the premier centre of education in the province. When he retired from the principalship, the students of the D. A. V. High School, Lahore, under the lead of their revered headmaster, Bakshi Ram Rattan, built a hall in his honour which cost about Rs. 30,000. After he retired from this, he was made the President of the D. A. V. College Managing Committee, Lahore. He resigned from it also after some years and then devoted his days to the propagation of Arya Samaj. He did much to uplift the untouchables and help the famine-stricken. His name was a household word in the Punjab, and everywhere he was known as a steady and indefatigable worker. His lecturing activity was immense

and he wrote some books also. He published a book in Hindi "Puja Dharma" which could be used for daily religious practice by all lovers of the Vedas.

But the most important part of his work lay neither in writing nor in lecturing but in organising. This work of organising had several aspects. In the first place, he knew that nothing could be accomplished without money, and so he made it a point to collect as much money as he could for the several kinds of work that he did. The D. A. V. College, Lahore, had an initial capital of only a few thousands, but now it has a funded capital of several lakhs. All this money was raised with the direct help of, or the blessings of, Mahatma Hans Raj. Moreover it should be remembered that most of this money was collected in the form of small donations. But this happened only because the people believed that the management of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, never wasted even a single pie and made the best use of whatever it had. In fact, one of the Vice-Chancellors of the Punjab University, Sir John Maynard, once remarked in his convocation address: "The management of the college knows how to make a rupee go towards doing the work of rupees two or even more." But the Mahatma knew that it was not only money that was required for running an organisation, men too were wanted—earnest and devoted men who could throw themselves heart and soul into the movement. So in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, he instituted an order of Life Members who devoted their lives to the College on a bare living wage. Not only did he collect money for the College, but he also got together funds for the Arya Pradeshak Pratinidhi Sabha, Lahore, whose object is to propagate the mission of Arya Samaj. Thereto he inspired a band of zealous workers to spread the messages of the Vedas. But he did not confine his activities mainly to the Punjab. When famines broke out in Garhwal in the U. P. and Orissa, when there was trouble in Madras on account of the Mopla rebellion, when an earthquake took place in Behar, when the Bhils were hit hard on account of the failure of rains, when the people of Behar were the victims of an earthquake—on all

these occasions he appealed to the people of the Punjab and the other provinces to help their brethren. His appeals always met with a generous response and he was able to succour these people in the hour of their need and distress. At the same time, he established centres of missionary work all over India as well as outside. For instance, there is a centre of work at Calicut even now and there is a missionary establishment in Assam. Several times he sent various missionaries to Europe and Africa to spread the gospel of the Vedas. It was on account of his unique services to the cause of Arya Samaj that he was asked to preside over the All-India Aryan Conference held at Delhi in 1927. I attended that Conference in his company and found unprecedented enthusiasm there. The number of people who attended it ran into thousands and every one seemed intent on giving his very best in the cause of Arya Samaj. Mahatmaji gave to these people a message of hope as well as an inspiration for solid constructive work.

But his great self-sacrifice was recognised not only by Arya Samajists. His work in the cause of social reform was well known and so he was asked to preside over the Indian Social Conference held at Amritsar in 1919. In his presidential speech he appealed not merely to the sentiments of the people but gave them a programme of constructive work. He drew the attention of the people to their love of extravagance. They spent too much money on observing festivals and in celebrating ceremonies. He wanted them to get rid of this habit, and he further pleaded that even if some money was to be spent, it should be done in the cause of *swadeshi* only on those things which are made in our own country and that we should not run after foreign goods. He knew that child marriages were still common amongst Indians and therefore asked them to abolish them. He felt that Indians do not observe *Brahmacharya* and exhorted them to practise it in the cause of national fitness. It pained him to see that Hindus were divided into so many castes and sub-castes and this made them a house divided against itself. He wanted that the artificial caste system as it prevailed should give way and its place

was taken by the old Aryan Varn Ashram system. He felt that this caste system was responsible for narrowing the field of choice in the case of marriages and was placing difficulties in our way in the pursuit of certain trades and professions. He felt that all these things must disappear and within the present system of caste sub-divisions. He felt sincerely for the depressed classes, and he believed that unless their problem was solved, Hindus could not attain to greatness. He, therefore, asked the high caste Hindus to let Harijans worship in their temples, draw water from their wells and receive education in their institutions. The problem of Hindu widows always touched his heart, and he asked Hindus to abolish all restrictions in the way of their re-marriage. So many young Hindus, he said, embraced other religions simply because they could not find suitable matches in their own community. If the re-marriage of widows is permitted many of such conversions would be stopped. He was equally keen on female education. But he was bitterly opposed to the present system of University education for girls. He felt that Indian girls should not be made to read the same books and undergo the same examinations as Indian boys. Some years afterwards he started the Mahila Mahavidyala at Lahore in order to give the girls a new type of education.

Mahatmaji was alive to the plight of the disunited Hindus of India, and he wanted that they should become united and powerful and strong. So he said: "Let the Hindus learn to pray together like the Mohammadans. Let them look after their widows and orphans as other communities do. Let them remember that Hinduism should not be confined to India only, but should become a world religion. The Hindus should learn Hindi and make it the most important language in India. They should work for the uplift of the depressed classes and do away with the false distinctions of caste. Every Hindu should feel that all Hindus are his brothers."

He was equally keen on *Shuddhi*, and it was his belief that the reconversion of the Hindus who had abjured their faith

should be carried on without fear and that the doors of Hinduism should be flung wide open to receive any one who believed in its tenets. But this did not mean that he was intolerant of, or inimical to, the other communities that inhabited India. When he was invited to the Unity Conference held at Delhi, he felt glad to go there. He thought that if the Hindu-Muslim problem was solved, India would be nearer to the attainment of *swaraj*. He, however, did not believe in the attainment of *swaraj* through Non-Co-operation. When the first Non-Co-operation movement was launched in this country and the students were asked to leave schools and colleges, he thought it to be not a very wise step. He, therefore, opposed this part of the Non-Co-operation programme. But he believed also that our education should not be dominated entirely by examinations, universities and the education department. He, therefore, started three new institutions which were going to be entirely free from the control of the University of the Punjab and the Punjab Education Department. He established a college of higher Sanskrit learning where Vedic missionaries were to be trained. He started an industrial school where young men were to receive training in handicrafts, and he founded a school and a college for girls where the courses of reading were to be entirely on national lines. One thing that pained him very much during the last few years was the question of unemployment amongst young men, and he was very keen on doing something to solve this problem. Since he felt that Hindu young men hankered too much after petty clerical jobs and were averse to vocational careers, he persuaded the Management of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, to establish a new institution on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee Celebrations, which would fit young men for industrial careers. His suggestion was taken up with much enthusiasm and about a lakh of rupees were collected for this purpose. Then he was asked to lay the foundation-stone of the Dayanand Industrial Institute. He was also very enthusiastic about the military training of young men, and if he had lived a few years more, he would have established an institute for this purpose also.

Mahatma Hans Raj lived a life dedicated to the good of the people. He had no personal ambition of his own, and he devoted all his time to the welfare of his countrymen. Personal comfort and domestic affairs did not have much interest for him. Every waking hour of his life was spent in the good of the people. Even when his son L. Balraj became involved in a conspiracy case he did not take his mind off his work. Those were the days of much strain for him, but never was he known to complain or grow faint-hearted. He pursued his daily routine as usual as if nothing had happened. His ailing wife passed away as a result of the shock she suffered on account of the life sentence awarded to her son, but he bore this grief with exemplary patience. Till the last day of his life before the fatal illness came upon him, he remained in harness. He also remained in the full possession of his moral and mental energies till the last moment of his life. Old age deals very severely with some people but it did not lay its hand so rigorously on him. He was always active taking his usual walk every day, advising and guiding people and receiving the unending stream of visitors. Even though his eye-sight became impaired in the last years of his life, it did not interfere with his usefulness to the people. He remained ill for about three weeks and during all these days he bore his suffering cheerfully. Even on his death-bed he devoted his time to the chanting of *Om* and he died also with the word *Om* on his lips. About eight days before his death, he sent for a gentleman and practically told him that he would not be able to get over the illness. Then he gave him what may be termed his testament. He wanted that the *Vedic Dharma* should be propagated, not only in British India but also in Indian States. He wished that people should come forward and make sacrifices in the cause of their religion. In a word, all his thoughts during the last days of his life were turned towards the spreading of the gospel of the *Vedas*.

He passed away at about 11 o'clock in the night on Tuesday the 15th of November, 1938. The people of the Punjab

felt deeply his loss and business was suspended everywhere. All the schools and colleges in the Punjab and all the shops in the various towns of the province and some of the Government offices were closed in his honour. The funeral procession was one of the biggest of its kind and thousands of people accompanied it bare-foot and bare-headed. It was his desire that he should be cremated according to the Arya Samajic rites and this was done. Public meetings were held everywhere and his loss was mourned. The Governor of the Punjab, the Premier and many others sent messages of sympathy, and a big public meeting was organised in Lahore which was addressed by a large number of persons, including the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, who is one of his old students and the Minister of Education. The burden of all the speeches was that he was a constructive genius of a high order, and the Punjab would not see the like of him again.

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BHULABHAI'S SPEECHES

"BHULABHAI occupies a unique position in the public life of India. He wears the triple tiara of leadership of the Bar, of the Congress Party, and of the Opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly," says Mr. O. M. Thomas in a brilliant note of introduction. "I have it on good authority," observes the same writer, that he was sounded as a proper person to fill the high post of Law Member of the Government of India. His close personal friends pressed him hard to avail of the unsought opportunity, but Mr. Bhulabhai Desai proved a *Barkis* who was not willing, and he declined the appointment in anticipation.

This consistent refusal of offices actually offered is a rare event in the public life of India and it elevated him to an exalted plane. It gives him a touch of that greatness which is due to silent self-denial.

But this negative attitude to remunerative offices, however wholesome in a subject country, can hardly be the sole title to fame. Bhulabhai made himself what he is by virtue of his more positive services to the country. Indeed, since the passing of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the mantle of the late leader fell on his shoulders with an easy grace; for Bhulabhai has suffered and sacrificed for the cause and continued the struggle with the same passion and energy and eloquence. How does Mr. Bhulabhai compare with the late Pandit?

In debates, says Mr. Thomas, Mr. Nehru was a sort of sledge-hammer; Mr. Desai is like a chamois that leaps from crag to crag with ease and rapidity. Mr. Desai is a better public speaker than Mr. Nehru was, but the latter had a sense of humour which is wanting in the former. Mr. Nehru had the compensating merit of being a more vigorous penman than his successor. The most obvious difference between them is in respect of that indefinable something called personality. Motilal Nehru was a study in conscious power. He had the hauteur of a *hidalgo*. "To govern men," said Disraeli, "you must either be superior to them or despise them." Pandit Motilal Nehru seemed to have done both. A well-known newspaper once called him the proudest man in India, and he quoted the remark with approval. His enormous jaw was a kind of royal proclamation that he meant to rule as well as to reign. He exacted implicit obedience and took prompt disciplinary action against the recalcitrants of his own party. . . . Mr. Desai's manner is quite different. His circulating smile is a welcome sign of his agreeable urbanity. He has tact. He works in closer co-operation with Mr. Jinnah and his group in Assembly than Mr. Motilal Nehru ever did,

and has kept his own party in a better trim for team work. He enjoys a larger measure of popularity, especially among Britishers. This is the more worthy of note inasmuch as he is rather different to the gentle art of personal advertisement. He does not cultivate a good Press, whereas Mr. Motilal Nehru owned newspapers and spent a fortune on them.

As a Parliamentarian, Mr. Desai has proved himself to the manner born and his leadership of the Congress Party in the Assembly has been marked by the same skilful handling of men and the same sense of realism amidst confusing issues. Bhulabhai's Speeches* during the last four eventful years, both in the Assembly and outside, give us a measure of the wide scope of his activities and the ardour of his patriotism. His legal training and parliamentary mentality have not deterred him from being an ardent follower of Gandhiji.

Indeed, he fell under the spell of Gandhiji from the time he first came in touch with him, now more than twenty years ago. It was at a public meeting in Bombay. And the story of his first acquaintance with the Mahatma may well be told in Bhulabhai's own words:

In the year 1917, we had a Provincial Conference in the city of Ahmedabad. My friend, Mr. M. A. Jinnah—I should drop the word Mr. as we are very close friends—was the President. Some of us, his friends, went with him to that Conference. Mahatma Gandhi, then known only as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, had just come to India and was received with a certain amount of patronising kindness by the politicians of those days, and he was asked to move a resolution in the open Conference on the South African question. I well remember the formal patronising way in which he was introduced. "Now we must get speakers for this resolution. I think Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who has just returned from South Africa, will be able to speak." That was the position he got then.

As the Conference was over, a vote of thanks was proposed. Mr. Gandhi was the proposer and I was the seconder. Mr. Gandhi came to me and said: "Look here, Bhulabhai, I propose to move this resolution in Gujarati."

I welcomed the proposal and agreed to follow suit. He got up and started making a very fine speech in Gujarati which I have never forgotten since.

Bhulabhai is a winning and persuasive speaker, and the collection which covers a wide field is thoroughly entertaining.

* G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3-8.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Next Step in Travancore

IN a recent interview with journalists in Calcutta, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, did well to clear up a misapprehension in regard to a much discussed statement of his, on the position of the States *vis-a-vis* the Paramount Power. He explained that his critics

had proceeded on the erroneous assumption that he had asserted that the Paramount Power would obstruct proposals for responsible government or constitutional advance in the States.

He had said nothing of the sort, but, on the other hand, he had said, and he still maintained, that the grant of complete responsible government involved a change in the constitution and a modification in the substance of the interrelationship between the Paramount Power and the Maharaja.

It would appear from his statement that the Dewan and the Travancore State Congress are perfectly agreed on one thing—

that the constitutional advancement in Travancore has arrived at such a stage that the next step can only be full responsible government. But while the State Congress thinks the next step may be taken immediately, the Dewan has been led by certain reasons attendant upon the present agitation to the conclusion that it is not possible to contemplate so large a measure of change as the grant of responsible government without the utmost deliberation and perception of all the pros and cons, including the communal and religious aspect of the question, which cannot be ignored or minimised.

As we go to Press, it is welcome news that the Travancore State Congress has followed Mahatma Gandhi's advice, and withdrawn the personal allegations against the Dewan from the memorandum, which should now be an unadulterated plea for responsible government. The Mahatma has expressed his satisfaction and said that the Civil Disobedience movement also should be suspended in order to examine the whole position afresh. He hopes that in view of the withdrawal of the

allegations, prosecutions against the State Congress leaders would be withdrawn by the State and the prisoners set free.

The withdrawal of the entirely irrelevant personal allegations against the Dewan in an important memorandum on constitutional reform followed by the suspension of civil disobedience cannot but herald a welcome atmosphere of peace and tranquillity—an atmosphere appropriate to the discussion of vital political issues. We trust it will not be long before the people and the authorities decide on a resumption of negotiations leading to responsible government, as the Dewan and the State Congress alike are agreed on it as the next step in Travancore.

The Ceylon Constitution

The introduction of the Cabinet System of Government to replace the present Committee System is recommended in the proposals submitted by the Governor of Ceylon to the Secretary for Colonies, with a view to reforming the Ceylon Constitution. It is generally admitted that the system of Government introduced on the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission has failed to satisfy any section of the people. The chief novelty of the Donoughmore scheme, namely, the Committee System of Government, would, if the Governor's proposals are accepted, be replaced by the familiar Cabinet System under which, no doubt, the principle of collective responsibility would be introduced. The Officers of State would no longer find a place in the System and so the unsatisfactory dyarchic element would be removed. This is reform in the right direction and more in accord with progressive political ideas.

The Press Act

The Full Bench Judgment of the Lahore High Court in a recent case under the Press Act of 1931 is of particular interest in these days when newspapers have to handle reports of communal fracas. The Government of the Punjab took action against the printer of a newspaper whose correspondent had given a detailed account of a Hindu-Muslim riot at Hissar. They held that the report had a tendency to create feelings of enmity between the communities and offended against Section 414 of the Press Act. The result was forfeiture of the printer's security. The owner of the Press thereupon petitioned to the High Court against the action of the Government. Their Lordships accepted the petition and set aside the order of forfeiture. Mr. Justice Bhide made it clear in the judgment that the mere publication of news of Hindu-Muslim riot was not penalised by the Press Act. For he held that if the Government's interpretation were correct, it would lead to the

startling result that any newspaper that publishes an item of news such as the burning of a temple by Muslim or the desecration of a mosque by Hindus would run the risk of having its security forfeited. For, according to the Advocate-General, such item is bound to have a tendency to promote feelings of hatred and enmity between Hindus and Muslims. If this be the correct legal position, many newspapers are probably bringing themselves within the clutches of the law by publishing news of Hindu-Muslim fracas which unfortunately are common in this country.

His Lordship declined to accept this interpretation.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the publication of mere authentic news of a riot without any comments cannot be said to fall within the purview of this Section.

This is a sensible interpretation of an Act which is a constant source of harassment to working journalists.

Resistance to Federation

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta shows the keen anxiety of the authorities to inaugurate Federation. The Congress and, indeed, the whole country have, on the other hand, expressed themselves unequivocally against the brand of Federation adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935. What will the Congress do, or what should it do in the event of the Government proceeding with their scheme in spite of unanimous disapproval? Mr. Satyamurthi, speaking at Bombay, made it clear that there will be no Congressman, moderate or extremist, who will not resist it to his uttermost strength.

The manner of resistance will depend on the time and the circumstances; but there can be no question of Congressmen giving up offices in the Provinces. Of course, the Congress Ministries must, and will, refuse to carry out the orders of this imposed Federal Government.

If the Governors do not want them in those circumstances, they will have to dismiss them. Indeed, that was the point which Mahatma Gandhi insisted on during the summer months of 1937; and if the Congress Ministers are so dismissed, the Congress must and will see to it that no other Ministries function.

Indeed to all Congressmen, non-acceptance of office must mean non-acceptance of office by Congress or any other Ministers. That will effectively kill this imposed Federation.

Sir Radhakrishnan on the Hindu Ideal

In his Convocation address to the Benares Hindu University, Sir Radhakrishnan was not content to confine himself to problems of education. He spoke of the Hindu ideal, reinterpreted it in the light of India's ancient heritage and suggested it as a possible solution of the present-day world conflicts—conflicts in all spheres of life: political, social, and economic.

"I have no doubt," he said, "that when the world gets together and when a creative commonwealth is projected, India would be called upon to supply an indispensable part of its design for living."

The National Planning Committee

The first meeting of the National Planning Committee was inaugurated in Bombay by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Indian National Congress. He put up a strong plea for a thorough enquiry to be made for the starting of "mother industries" in India which will help, nourish, and develop cottage industries.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, who took the chair, stressed the importance of co-ordinating the two kinds of industries: the village-cottage and bigger industries. He pointed out that the activities must bear relation to the nationalist movement and suggested the appointment of representatives of labour and of the cottage industries on the Committee.

Pandit Pant's Convocation Address

In the thoughtful address he delivered at the Lucknow University Convocation, Pandit Vallabh Pant touched on the many problems of education that are now engaging public attention in India. The Premier is not of those who hold that we can have too much of University education.

"I am all for education and yet more of it, he said: one rightly educated person endowed with the gifts of leadership, a correct outlook, wisdom and courage can do more than an inert mass of millions."

He pointed out that if his Government had not been able to make as much provision for higher education as they would have liked because of other urgent claims, he for one "would set no limit to the assistance which a university may receive from the public exchequer". The Pandit deplored the growing spirit

of indiscipline in colleges, and the unfortunate incidents at the Osmania and Annamalai Universities add point to the aptness of his observations.

There can be no culture, no real culture, no real education, he said, without discipline. Complaints are not unoften heard about the lack of restraint betrayed by young men. We even hear of strikes by students, of the spirit of trade unionism imported into educational institutions. This is not right. Indiscipline is utterly foreign to our nature and amounts to an outrage on our culture and traditions.

The late Dr. Seal

Sir Brojendranath Seal, who has passed away at the ripe old age of 74, was a profound scholar and educationist, who has left the impress of his personality in more than one field of thought. His prodigious learning in many branches of knowledge, says Sir Radhakrishnan, "was the admiration and despair of lesser minds", and generations of students in Bengal and elsewhere sat at his feet and received inspiration. Great as an educationist, philosopher, and political theorist, he showed himself equally competent as an administrator. As Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, he did much to the cause of education. His report on Mysore reforms is a document worthy of a great political thinker. But apart from any specific contribution to thought or scholarship, his great learning and his insatiable interest in literature, philosophy, mathematics, history, economics, religion and languages was a continual source of surprise and inspiration to fellow-scholars. Sir Brojendra represented a type of learning and authority that is fast becoming extinct in these days of hurry and specialisation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Italian Claim for Tunis

ANTI-FRENCH demonstrations in Tunis, and the Italian demand for the possession of the French colony, is causing considerable concern in the Chancelleries of Europe. Strong warnings to Italy with regard to the inviolability of Tunis are contained in the French Press. *Le Figaro* states:

As far as Tunis is concerned, there is not a Frenchman who would allow the least violation of our Protectorate. Tunis is one of those sacred things for which, if any one dared touch it, France with one accord would fight immediately.

The *Figaro* declares that if Italy were to deny the validity of the 1935 accords and to raise all sorts of new questions in Africa or the Mediterranean *status quo*, we should regretfully have to tell her that, when agreements already concluded no longer count, we see no reason to conclude new ones.

At such a time it is unfortunate that Mr. Chamberlain should have stated in the Commons

that no specific pact existed at the present time under which in the event of Italy starting warlike operations against France or her possessions, Great Britain would be required to render military aid to France.

The *News Chronicle* deplored the statement as "tactless" and added that the effect must be to encourage Italy to believe that France can be attacked without bringing Great Britain to its defence. The Prime Minister should have added, that apart from any treaty obligation, the integrity of France is a vital interest to England,

This, however, the Premier did in his speech at the Foreign Press Association Dinner in London. On this occasion, the cordial and close relations between the two countries and the identity of interests were re-stated with refreshing emphasis. That will go a long way towards neutralising the very "careless and rash" words he used recently, when he stated in the Commons that Britain had no treaty obligation to go to the help of France if Italy attacked her.

The New Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia is turning a new leaf in her history. Gone are the days of Masaryk and Benes when it served as a pattern for other democracies in the West in her method of government and management of minorities. But now, says the *Statesman*,

with her mountain barrier in Sudetenland against the Germans gone, her forts in foreign hands and a large section of her army and air force handed over to Germany, with Hungarians and Poles squabbling over the amount of territory they can seize in the East, Czechoslovakia can see apparently no alternative but to become an unresisting satellite of the Third Reich.

Such at least is the expressed opinion of several of her leaders both military and civil. Czechoslovakia is well on its way to complete Germanisation. The blundering diplomacy of Britain and France has thrown her completely into the arms of Germany.

Britain and the Colonies

An important statement on Colonies was made by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in the House of Commons. Mr. MacDonald emphasised the uncertainty created in the colonies and mandated territories by the demands now being made in regard to them and said that the uncertainty must be removed. He went on to add:

For that purpose I have only to state a simple fact. I do not believe that there is to-day any section in this country which is disposed to hand over to any other country the care of any territories or peoples for whose Government we are responsible either as colonial or mandatory power.

That view has been expressed by every part of the House and shared by the Government. We are not discussing this matter, we are not considering it. It is not now an issue in practical politics. If we were ever to come to a discussion on this question, certain things have to be borne in mind; firstly, that Britain is not the only country which has assumed additional territorial responsibilities after the War. Other countries will also be involved and the question will have to be examined by all those countries together.

JANUARY 1939]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The Trouble in Memel

Memel with an area of 1,000 square miles and a population of 1,52,000 has become the centre of international attention. In 1923, the Lithuanians seized the town. The Powers later recognised the conquest as a *fait accompli* and did not care to interfere. In March 1924, Lithuanian sovereignty over the whole territory was accepted subject to local autonomy. But the German population in Memel are trying now to do what the Sudeten Germans did in Czechoslovakia. As usual, intrigues from interested quarters are not wanting and the success of the Sudeten Germans, aided by the Reich, is apparently encouraging them for a similar venture. Memelites hope that the German threat, so successful in Austria and Czechoslovakia, will yet work in Lithuania also. And a crisis is developing which, if unchecked, will prove the storm centre of a European conflagration. The British Premier has done well to sound a note of warning.

Making a statement in the House of Commons on the Memel situation, the Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, said that he had reason to think that, after the elections, demands might be made of the Lithuanian Government by the majority parties in the Diet which might be inconsistent with the Statute of Memel. The British Government, as a signatory, could not ignore this possibility.

In view of the special influence which the German Government were in a position to exert, the British Charge d'Affaires, Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes, had been instructed to join the French Ambassador in expressing the hope that Germany would ensure respect for the statute.

Pan-American Congress

The eighth session of the Pan-American Congress which met at Lima early last month was notable for a lengthy address by Mr. Cordell Hull, the U. S. Secretary of State. The United States, said he,

were ready to play their part in the defence of the American hemisphere against external aggression. So long as the possibility of armed challenge existed, the United States would maintain adequate defensive military, naval, and air establishments.

In recent years, declared Mr. Cordell Hull, powerful sources in some parts of the world have challenged the validity of the primary and basic principles upon whose foundations we and the rest of mankind have been building the edifice of social organisation and our international life. Mankind is tragically confronted once more with the alternatives of freedom or serfdom, of order or anarchy, of progress or retrogression, of civilisation or barbarism. The alternatives are real and concrete, not only in portions of the world lying in the immediate vicinity of the countries in which those resurgent forces find their organised expression: they loom threateningly throughout the world. Each and all of us desire passionately to live in peace with every nation in the world; but there must be no shadow of a doubt anywhere as to the determination of the American nations not to permit an invasion of this hemisphere by the armed forces of any Power or any possible combination of Powers.

The Franco-German Declaration

The text of the Franco-German declaration signed by M. Bonnet and Herr von Ribbentrop at Paris on December 6, states that the respective Governments agreed as follows:

Firstly, the French and German Governments fully share the conviction that peaceful and good neighbourly relations between France and Germany constitute one of the essential elements of consolidation of the situation in Europe.

Both Governments will, therefore, do all that lies in their power to assure the development of such relations between their two countries.

Secondly, no question of a territorial nature remains to be settled and they solemnly recognise as definite the frontier between their countries as at present traced as definite.

Thirdly, the two Governments are resolved, subject to their special relations with third Powers, to remain in contact on all questions of interest to the two countries and consult each other in a case where subsequent evolution of these questions involves the risk of leading to international difficulties.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Nov. 29. H. E. Lord Linlithgow inaugurates the Inter-Provincial Agricultural Marketing Conference at New Delhi.

Nov. 30. General strike begins in France. Daladier's Government take energetic measures against it.

Dec. 1. Dr. Hacha is elected President of Czecho-Slovakia.

Dec. 2. Federal Court unanimously holds that the C. P. Act to levy a sales-tax on petrol is not *ultra vires*.

Dec. 3. Sir Brojendranath Seal is dead.

Dec. 4. Italy and Rumania sign an agreement concerning commercial payments and barter.

Dec. 5. Muslim League Council re-elects Mr. Jinnah as President.

Dec. 6. The Chinese goodwill mission arrives in India.

Dec. 7. Herr von Ribbentrop and M. Bonnett sign the Franco-German "No War declaration".

Dec. 8. Mr. MacDonald announces in the House of Common that no Colony will be returned to Germany.

Dec. 9. The Assam Council throws out the No-confidence motion on the Ministry.

Dec. 10. The Eighth Pan-American Conference meets at Lima (Peru).

Dec. 11. Congress Working Committee meets at Wardha.

Dec. 12. World Missionary Conference meets at Tambaram.

Dec. 13. Mr. Chamberlain states in the Commons that no specific pact exists requiring military assistance to France in the event of its being attacked.

Dec. 14. At the Calcutta Rotary Club, Lt.-Col. Muirhead, Under-Secretary, makes a vigorous defence of British policy.

Dec. 15. Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the Foreign Press Association dinner, emphasising closer association with France, is welcomed in France.

Dec. 16. The German party score a sweeping success in the Memel elections.

Dec. 17. The new Linlithgow ward in the Government Tuberculosis Hospital, Tambaram, is opened by Lady Erskine.

Dec. 18. The National Industrial Planning Committee meets in Bombay.

Dec. 19. The Science Congress Meeting at Madras with Sir C. V. Raman in the Chair is welcomed by the Premier Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar.

Dec. 20. Madras Ministry submits Malabar Temple Entry Bill to the Governor for assent.

Dec. 21. Employers' Federation meets at Calcutta, Sir E. C. Benthall presiding.

Dec. 22. The Governor of Burma proclaims a state of emergency.

Dec. 23. The Twelfth Music Conference in Madras is opened by H. H. The Yuvaraja of Mysore.

Dec. 24. Russo-Japanese tension as a result of dead-lock over the fisheries dispute.

Dec. 25. Gandhiji advises Travancore Congress to suspend civil disobedience.

Dec. 26. The 26th Session of the All-India Muslim League meets at Patna with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Chair.



THE THAKORE SAHEB OF RAJKOT

Dec. 27. The Rajkot dispute ends. The terms of settlement include the Prince's offer of such a scheme of reforms "as to give the widest possible powers to the people".



The WORLD of BOOKS



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—1918-1937
2 Vols. Edited by Dr. A. B. Keith. The World's Classics, Oxford University Press.

Dr. Keith has already given us "Selected Speeches and Documents" on British Colonial, Dominion and Indian Policy. The volumes under review supplement the series by furnishing authentic documents on the momentous transactions of recent years. For we have seen within the lifetime of a single generation changes that have transformed the face of Europe, and future historians will be grateful to Dr. Keith for furnishing authentic sources and original records for their account and interpretation of these eventful years.

Here in these two volumes are presented in chronological order facts essential to a study of world affairs since the Great War: the treaties, protocols, conventions and significant speeches from President Wilson's Fourteen Points down to the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1937.

These very names are landmarks in the history of the post-War world and are bound to figure in any future record of these times. Yet how many of these transactions have already receded into the background and have been superseded by yet more momentous changes! At one stroke, Austria has since become a part of the German Reich and a big slice of Czechoslovakia has gone to Germany, and another to Poland and yet another to Hungary!

THE DARK ROOM. By R. K. Narayan. MacMillan & Co. 6sh.

Ramani, the boss of an upper middle class family and the branch of the Engladia Insurance Company, belongs to the old conservative set, which regarded marriage just as an institution for implicit obedience and bearing of children. Proud of his self-acquired status in life, his behaviour towards his wife and children alternates between some mild enthusiasm and much violent teasing. The period of teasing drives the dear dutiful wife to a dark room in the house where she moans and sulks. Ramani finds the pretty and vivacious girl probationer in his office a happy relief from the monotony of his life. The wife scents the nature of his nocturnal activities and feels miserable and pained. Being unable to bear the thought of his infidelity, she makes bold one day to give him an ultimatum—the girl in the office, or the wife—never both. The outcome of this outburst of feelings is, the wife quits the house with a resolve never to return. But the constant thought of her children drives her back home to the intense happiness of the sorrowing children and to the relief of the erring hubby.

The characters in the story are typically South Indian and are admirably portrayed with such a realistic vividness that they seem to be moving before us. They all speak for themselves in the easy, effortless and masterly language of the author.

SIKHISM: ITS IDEALS AND INSTITUTIONS
By Teja Singh. Longmans, Green & Co.
Rs. 2.

In this interesting little book, Professor Teja Singh of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, has sought to give a succinct account of Sikhism as a living force, its aims and ideals for the future. He lays stress on the simplicity of the faith and on the excellence of its social and political ideals. Long subject to suspicion and persecution in the early days of its existence, this noble faith developed a certain strength of purpose and organisation, which was almost unique in India, and Teja Singh lays stress on this feature of Sikh history as well.

But the booklet is not, and is not meant to be, a history of Sikhs and Sikhism. It is a definite contribution to the study and understanding of present problems, and the author does not fall into the easy and common error of mistaking the ideal for the actual. Conscious as he is of the past glory of Sikhism, he has no illusions about its present position, and he feels that except for their honoured place in the British Indian Army, the Sikhs to-day are not pulling their weight. He commends the attempts of the modern Singh Sabha movement to revive Sikhism and restore the old balance. One hopes that the distinction he draws between matters strictly religious in which the Sikhs may be a law unto themselves, and other matters, social and political, in which they have to take account of and actively co-operate with other communities in whose midst they live, will receive universal recognition among the Sikh leaders of our time. Altogether it is an ably written and balanced book.

IMAGE-BREAKERS. By D. M. Borgaonkar, M.A.
Published by the New Book Company,
Hornby Road, Bombay. Re. 1-8.

Punch's famous advice to those about to marry—DON'T—would seem to be the line of least resistance in the face of problems such as confront the characters in this play. Niranjana, a Hindu, loves Roshan, a Mohammedan girl; Nadir, a Mohammedan, loves Leela, a Hindu girl; Sarojini, the sister of Niranjana, seeks the intellectual Vijay for constant companionship and the handsome Bikram for the father of her children. They bravely resolve—Niranjana to marry Leela but really husband Roshan; Nadir to marry Roshan but really husband Leela; Sarojini to marry Vijay but really be wife to Bikram. So they seek their individual happiness while pretending to conform to ancient custom. This tragic farce is kept up for three years. Roshan has a son by Niranjana named Akbar; Leela has a son by Nadir named Duleep; Vijay under the stress of a repressed life develops a jealousy complex. Niranjana dies in a motor accident. Nadir and Leela decide to marry each other. Rai Bahadur Shankar, father of Niranjana and Sarojini, seeks the aid of Law Courts to recover possession of Duleep whom he imagines is his grandson by Niranjana. The final denouement takes place in the Court Room. The Judge's indictment and the defending speeches of Roshan are well worth careful consideration by all interested in the present-day social problems of India. The play is a Drama in form but is in substance a monograph on the institution of marriage to be freed from religion and superstition. The play is strongly reminiscent of Ibsen and Shaw. The author brings together on the stage several interesting iconoclastic persons who would fain be the forerunners of a new world, image breakers destroying the traditions of the old order.

POETRY OF THE INVISIBLE. By Syed Mehdi Imam. Allen and Unwin.
8sh. 6d.

Mr. Imam's book comes to us excellently upholstered in prefaces and introductions. Both Tagore and C. F. Andrews commend him heartily to us. But what Mr. Imam has actually to tell us will probably interest only a few. He writes of the eerie and the esoteric, and he traces the mystic line in English poetry from Keats to Bridges. For theosophical circles and those who traffic on the astral planes, this book may have some interest; but to the pedestrian lover of poetry who walks the earth, Mr. Imam will remain incomprehensible.

THE MACHINERY OF SOCIALIST PLANNING.
By G. D. H. Cole. The Hogarth Press.
2sh. 6d.

Mr. Cole lays down a plan for the slow socialization of Britain, which the Labour Party should follow if it won a general election. He suggests the methods and principles which should govern the reorganisation of the Civil Service and the Cabinet, the controlling of prices, the regulation of investment, etc. He envisages a whole scheme which would lay the foundations of a socialist economy in Britain. Although the book is of academic interest, it should be read by all who believe in economic and political reconstruction.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LHASA: THE HOLY CITY. By F. Spencer Chapman.
Chatto and Windus, London.

SOCIALISM IN NEW ZEALAND. By John A. Lee.
T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

COPERNICUS. The Founder of Modern Astronomy.
By Angus Armitage. George Allen and Unwin Ltd.,
London.

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION. By Dr.
D. N. Roy, University of Calcutta.

THE MADRAS STATES AND MYSORE DIRECTORY, 1938.
Edited by T. M. Satchit. The Pearl Press,
Cochin. Rs. 7.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIVING FAITHS. An introduction to comparative religion. By Haridas Bhattacharya of the University of Dacca. Published by the University of Calcutta.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA: Suggestions for its improvement and expansion by Dinkar D. Desai, M.A., LL.B. Servants of India Society, Girgaum, Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

REPORT ON THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF THE PROVINCE OF MADRAS FOR THE YEAR 1937-38. By W. A. Ward, B.A., Collector of Customs, Madras. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE METEOROLOGICAL DEPARTMENT of the Government of India in 1937-38. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

REVIEWS AND OPINIONS ON SHRI BHAGAVAD GITA. The Rasashala Aushadharum, Gondal, Kathiawar.

PLEASURE. By Douglas Ainslie. A book of poems. Chiswick Press Ltd., London, E.C. 4.

RECORDS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. 73, Part 3, 1938. Manager of Government Publications, Delhi.

REVIEW OF THE TRADE OF INDIA IN 1937-38. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF COMMUNISM. By R. Palme Dutt. Hogarth Press, London.

LITTLE STEEL. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., Blackfriars, London, E.C. 4.

POLITICS IN PRE-MUGHAL TIMES. By Dr. Ishwar Topa. Foreword by Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Kitabistan, Allahabad, and London.

THE ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1938-39. Edited by M. G. Desai and S. R. S. Rao. Published by the All-India Industrial Federation, Meadows House, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

RES NULLINS: AN ESSAY ON PROPERTY. By I. S. Pawate, Pleader, Harpanahalli, Oni, Hubli.

BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1937-38. Issued by the Dewan of Baroda.

STUDIES IN BENGALI LITERATURE. By Kalipada Mukerjee, M.A., M.R. S.T. Arthur H. Stockwell, 29, Ludgate Hill, E.C. 4.

EXPERIMENTS IN BEE CULTURE. By S. R. Narayana Ayyar. S. V. S. Vasan, Bee-keeper, Coonoor.

RISE AND GROWTH OF INDIAN LIBERALISM. By Maganlal A. Buch, M.A., Ph.D., Baroda College, Baroda.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA. By K. V. Punniah, The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.

General

CONGRESS AND THE STATES

Under Gandhiji's guidance, the Congress Working Committee, which met at Wardhaganj on December 14, adopted the following Resolution on Indian States:—

The Working Committee welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured.

The Committee supports the demand for Civil Liberty and Responsible Government under the ægis of the Rulers in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression.

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

In particular, the Committee deplores the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people and the Committee asserts the right of the Congress to protect the people against the unwarranted use of military or police forces, lent by the British authorities, for the suppression of the legitimate movements of the people for Responsible Government within the States.

The Committee desires to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Haripura Congress, which defines Congress policy in regard to the States. While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of Civil Liberty and Responsible Government in the States, the existing circumstances impose certain limitations on this work and considerations of prudence prevent the Congress from interfering organisationally and directly in the internal struggles in the States.

This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. It was also intended as a measure of the goodwill of the Congress towards the States and of its hope that the Rulers, of their own accord, would recognise the "spirit of the times and satisfy the just aspirations of their people.

Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy. But this was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. With the

great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with the States' people. The policy laid down by the Haripura Congress, which has been so abundantly justified, must continue to be pursued.

While, therefore, the Working Committee welcomes the movements in the States for the attainment of Responsible Government, it advises the people not belonging to the States concerned against taking part in civil disobedience or the like. Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement and even embarrass the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend.

The Committee trusts that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence.

Baroda

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN BARODA

"The policy of His Highness' Government is the close association of the people with the administration and the satisfying to the fullest extent of aspirations which are the direct outcome of the enlightened policy of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb," declared Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan, in opening the Session of the Baroda Assembly on December 12. He continued:

Baroda, as a State, has developed on lines of its own with traditions, individuality and culture of which there is reason to be proud. It has been well said: 'Every constitution emerges from the spirit of a people through an inward progress of development or rather every constitution is the spirit of a people.' Few men have pondered more deeply over States and their problems than His Highness the Maharaja Saheb and I commend to you the following extracts from a recent speech of his:

There should be no striving after a soul-destroying uniformity. We are often reminded that it is unsafe to generalise about India; and if the mere observer needs that warning, far more weighty is it in the vastly more important domain of administration. We all want to develop naturally each according to the path of evolution on which he has set out. . . .

In many fields of activity—mass education, re-orientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting communal and other interests—the States with their distinctive traditions can embark on fruitful experiments; and it would be a pity to do anything which would deprive India of this wealth of political and administrative experience.

Mysore

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MYSORE

Far-reaching recommendations for the improvement of elementary education in Mysore State and for financing the proposals are contained in an interim report issued by the Committee on Elementary Education which was appointed by the Mysore Government in 1937, with Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachariar as Chairman.

The Committee states that the survey of the progress of elementary education in the State, since the passing of the Elementary Education Act, shows that little progress has been made either in the expansion of elementary education or in combating illiteracy.

The hopes entertained at the time of the passing of the Elementary Education Act that a great fillip would be given to expansion have not been fulfilled and the present state of things in regard to the progress of elementary education indicates that the scheme, as outlined in the Act, has been practically a failure so far as expansion of elementary education is concerned.

Hyderabad

THE HYDERABAD BAN

The Hyderabad Government have banned the singing of *Bande Mataram* in State institutions according to a Press *communiqué* issued by the Information Bureau. The *communiqué* is the sequel to the strike by a large number of students of Osmania University over the expulsion of several Hindu students for the singing of *Bande Mataram*. The *communiqué* states:

In connexion with the present strike by certain Osmania University students over the singing of the *Bande Mataram* in hostels of the University as a part of Hindu worship and the representation they have made to the authorities on the subject, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in the Education Department wish to make it clear that they are unable to accept any claim that the song, which is of comparatively recent origin and has become the subject of controversy, is an integral part of Hindu worship. . . .

The Government, therefore, have decided that they are not prepared to allow the song to be sung in any Government institutions.

Travancore

THE STATE CONGRESS

Mahatma Gandhi has, after obtaining due permission from the President of the Travancore State Congress, published the account of his interview with the members of the delegation who recently sought his advice at Wardha:

"I told them" (State Congress Deputation), he says, "that their cause would be damaged by persistence in charges against the Dewan and that the question was not one of the truth or otherwise of the charges. It was one of political insight.

I could not be a party to the conduct of a struggle, which must engage and exhaust time and energy in pursuit of a personal matter to the exclusion of the most important one of *Swaraj*. . . . The employment of civil disobedience had well defined limitations and required suspension as the occasion demanded."

Cochin

COCHIN'S PROBLEMS

Like Mysore, although not to the same degree, Cochin is troubled by certain financial considerations. The arrangements which were made with the Government of India a few years ago, bring her a substantial income from the Cochin port.

The Railway which runs from Shoranur to Ernakulam which is her property, although it is worked by the South Indian Railway, brings her a by no means negligible amount. Her total annual revenues are not much over a crore of rupees and she spends a fifth of them on education. She has a population of a little over one million which is a large one, because in size it is one of the smaller States of India, one-third of which is uninhabitable. Cochin has one of the highest percentages of population per square mile, and since the last census there seems to have been a considerable increase.

All this, says the *Statesman*, makes Cochin anxious to guard her finances. She, too, like certain other States, makes it a grievance that she pays any tribute at all although her quota is only two lakhs. She has a few other legal and technical grievances which call for redress.

Indore

SIR S. BAPNA'S REVIEW

Inaugurating the sixth session of the Indore Legislative Council on November 14, Sir Serayamal Bapna, the Prime Minister, announced that the life of the Council would be extended for one year.

In the course of his speech, Sir Serayamal referred to Federation and said that the negotiations continued and that the final details of the terms of the instrument of accession had yet to be determined.

Sir Serayamal expressed satisfaction at having come to an arrangement with the people's leaders regarding the popular agitation in the State for certain political reforms.

In conclusion, he appealed to the Sanatanists to co-operate with the Government in giving effect to the new charter of liberty for the Harijans, granted recently by the Maharaja.

Kurandwad

GRANT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

The Rajah Saheb of Kurandwad State made the following important pronouncement in the course of his speech at a Durbar held recently to celebrate the sixth anniversary of his installation:—

You all do know that the ideal of responsible government has been accepted in British India by the British Government in 1917. You also know that some of the Deccan States have recently accepted this ideal in principle. Although I consider that small area, small population, and slender resources of this State are serious and real difficulties in the way, I have decided to accept in principle the idea that responsible government under the ægis of the rulers of the State should be the ultimate goal or ideal of the State administration.

Kolhapur

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

In a Press interview, Rao Bahadur Surve, Prime Minister of Kolhapur State, declared that shortly the State subjects would be granted rights of responsible government and that a representative assembly would be set up.

It is learnt that the Representative Council of the State will consist of 42 members, some elected by the people and some by the Jagirdars of the State.

Dhenkanal

REFORMS IN DHENKANAL

The Ruler of Dhenkanal in Orissa has decided to grant to his subjects certain constitutional rights and privileges, which will enable their representatives to be associated in the administration of the State, according to a message from the Private Secretary to the Ruler of Dhenkanal. The message adds that the changes will be made with effect from the next financial year and that steps are now being taken to settle the preliminary details without delay.

Mayurbhanj

NIGHT SCHOOLS IN MAYURBHANJ

In order to strengthen the campaign against adult illiteracy, 20 night schools have been started in different centres that are chiefly populated by the aboriginal sections of the State. The schools sit for two hours in the evening. Efforts are made through the *Oriya Supplement* to the *State Gazette* to create a taste for reading and an ability to take active interest in the affairs of rural uplift.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In his Memorandum presented to the Asiatic Land Laws Commission at Johannesburg, Mr. B. Rama Rau, the Agent-General for India, dealt with the question of Indian ownership of fixed property in Transvaal. He said that refusal of ownership rights tended to lead to slum conditions as no tenant would willingly spend money on the repair of another person's property.

Originally, the Transvaal Government had restricted Asiatic ownership in the interests of public health.

I should like to say that the Government may, perhaps, have considered itself justified in passing such legislation in 1885, because it was then only three or four years after the first Indian had settled in the Transvaal, and the Government through inexperience or fear may have felt it necessary to take precautionary measures. But the history of the last 50 years has shown that from a sanitary point of view such legislation was quite unnecessary. It is the local authorities concerned who, instead of paying particular attention to sanitary conveniences and drainage in these areas, are inclined to neglect them.

The reasonable solution would appear to be to remove the root-cause of the trouble, and it is accordingly suggested that this Commission recommend that Asiatics be given the elementary right to own land—a right which is held by any permanent and intelligent section of the population of any country.

East Africa

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

There are about 100,000 Indians in East Africa. The last official census of 1931 reveals the following distribution:—

Kenya	... 48,623
Tanganyika	... 25,144
Zanzibar	... 15,246
Uganda	... 14,150

In East Africa as a whole, the Indians outnumber the Europeans by more than three to one. Of the total European

population in East Africa, which amounts to about 30,000, more than half is found in Kenya. The Indians thus form the largest single group of the non-native peoples of East Africa. Mr. L. James, writing in the latest number of the *United Empire* about the condition of Indians in East Africa, says:

A slightly higher percentage of Indians is engaged in agriculture than in Kenya, but again the majority are engaged in commerce and clerical work. There are no restrictions upon Indians residing anywhere in the Colony, as Britain is prohibited by the terms of the Mandate from following a discriminatory policy. Since Britain acquired the Territory, the Indian population has doubled. The grievances of the Indians in Tanganyika have been largely concerned in the earlier years with the loss of considerable sums forcibly loaned to the German Government during the war and afterwards repudiated. Apart from difficulties connected with taxation, the Indians of Tanganyika have fairly cordial relations with the Administration and consequently have been vigorous opponents of the closer union of East African territories. In Uganda, where the Indian population is similarly concentrated in the main commercial centres, the relationship with the Administration has been particularly harmonious. In Zanzibar, where the Indians have long been the merchants, money-lenders, and shop-keepers, many Indians have bought up the estates of impoverished Arab landholders.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI SERVICE

Three Indians, Messrs. Raghavanand, Sant Singh Chola and Mirza Salim Bux have, for the first time in the history of the colony of Fiji Islands, been appointed to work as the Indian Assistants to the District Magistrates in that country.

Mr. Raghavanand is the son of the late Mr. Badri Mahrai, who was the first Indian member of the Fiji Legislative Council. It is the first time that Indians have been raised to this rank in the civil service.

Another appointment of importance is that of Mr. Shankar Pertap as the Sub-Inspector of Police. He is the first Indian Sub-Inspector of Police in the Fiji Islands.



Malaya

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

"All emigration to Malaya must stop till such time that guarantees are forthcoming for the proper treatment of our workers," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the Central Indian Association of Malaya. Pandit Nehru goes on to say:

The memory of my visit to the beautiful and pleasant land of Malaya is fresh in my mind, but above all I think of the lot of the thousands of Indian workers there. I have come to know of the heavy reductions which have been made by the planters in the wages of Indian labourers without any reference to India. I am glad that the Central Indian Association of Malaya has resisted this, and the Government in India have banned all recruitment of South Indian labour to Malaya. Subsequently, it appears that under cover of voluntary emigration labour recruitment has continued in an illicit form. But in September last the Central Assembly passed an Amending Bill regulating this form of labour emigration also.

Efforts are now being made by vested interests in Malaya to open out fresh sources of cheap labour from India which they can exploit at their will. We have to be vigilant to prevent any such opportunity being given to them. India cannot and will not permit exploitation of her children in this way and we must insist that no Indian worker should be allowed to be ruled away abroad unless decent wages and conditions of livelihood are assured for him. Therefore all emigration to Malaya must stop till such time that guarantees are forthcoming of proper treatment of our workers.

Tanganyika

THE FUTURE OF TANGANYIKA

Statements reported to have been made during the Munich negotiations regarding German colonial claims have caused considerable consternation among all sections of the community in Tanganyika. As a result, a movement formed to conduct a campaign against any transfer of the colony has been reorganised.

The Central Committee representing Europeans and Indians has decided as a preliminary measure to cable to the Joint East Africa Board, pointing out their serious alarm at the prospect of an

early development of German claims and asking the Board to obtain from Mr. Malcolm MacDonald an immediate assurance in view of repeated pledges that Tanganyika was an essential part of the British Empire.

Other influential quarters in Britain are also to be advised of the general feeling of alarm. Indian and South African inhabitants are taking up the matter with their respective Governments.

A Nairobi message adds:

Enrolments to the Tanganyika League, a body pledged to resist to the utmost the return of Tanganyika to Germany, are pouring in from all parts of East Africa.

Mr. MacDonald has since given the assurance.

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

The Government of India have definitely refused to accept the recent amendment to the Village Franchise Ordinance passed by the Ceylon State Council. The Government of India, it appears, feel that the amendment, which excludes all the estate labourers, including even the Sinhalese, from franchise, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the rights of the Indian labourers.

Mr. H. M. Desai, who recently went to Simla, had placed the view-points of the Indian labourers in Ceylon before the India Government, whose present attitude is believed to be the result of this representation.

Subsequent to the reply of the Government of India, H. E. the Governor of Ceylon, it is further understood, referred the Amended Bill to His Majesty's Government for fresh consideration. In view of the firmness of the India Government, it is not unlikely that the Secretary of State for the Colonies may advise His Majesty not to give assent to the Bill.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

It seems to have become the fashion in Parliamentary countries to look upon all dictatorships with unconcealed disapprobation and denounce everything associated with them. A writer in the *Twentieth Century*, Mr. Dharam Bir Vohra, points out that this is not fair. For dictatorships arise out of the necessities of the situation and serve a purpose which cannot altogether be ignored.

Who can say, for example, that Germany after the War was a fit subject for the democratic experiments such as the Weimar Republic was designed to carry out? Not only were the Germans almost uninitiated in the arts of democracy but they felt terribly humiliated at the outrageous restrictions which the Peace Treaty imposed upon them. They longed to regain their former position of supremacy in the galaxy of nations but realized that the Republic was utterly powerless to lead to this end. Hence they squirmed impatiently under its dead weight and wished for a strong man who would raise them out of the slough of inaction and give them a cause to work for. This environment was evidently not the most desirable one for a democratic government and it was inevitable that the Weimar Republic should break down hopelessly.

On the other hand in both Britain and France, democracy survived because conditions were not ripe for the appearance of a truly socialistic party convinced of the futility of Parliamentary methods.

The Peace Treaty placed these countries in a position of undeniable advantage in the field of world trade. It enabled them to restore their economic strength rapidly and, therefore, to carry on with the old institutions satisfactorily enough. The capitalists in these countries did, indeed, find it necessary to

reduce wage rates severely, and distress among the working classes did in fact reach a pitch hitherto unimagined. But conditions were not nearly as hopeless as they were in the vanquished countries and every one expected that prosperity would soon be restored. People in general found no reason to lose faith in the existing government and there was no tendency to look towards the Socialists for the betterment of prevailing conditions. Consequently the capitalist elements felt no need of attempting to consolidate their position by winning over the discontented elements to their side, or by ranging nationalist sentiment against the Socialists. Democracy in France and Britain, therefore, escaped annihilation largely because these countries were not compelled to face up to fundamental issues.

However, even in the typically democratic countries, Parliamentary methods are not always looked upon as most satisfactory. For example:

America during the financial crisis of 1933 was compelled to give President Roosevelt almost dictatorial powers. Some people went so far as to assert that America had entered upon an era of Fascism, but although this was an undoubted exaggeration, it cannot be denied that during those critical years democratic procedure had definitely fallen into abeyance in America. Similarly, the British Government during the Great War was obliged to impose unusual restrictions on its subjects and for once the theory of the sanctity of civil liberty had to be 'thrown to the winds.

It is clear, therefore, says the writer that dictatorship and democracy are not competing forms of government but experiments adapted to suit entirely different conditions and circumstances. It is as fallacious to compare the one with the other as it is to compare man with woman. Both are right in their own places just as much as man and woman are in theirs.

EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM

Public opinion in any country is largely shaped by newspapers through efficient journalists. Though the actual technique of journalism is acquired by practice, the journalists to be really useful to the community should be men of wide studies and liberal outlook. The latter qualifications cannot be assumed unless the journalist acquires first a sound general education and then special technical education pertinent to his profession. Thus the need for special education in journalism is apparent. Mr. S. G. Warty, in the December number of the *Modern Review*, urges that Universities in India should introduce a course in journalism and a degree to mark the end of that course.

"It is my considered opinion that no candidate should be admitted to the special studies of journalism in a University until he had first acquired the B. A. degree. As regards the special studies for the degree in journalism, one has to take note of the fact that in India, journalism at the present day almost completely consists of political writing so great being the emphasis placed on politics. For this reason a scientific and systematic study of politics in all its practical and theoretical aspects must form a necessary part of a course in journalism. The aspirant for a journalistic career must be intimately acquainted with the currents of economic and political thought in the modern world, the forces now at play in shaping mankind and its actions, and the problems of each country and nationality on the globe with their historic background. The journalist must be able to take a world-view of things and to look at the problems at hand from that perspective. The first thing that a journalist has to learn is to

condense elaborate news or writing into intelligible summaries to suit the limited space at his disposal and he should be able to do so whilst running over the sheet itself with his blue pencil. He should also cultivate the practice of describing events in a picturesque yet in a truthful manner. Similarly a certain number of exercises in article-writing of various sorts must be made compulsory. The principles in regard to the reviewing of books with some practice must also be taught."

In addition to these compulsory subjects, specialisation in voluntary subjects should be prescribed, and subjects like Indian Politics, European Politics, Asiatic Politics, etc., may be profitably studied.

"THE INDIAN OPINION"

The Diwali Number of *Indian Opinion* (of Phoenix, Natal) is very interesting. The journal was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903. The Special Number is beautifully illustrated and well printed. It contains messages among others from Mr. B. Rama Rau, the Agent-General, who says that he cannot do better than repeat a message which Mr. Gandhi sent to the Indian community of South Africa some years ago. The Mahatma's message alluded to was as follows:

"We hear constant references to dissensions among you. If you go on creating different and conflicting interests, e.g., the rights of the rich as distinguished from those of the poor, the rights of the Northern Indian as distinguished from those of the Southern Indian, of the Colonial-borns as distinguished from those of the merchants, of the latter from those of the indentured, of the Transvaal Indians as distinguished from the Cape Indians and Natal Indians, you will lose the little that you have got. If you wish to better the position of the whole community you will always stand united.

IN DEFENCE OF CULTURE

The rising tide of barbarism has goaded Olaf Stapledon to make a bold plea in defence of culture, through his article in the October issue of the *London Mercury*. Artists, he says, have been suffering a comparative neglect, whereas the scientists have been largely used for deeply immoral ends.

Scientists have inadvertently served a dominant class at the expense of the people. Security, comfort, health, leisure and luxury have indeed been increased in some measure even among the masses; but always the wealthy minority has benefited extravagantly, while hosts of ordinary folk have been enslaved to the industrial machine. Their physical stamina and mental health have been undermined. And now in our day the whole process of social amelioration is slowing down, nay is perhaps actually reversed. Even the most fundamental benefit, security, is threatened by economic disintegration, by tyranny, by war.

He attributes the cause of this frustration of science to the change in its spirit. The new spirit tends to be commercial and secretive. Industrial laboratories cannot afford to give away their secrets to competitors. Science is prostituted to further the interests of capitalists and Governments, because they are the only bodies who are rich enough to afford costly research.

"Economic demand has been greatly influenced by the needs of Governments for armaments. And since Governments are generally far more wealthy than private individuals, and since capitalistic and imperialistic national States are inevitably hostile to one another, the demand for armaments is immense. Moreover, it has constantly been stimulated by the machinations of the great armament firms, which have spent lavishly to foment national rivalry. Thus a large

proportion of the wealth, intelligence, and energy devoted to scientific research has been given up to discovering more and more effective methods for destroying human wealth and human life."

The triumph of materialistic science and capitalistic industry is the cause of the new kind of barbarism, springing up from the decay of capitalistic society. Fascism stands as a striking creation of the frustration of science. There is no hope for civilization or for culture till the social injustice is abolished. For the construction of a better social order, a struggle to overthrow the existing plutocratic oligarchy should be carried.

"Is there anything of a practical kind that scientists and artists can do to help in the struggle, he asks. The artists (of all sorts) are in too weak a position to do much. They can only talk. But the scientists are in a very strong position. They are extremely important for the functioning of modern society. If they were to organize themselves and refuse to co-operate in exploitation and tyranny, the powers of exploitation and tyranny would have to capitulate."

LABOUR & CONSERVATIVE PARTIES

Mr. Arthur Slaberdain writes in the *Liberal Magazine* as follows:—

The Labour and Conservative parties exist essentially to further the interests of organized groups of producers. The predominant power in the Labour Party is wielded by the trade unions. The Conservative Party has become the instrument of certain agricultural and industrial interests. Ideally both wish to plan society so that the *status quo* were favourable to the interests is maintained. Both have created monopolies, petrified the industrial structure, closed avenues for enterprise, regimented the consumer, penalised efficiency, increased the power of the executive, sacrificed the common good for sectional advantage. Both are exponents of the Philosophy of Grab. The principles of both are restrictionist, collectivist, monopolist, authoritarian.

BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

"The view that England could safely allow such a ruler as Hitler to override Europe, to make himself master of one State after another by naked force, to aggrandise his power to such a degree that he could despise not merely the conscience of mankind but the armed strength of any rival implies a complete breach with the whole tradition of British policy," says the *Manchester Guardian* commenting on Chamberlain's conduct in the recent crisis in Czecho-Slovakia.

For England to stand aside while the plans were carried out would be an abdication so important as to mark a revolution in the history of Europe. Not a single Foreign Minister of the nineteenth century can be named who would have resigned himself to such a catastrophe. It should be the policy of this country to allow no one Power to become a danger to the liberties of Europe: that was the declaration of Fox, who is chiefly famous for his opposition to war. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Butler, quoted and approved this statement as describing British foreign policy in the past at a recent meeting of the Institute of International Affairs. No doubt we should be exceedingly wary and careful in the application of this principle, but the destruction of the liberties of Europe would not be too strong a phrase to describe her domination by the Nazi system. The Ministers that Mr. Butler had in mind recognised that property, as Drummond told the Irish landlords, has duties as well as rights. A State that has collected great power in the past and used it with great effect for its own interests so that it has possessions and dependencies all over the world and draws wealth and prestige from every continent, cannot behave as if the world has no claims on its wisdom and strength. Great empires and "little minds go ill together," said Burke.

But those Ministers, says the paper, knew also that to yield to the threats of a Power that recognised no right or law in public life is fatal to British interests as well to the British honour.

EURHYTHMICS: FOR OUR GIRLS

Margaret E. Cousins, writing in the annual number of the *Scholar*, laments over the very low standard of health of girls in our country. Physical training in schools and colleges is generally neglected. The girls have a duty to be strong for their own individual sake, because the burden of continuing the race is theirs at a later stage. She says:

"Improved and compulsory daily physical culture for girls in schools and colleges in every class is the first step necessary to be taken to raise the health standard of India's womanhood.

The return of rhythm to its place of power in the Indian social life is one of the most hopeful advances of these days. India providentially has not been an exception to the response of the nations of the world to the renaissance in dancing. Especially is the Indian Classical Dance, the Bharata Natya, coming into its own. Training in dance forms necessitated control, concentration, memory, gracefulness, health.

To-day's new fashion of learning dancing is particularly valuable for securing the interest of the Indian girl in the improvement of her physique and it should be taken advantage of to the full. The more it is encouraged in its collective form the better, for the greater the number taking part in the rhythmic expression, the greater will be the courage induced to bring it to its highest perfection, the less there will be of personal self-consciousness, the more the group-consciousness (so necessary in every aspect of India's life to-day) will be established, the more powerful will be the evocation of health and harmony."

MUSICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

Music is the utterance and expression of the soul; no race can live without it and it has its own important role to play in our cultural life. If it is to serve its noble purpose, it should form part of our school and college curriculum. Mr. J. M. D'Souza has some valuable suggestions to offer in his article in the *New Review* of November. He says.

"The entire system of education must be soaked so to say in music. The science and art of music must be a part of the curriculum of every school and college in the country. The system must be freed from the shackles of compulsion and the portals of educational institutions thrown open to every optional subject, thus enabling pupils who are required to love what they learn and to learn what they love. Music is then bound to step in as one of these optional subjects.

Musical training should start at the earliest stage of education. During the first two or three years, its aim should be to discover the hidden talent which will later on be developed through a more intensive and graded course of study. With this object in view, choral singing, solo singing, children's operettas, percussion bands, musical drill should be carefully and systematically introduced.

We shall then be in a position to direct those who are sufficiently musical to select music—both theoretical and practical, and either vocal or instrumental—as an optional subject and pursue the course up to the Matriculation or School Final. In order that the scheme may work, the Government will have to vote to every aided institution a grant, however small, meant expressly for musical education. This course will be further continued

by colleges for the benefit of those who will take music as one of their subjects for the Intermediate and Degree examinations.

What, then, will the Universities do? Their main task will be: (1) To draw up the syllabi for the various grades; (2) to examine candidates at the various stages; (3) to conduct well-organized and up-to-date classes in music for both graduation and post-graduation purposes; (4) to aid and conduct research in the field of music; (5) to grant recognition and affiliation to private musical institutions, which will have to be encouraged in order that the scheme may succeed on a nation-wide scale; (6) to conduct training for the Teacher's Diploma in Music which, we think, will serve the purpose better than the courses, for the mere award of music diplomas our Universities have either started or contemplate starting."

THE ENGLISH CHARACTER

An American, writing in the *Listener*, says:

A greater nation of sneerers never walked the earth than the English. They sneer at foreign fashions and then take them up a couple of years later. They sneer at every dictionary except the Oxford, although that otherwise excellent work actually begins every word in the language with a capital letter. They sneer at Americans for thinking only of business—it's so bad for British trade. They sneer at Australians for talking like Londoners, and at Frenchmen for talking like Frenchmen. They sneer at Italy for her Imperialism, because the British Brand is the best. They sneer at German censorship and then won't let me say half the things I'd like to say. Yes, indeed, when it comes to sneering, the English can out-sneer anybody anywhere. But it's O.K. with me. There's nothing I like better than a good wholesome sneer. And the English have got to have some defence against outside criticism.

THE COW IN HINDU LIFE

"From time immemorial the cow had occupied an honoured place in the Indian household, none cherished her so much as the Vedic Indian," says Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar writing in the latest number of the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*. In the Rig Veda, cows are even treated as deities and prayers are offered to them for material welfare. Owing to the economic importance of the cow to man, Vedic and post-Vedic literature abound in ample references to her. The Dravidians of South India valued and honoured the cow no less than the Vedic Indian. Parallel to the Aryan worship of the cow, how the Tamils worshipped her is described by Mr. Dikshitar as follows:

"In more than one place in *Samgam* literature, the spiritual merit of protecting cows is stressed. *Tolkappiyam* refers to the five duties of the Ksatriya, of which one is *kaval* or protection, which included that of cows. The connection between discharge of regal duty and fruitfulness of Earth is beautifully explained in a *Kural-venba* by Tiruvalluvar, which Dr. Pope translates:

Where guardian guardeth not, udder of kine
And Brahman's sacred lore will all forgotten lie.

Cows and sacred knowledge are placed on a par among things whose loss will cripple society. This is why, in discussing those who should not be hurt during war, *Purananuru* rules that cows and Brahmins should be sent out even before the commencement of hostilities.

Among the ancient Tamils, cattle-lifting was common and was tantamount to a declaration of war. Cattle recaptured from enemy were to be kept under proper guard. No harm or injury was to be done to such cattle."

It is evident from many references in Tamil literature and South Indian inscriptions that the ancient Dravidians had a horror of cow-killing and were always for *goraksha*. To them, the cow was one of the six objects of worship. Thus has the cow attained so much importance in the daily life of the people in different parts of India from pre-historic days.

A NEW SPIRIT IN INDIA

"India is watching British policy with justifiable solicitude," writes Mr. Edward Howard, the well known journalist of experience in India and the Far East in the *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post*. Mr. Howard continues:

Never has her place in the Empire been as important as it is to-day. Her faith in the maintenance of the principles of liberty and international fair play is no sentimental flourish. It derives from the practical conviction that in such a leadership India has the best hope of securing her own liberty within the family of a free Commonwealth.

For purely British interests, India cannot be expected to fight any more than the other Dominions. When those interests, to take your correspondent's endorsement of Mr. Chamberlain's definition, coincide with resistance to world domination by any one Power, India's solid support of British policy is unhesitating. That was proved in 1914; it was clear at the emergence of the recent crisis.

A new spirit is abroad in India—a spirit infused with confidence in assertion of a self-reliance to which Great Britain has given so admirable a stimulus by a gradual devolution of authority to Indian agency. That spirit sharpens India's scrutiny of world affairs. She has means to form opinions.

Her Press which, by the way, has shown a greatly improved sense of responsibility of late—the by-product, no doubt, of enhanced constitutional responsibility—has closely followed events in Europe. Moreover, as a founder member of the League, India has distinguished sons who have had practical experience of international politics at Geneva.

THE INVENTOR OF FASCISM

According to *Parade*, Gabriele D'Annunzio, the celebrated soldier poet of Italy, who died early last year, was the real inventor of fascism.

The war of 1914-1918 left in its wake, to a certain extent everywhere, and especially in Italy and Germany, a new category of white-collar proletarians, who were an exceedingly troubled wreckage in a society in which capitalism and the world of the working man seemed equally hostile to them.

In Italy, the greatness of our Middle Ages in which all is disorder and life, was necessarily incomprehensible to their limited capacity. By a strange paradox, it was Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose lyric richness had been so splendid, who became the poet and the prophet of all these pathetic misfits. It was he who was the real inventor of fascism.

When in 1919, D'Annunzio seized Fiume what drove him on was not the idea of preserving the Italian character of the unfortunate Adriatic city (whose occupation by the French immediately after the armistice constitutes the greatest psychological blunder France has been guilty of in her dealings with Italy); what he thought of, and immediately, was a coup aimed at the whole of Italy; for him, Fiume was to be merely a springboard.

D'Annunzio was too intelligent and too subtle to believe in this adulterated wine of the heritage of Rome. But he took advantage of all these springs of action, because he felt that they were more within the imaginative grasp of the *petite bourgeoisie*, embittered by the after-war, and it was from this class that he recruited his volunteers.

It was he who, at Fiume, invented that "Roman salute" which has now become also the "German salute", and which he, overlooking its implications, copied from some statue or fresco, forgetting that in Rome the *cives* greeted each other by shaking hands and that only slaves made the sign which has been adopted by the subjects of Mussolini and Hitler.

It was D'Annunzio who invented those dialogues with the crowd, which fascism later on found so useful at the *Piazza di Venezia* at Rome.

"To whom shall Fiume belong?" D'Annunzio called down from the Capitol balcony.

And the mob of volunteers, who had invaded Fiume, thundered from below:

"To us!"

And the poet-dictator:

"And Italy?"

And the mob, once more:

"A noi!" (To us!)

This "to us" gave the key to the real love of D'Annunzio for the fatherland, a love of possession, not a love of devotion and sacrifice.

The fascist conquest of Italy, which came three years later, was nothing after all but a gigantic repetition of the mad and romantic enterprise of Fiume—the same following up of D'Annunzio's brilliant pioneering.

"THE TIMES OF INDIA" ANNUAL

The *Times of India Annual* for 1939 is, as usual, an attractively got up number, packed with articles and illustrations of varied interest. Particularly attractive is this centenary number which opens appropriately with an interesting article on "India one hundred years ago" by Mr. S. T. Sheppard. This is followed by many striking articles including one by Sir Patrick Cadell and another by W. E. Gladstone Solomon, which is illustrated by two striking colour reproductions of portraits of Sir Akbar Hydari and Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar.

Of the pictures, special mention must be made of the fine reproduction of a colour plate depicting "Monsoon fishing in Bombay Harbour, 1838", which adorns the title page, the tinted etchings by C. W. Cain, two small pictures of the Iravady by Mingyan, and reproductions of old Indian works in the Moghul style. Altogether, the Annual is a sumptuous volume worthy of the occasion.

THE RIGHT PATH

In the fourteenth anniversary number of the *Calcutta Municipal Review*, Mr. Roy Chowdhury makes a vigorous appeal to the city fathers for greater good-will and co-operation in serving the best interests of the city. He grants that imperfections and shortcomings in the municipal administration of every city in the world are unavoidable; but in the midst of these impediments, the path of duty, the 'Right Path' as he calls it, should lie clear and straight on which should be placed the chariot of civil administration. He explains:

"Every civilized administration, which is based on reason and intelligence and has public good as its main objective, must possess a constructive programme to be followed assiduously and loyally for ordered progress. An administration without a plan or a programme of work is like a vessel put to sea without rudder and compass. It should be clearly emphasised that what is most essential is the working of a definite plan by the best available talents in the country. This is equally true about our city government. There cannot be any system in administration unless a plan of work is first chalked out. It is safer to depend on it than to act in an aimless desultory way. A programme of work helps to reduce acrimonious controversies to a minimum and also puts an end to mutual jealousies and antipathies. Why cannot we think more of our city's good and less about individual or party gains? I fervently appeal to our city fathers to pause and ponder here. Let us sink our differences, close in our ranks and immediately prepare a cut-and-dried municipal programme in which the welfare of ratepayers and the city at large will be the dominant factor."

JAPANESE ATROCITIES IN CHINA

Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, describing the atrocities committed by the Japanese troops in China, writes as follows in *San Francisco Chronicle Magazine*:

Wherever the Japanese have been, they have marked our land with ruin. They have left scars upon earth, our hearts and our minds—indelible scars—scars which never can be healed or eradicated. The myriads of ghosts they have made will take a lot of laying—ghosts of men, women and children, of ancient cities and villages. You never saw such monstrous criminality. Yet in this year of grace, 1938, at this alleged advanced period of civilization, there is no law and no nation or nations to check or punish the criminal; no applicable international instrument of any kind available. Think of it. The new style of 'undeclared war', permitting any kind of unlicensed inhumanity has superseded all deoncies.

Not all Japanese soldiers have been willing instruments of the policy of frightfulness of the Japanese militarists. We have it on the testimony of General Chiang Kai-Shek himself that many Japanese soldiers chose self-destruction to end their enforced part in such barbaric warfare. They killed one another, or hanged themselves, or disembowelled themselves, and in their pockets were often found letters containing their "death counsel" to the Japanese military.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA. By Nihar Ranjan Mukherji. [The Modern Review, December 1938.]

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW. By Krishna Gopal Goswami, M.A. [The Calcutta Review, November 1938.]

MAHJOOR: A POET OF KASHMIR. By Balraj Sahni. [Visvabharati Quarterly, Nov.-Jan.]

RATIONALISTIC ATTITUDE IN SIKH RELIGION. By Prof. C. S. Bindra, M.A., LL.B. [Prabuddha Bharata, December 1938.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

A NOTABLE JUDGMENT

The Federal Court of India has upheld the right of the Central Provinces Legislature to levy a tax on the retail sales of motor spirits and lubricants.

The case arose out of a special reference from the Governor-General-in-Council questioning the validity of the Central Provinces Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act 1938. The Federal Court held that the Act was not *ultra vires* of the Central Provinces Legislature.

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, in his judgment observed that the claim of the Government of India must be that any Provincial Act imposing a tax on the sale of any goods other than a turnover tax was an invasion of entry 45 in the Federal Legislative List.

His Lordship thought it would be strange if the Central Government had the exclusive power to tax retail sales even if the tax were confined to goods produced or manufactured in India, when the provinces had exclusive powers to make laws with respect to trade and commerce within the provincial boundaries.

His Lordship hazarded the guess that the anxiety of the Government of India arose from the probability that a general adoption by the provinces of this method of taxation would tend to reduce the consumption of taxed commodities and thus indirectly diminish the Central Excise Revenue.

This, however, was a circumstance which the Court could not allow to weigh with it if, as his Lordship believed, his interpretation of the Act was clear. His Lordship thought that this interpretation would not have the effect of depriving the Centre of any source of revenue which it enjoyed.

Sir Maurice said he would report to His Excellency the Governor-General that the Central Provinces Act was not *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature. Sir Shah Sulaiman and Mr. M. R. Jayakar delivered separate but concurring judgments.

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO THE JEWS

The persecution of Jews in Germany is the subject of an article by Mahatma Gandhi in *Harivan*. He advises them to choose the way of non-violence to vindicate their position.

Gandhiji draws a parallel from the Indian *satyagraha* campaign in South Africa and adds that, while the Indians resorted to *satyagraha* without any backing from the outside world, the Jews of Germany are in an infinitely better position, for they have organised world opinion behind them.

Dwelling on the Palestine issue, Gandhiji says that his sympathy does not blind him to the requirements of justice. He adds:

Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews, partly or wholly, as their National Home. It is wrong to enter Palestine under the shadow of the British gun.

"There are hundreds of ways," Gandhiji says, "of reasoning with the Arabs if they (the Jews) would only discard the help of the British bayonet."

PARAMOUNTCY AND THE STATES

Replying to a question in the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary of State for India said:

His Majesty's Government adhere fully to the statement made by my noble friend, the Member for Horsham (Earl Winterton), in his reply on February 21st last on this subject. The Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers. But His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes. It rests with the Rulers themselves to decide what form of government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of the Indian States.

With regard to the second part of the question, the obligations of the Paramount Power to the States extend to protecting Rulers against violence and disorder and to advising and assisting Rulers in remedying such legitimate grievances of their subjects as may be found to exist.

DR. MOTT ON THE TAMBARAM CONFERENCE

Welcoming the delegates to the World Missionary Conference at Tambaram, Madras, on December 12, Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman, observed:

In this fascinating land, where we witness so much of the beauty, the grandeur and the majesty of the works of God in nature, and some of the most impressive and surpassing works of man; in this ancient land with its great traditions antedating those of so many countries from which we have come, notably those of the West; in this land of so many peoples and tongues—the home of one-fifth of the human race; in this land which more than any other is the home of great religions and culture; what does not the world owe to India's ancient, yes, and its modern saints, sages and reformers! "Modern"—this at once suggests to all of us the name of Gandhi. It would be hard to find a modern parallel to the moral influence of this one personality over vast bodies of people near and far, or a more heroic record of sacrifice on behalf of a great and noble cause. In his advocacy and practice of non-violence, may he not, in this particular, be charting a new course for mankind? Here in India we find ourselves among people characterized by reverence for religion, and also by large religious tolerance. And speaking of the Indian people, where is there a people more warm-hearted, more gentle, more peace-loving?

In coming to India, we have come to a country where Christianity is not a foreign religion. It ranks as one of four or five of the oldest of many faiths. For here we find the ancient Syrian Church which is identified with much of the best in Indian life. Moreover, we must not overlook the fact that in India is to be found a larger membership in the Younger Churches than are to be found in any other land. Our hearts should be touched with responsive sympathy when we remind ourselves that in India we are in the presence of one of the greatest areas of poverty, of human need and suffering, and of burden-bearing in all the world. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." Here in India we shall find virtually every problem we have left behind us, and some that will be entirely new to us.

What is most important for all of us who have come to India is the fact that India to-day presents the world's most instructive laboratory of Christian experience, method, and adventure. God grant us one and all the humility and the thirst and purpose to learn that we may discover much that will guide and inspire us. What an opportunity here at Tambaram, and later as we move about this wonderful land.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S WARNING
"If Britain fails to develop in time a strong and self-governing India, she cannot escape the destruction which has overcome empires as proud and seemingly as firmly



SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

rooted as her own," declared Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan at the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University.

Even now a great menace to the peace and safety of our country is growing up in the Far East and its tremors are felt in Siam and Burma. Germany is striving to extend her influence through Asia Minor, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan to the frontiers of India. In the dangerous condition of the world, where three great powers are acting in concert, adopting the doctrine of force as the inspiration of their policies, Britain must reaffirm her faith in freedom and democracy, not by words but by deeds and weld together the different dominions into a unity on the basis of devotion to these ideals. Self-interest, international decency, and justice demand the establishment of self-Government in India. The most urgent problem is to work out a federation not on the lines of the Government of India Act, but on lines which will foster and further internal unity among the different communities and between provinces and States.

THE VICEROY ON FEDERATION
H. E. the Viceroy, addressing the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 19, observed:

To-day I would make an appeal to India for collaboration, and I would make that appeal even to those who may sincerely doubt the value of the Federal Scheme; for I am confident that experience will justify my own profound belief in it. I would make an appeal for trust in it. I would make an appeal for trust in the sincerity of those by whom the scheme has been devised, trust in the goodwill and good faith of those by whom it falls to be carried out.

SIR FRANK NOYCE ON FEDERATION

Speaking at Liverpool on the future of India, Sir Frank Noyce, a former Member of the Viceroy's Council, stoutly defended the movement towards complete self-government and, apparently feeling called on to justify the present Constitution, he quoted the words of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras more than a century ago, as follows:—"We shall so far have improved the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves." Sir Frank indicated that so far as Provincial Government was concerned, this prophecy had been fulfilled.

In his remarks on the outlook for Federation, Sir Frank Noyce held that the opposition of the Congress is not to be taken seriously. He is reported to have said that the repudiations of the Federal Scheme were not more convincing than were the previous Congress declarations that it would have no part or lot in Provincial autonomy, and that once Federation was established, most parties would make the best of it.

MADRAS AND MILITARY TRAINING

The Madras Assembly has passed a resolution urging that

it is necessary and desirable that immediate steps be taken to provide facilities for military training to all college students and other civilian population desirous of undergoing such training.

The Premier, supporting the resolution, stressed that "from the point of view of the province as a whole, it is just on our part that we should ask for and demand our natural and proper share in the defence of our country being given to us".

THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL

The following appointments have been made with His Majesty's approval to the Executive Council of the Governor-General to take effect from the retirement, on the expiry of their terms of office, of Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.I., at present Law Member with the Government of India, and of Sir P. J. Grigg, K.C.S.I., at present Finance Member to the Government of India:—

Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, K.C.S.I., at present Commerce Member with the Government, to be Law Member.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, at present Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, to be the Commerce Member in succession to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan.

Mr. A. J. Raisman, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., at present Finance Secretary to the India Government, to be the Finance Member.

MR. JINNAH AND SIR SIKANDAR

The right of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan to offer in the name of Muslims help to Britain in the event of a war was challenged at a meeting of the Council of the Muslim League.

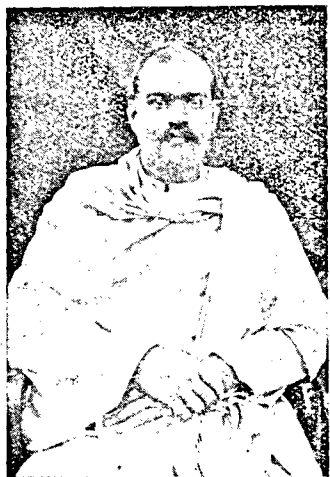
Sir Sikandar in reply made a fighting speech. While declaring that it was for the martial classes of the Punjab to offer support to Britain or withhold it, he made an attack on the Congress.

At the intervention of Mr. Jinnah the matter was dropped. He, however, advised Sir Sikandar that before making important pronouncements, he should consult his colleagues of the Muslim League.

I look upon Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan as one of the most eminent Muslims and the strongest pillar of the Muslim League. His utterances are naturally taken as reflecting the views of the Muslim League. Therefore it would be best that before making important pronouncements on critical questions, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan should consult his colleagues of the Muslim League. The League should act in concert in all important matters.

A GREAT VICE-CHANCELLOR

The following remarkable tribute was paid by H. E. Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, to Mr. Syam Prasad Mukherji on



MR. SYAM PRASAD MUKHERJI

the occasion of the Special Convocation of the Calcutta University, on November 26:—

Though our paths no longer run together in the affairs of the University, I sincerely trust that during the rest of my time in Bengal, I may have the privilege of your help and co-operation in other spheres because I feel that Bengal needs your services.

H. E. the Chancellor continued:

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Mukherji in Bombay last year when he came over there to deliver the annual address to the Convocation of the Bombay University of which I had the honour to be the Chancellor. I well remember that address and also remember the difficulty I had in speaking after him. It is so much easier to speak after a moderate speaker, but nobody can say that Mr. Mukherji belongs to that category. It was a magnificent speech. I then realised how fortunate I would be in having a man of his calibre as my Vice-Chancellor.

It has already been said that he was the son of a great father. If you look through history, do you often find that a great father is followed by a great son? How rare it is? Nobody can say that Mr. Mukherji is being honoured by this honorary degree because he is the son of a great father. It is because he is himself. He has earned every bit of it.

DR. REDDY'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, observed in his address to the Nagpur University Convocation:

Mahatmaji has said that the parliamentary mind has come to stay. We might go further: we might say that perhaps the democratic method has also come to stay. And that means not only a mass responsibility as attaches under every form of nationalism, but the responsibility of each individual as a voter, as a constituent element, however small, in the Governments, and I do hope my young friends going out into the world will honour the obligation of a democratic vote fully and always. . . .

I am glad that we met on an occasion when there has been a real transference of political power directly in the provinces, and indirectly as by way of a subtle reaction even in the All-India Government, from the British bureaucracy to Indian national and nationalist hands.

I know our Ministers have been, speaking generally, conspicuous successes. I do not wish to say anything about a province in which I am only a transient guest, but I have no hesitation in acclaiming the Ministry of Madras and my Hon'ble friend Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as a set of people who would do credit to any Government in any part of the world.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Addressing the Convocation of the Patna University on November 29, Prof. Amaranath Jha stated:

In India where the number of literate persons is woefully small, there are hundreds, perhaps, thousands of young University graduates who feel that the world is out of joint and has no use for them and can do nothing for them. Well-meaning gentlemen, whose sympathies are keener than their vision, suggest in despair that there is too much of education in this country. The problem is not mainly one of education and a good education can become a cure for our ills only when it is associated with good conditions in other departments of life. Good education will be fully effective only when there are good social conditions and, among individuals, good beliefs and feelings. Unemployment is mainly a symptom of industrial maladjustment. The world is getting over-populated.

In India, a careful survey of the country's needs, and a clear view of the social structure of the future, must precede the educational planning, which is necessary and indeed urgent. This careful planning will prevent the revolution which is inevitable if there is a large number of dejected, hopeless, hungry intellectuals.

PROBLEMS BEFORE LAWYERS

Presiding over the Second Kistna District Lawyers' Conference on December 18, at the Museum Buildings, Bezawada, Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao, retired Judge of the Madras High Court, dealt at length with the problems of lawyers and gave many useful suggestions.

Analysing the causes and effects of overcrowding in the profession, Sir Venkatasubba Rao suggested that lawyers should settle down in the villages and take up such work as advising and conveyancing for which there was great scope in the country. He exhorted the lawyers to create a common fund with which to help the poorer section of litigants.

As any increase in the number of judges or courts was impossible under present conditions in order to cope with the work of arrears, Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao suggested that practising lawyers of known integrity and capacity from one district might be appointed judges in another for short periods on an honorary basis. He made a similar suggestion for dealing with the arrears in the High Court.

FEDERAL COURT APPEALS

The Federal Court has rejected an application filed on behalf of Lakhpatram for the grant of special leave to appeal to the Federal Court from an order of the Patna High Court refusing leave to appeal. The Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, said that the Statute did not vest in the Federal Court the power to grant leave without a certificate from a High Court, which in this case had been refused by the Patna High Court. The Federal Court similarly had no inherent power to grant special leave in the absence of such a certificate.

SIR SHADI LAL & MR. JUSTICE JAYAKAR

Sir Shadi Lal has resigned his post on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which he has held for four years.



THE RT. HON. SIR SHADI LAL

As we go to Press, we learn that the Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court of India, has been offered and has accepted a place on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir Shadi Lal.

ABOLITION OF DEATH PENALTY

The House of Commons by 114 votes to 89 carried a private member's motion favouring the abolition of death penalty for an experimental period of five years contrary to the advice of the Government on November 17. But the passing of a resolution does not constitute a Government defeat and no action is likely to follow this expression of opinion by the Commons which is not mandatory.

THE UNITED INDIA

The success of the United India Life Assurance Company in Madras as a premier *swadeshi* concern has encouraged its conductors to extend the scope of its operations to Mysore and far away Bombay and Bengal. The Company owns its own buildings in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta and some measure of the prosperity that has attended its efforts in Mysore is evident from the fact that it has been able to raise a magnificent structure in Bangalore.

It was a happy thought of the Directors to have invited H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore to perform the opening function. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Company presented an address of welcome to His Highness enclosed in a silver casket embossed with the model of the United India Bangalore Branch buildings.

His Highness, in declaring the building open, said :

You can see for yourselves how fitly it symbolises the stability and security which are the qualities which one associates with all sound insurance business, and I pray that it may long remain as an enduring monument of a very remarkable piece of *swadeshi* enterprise, and that the Company may live to extend its benefits both to the policyholders, whose minds are set at rest, and to those responsible for the development of the country, whom it is able to assist by its organised finance.

INSURANCE IN CEYLON

The provisions of the Draft Ordinance for the regulation and supervision of the conduct of the business of insurance in Ceylon generally follow the recommendations of the Banking Commission of which Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala was Chairman. The provisions of the Ordinance are applicable to Provident Societies also.

It is proposed that any body, company or individual carrying on life insurance in Ceylon should be required to have a

working capital of a net sum of not less than Rs. 50,000 exclusive of deposits with the Deputy Financial Secretary, which all classes of insurers will be required to make and also hold gilt-edged securities.

It is also provided that no person shall allow or offer to allow an inducement to any person to effect or renew an insurance in respect of any kind of risk relating to lives or property in Ceylon, any rebate of the whole or part of the Commission payable, or any rebate of the premium shown on the policy, nor shall any person taking out of renewing a policy accept any rebate except such rebate as may be allowed in accordance with the published prospectuses or tables of the insurer.

CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE

The Hon. Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu, President of the Southern India Co-operative Insurance Society, while presiding over the Bombay Presidency Co-operative Conference, said :

Among the non-credit activities of the Co-operative Movement, co-operative insurance deserves to occupy an important place and its benefits and potentialities should be better known. An insurance society working on co-operative basis is never a superfluity in spite of the host of well-established and large joint-stock companies working in this country.

Every member of a co-operative society ought to be told that to obtain cheap credit is not the sole object of co-operation and that a co-operative society does not exist merely to enable its members to borrow. The habits in Bengal is sure to afford such facilities to a legion who are now being driven from pillar to post in search of employment—patriotic, industrious and ardent youths who can work wonders if they receive proper training. An apprentice class on sound business lines should be opened by every good bank which should afford facilities to aspirants for banking business. This may appear troublesome at the beginning but a trained man is bound to be an asset in the long run.

Another essential requirement is the stimulation of the banking habit among an increasingly wider public. A great deal can be done, I believe, in this direction by suitable publicity propaganda.

CHANGES IN OTTAWA PREFERENCES

India's interest in the Anglo-American Trade Treaty concluded in November last arises from the changes in the Ottawa preferences. The new Agreement, observes a contemporary, will have the effect of taking away the preferences granted by the United Kingdom to Indian as well as Canadian and Australian wheat while the preference given on Indian rice will be lowered.

The abolition of the preference on wheat is not expected to affect India seriously in the United Kingdom market, because American wheat is of a quality which competes with the Canadian rather than with the Australian or the Indian type of wheat.

India's exports of wheat to the United Kingdom for September, the latest month for which figures are available, show heavy fall in value from previous years. In September 1936 it was Rs. 2,989,616; in 1937, Rs. 3,160,850; and in 1938 Rs. 1,35,032; while for the six months ending September 30, the figures for the same three years respectively were : Rs. 45,25,746, Rs. 2,48,98,501 and Rs. 1,00,16,695.

THE TRADE OF INDIA

The yearly review of the trade of India for the year 1937-38 published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India does not make an encouraging reading. The value of India's export to all countries including Burma in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 181,00,00,000, i.e., Rs. 4,00,00,000 less than the preceding year and the imports rose by Rs. 32,00,00,000 more than the previous year. The merchandise balance of trade in India's favour thus declined by over Rs. 35 crores.

FOREIGN FIRMS IN INDIA

An important decision regarding the liability of foreign companies doing business in India through agents to be assessed to income-tax was given by Mr. Justice Rangnekar, Chief Justice of Bombay, on November 7.

The point arose on a reference by the Income-tax Commissioner in the case of Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited, which is a branch of the parent Company, the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer Corporation of the United States of America.

It appeared that the Culvert Export Corporation of America had acquired the rights of doing business in India in respect of certain American films, and by an agreement dated September 30, 1931, they transferred these rights to the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited on condition of getting 70 per cent. of the profits made by the latter Company in India. The Income-Tax Commissioner sought to recover income-tax on the income going to the Culvert Corporation, which had no branch of its own in India.

In their judgment, Their Lordships observed that under the law a person who did not reside in British India but still had business connections in British India through an agent was liable to be assessed to income-tax. In the present case, the Culvert Corporation had business connections in this country through the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited, who acted as their agents. They were, therefore, liable to be assessed to income-tax on their share of 70 per cent. of the profits made by the Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer (India) Limited.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN SOCIETY

H. E. Lady Linlithgow, in declaring open the new building of the Lady Irwin High School at New Delhi on November 26, expressed herself especially interested in the coming generation, and she felt that she had good cause to hope that Indian girls would realise more and more the part which they were called on to play in the future of their country. Better education for all classes, continued Her Excellency, had taught them that to be ornamental was not sufficient, but that they should aim at some form of social service for the betterment of those who were less fortunate than themselves. This was one instance in which the East could learn from the West. There was such a large field for women in every country but the professions in which women were most needed out here were nursing and health-visiting from the fact that they were most neglected. In schemes for village uplift, the difficulty was always to find health-visitors.

Her Excellency pointed out that a husband was an asset rather than a disability in this case, as it was not always possible for a woman to live alone. She was aware that a great many men did not like the idea of marrying wives who had professions and in this respect she emphasised the usefulness of establishing in boys' schools in this country classes for instructing them in the qualities they should look for in their helpmates of the future.

On the other hand, pointed out Her Excellency, the West could learn much from the East—resignation and calm in the face of difficulties and sorrow, love, and reverence for the family, grace, and beauty of carriage.

MRS. NAIDU ON OUR HERITAGE

"The purpose of education is to draw out not only individual capacity but also those racial characteristics that mould you from generation to generation," observed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressing the graduates of the 12th Convocation of the Andhra University.

Universities are not luxuries but seats of learning and sanctuaries of our life. Seats of learning in the day of our struggle are the very foundation and source from which we draw inspiration, manifold and co-ordinated to the service of progress, whether intellectual, economic, political or spiritual. Therefore, let no one decry a University as imperfect.

Speaking about women, she declared:

To-day no woman of India need ask for concessions and favours or wait for crumbs to fall. The days are gone when women for generations had exiled themselves from the heritage of responsibilities. Women, who for the sake of shelter, had subordinated all their duty to the nation, have returned to the path of consciousness. To-day the responsibility of women is very great and grave. Women have come in their proper progressive manifestation of woman *sakti*. Women of India will stand as peace-makers. I charge you to be pioneers of the great ideal of national unity and stand as peace-makers.

INDIAN WOMEN OVERSEAS

"Indian women and children in far off colonies were suffering a lot and needed the help of their sisters in India," observed Mr. C. F. Andrews addressing a meeting at Queen Mary's College, Madras, on November 3. Mr. Andrews referred at first to the conditions in Fiji. He said that half the population of those islands was Indian. One very serious trouble there had always been that more men had gone out to the islands than women. We need from India some who would be able to go out there to take up education as a real life service, continued Mr. Andrews, not merely go out for a year or two, but go out as missionaries to serve for a whole lifetime.

MRS. PEARL BUCK

The Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to Mrs. Pearl Buck.

Mrs. Pearl Buck, American novelist of China and author of the famous "Good Earth" (Pulitzer Prize winner), was born in the ancient city of Yochow, far in the interior of China, at the junction of the Yangtze River and Tungting Lake, on June 26, 1892. She was the daughter of an American missionary, named Sydenstrickers, formerly of Virginia.

Mrs. Buck's first novel "East Wind—West Wind" was published in 1929, "The Young Revolutionist" and "The Good Earth" followed in 1931. "Sons" in 1932, "The Mother" in 1934, "A House Divided" and "House of Earth" in 1935 and "The Exile" in 1936.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

The University of Calcutta, it is understood, contemplates publishing several unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts on various subjects it has collected. A Committee of eminent Sanskrit scholars, including the Principal of the Sanskrit College, which was appointed by the University to go into the matter, has submitted its report recommending the acceptance of the above scheme. The series will be named the "Ashutosh Sanskrit Series" after the name of the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji.

A BOOK TO SUIT YOUR MOOD

Here is a beautiful thought from Lord Grey of Falloden quoted by Mrs. Neville Chamberlain at the opening of the *Sunday Times* Book Fair:

Whenever you see a book that you really like, buy it, even if you have no time to read it at the moment. That happy moment may come, or perhaps on a bed of sickness, then you will have a choice of books to suit your mood.

"THE INDIAN NATION"

The conductors of the *Indian Nation*, Patna, have issued a Special Puja Number with plenty of informing articles and interesting pictures. We congratulate the Editor, Mr. C. H. Rao, on the choice selection of matter and illustrations bearing on different aspects of Behar.

THE LATE PANDIT JAGAT NARAYAN

We deeply regret to record the death of Pandit Jagat Narayan, Lucknow's premier citizen, who passed away in his 75th year. He was the first elected



THE LATE PANDIT JAGAT NARAYAN

Chairman of the Lucknow Municipality, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 31st Indian National Congress, member of the Hunter Committee to enquire into the Punjab disorders, Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, U. P., in 1919 and Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University. He resigned his office of Minister along with Mr. Chintamani in 1923. He was a great scholar and a very polished and effective speaker in Urdu.

DR. C. L. KATIAL

The highest civic honour has been accorded to Doctor C. L. Katial, when he was elected the Mayor of Finsbury. He is the first Indian to hold such an office in an English borough.

THE NEW LINLITHGOW WARD

The new Linlithgow Ward in the Government Tuberculosis Hospital, Tambaram, was opened on December 17, by Lady Marjorie Erskine.

Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, welcoming the gathering, said

that as a result of the public entertainment organised in connection with the Viceregal visit to Madras early in January, Rs. 1,905 was realised and Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, the vigilant Public Health Minister, made a personal appeal that the amount should be spent in constructing a ward here. The suggestion was approved and the ward was considered a fit memento of the Viceregal visit to Madras. The design of the ward was drawn up by the Government architect and was approved by the Surgeon-General of Madras. The ward would accommodate 10 patients. It was fitted with sanitary arrangements and provided with a septic tank.

Though the building was estimated to cost Rs 2,100 and they had only Rs. 1,900 with them, the contractor agreed to accept that amount out of consideration for the fact that the work was for public benefit. The speaker had been anxious that the building should be completed before he laid down his office as Sheriff of Madras. His wish was fulfilled although the work was put in hand only two months ago.

He paid a tribute to Dr. Vasudeva Rao, Superintendent of the Hospital, who was doing good work here and at Royapettah.

He felt that nobody could be better fitted to open this new ward than Lady Marjorie Erskine, who was taking such a keen and sincere interest in this movement and her presence there that morning would serve as a stimulus to everybody interested in this noble work.

Lady Marjorie Erskine, declaring the ward open, said that it was a great pleasure and privilege to open the ward. It was, indeed, a pleasure to come and help in anything that did so much good and to help those unable to help themselves. She congratulated Rao Bahadur Natesan on the extreme public-mindedness in the suggestion that the money might be utilised for this object.

The Hon. Dr. Rajan accepted the building on behalf of the Government.

MADRAS PUBLIC HEALTH BILL

In the Madras Legislative Assembly on November 29, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Public Health, introduced the Madras



HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN

Public Health Bill, 1938, making provision for advancing the public health of the province and moved that it be referred to a Select Committee with instructions to the Committee to submit its report as early as possible.

He gave a *resume* of the public health work done in the Presidency. Referring to medical treatment, he said that there were 1,283 medical institutions under the control and management of the Government. About Rs. 81,34,552 was spent annually on those institutions, which gave treatment to about 17,459,434 patients. Treatment of the sick was the duty of the State. They should also prevent the people from falling sick. To-day the policy of the Government was not so much to multiply hospitals as to direct its energies to the prevention of diseases. Among the provinces in India, Madras had the unique distinction of possessing a perfected and well-equipped sanitary staff.

An amendment that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion was rejected. The motion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee was carried.

THE LONDON SAVINGS BANK

The remarkable fact that during the recent crisis, instead of withdrawing their money from the Post Office Savings Bank, small investors in the country continued to save on an increased scale was mentioned by Lord Mottistone, Chairman of the National Savings Committee, in a statement on October 25.

So far from there being a panic and withdrawals in the critical week-end in September, the deposits in the Savings Bank increased by £400,000, and the total investments in National Savings Certificates, the Post Office Savings Bank, and the Trustee Savings Bank for the month of September rose by nearly £1,500,000. It was a proof of the country's remarkable steadiness in the hour of danger.

BANK OF MYSORE

"One constant factor that goes back to the days of the *Arthashastra* is that the beginning of any undertaking is finance, and banking is the heart of finance, pumping the life-blood into the arteries of commerce and the veins of trade. When the heart beat is slow, steady and regular, all is well with the body politic. If the pulse is sometimes rapid and sometimes slow, if the bank shares show sudden fluctuations up and down, then it is time to call the doctor in," said His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, speaking at the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Bank of Mysore on December 3.

In another sense, continued His Highness, the banks formed the conscience of the body politic.

TRAVANCORE NATIONAL BANK CASE

The Privy Council has granted special leave of appeal in the Travancore National and Quilon Bank case. Mr. Jowitt appeared for the District Magistrate of Trivandrum, and Mr. Pritt for the Appellant. The India Office was also represented. The Court, granting leave, asked the hearing to be expedited next term on technical grounds connected with the form of warrant.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND TRADE UNIONS

The All-India Railway Employees' Conference, and the All-India Trade Union Conference, were held at Lahore on November 27, under the presidentship of Dr. Nandial, and adopted many resolutions.

Opposing the introduction of the Federal Scheme as envisaged by the Government of India Act 1935, the Conference demanded the convening of a constituent assembly on the basis of an adult franchise with the object of framing the Indian constitution guaranteeing the minorities their just rights.

Their other demands included a forty hour week without reduction of pay, one month's leave with full pay after a year's employment, a minimum wage of Rs. 30 for every adult worker, unemployment insurance of the working classes, maternity benefits, old age pension, family allowances at the cost of State and employers, and setting up of a joint conciliation machinery for all trade disputes on the lines recommended for the railways by the Royal Commission on Labour.

The Conference also urged compulsory recognition of organised unions in every industry, prohibition of the employment of children under the age of 16, compulsory free Primary education, provision of workers' houses by municipal bodies, district boards, or the State at nominal rates of rent, schemes for slum clearance, and compulsory health insurance of the entire working class and provision of free treatment and free medical consultation for workers and their families.

EARNINGS FROM RAILWAY PASSENGERS

An indication of the proportion of earnings to outlay on First, Second and Third class railway carriages was given by Mr. A. G. Clow, Member for Communications, who, replying to Mr. Manu Subedar in the Central Legislative Assembly, said that certain figures which were worked out showed that the actual broad gauge earnings per seat available during 1936-37 were:

Rs. 281 for First Class, Rs. 255 for Second Class, and Rs. 266 for Third Class.

An approximate estimate showed that earnings per seat during 1936-37, expressed as a percentage of capital outlay per seat, were 11 per cent. for First Class, 16½ per cent. for Second Class, and 80 per cent. for Third Class.

MUSIC AS UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE

Mr. Sampurnanand, Minister for Education, U. P., opened the Prayag Sangit Sammelam at Allahabad on November 5. Speaking on the importance of the study of Music, Mr. Sampurnanand said:

"The language of Music is universal. Its alphabet consists not of letters but of shrutis and swaras, which are the same all over the world. You meet them in the speech of men, in the cries of birds and beasts, and in the humming of insects. They are present where a wave ripples or a leaf murmurs or a bud bursts its calyx and blossoms forth into a flower.

It is for this reason that we can appreciate sounds uttered by other creatures and enjoy instrumental music, not only our own, but of other countries as well, where no question of following the meaning of words can possibly arise."

Music, the Minister added, lifted man from the plane of beasts. Poetry and music enable us to rise above our own failings and to sublimate our impulses.

"As we approach our political independence," Mr. Sampurnanand said, "our cultural life is also changing. It is, therefore, natural that there should be a revival of music."

MUSIC IN SCHOOLS

"A knowledge of music is essential to culture, and it is a mockery that the gramophone or the wireless should bring the great Masters of Music and their only less great interpreters into our homes if we have not the education to understand or appreciate them," said the Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, at the annual distribution of prizes and certificates of the Associated Board of the Royal College of Music (London) held in the Royal College Hall, Colombo.

The Governor said that Ceylon was very much to be congratulated on an Education Department that had rescued the folk-song and folk-dance from obsolescence and woven them once more into the living tissue of the nation.

PATIALA SPORTS STADIUM

A stadium specially equipped for all athletic games and meetings and large enough to accommodate over 30,000 people is expected to be opened at Patiala by March 1939. It is to be named the Yadavindra Olympic Stadium. Among its features will be a cycle track which, it is understood, will be used by the Indian Olympic Association. It is learnt that the Indian Olympic Association may not now proceed with their earlier plan to construct a similar track at Lahore.

The details of the scheme for the cycle track were considered by the Executive Committee of the Indian Olympic Association, which met at Patiala recently. The Executive Committee, it is understood, had decided to nominate H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala as the President of the Association. It also considered the question of extending the jurisdiction of the Association so as to include the various Sports Associations in India.

KENYA'S INVITATION TO INDIA

There is a possibility of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association sending out a strong team to Kenya in the near future.

It is learnt that the Kenya Lawn Tennis Association have addressed the Indian Association inviting them to send a team consisting of at least two players who played for India in the recent Davis Cup matches. The Kenya Association, it appears, are willing to meet a part of the expenses.

The matter is now under the consideration by the All-India Lawn Tennis Association and should the tour come off, this will be the second time that an Indian team will be taking part in the Kenya Championships. It will be recalled that three years ago, a strong team consisting of Messrs. N. Krishnaswami Captain, Ghaus Mahomed, S. L. R. Sawhney and D. Poornachandra Rao took part in the Championships and came out with credit.

WORLD'S LIGHT HEAVY-WEIGHT CHAMPION

At Newhaven, Connecticut, Lewis (12 st. 6 lbs.) retained the World's Light-Heavy-Weight Boxing Championship defeating Al Gainer (12 st. 2 lbs.) on points.

THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

The 4th session of the Indian Academy of Sciences met at the Madras Medical College Hall with Sir C. V. Raman in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said that Sir C. V. Raman and other great scientists were like the *rishis* of old who led a life of utter selflessness.

Sir C. V. Raman, who spoke for over an hour, stressed that the true role of scientists was the discovery of Truth and that they had no concern either with the application or misapplication of the results of scientific discoveries. All the same, scientists owed an obligation to society of which they formed a part and would do their best to promote its welfare.

Dr. T. S. Tirumurthi, Secretary of the Conference, read messages wishing the Conference success.

SIR SHAH MD. SULAIMAN

Sir Shah Md. Sulaiman, the eminent Indian Scientist and Federal Court Judge, has



SIR SHAH MD. SULAIMAN

been unanimously elected President of the National Academy of Science.

LADY VENKATASUBBA RAO'S ADVICE

Presiding over the party given in honor of Miss Shanta Apte at Hotel Connemara, Madras, recently, Lady Venkatasubba Rao said that the Film industry had made of late amazing strides in India. If properly organised, she said, it promised to become a major force in moulding the lives and thoughts of the people. Already several crores of rupees had been invested in the industry in India. A duty, therefore, had been cast on those interested in their welfare to utilise this industry to increase their national wealth and reduce unemployment.

The screen more than the stage could be made to play a wonderful part in working great transformations whether in social, moral or political spheres. A good film might be a means of raising the moral tone of the people and a bad one of corrupting their tastes and lowering their standards. It was incumbent upon every lover of the country to see that all their resources were mobilised with a view to producing good pictures. There was a great need for producing films with the object of putting an end to the social evils and bringing about a better social adjustment.

MADRAS FILM CONFERENCE

The Third Madras Provincial Film Conference met on December 22, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, under the presidency of Mr. Narayanan. Delegates from the various important centres of the province and those interested in the film industry attended the Conference.

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor, *Swadesamitran*, declared the Conference open.

MISS SHANTA APTE ON ACTING

"People are inclined to think that the life of Cine Star is free and easy. As a matter of fact, we artistes are far more overworked than you may believe. We have to be continuously in training and it is by no means easy to leave the studio for any length of time," said Shanta Apte broadcasting from the Madras Station of All-India Radio during her recent visit.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

The necessity for the establishment of an automobile factory in India cannot be over-stressed. At present, says Mr. P. N. Mathur, Superintendent, Open Hearth, Jamshepur, in the *Tisco Review*, a medium power car manufactured in the United States costs about Rs. 1,300 ex-works, or about Rs. 2,450 in India, including Inland and Ocean freight, sea insurance, import duty of 37½ per cent. and Bombay Port Trust charges. Adding one-third of this amount for gross profit to dealer, the total approximate sale price of an American car, delivered at Bombay, works out to Rs. 3,250, as against a price of about Rs. 1,800 in America, the cost to the Indian consumer thus being pretty nearly double the price paid by the American consumer.

It will be seen from the foregoing figures, continues Mr. Mathur, that capital invested in this industry in India ought to bring in a very handsome return even after a full allowance is made for depreciation and replacements. At the present price level, the gross profit per car should work out to Rs. 1,000 approximately, and even if 50 per cent. of this figure is taken as representing the ultimate net gain, the total probable profit on 12,000 vehicles will be in the region of 60 lakhs per annum, which works out to 40 per cent. on the initial capital outlay. Mr. Mathur concludes:

All that is needed to get the automobile industry started in this country is a spirit of enterprise, a business capacity and the desire to go ahead and be abreast of the rest of the civilised world.

NOISELESS MOTOR HORN

A motor-horn has been produced which warns other motorists effectively, though apparently it is silent. The hark of this noiseless motor horn, beyond the scope of man's hearing, can be picked up by a microphone installed near the seat of the driver of any car in the vicinity. The device has been introduced in Germany.

ISMAILIA TO PORT DARWIN

The recent R. A. F. flight from Ismailia to Port Darwin, says the *Whip*, has other than a spectacular aspect. The surpassing of the previous long distance record, till now held by Russia, is certainly an achievement to be proud of and the R. A. F. about which Britain had recently not been particularly enthusiastic or proud, may be said to have staged an effective come-back. The significance of this flight lies in the visible proof that it has afforded to observers that international boundaries are shrinking.

PROGRESS OF AVIATION IN INDIA

It appears from the report on the progress of civil aviation in India and Burma for 1937-38 that the import trade in aircraft and aircraft parts and accessories advanced from Rs. 14 lakhs in 1936 to Rs. 41 lakhs in 1937. Complete aircrafts imported rose from 30 valued at Rs. 6.4 lakhs to 62 valued at Rs. 31.4 lakhs. The growth of civil aviation in India will result in a further increase in these imports and will become another source of economic drain unless steps are taken to establish aeroplane factories in the country.

WIRELESS RESERVE FOR R. A. F.

A new civilian wireless reserve of the Royal Air Force has been announced. The reserve in which it is hoped wireless amateurs will serve is intended to build up an adequate efficient reserve behind the signals branch of the Royal Air Force which will be immediately available in an emergency. Training will mostly be undertaken by volunteers at their homes on their own sets and consists of regular exercises Broadcast from the Air Ministry.

JAMES WILLIAMS

James Williams, the world's champion parachutist, was killed at an aviation meeting at Louis-le-Saunier, France, on August 15. An aeroplane took him up about 3,000 ft., and he had arranged to broadcast his impressions while dropping through space down to about 1,000 ft., at which level he was to have opened his parachute. The parachute failed to open until he was within 300 ft. of the ground, and the horrified spectators watched him crash to death.

THE GOSPEL OF SWADESHI

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, declaring the All-India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition open at the Congress House, Madras, on December 18, said:

"Swadeshi means the re-birth of our hearts that have exiled themselves for three or four generations from our own



MRS. SARAJINI NAIDU

inheritance. It is when we return—we, exiles and children of exiles—to our own birthright of beauty created by our own hands—beauty which is the synonym of bread for the starving that we can be said to be Swadeshi. . . . Swadeshi is a benediction that brings to all without discrimination of sex, label, caste or community, the resources of bread, of national pride, and the ability, imagination, talent and application to supply their own needs."

THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

The National Planning Committee met at Bombay on December 17th. Among others who attended the meeting were: Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Committee; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress; Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, Treasurer of the Congress; Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Industries, Madras; Mr. L. M. Patil, Minister for Industries, Bombay; and Mr. Barua, Minister for Industries, Central Provinces.

Inaugurating the meeting of the Committee, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose outlined the industrial possibilities of the country and emphasised the need for the Committee seeing that in whatever suggestions it made for the industrial regeneration of the country, the interests of the smaller village industries were strictly safeguarded.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

"In India, an important stage has now been reached, for many marketing surveys have been completed or are well advanced, and broad conclusions have emerged which call for application on a large scale," said His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, addressing the Conference of Ministers on Agricultural Marketing, which opened in New Delhi on November 28.

At a comparatively early stage the necessity of certain lines of improvement became clear. The standardisation of weights and measures, a wide adoption of the system of regulated markets, which had already proved its value in some parts of India, are recommendations common to all the reports. It was also apparent that grading and standardisation would offer a fruitful field for development.

Standardisation, said His Excellency, the determination of, and strict adherence to, grades was a key to distant markets, and given improved world conditions, it is a sure road to expanding business. Lord Linlithgow expressed his confidence that the labours of the Conference would end successfully.

JEWS IN BIHAR SERVICE

The *United Press* learns that the Bihar Government have decided to employ on Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 per mensem each four expelled Czechoslovakian Jews in the Industries Department of the Government in response to the request of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

One of the Jews will be in charge of the scheme for controlling floods and rivers in Bihar. The second will be an expert in electricity or agriculture. The third will be an industrial organiser, while the fourth will be an industrial chemist.

INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

Consequent on the passing of the Agricultural Produce (grading and marketing) Act by the Central Legislature in February 1937, grading and marketing stations have been established in different parts of India by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research during the year 1937-38.

The successful experiments carried out by these organisations, says the *Review*, by the Council, amply justified the interest entertained by the framers

LABOUR IN INDIA

Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, who toured in India recently, has published a report entitled "Problems of Industry in the East" recording his personal impressions of social and economic conditions of India. Reviewing labour standards in India, the Report points out that the conditions prevailing in large-scale industry do not compare unfavourably with those in many European countries and that, except in respect of wages, employment conditions are in reasonable correspondence with the stage of industrial development reached by the country. Conditions in small factories and unregulated workshops leave much to be desired in respect of health, sanitation, lighting, ventilation, safety, etc. The report makes a plea for the further reduction of hours in large and small-scale factories and points out that a shorter period of more intensive work is more profitable from both the employers' and workers' points of view.

BONUS TO WORKERS

Mr. Abdul Bari, labour leader and Deputy Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, in a statement in Calcutta recently, said that the management of Tatas had agreed to introduce a sliding scale of payment regarding the departmental production bonus. The bonus would now be distributed among 8,000 workers in addition to the 3,000 already receiving it. The decision was taken at a meeting of a Committee consisting of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President; Mr. Bari, himself the President of the Tata Workers' Union, and Mr. A. R. Dalal, the managing director of Tatas.

HOURS OF WORK IN U. S. A.

The new U. S. A. Wages and Hours Bill came into operation on October 24 for all industries engaged in inter-State commerce. It is estimated that one-and-a-half million workers in the country will be directly affected by the increases in wages and shorter hours or both. The driver of the Roosevelt signed the Act on the device of Germany.

MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

A public exposition of the main reasons which made him retire from public life was made by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar at the anniversary of the Reading Room conducted by the Jawaharnagar Congress Sabha, held at Madras. He stated that he would re-enter the political arena if he felt that there was a crisis.

It is not want of request on the part of friends all over Tamilnad and the Andhradesa that has prevented me from coming back to public life. There is no false sense of dignity about me. If I think any crisis requires my presence, whether you ask me or not, I will force myself on you. If, on the other hand, I think my coming will be the harbinger of discord amongst the people, being a strong man naturally and not being able to adjust myself and say one thing at one time and another at another, which is the lot of politicians here and elsewhere, then, I am afraid I cannot come.



MR. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI

First Member of Council, Mysore, who has just retired from service.

TEA IN RELIEF OPERATIONS

Referring to the special relief work conducted by the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's field party in the district of Gorakhpur, United Provinces, during the recent floods, Mr. H. A. Ansari, Sub-Divisional Officer, writes:

The arrangements made on behalf of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board to distribute tea to all the refugee camps during floods at Colonelganj were extremely satisfactory and it added a bright spark in the arrangements made for the comfort of the refugees. I found the tables clean and the tea supplied was immensely liked by the refugees. I am grateful to the organization for having made arrangements so nicely and for a continual period of about a week for the benefit of the refugees exclusively.

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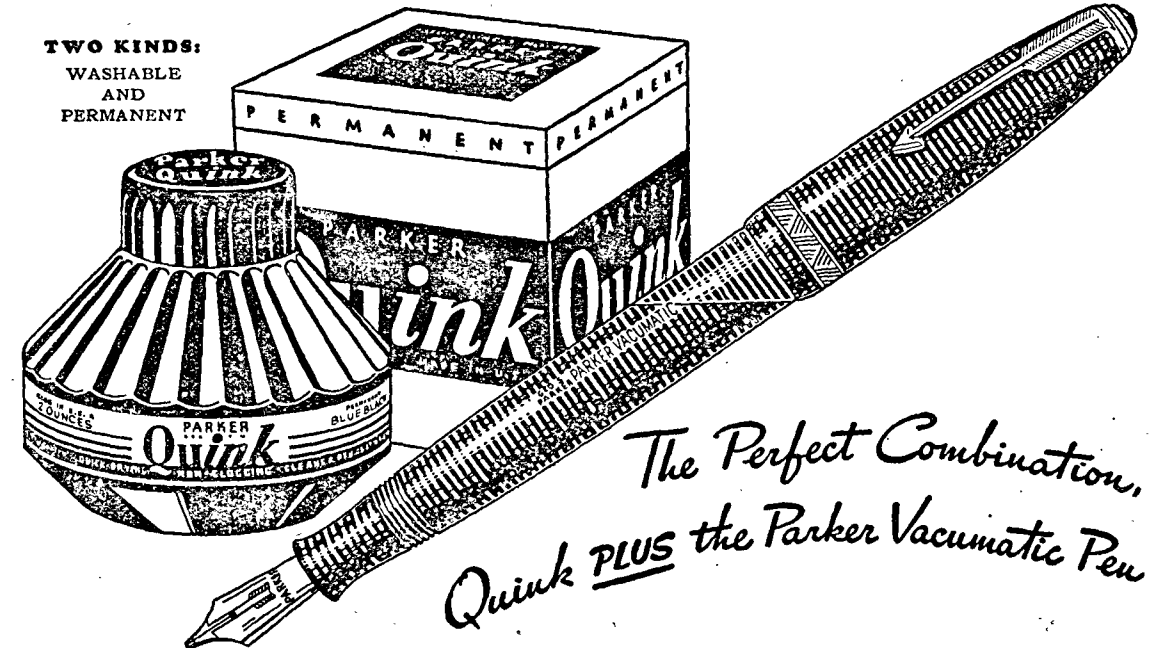


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by writing inks. Thus Quink, first inspired by the Parker Vacumatic—the mechanically perfect pen—makes any pen a self-cleaner—a Parker or any other. It is always full bodied, rich and brilliant—never watery. Quink dries on paper 31% quicker than average. Costs no more than ordinary inks.

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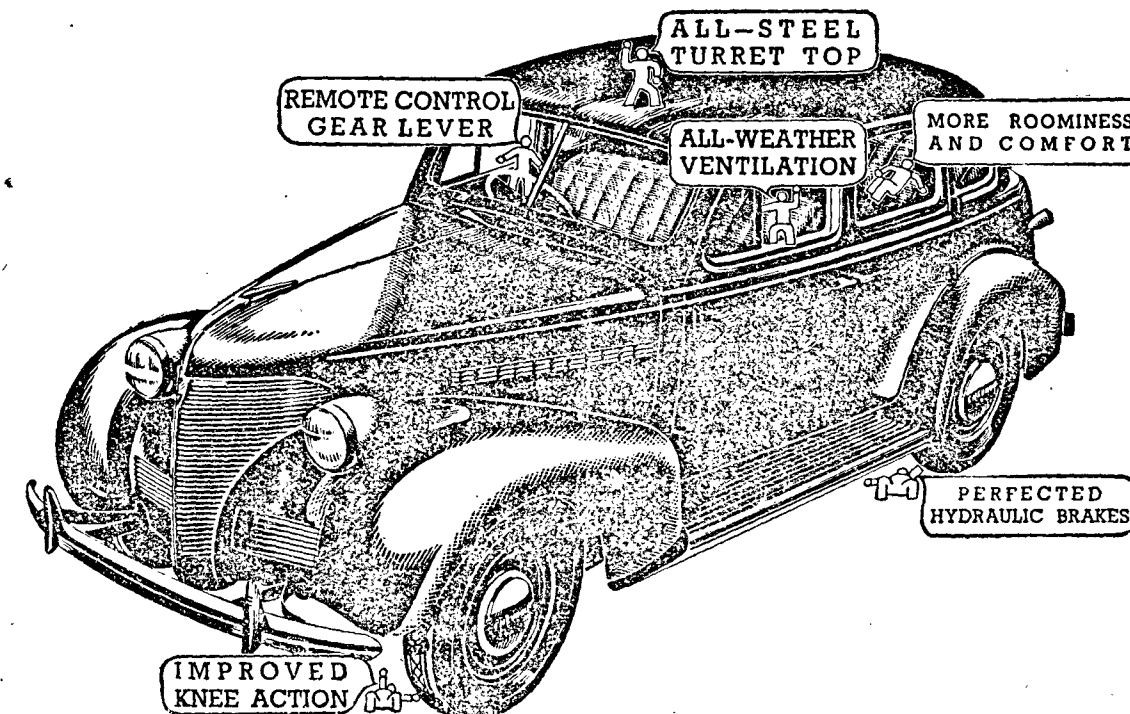
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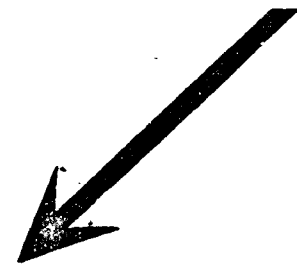
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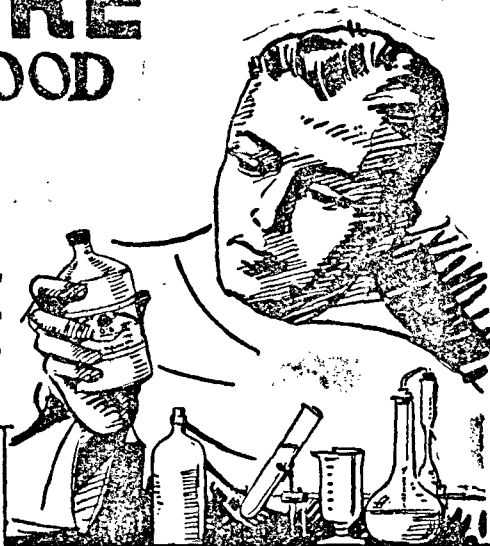
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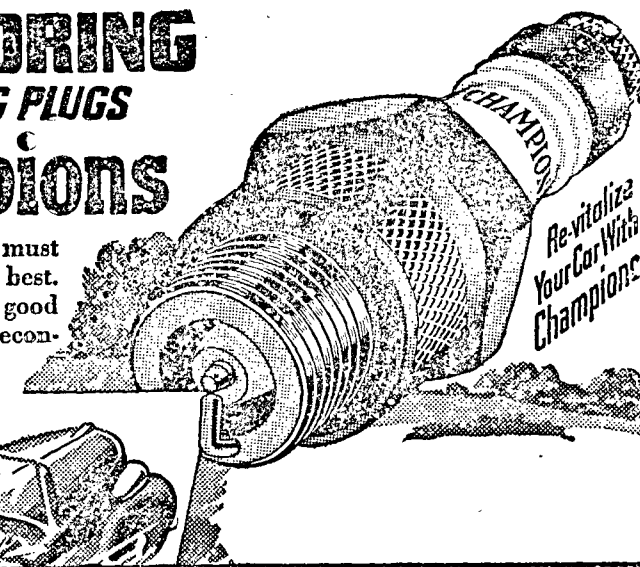
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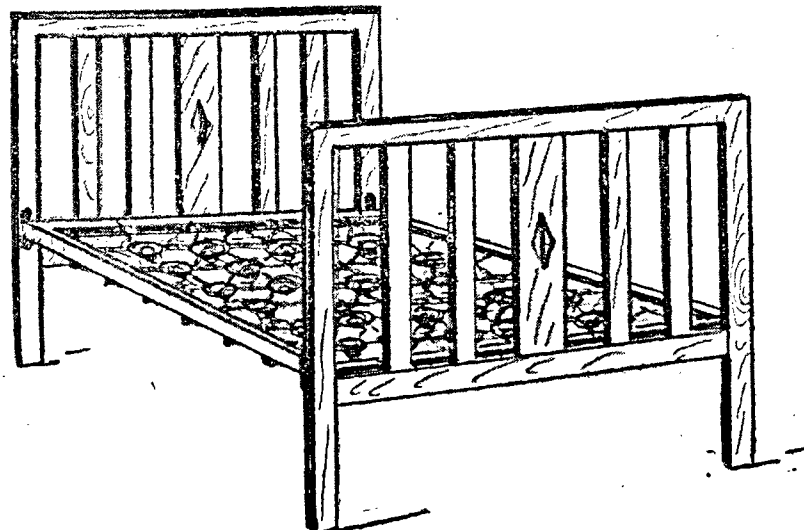
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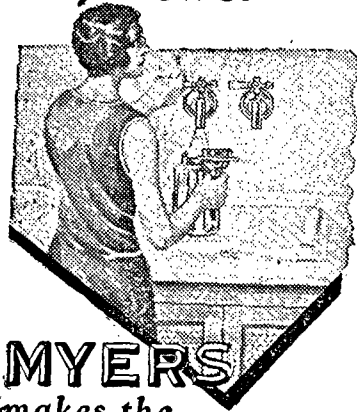
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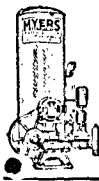


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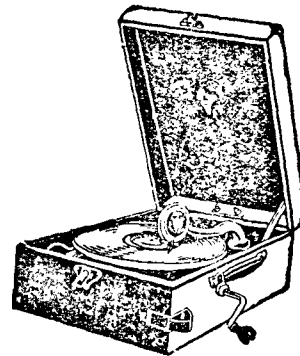
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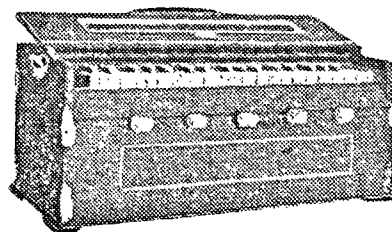
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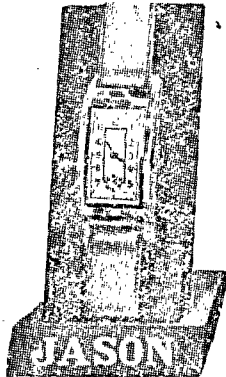
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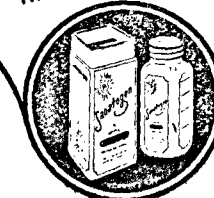
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THE COMMUNITY AND THE NATION

BY PROF. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

(Bengal Educational Service)

NO one denies that India's political future depends on the political unity of the different communities of the country. Of the communities, the Hindus undoubtedly constitute the majority. The next largest community is, of course, the Mussalmans. There are other minor communities such as the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians, and the Sikhs. All these are groups according to religion, and not according to political or economic interests. Ordinarily, in democracies of the West, parties are formed according to political and economic ideals, but not according to the religious persuasion of the members. In India, economic ideals have not yet taken root to the extent of supplying a basis for party organisations; and political ideals have up till now been very timidly defined and, therefore, only vaguely understood; and even now, outside the Congress, they mean little more than a share of the political power, which, again, is nothing more than appointment to offices. Hence in India we still have the unfortunate spectacle of most of the politically active groups being held together by no other bond than the religion into which their members were born.

Taking things as they are, the political unity of India must necessarily mean the unity of these religious groups. Of these

groups, again, the unity of the Hindus and the Mussalmans is the most important, and up till now has been found to be the most difficult to achieve. Past experiences have shown that the other communities can more or less easily work together with the Hindus for political purposes; but the Mussalmans generally hold aloof. The number of the Mussalmans is not negligible. If it were so, they might be left out of account in the political struggle of the country. But since this is not the case, those who think of India's political future, have to think of Hindu-Muslim unity also.

Why is this unity so difficult to bring about? Some of the recent speeches and writings of men of different shades of opinion, *e.g.*, the correspondences between the Muslim League and the Congress, supply the clue to the answer to this question. So far as the Hindus are concerned, they are striving for a free India and have never professed anything but friendship for the other communities in this future India. Communal Hindus there undoubtedly are, but leaving them aside, the rest of the Hindus do want a united India.

As for the Mussalmans, quite a number of them have joined the Congress and are striving to realise the Congress ideal. But a much greater number of

them hold aloof from the Congress—nay, even oppose it. They betray a nervousness about the security of their religion and culture and are frankly hostile to a possible Hindu *Raj*. They want all sorts of guarantees, although one seldom knows who will give these guarantees. The nature of the guarantees also does not appear to be clearly understood; for, though during the past months there has been a good deal of publication on the subject, no one has ever defined the nature of these guarantees and the sanction behind the guarantees.

One thing, however, is clear: these Mussalmans do not want to live under a Government in which the Hindus will preponderate. They make no secret of this. But they also say, perhaps as a justification for this attitude, that they want the safety of their cultural and religious unity to be guaranteed. The Mussalmans dislike a Hindu Government, because such a Government, it is alleged, will be hostile to their religion. But the two things are not the same; it is one thing to refuse to accept a particular Government; it is another to ask for safety of religion and culture. The form of Government that you do not like may not be hostile to your religion; yet you may not like that Government because of other reasons. The two questions should be kept separate. But we almost always find them mixed up. The reason for this is not far to seek. The cry of religion in danger adds a zest to the hostility against any particular Government. We may, however, treat them separately. And since religion figures more prominently, we may take that up first.

Culture and religion are not necessarily an object of attack by a Government, even though the Government is not our

own. The Hindus have lived under Muslim rule for several centuries. Although occasional outrages against the religion of the Hindus must have taken place, still it was not the routine work of any Muslim Government; and the fact that Hindus have survived Moslem rule of India for nearly a thousand years, proves the general proposition that an ordered Government must be tolerant of the religious faith of their subjects. And the Christian rulers of today have certainly been highly tolerant both to the Hindus as well as the Muslims. Is there any reason to think that the future democratic Government of India will be intolerant of any faith or culture? Except for those whose mental framework is still mediæval, religion, one may be permitted to think, is after all an individual's private affair and the less State thinks about it, the better. Of course, we are not talking of morality, which is another matter.

Even outside India, there are examples of a religion and culture left untouched by a State entirely controlled by men of another religion. Inquisitions have been there. Religious persecution is not unknown to history. Yet such things belong more to a period of frenzy and bigotry than to the normal life of a country. The Jews are an example to the point. They have no country of their own. They do not speak the same language even. A German Jew does not know English, and an English Jew is not expected to know French. Yet, is it not a fact that they have as yet maintained their racial and cultural unity? If they had not, what is the significance of the anti-Semitic movement in Germany? If they had been submerged in the dominant population of the country [of

their adoption, the anti-Semitic agitation would have been meaningless. The Jews are rich, they are intelligent, but they are politically unimportant in the country of their domicile. Their intellectual superiority is beyond cavil. Spinoza, Alexander, Bergson, Einstein, Freud—to take a few names at random—are all Jews. In England, a Jew can rise and has risen to the highest position. Disraeli was Prime Minister. In more recent times, there were Lord Reading and Edwin Montagu. But even in England, as Jews, they are politically unimportant and it cannot be said that owing to their religion, they do not suffer any disadvantage. But in spite of that their cultural solidarity is not broken. In other countries, they are much less important. But in spite of the drawbacks of their political situation, have they not maintained even in those countries their cultural and religious unity?

Their present persecution in Germany is regretted by the world's public opinion. But could any political guarantee prevent this treatment of a small minority by a strong majority? Besides, it is not for their culture and religion that the Jews are being persecuted; they suffer because of their political views and activities. Ordinarily in modern times in a decent civilised society, any minority can retain its culture, provided of course this culture is not itself a handicap to the country's social, moral and political life.

Eighty millions is not a negligible number. If these 80 millions of Mussalmans in India want to retain their culture and religion intact, they certainly can, even if they have little or no political power to back them. But whatever form the future Government of India may take,

even if British connection is severed, the Mussalmans in India are bound to have very much more share in it than the Jews as such have in any country in the world.

The Mussalmans of India ought to know that leaving a few Asiatic countries of the world they are a minority. In England, in Russia, and even in China, they are a minority. But we have yet to know that their religion is in danger in these countries. On the contrary, only the other day, a Chinese Mussalman came to India to enlist India's sympathy for the cause, not of Islam in China but of China itself, and he wanted the sympathy not of the Mussalmans of India but of India itself. The cry that Islam is and will be in danger if the Hindu majority begin to rule India is, therefore, baseless.

But if all signs are not misleading, there is a subtler psychology at work. The Mussalmans would prefer British rule to the majority rule of the Hindus. And the cry of culture and religion is raised probably only to conceal the real issues. The Mussalmans were the rulers of India before the British came, and Britain wrested the political power from them. If Britain ever leaves India, to whom should the legacy of her political power go, except to the Mussalmans? In plain language, there are many Mussalmans who aspire to be the unequivocal rulers of India again; not in partnership with men of other religious persuasion, but absolute rulers. If there is to be a democracy or representative government, then it also must be of such a character that their voice must predominate.

At one time, many Moslem leaders dreamt of a Moslem kingdom, consisting of N. W. F., Kashmere, Punjab, Sind, and

slices from other neighbouring Moslem provinces. It was christened "Pakistan". With the decay of British power in India, and with the help of neighbouring Moslem kingdoms, the realisation of this dream was considered perfectly feasible.

Just at this moment, this idea of a separate Moslem kingdom in India does not appear to be openly in the field. It was part of a Pan-Islamic movement, which had its headquarters outside India. But the dismemberment of the Moslem kingdoms and principalities on the west of India, the downfall of the Caliphate and the establishment of mandates and zones of influence by European Powers in western Asia—all these have shattered the foundation of any such hope.

But certain recent events in other parts of the world may have a repercussion on the Moslem World also. Palestine looms large in the horizon. Italy's anti-British propaganda in Egypt and Arabia, and Germany's undisguised hostility towards Britain's hold on Moslem countries are factors to be reckoned with. They are bound to produce effects which we can but dimly visualise at this moment. There is another event which may serve as an exemplar to Moslem countries. It is the absorption of Austria by Germany and the active interest taken by Germany in the affairs of the Sudeten Germans of Czecho Slovakia. If the tie of race and language is so strong as to encourage one country to interfere in the affairs of another, then will not the tie of religion do the same? If the Mussalmans of India require it, will not military help be forthcoming from the Moslem countries outside India—from Afganistan, from Persia, from Iraq, from Egypt, and from Turkey? If such help does come, not

only across the Hindukosh as of old but also across the sea and the air, then why should not the Mussalmans of India be able to regain their former position of power and prestige in India which they lost to the British? We shall consider ourselves very much mistaken if this psychology is not working in any mind. As a matter of fact, very recently, expression has been given to such a feeling of hope by some prominent leaders of Muslim India; readers of newspapers must recollect their names. Besides, the utterances of some of the Muslim leaders in respect of certain army legislation also indicate the same mentality. The Mussalmans, we have been told, constitute nearly 70 per cent. of the Indian army in India. Any opposition to recruitment to the army would mean keeping these Mussalmans out of the army; and support of recruitment means keeping them in. And the meaning of keeping up a predominantly Muslim army is obvious; when a revolutionary change of Government comes, power will apparently pass to those who command the army.

Is a Muslim *Raj* in India again possible? Need we discuss the possibilities of the establishment of such a Muslim *Raj* in India with the help, if necessary, of Muslim Powers from outside India? If Muslim Asia can concentrate its attention on India, non-Muslim Asia also may do the same; and if the establishment of Muslim *Raj* in India can be the dream of some, an opposite of it may be the dream of others. There is Japan in the East; and if poet Noguchi has not misled us, Japan has started a pan-Asiatic movement. For the communities of India to hope for outside interference in order that their communal superiority

may be established is, 'to say the least, suicidal. No sensible and patriotic Indian will like India to be the battle-ground of Western and Eastern Asia. And what is more, no patriotic Indian—be he a Hindu or a Muslim—would like to change one foreign master for another, whether that other be Muslim or Buddhist. Let us, therefore, think of India as a self-contained country, aspiring to be a free nation and having a place in the comity of nations.

If we rule out the possibility of an exclusively Muslim or an exclusively Hindu India, and if we genuinely disapprove of such a desire, then what can be the reason for Muslim hostility to the Congress ideal?

The danger to religion is imaginary; if it does not exist in China, it ought not to exist in India. Cultural solidarity, again, is an undefined and ill-understood expression. In dress, manner, and language, the Chinese Mussalman has little in common with a Mussalman of Bengal or Tripoli. The Mussalman's aloofness from the national movements of India, therefore, must be otherwise explained. In most cases, it is political, though the policy underlying is ill-disguised. But unfortunately this attitude of aloofness is due to a misunderstanding of the whole position in India. There are certain obvious facts which are not always stressed. The Hindus constitute the majority of the population of India. And of the minorities, when artificial barriers and third-party interference are removed, all except the Mussalmans will gravitate more easily towards the Hindus than towards the Mussalmans. In any final readjustment, therefore, the Mussalmans cannot expect anything more than minority rights.

At the present moment, there are some provinces which are predominantly Muslim, *e.g.*, Bengal and Punjab and N. W. F. Province. Sind has been constituted a province for no other reason than to have another such predominantly Muslim province. There are thus a few Muslim provinces so to say against a few other Hindu provinces. And Muslim leaders think, and they do not conceal this thought, that if any injustice is done to the Muslims in the provinces in which they are a minority, then they will retaliate against the Hindus where the Hindus constitute a minority.

To say the least, this is an unfortunate attitude of mind. It does not foster democracy—it discourages friendship and co-operation and provokes bitterness. It has actually done so. But apart from these results, such retaliation is not a permanent possibility. The presence and the protection of a third power may guarantee it for some length of time; but that is about all. If Great Britain be imagined out of India, the provinces can certainly be re-formed. Even with Great Britain's presence, such a contingency is not unthinkable. The eastern provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam have been twice remodelled within living memory. And one already hears talks of a reshuffle of provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis. Now, if there is a redistribution of provinces, cannot the number of Muslim provinces be confined to one, *viz.*, N. W. F. Province? After all, a majority is a majority, and the non-Muslims are the majority in India.

But an overbearing majority will mean a discontented and distracted India. And the Mussalmans are not a negligible minority. If they cannot reconquer India,

they can certainly make impossible their conquest by others. They can make smooth administration difficult, if not impossible. Does any one want that? If not, the Mussalmans have an assured place in any future Government of India.

It is not untrue that we have in India what is often described—perhaps rightly—a militant Islam. But it is equally true that there is a militant Hinduism. Considering the probabilities of the situation, both these must be considered as futile and as a handicap to progress. The Hindu ambition to make India exclusively *Hindusthan* or a land of the Hindus only, will not materialise. And the Mussalmans' ambition of a 'Pakistan' or purely Islamic India as in the days of Aurangzeb is equally doomed to failure. Why not, then, think of a united India?

Why can we not unite? Barring a few religious customs which need not be emphasised, are not there plenty of causes upon which unity is possible? Bengal is one of those provinces where the Hindu-Muslim problem is acutest. Even there, on plenty of occasions, united action by Hindus and Muslims had been found possible. In the common life of the schools and colleges, united action has been found possible, though lately the virus of communalism is being injected there also. When famine and pestilence rage over the country, the Hindus and Mussalmans can and do combine to fight their common enemy.

A decent, comfortable, peaceful life of economic sufficiency and political prestige is an ideal for which all Indians can co-operate. If they do not, then that means that minor issues receive more importance than they deserve.

Barring cow-sacrifice, there is nothing in the Mussalmans' religion which a Hindu cannot tolerate; and cow sacrifice is not obligatory for a Mussalman. And in the Hindus' religion, only minor observances give offence to the Muslim. If good sense prevails, there is no earthly reason why an adjustment should not be possible. And if the rigidity of the theory of untouchability is relaxed, the communities ought to come closer together. To consider a man untouchable is, to say the least, to be offensive to him. An educated untouchable always takes offence at being considered such. When this ban is lifted, the communities may come closer together and have more intimate social intercourse. We are making ourselves the laughing-stock of the civilized world by keeping apart.

It is an unnatural situation that the community feeling is allowed precedence over the feeling of nationality. It is a misfortune for the communities themselves; it is a greater misfortune for the country. No one will deny this simple truth; but when we return to actual life, the ancient embers of hatred are rekindled and the community is considered more important than the country we live in. Will not India be able to rid itself of this pernicious poison?

A discussion like this would be considered useless and platitudinous if concrete proposals are not put forward. The most simple yet most effectively concrete proposal that one can make in this connection is to repeat the Mahatma's formula of *Ahimsa*. Let us purge our mind of hatred of others. This is the golden key that will open the temple of unity. In addition, let us get rid of acknowledged social evils like untouchability; let us rationalise our individual and communal life. The rest will follow as a matter of course. If the heart is pure, pacts or agreements are unnecessary. And if the will to be pure is there, all else is assured.

THE COLONIAL PROBLEM

BY SARDAR RANBIR SINGH, B.A., LL.B.

THE recent statement in the House of Commons by Mr. M. Macdonald on the subject of Colonies has plunged the whole question into the mystic-realm of uncertainty. He said that nobody in England wants to hand over any colonial or mandated territory, that His Majesty's Government doesn't want to hand over any territory, that the Government is not at the moment contemplating or discussing the transfer and that if ever the problem is opened, then Britain is not the only country which has assumed additional territorial responsibilities after the war. It is in the last clause that the seed of doubt is nurtured. Mr. Bonnet from France has also declared that Herr Von Ribbentrop on his Paris visit had limited himself to the statement that Germany intended to remain loyal to the Berlin-Rome-Axis, but had no direct interest in the Mediterranean. He further added that he had not been acquainted with any Italian claims, but if they were made, there would be no question of France giving up an inch of territory. The claims to the colonies have been made and, even though they might not have yet reached White Hall or Paris in the form of a diplomatic document, they are a reality.

This problem is a very thorny one, and the following survey will bring home the extraordinary difficulties and complications of the situation to those who glibly demand an immediate colonial settlement, and rather irresponsibly accuse the Chamberlain Government for not having been able to achieve it so far. In order to create a clear and candid atmosphere for a successful solution of the problem, certain facts should be frankly stated and

sincerely accepted by all concerned. In the first place, it must be acknowledged that the ultimate aim is not merely a bilateral bargain, but a return to some kind of international order, possibly based upon a reform of the League. Negotiation would be quite unprofitable unless it was clearly accepted that Herr Hitler's offers of 21st May 1935 and 7th March 1936 to re-enter the League still hold good. A pact with Berlin, much as it may be desirable, would be too dearly bought at the price of sacrificing the ideals of international arbitration and collective security. Minor reservations or amendments if insisted upon may be discussed. But the whole question will ultimately depend on Germany's readiness to re-enter the collective system, to renounce war as an instrument of policy to abandon the armament race and to accept some general system of limitation and control. A colonial understanding cannot be effected piecemeal. Concessions in one field must be contingent upon agreement in other fields and the structure stands or falls as a whole. In other words, colonial concessions are only possible on a basis of world order and international, as opposed to, bilateral discussions.

Secondly, it must be made clear that in the anxiety of preventing the gulf between rival political tendencies from becoming unbridgeable, it is impossible for Britain to transfer allegiance, or friendship from France to Germany; and that any Anglo-German understanding is inconceivable and of not much value either, except on a triangular basis. Indeed, Britain could neither be so perfidious nor so mad as to abandon France or to leave her interests out of the reckoning.

Lastly in order to meet the German grievance based on sentiment and prestige, to which German opinion has all along attached great importance, an entirely voluntary and frank recantation of certain errors connected with Versailles Treaty should be primarily made, which will be a very good prelude to the successful discussions of the major issues. The covenant of the League should be detached from the peace treaties. The economic clauses should be declared to be inoperative. The so-called War Guilt Clauses should be specifically defined as aimed solely at establishing a legal basis for claims of damage.

With these axioms established, let us consider the main grounds on which the German claim is based. It is impossible to admit that Germany has any legal claim to the lost colonies; they were conquered from her and she ceded them unreservedly to the major allied powers, who, of their own accord, undertook to administer them under mandates supervised by the League, but a moral claim must be admitted in view of the terms of the fifth point of President Wilson.

It is contended that a great nation like Germany is entitled to what Hitler calls "Colonial Equality" and that it is highly derogatory to withhold from Germany the advantages which small countries like Holland or Portugal possess. This is clearly an appeal to prestige which naturally weigh with a dictatorial regime. But by once accepting this argument that every continental great power has the right to be a great colonial power also, we are landed in a completely hopeless situation, since such arguments are based on the idea that the colonies are merely properties to be exploited and not

administrative responsibilities. That might have been the old 18th century view, but during the last generation the principle of trusteeship of the backward races had made such strides and won such full acceptance that it is impossible to go back upon it now.

The second argument is that the restoration of their colonies is a necessary step towards removing the shortage of raw materials from which she is suffering. No serious evidence has yet been adduced for this claim. On the other hand, Lord Lugard has pointed out that in the post-War period, there has been no restriction whatsoever upon exports from British territories in Africa, and that owing to the fall of the prices of primary products, they are more than ever eager to sell to any buyer. German trade with Tanganyika amounted to close upon 10,00,000 dollars (one million pounds) in 1934-35, and Italy was able to purchase in British colonies large quantities of food for her army in Abyssinia. Mr. Amery in his public reply to Herr Von Ribbentrop's demand for colonies at the Leipzig fair in 1937, very rightly pointed out that in 1935-36 Germany imported as much raw material as in 1929 on the eve of the great depression, and that a large part of these imports, which should have supplied peaceful German industry, was directed to intensive armament. While the German Government continues to arm at the present fantastic scale, it cannot expect others to facilitate the supply of material which might at any moment be directed against those who supplied them.

Thirdly, the Germans contend that the recovery of their lost colonies is rendered essential by the pressure of population at home. During the decade preceding

the War, the German colonies only accounted for 0.13 per cent. of the total German emigration, and when the War broke out there were only 20,000 Germans in all their colonies combined. In Tanganyika, which alone offers serious openings to white settlers, the number of new white settlers, whom it might be possible to place there during the next 10 years, would not possibly exceed 40,000. Similarly, the Italians in the hilly country of Briteria have in 50 years settled only 400 unofficial adult Italians, and the prospect of settlement in Abyssinia on a scale likely to affect Italy's population problem are extremely slight. To quote Lord Lugard: "It is to the temperate zones in North and South America, in Siberia or in the Pacific, that the surplus population of Europe should look for colonisation." Moreover, this claim of an over-sea's outlet for the German population cannot be solved in Africa alone and, therefore, it is not a matter merely between Germany and Britain. Obviously no such solution is possible without consulting and obtaining the consent and, presumably, the co-operation of France, Belgium, Portugal, South Africa, and, perhaps, Spain—a co-operation which it will not be easy to obtain.

The disinclination of the Allied Powers to part with the colonies is also due to certain other *sine qua non* conditions for a colonial settlement with Germany, upon which British Public opinion would probably insist, and Germany might be reluctant to yield. Firstly, Germany should in taking over such colonies give the most explicit guarantees to maintain the existing legislation in

favour of a native population and to ensure that their status should not deteriorate. There are some who argue that Germany's record of treatment of natives ought to debar it for ever from any colonial possessions. More serious is the argument that a nation which is engaged in reducing to helotry and utter ruin a section of its own home population and deliberately branding them as second class citizens before the law for purely racial reason irrespective of conduct or of cultural standing, is not fit to be entrusted with the government of subject races in any continent. The second condition is that such colonies as Germany might acquire by agreement should under no circumstances be converted into Naval stations or Military Air Ports and that the black population should not be armed save on a diminutive scale for local police purpose.

But, above all, even if such understandings are forthcoming in the most solemn terms, where is the guarantee that they will be scrupulously adhered to. The crux of the whole situation, then, is whether to secure a compromise with the Allied Powers, Germany is prepared to damp down the frenzy of her militarism and is ready to re-enter the international fellowship.

We are, therefore, forced back upon the alternative of organising a "Peace-Front" of the peace-loving nations, sufficiently strong to deter any would-be aggressor from war-like adventure and of holding out grimly until the aggressive countries either explode from within or their financial disorders bring them to a more reasonable frame of mind.



AN UPANISHADIC ANTHOLOGY

By PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

THE Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita contain the very essence of Hindu thought. They are the recognised sources of the Vedanta, which not only represents the philosophic belief of the cultured but is also the basis of popular religion. These two scriptures or *Prasthanas*, as they are called, belong to different ages and accordingly present some divergent features. But the divergences are of a minor character, and the scriptures essentially agree in their teaching. This fundamental unity of their teaching is very well brought out in a book by the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari which has been published recently.* It is an anthology of selections carefully made from seven out of the dozen Upanishads, which are all pre-Buddhistic and are commonly regarded as classical. The selections, in the case of each Upanishad, are very skilfully utilised as connecting links in a continuous discourse on it; and attention is drawn more than once in these discourses to the sameness of the teaching in the Upanishads and the Gita. The passages chosen are sometimes translated literally; but, more often, we have only a free paraphrase of them. The exposition of the thoughts of the Upanishads as well as the rendering of the passages culled from them is in the simple, clear and attractive style, which we are accustomed to find in the speeches and writings of the distinguished author.

The intrinsic excellence of the passages has, of course, been the chief criterion for their inclusion here. But, from what

the author states in the Introduction, he seems to have been influenced by another consideration also in choosing them. Although the truths taught in the Upanishads are eternal, they are sometimes expressed in terms of the life and circumstances of a remote age, and Mr. Rajagopalachari rightly thinks that for a proper appreciation of the Upanishads to-day, their antique background is, as far as possible, to be eliminated. This probably accounts for the omission from the book of some passages which one who is conversant with these gospels expects to find in it. But many of the best passages are there, and none but the best finds a place among them. They are also varied enough to give a clear and adequate idea of the main points of the Upanishadic doctrine—the nature of Brahman or the universal self, the relation of the individual to it and to the physical world, the goal of human life and the way to reach it. The book, considering the wealth of its contents, should, indeed, be deemed an achievement in compression.

We learn from the Publishers' note, prefixed to the book, that the author's work *Bhagavadgita* is now in its third edition. The present publication deserves to be equally popular. It is very well printed, and is small enough in size to be easily carried in pocket by those who want to make it their constant companion. We trust that, by the freshness and lucidity of its treatment, it will help to spread widely a knowledge of the outlook on life for which the Upanishads, as a whole, stand. Never was the need for it greater than at the present time.

*UPANISHADS FOR THE LAY READER. By C. Rajagopalachari. 'Hindustan Times', New Delhi.

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES

By MR. P. RAJESWARA RAO

THE Working of Provincial Autonomy has given rise to some constitutional questions regarding the details of the manner of administration. A new political organism naturally develops characteristics and needs of its own during the first and most important phase of its growth. The future course of development depends upon the method of treatment. These issues should be critically examined with impartiality and detachment in the light of experience gained so far. Amicable settlement of these issues facilitates the smooth and sound working of the administrative machine.

One of the conspicuous questions that have come to the forefront concerns the precise nature of work and status of the Parliamentary Secretaries. In this connection it is important to note the historical background of this problem. The proposal that such appointments should be made in India was first put forward in the joint report on Constitutional Reforms by Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford. They suggested that parliamentary secretaries in India should be entrusted with the same functions and responsibilities which were performed in England by the parliamentary under-secretaries. The Simon Commission also recommended that Assistant Ministers or Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of the British type should be appointed to assist Ministers in the discharge of their parliamentary or executive functions. Sir Samuel Hoare supported this recommendation in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee.

Coming to details we find that some provinces like Bengal, Frontier, Assam, and C. P. have not seen it fit to make

provision for these appointments. The reasons for omission are understood to be partly financial. Any attempt to dogmatise on the question whether parliamentary secretaries should be appointed or not and to establish and to enforce a dreary uniformity of practice engenders some obvious disadvantages, since the requirements and resources of each province differ markedly from one another. When this subject was briefly touched upon by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, declared that it would be undesirable to fetter the freedom of choice of Provincial Governments and to involve them in avoidable expenditure; the matter should be decided by the Provinces themselves in accordance with their own conditions.

In the provinces where they are already appointed, there is no unanimity regarding their functions and position. They are neither politically active nor constitutionally conspicuous in Bombay. Madras also does not provide the facilities and opportunities to vindicate their utility and importance. Mr. Karant, one of the parliamentary secretaries, who was attached to the Public Work Minister, resigned in disgust to escape the shackles of paid idleness. Since then the Minister concerned did not complain of overwork or the absence of an assistant. Even the rest of them, we are told, are busying themselves with comparatively minor and unimportant activities. A political appointment with a constitutional role naturally loses its significance as soon as it becomes a sinecure. Apparently there is a growing tendency to regard them as politically unnecessary and constitutionally

superfluous. In Bihar as well, they are working under restraints and limitations. When Mr. K. B. Sahay, the most active and vocal of all the secretaries, was deputed to Wardha to join the deliberations in connection with the Bengali-Bihari controversy, he had to confess that he did not and could not represent the Premier in spite of his being the Chief Parliamentary Secretary; he was present there only to note the proceedings and observe the developments. It makes one think that the position is apparently synonymous to that of a glorified clerk. In the Punjab, where the salary scale for the ministers and parliamentary secretaries is high compared with that of most provinces, the tendency has been to limit the range of activities of the latter. Whereas in the United Provinces their number and importance is greater than anywhere else in India. The practice has apparently grown up that they should examine and if they think fit note upon the files passing from the Permanent Secretary to the Minister, though without passing orders. No doubt such assistance rendered by a parliamentary secretary of ability and experience is likely to be of great value to a busy and overburdened Minister, not only in the Secretariat but also in the Legislature. Recently the Premier of U. P., while replying to an interpellation, declared that the parliamentary secretaries helped the Ministers in the discharge of duties and the Ministers had full powers to arrange with them the manner in which they should conduct the business. This statement merely emphasises the power and authority of the Minister over his Parliamentary Secretary, and the position and status of the Parliamentary Secretary is still doubtful and uncertain.

As the question is of great constitutional importance and has been engaging the attention of the various parties concerned, the following note describing the status, functions, and duties of Parliamentary Secretaries or Under-Secretaries in United Kingdom by Prof. A. B. Keith, the eminent authority on Constitutional Law, is of special value and should tend to dispel the misconceptions prevalent in various quarters:

Roughly speaking, the position is that Secretaries are entrusted both with the administrative work in the departments and with the representation under the Minister of the interests of the department in the House of Parliament to which he is assigned.

Thus in the office of the Secretaries of State, the Parliamentary Secretaries are normally given a substantial share in the administrative work. Very often certain spheres of work are assigned to the Under-Secretary, who normally becomes the final authority for the subjects so assigned. He, of course, exercises his discretion and sees that the Minister is duly informed and he assists for and obtains his decision in any issue: (1) involving principles not already decided by the Minister, or (2) likely to be raised in the Legislature. But there is usually a considerable amount of business with which he can deal finally. Moreover, it is usual to keep him informed of important business in branches which are not under his close supervision, so that he may be able to deal with the issues if and when they arise in the Legislature. In effect the Under-Secretary should, whenever the mass of work permits (i) relieve his chief of as much of the lesser business as is practicable; and (ii) keep himself *au fait* with all matters of importance even though they have to be decided by the Minister. An Under-Secretary, therefore, often looks at important papers without necessarily attempting to form any final judgment thereon, while in special spheres he may normally decide, submitting only the matters above referred to the Ministers. In these matters it is impossible to lay down any fixed rules. If, for instance, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies happens to have specialised on economic issues, he may be given the function of dealing with them, his chief merely approving formally important decisions; if the Under-Secretary for the Dominions is interested in emigration, he may virtually take charge of that branch of business. The Secretary of State must, of course, be kept informed of all matters of importance; and all those which go beyond the scope of a single department, either by reason of importance or because other departments are concerned and, therefore, must be subject to Cabinet approval have to pass through him. But a good Under-Secretary can help in many ways, specially if he is in effective touch with Permanent Secretary of the Department.

If they agree on any matter, it may often be unnecessary to trouble the Minister at all, or the issue may be virtually decided by them with the Minister homologating with a minimum of personal action on their findings.

In some cases finance is specially assigned to the Secretary, while in the Foreign Office the Minister has one Under-Secretary specially for League of Nations Work. But the point of importance is that normally the Secretary is expected to do a substantial amount of administrative work. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury is one of the busiest of the administrators.

The principle involved, of course, is simply that no effective aid can be rendered in Parliament by a Secretary unless he is fully *au fait* with the work of the department, and he can become *au fait* only by the process of actually working in it and taking decisions on minor matters and writing minutes and making proposals on other questions. While, of course, some Secretaries do not work hard, others are wholeheartedly devoted to the business of administration, and as a rule these are the men who are later successful as Ministers, provided, of course, they possess Parliamentary skill.

In this connection it is very necessary to note the distinction between a parliamentary under-secretary and parliamentary private secretary. Again to quote Prof. Keith:

The parliamentary private secretary of a Minister in Britain is in a quite different position. He is not given any share in the administrative work in the department but merely aids the Minister in minor matters connected with his parliamentary duties and, for instance, works for him outside the House at political meetings and so on. The post is not paid and it is usually given, as a compliment rather than anything else. It enables a promising young man to become familiar with the members of the Ministry personally; but the office is quite distinct from and much less important than that of a parliamentary secretary.

But the Indian Constitution unlike the British Constitution is a written one. It contains no specific provision for the exercise of administrative functions by the parliamentary secretaries. Moreover under the Act, they are not required to take the oath of secrecy. Besides in the initial stage they are inexperienced in the art of administration. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that some permanent officials are perturbed and display some amount of nervousness about

the range of activities and authority of these parliamentary secretaries; it is surmised that there is a tendency to look upon them as political intruders and constitutional misfits. Sometimes minor problems of precedence and procedure precipitate matters and even create delicate situations. When a parliamentary secretary, in the unavoidable absence of the Minister, leads an official delegation to an All-India Conference on some technical subject, naturally the seniormost departmental official may feel it to be derogatory to submit to the authority of one who has no technical competence and constitutional standing. It is, of course, unwise to think that friction is likely to arise regarding such trivial matters in the ordinary course. Though there is abundant evidence of co-operation and co-ordination, tactlessness or momentary lapse of goodwill lodges them in an awkward position. In order to avoid such troubles, it is highly desirable to make a careful and dispassionate examination of the issues involved and to evolve a workable practice and procedure.

It cannot be said that this problem can be ignored even by those provinces that have so far escaped their necessity. Once a decision to appoint them is taken, as in most provinces it has been, there is urgent necessity for general understanding. Conventions should be established to guide and regulate the political procedure and constitutional usage. Orissa had no parliamentary secretaries in the beginning, but appointed them later presumably having felt the necessity. Political exigencies should be taken into consideration in deciding these appointments. Some time ago there was speculation about the appointment of parliamentary secretaries

in Bengal and even the personnel was forecast. There is no reason to believe that even petty provinces like C. P., Sind, and Frontier with slender resources and greater demands will be able to postpone this issue for all time to come.

In view of the growing pressure of work and the considerations of practical convenience the urgency of removing the obvious and disquieting potentialities of friction, which is inherent in the present state of affairs, is imperative. What is needed is a clear definition of their status and functions and a correct estimate of their powers and responsibilities. Indecision is more harmful than an unfavourable decision; the sooner it is finally decided the better. The British experience is already before us. Of course, nobody suggests blind imitation. Necessary modifications can be made to suit the national requirements. Political institutions grow of their own accord in course of time. The prevailing atmosphere, mentality and temperament influence the character and composition of the future tradition. Constitutional conventions based on political morality cannot be established overnight.

They are gradually evolved and take their final shape in the fulness of time. Therefore, it is obvious that if the present state of things continues, it is not possible to get out of the impasse in the near future. Besides as the Indian Constitution is rigid with no provision for automatic advance, there is little scope for the early establishment of sound and stable conventions. This problem deserves the earnest attention of the Congress High Command, which is directing the activities of the Congress Cabinets in eight out of eleven provinces, and their lead at the present juncture will be greatly appreciated. Hence it is essential that the Provincial Governments in their own interest should co-operate and collaborate in deciding this problem. The politicians and publicists as well can contribute to its solution by focussing the public attention on the varied aspects of this question. The value of such an unbiased and impartial appreciation of the implications is inestimable in arriving at a right understanding of the whole question and ultimately effects an early solution.

China : The Foster-Mother of Japan

By MR. ABDUL GHAFUR, B.A. (Hons.) (London), M.A., M.Sc. (Alg.)

(Lecturer, Teachers' Training College, Aligarh)

CHINA has been the progenitor of human culture and civilisation in certain branches and her influence has been deep and far-reaching. In one wide sweep, her cultural contact embraces the East and West, and there is hardly a nation that should not claim allegiance to her leadership in the world of art culture. To take a few examples, Muslim art and learning would have remained

sealed in the bosom of the Bedouin, who, with all his marvellous faculty of memory, could hardly be expected to preserve the ever-increasing volume of Muslim lore and religious traditions by word of mouth. It was the establishment of a few paper factories at Baghdad in the second century that led to the blossoming forth of the written word, the foundation of the universities and the sumptuously

furnished libraries of the Muslim World; and paper came from China. Can any Western scholar allege with confidence that the Witten Berg Printing Press was not inspired by the Chinese woodcuts printing? The travels of Marco Polo, and some of the wonderful inventions that he brought back along with him, revealed to Europe for the first time a civilisation rich with cultural and social attainments that has blazed the glory of a self-luminous radiance and not the reflected moonshine of other cultures. Then there is their ceramic industry, their amazing technique of painting, their originality of perspective and colour schemes, and silk that was being produced in such abundance that when Ibn-Batuta arrived in China, he writes, that it is so common that it is worn by the poorest there and that for a single piece of cotton cloth, one can have several pieces of silk.

But our specific aim here is not to evaluate the Chinese contribution to the world of cultural and social amenities. Our object is to discover the debt that Japan owes to her foster-mother, to the country that gave her what was worth having in art, literature, social order, administration, religion, ethics, and philosophy. It does not stop here. The Japan of the sixties of the last century and Japan in the essentials of her social and cultural life to-day is as truly a part of China, the flesh of her flesh and the blood of her blood as Ceylon is that of India. The bluest blood of Japan has trickled into the archipelago from the Continent, the Japanese art and literature are inspired by Chinese ideals, their domestic ethics is based on the teaching of Confucius and Taoism, Shintoism being a product

of the close and intimate contact of these schools of thought and their welding into one uniform whole in the blazing forge of Japanese nationalism. In waging a war against China, Japan is not fighting against her own kith and kin, she is striking at the very root of that cultural and æsthetic superstructure, those social and civic ideals that have inspired the Japanese and in which the thoughtful visitor to Japan discovers her fruitful contribution to the world and significant potentialities of development for human progress and happiness. And we should rest satisfied that China won't be swept away and a culture that has survived the inroads of the fierce-looking Tartars under Kublai Khan and the Manchus, that has stood the splendid test of forty centuries of glorious and colourful life will conquer after all the conqueror. But one cannot help visualising the decrepit, heart-broken figure of the fratricide, Oedipus blind and miserable, making a pathetic but nevertheless ignominious exit from a stage where he had killed his father. A profound reverence for the parents has been exalted to a creed by the Japanese, but strange to say, like most other nations the virtue has been limited to domestic life and it has never been exercised in fields where it will be really beneficial and fruitful in bringing about better understanding and a keener appreciation of mutual obligations among nations. In Bertrand Russell we have a philosophic student of the Far East problem, who had the additional advantage of working for some time as the Professor of Philosophy at the Peking University, and his words have a pointed significance when he writes: "They have a civilisation superior to ours in all that makes for

human happiness" and "when I went to China, I went to teach, but every day that I stayed I thought less of what I had to teach them and more of what I had to learn from them". But what is more relevant for our purpose is his statement that throughout Japanese history, "one seems to see two opposite forces struggling for mastery over people's mind, namely, the ideas of Government, civilisation and art derived from China on the one hand and the native tendency to feudalism, clan government, and civil war on the other".

Chinese language and literature were introduced in the archipelago in 284 A.D. when the Korean ruler, who was a tributary to the Japanese king, sent a celebrated scholar, Wani, to instruct the Crown Prince in the Chinese language and the teachings of Confucius. The Japanese had no conception of the art of writing and the great human invention of preserving the records of history in black and white. They had a recourse to the storing of history into their memory and relying on oral traditions which, not infrequently, confused historical figures with mythological or legendary heroes and stretching reigns of certain rulers into marvellously extensive length. The art of writing borrowed from China implied the wholesale introduction of the ideographic script, which has remained, with very minor changes here and there, the main form of writing for the Japanese language up to the present day.

In the sixth century, Buddhism was introduced into Japan from Korea, which it first adopted experimentally, soon found for itself a place in the heart of the people, and formed the very web and roof of their social and cultural life, which henceforth came under the potent

influence of the Chinese civilisation, sponsored and propagated by zealous Buddhist missionaries, who not only gave to Japan a cult of the highest ethical significance but also developed that artistic and æsthetic sense in her people that has become the very soul of their national life. The temple at Horiyūji contains some of the finest specimens of fresco painting in Japan, painted by Buddhist priests, noble and glorious works that represent, like the Ajanta Frescoes, the highly idealised phase that intrigued itself into the blood stream of the social and religious life of the country from China. Dr. Cousins, the well known art critic and theosophist, befittingly styles the Horiyūji Temple as the fountain-head of Japanese culture, splendid proof of the fact how Japan rediscovered herself through Korean hands trained by the priests artists of rock-temples of Ajanta, who had breathed into Japanese art the breath of immortality.

The introduction of Buddhism opened the flood-gates of Chinese influence in Japan, and we find it sweetening the saline brackish waters of an inland sea with the life-giving springs of continental influence in every department of Japanese life. We meet radical reforms in social orders, political institutions, and in the motifs of sculpture, architecture, in the social usages of cuisine, costume and social etiquette. The family came to be patterned after the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism—loyalty, filial piety, marital fidelity, brotherly order, and friendly solidarity. "The teaching of the great Chinese sage is so widely diffused and deeply rooted in Japan that it must be considered to be part and parcel of Japanese culture." The Chinese division into four

classes, which seems to have a peculiar similarity with the classification of the caste system, was adopted by the Japanese and had quite a strong hold of the social structure up to the recent times. This influence was deeper and far-reaching in ceremonials and court etiquette. The ceremonial division of the court and of the administration into left and right, the dresses, the swords of the courtiers of left and right were differentiated into true Chinese style, while the ranks conferred upon the nobles were borrowed from the Chinese officialdom, and the Imperial sacrifices are still reminiscent of the corresponding Chinese ceremonies. Looking to these blessings and resuscitating influences in the domain of culture and social life, it is no exaggeration to state that "Japan owes to China a debt comparable perhaps with that which Great Britain owes to the Greco-Roman World".

The Chinese influence is as pronounced as ever in literature and poetry and general system of education. Early historiographers and poets set before them the literary ideals of China and sat at the feet of Chinese masters to learn the art of self-expression and to discover those hidden springs of inspiration and lofty idealism that help a nation to realise her destiny in the progress of human culture and happiness.

China has been the master-painter of the world and even in the Persian, Turkish, and Urdu literatures, the Naqqashi Cheen indicates the last word in the technique of the brush. The best Persian pieces of art display a significant affinity to the Chinese art, and when Ibn-Batuta visited the Court of the Chinese Emperor, he was agreeably surprised to find his

portrait, faithful to the very turn of the hair, displayed in the main bazar of the town. The artists had been scheduled to this work by the Sultan, and they had drawn the portraiture with a few broad sweeps of the brush during the very short time that he stayed for an audience at the Imperial Court. The Chinese are of all people the most skilful in the arts possessed of the greatest mastery over them. There is none other who can match them in precision whether Greek or any other; for in this art they show a marvellous talent. According to Brinkley, "Japanese pictorial art is permeated with Chinese affinities. The one is, indeed, the child of the other, and traces of this close relationship are nearly always present in greater or lesser degree". Although some of the best results of the Japanese artistic attempts are where the Chinese ideals and native originality are harmoniously combined in the service of the religion of beauty, yet the earliest and greatest Japanese painter—Kōse no Kanoaka—is an unalloyed product of Chinese inspiration and stands at the crest of the flood of Chinese influence that inundated his country in the eighth and the ninth centuries.

But a more interesting development is that of the Japanese ceramics, an industry now organised on a gigantically mechanical scale, has flooded the world markets with cheap glossy nicknacks. Here the Chinese held once the lead in the world and the first great Japanese master was Shirozemen, who went in the thirteenth century to China and learnt the exquisite skill and craftsmanship from Chinese masters in the course of six long years. He was the first to transplant the ceramic processes from China and

produced noble specimens of the art in the form of rich, lustrous and brilliant vases. By the nineteenth century, the Japanese disciples of Chinese art-masters had forgotten their lesson and the graceful touch, and the charming delicacy had become a lost art. The Japanese producer had very often the necessity to make stains on new pieces and make them look like old work in order to palm them off on the European collector. But it could not continue for long, and we find, once more, Miyagawa, like his illustrious progenitor of the 13th century, revolting against the meretricious products of the decadent art and reverting to the Chinese ideals in colour, scheme, and design. By this reversion they have once more paid a singular tribute to the perennial

supremacy of China in ceramics and vindicated the Japanese claim to the principle of eclecticism that has been the relieving feature of Japanese culture.

China has given to Japan literature, religion, philosophy, a social structure, has inspired her more than once with renewed life in the political and artistic field. But she had bestowed upon her more precious gifts. She has given to her the O CHA (the tea and her sake (a beverage) without which every Japanese social function would remain lifeless and without colour. And in return, Japan has not done a little to fill the cup of Chinese misery, a nation that has done, perhaps, more than any other single nation to advance the cause of human happiness and social amenities in the world.

"FORD" IN FICTION

"MOM," said little Abner, "there's a fellow down the street says



MR. UPTON SINCLAIR

he's goin' to make a wagon that'll run without a horse."

"He's crazy," said Mom.

The first of these two prophetic utterances has been abundantly fulfilled, but whether the second contains a measure of truth, the reader of "The Flivver King" by Upton Sinclair (T. Werner Laurie) may discover for himself.

Interwoven with the record of Henry Ford's industrial success is the story of one of his workmen, Abner Shutt, a sharply contrasting picture of two men's lives, vigorously exposing abuses which lie at the root of most of the world's misery and unrest to-day.

To most men of Henry Ford's generation, when they think about economics at all, unrestricted competition is the healthiest check on industry, and the supermechanic with the mind of a stubborn peasant, according to the author, is no exception, for he has learnt nothing

that does not immediately affect the production of his car.

Up to the end of the War, Ford was a model employer. In January 1914, he threw a bombshell into the industrial world by announcing an eight-hour day and dividing a bonus of ten million dollars with his workers, making five dollars a day a minimum wage. His Social department undertook to help the fourteen thousand employees in their personal problems, while wages and conditions steadily improved until the Post-War slump.

Afterwards labour-saving machinery threw thousands on to the streets and "speeding up" made work in the plant a physical adventure possible only for the fittest until his workers wiped their boots on articles under his name in the *Saturday Evening Post* telling the world of ideal conditions in his plant and that the use of machinery did not cause unemployment.

Reorganisation sounds an innocent word. To Henry it meant a tremendous effort to reduce costs after losses which were staggering until compared with the profits amassed in previous years. To his workers it spelt hardship and unemployment. Two such periods, 1920 and 1931, are described both from Henry's and Abner's view-point.

The Social department was the first to go. Many workers had another name for it—the "Snooping" department. Henry grew embittered. "Gratitude?" he would say. "There's no gratitude in business. Men work for money." In its place came the "Service department" with spies, spotters, and private police. Competition in the whole industry became so acute that by devices known as "the speed-up" and "the stretch out", every worker

had to be strained to the utmost limit of human capacity, leaving the factory "grey and staggering with fatigue. . . . empty shells from which the last drop of juice had been squeezed".

If this is a true picture of conditions in Detroit's motor industry, it is not surprising that the workers should feel the need for Trade Unions. In his early days Henry did not object to Unions. Now he feared and fought against a combination of his workers into one large Union. He caused a former Judge and then Mayor of Detroit to state of his own knowledge that "Henry Ford employs some of the worst gangsters in our City". How much of all this does Henry know personally? He is an old man now and his grandchildren are growing up. Meanwhile Abner's children have found their precarious niches in the life of Detroit. The struggle with the Unions is graphically told and involves the whole Shutt family. According to the Author, Henry who had once been the best of employers, has now become the worst, paying the lowest wages in the industry, his speed-up the most ruthless. He is the richest man in the world, but the billion dollars is a golden fetter stronger than the hardest steel used in his plant. His declining years are spent in guarding it.

Upton Sinclair's latest novel as a literary effort does not rank with "The Jungle" or "Oil", but as a picture of the evils of a highly competitive industry, it should be read by all those whose social conscience is not blunted by the love of money, success, or power. The questions which it asks challenge an answer, and if our civilization is to survive, they must be answered without delay.

PINK INDIA AND YELLOW INDIA

BY DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

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TWO famous sentences—separated by a long interval of time but linked by an inward kinship of spirit—give us a revelatory light on an obscure subject. Lord Canning said soon after the Mutiny: "The territories under the suzerainty of the Crown became at once *as important and as integral a part of India* as territories under its direct dominion. *Together they form one care.*" Quite recently the Butler Committee Report stated: "Geographically India is one and indivisible, made up of the pink and the yellow. *The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together.*" All of us have, therefore, to realise that the accidents of history cannot bisect or multi-sect India which is a unity, not only from a geographical point of view but also from the economic and political and cultural points of view.

Both pink India and yellow India have had continuous touches of pigment since the time of the Mutiny, and the two primary colours are no longer in such sharp and vivid contrast as they were before. Before the Mutiny, British India treated the Indian States as allies or as rivals or as enemies. But during the Mutiny a new situation arose. Lord Canning's famous admission shows that the patches of native rule acted as breakwaters to the wave which threatened to sweep away England from India. After the Mutiny, British India became welded into a unit, while the Indian States continued to be a disconnected mass of units, great and small. But yet both of them have been feeling the breath of United India, which is not yet in being but is struggling to be born.

The Great War of 1914 brought the Princes together into a unique field of common action for the defence of democracy and civilisation. A new policy loomed above the horizon in August 1917. The Indian Princes, who had been dealing till then in a spirit of isolation with the Paramount Power, felt the urgent need of common deliberation and united action. They felt that till then they had no voice in the determination and formulation of All-India policies. They felt also that in disputes between them and the Government of India, the latter was both party and judge and that this fact brought about inconvenient situations and that hence there was a dire need of an impartial tribunal. They felt also that the Political Department of India went on often in an arbitrary manner without ascertaining and knowing and respecting their points of view. It was under these conditions that the Chamber of Princes came into existence. It had but little power. But it gave them a new experience resulting in a new power. They tasted the new experience of joint deliberation and determination.

Meantime, British India had gone far ahead. The Great War of 1914 had released new ideas into active operation. The bright star of self-determination shone high in the political imagination. A new passion to make the world safe for democracy was surging in the heart of the East as well as in the heart of the West.

It is with this background in our memory that we must visualise the inter-relations of pink India and yellow India to-day. It will be worth while to chronicle and evaluate some of the resolutions

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PINK INDIA AND YELLOW INDIA

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passed by the Indian States at Bombay in March 1928:

"This meeting of rulers and representatives of State Governments

(d) affirms the intention of the Indian States to join with His Majesty's Government and *with the Government and people of British India* in working for a solution which shall secure protection for all interests and *progress for all India*;

(e) reaffirms the abiding determination of the rulers of Indian States, as recorded in the last Session of the Chamber of Princes, *to ensure the rule of law in their States* and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects; and

(g) reaffirms on the one hand the loyalty of the Indian States to the Crown and their attachment to the Empire, *and on the other hand their sympathy with the aspirations of British India, which they regard as legitimate.*"

Thus we see clearly the power of new ideas over both pink India and yellow India. As already stated by me in my article on Paramountcy and Federation,* paramountcy is becoming less and less truly paramount, and Federation is becoming more and more truly federal. Paramountcy was once upon a time full federal overlordship having as a legal consequence renewal and annexation and lapse. It then became subordinate co-operation and is now said to be co-operative partnership. Even now the Government of India talks and behaves as the dominant partner. It has been well said: "The whisper of the Residency becomes the thunder of the State."

The Butler Committee has not given much help towards the new and inevitable consolidation of India. Sir Tej Bahadur

* *Indian Review*, July 1938.

Sapru has said well that it has tried to build a Chinese wall between British India and Indian India. It recommended the transfer of the control of the States from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy alone. It used to be said of the Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, that he looked upon the Provinces as his sons and on the States as his step-sons, but was not a sympathetic parent to either. Such a possibility is not pleasant to contemplate. Another recommendation of the Committee is to leave the Paramountcy conception in a nebulous state. It says: "Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

The time is now come for the Princes and the British Indian leaders and the British Government to arrive at a formula which would be agreeable to them as being in the best interests of India as a whole. Earl Winterton's pronouncement in the House of Commons shows that the Princes have freedom to introduce democratic responsible self-government in their States. The leading statesmen in British India are profoundly dissatisfied with the impotent Federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act, 1935. The British Government has pledged itself explicitly to responsible Government in British India and implicitly to Dominion Status for India as a whole. It may be that, as Lord Lothian says, it is difficult to envisage a marital union between autocratic Indian India and democratic British India. But there can be no difficulty in the bride becoming a little more educated in democracy and in the bridegroom completing the education after the happy union.

SCHOOLS OF PACIFISM

BY

MR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A.

THE one great problem that has been engaging the attention of the great savants of humanity is the problem of *peace*. They are all out to do away with war and violence. They are devising ways and means to secure peace. No serious minded humanitarian questions the imperative need and value of peace. Over and over again in the past, the greatest civilisations have been either destroyed or degraded by war. The fighting which Homer taught the Greeks to regard as glorious swept away the Mycenaean civilisation and was succeeded by centuries of confused and barbarous conflict. The speech of Pericles to Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War has been a model for recruiting appeals. That very war spelt the end of the Athenian empire. The Athenians born after that war added nothing permanent to the world. The Roman civilisation perished completely in the Barbarian invasion. The remnant, out of which the modern world has grown, was preserved, not by the men who fought against the barbarians, but by the monks who retired from the strife and devoted their lives to religion and study.

A clear study of the existing literature on the subject resolves itself into four distinct schools of thought: (a) the *collective security view*; (b) *socialist solution for peace*; (c) the *absolute pacifists*; (d) the *constructive and creative pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi*.

a. The most practical-minded statesman of the West and their great idealist leader, Wilson, wanted to establish peace and make the world safe for democracy after the great and terrible War of 1914. So they established the League and through it enunciated the principle of *collective security*, which assured that if any State used its aggressive force in an immoral fashion against a weak nation, the League Powers would join hands and use its collective force against the aggressor. Short of this the League had other solutions also, such as the imposition

of sanctions and the organisation of economic boycott. The principle of collective security was the first practical engine of peace devised by European statesmanship. They thought that it would not turn out to be a mere piece of idealistic nonsense. They hoped it would work well. There is no use blaming the failure of this institution. The morality of the nations has not come up to its level. Constitutions are not born out of rocks, but are born out of the dispositions of men.

Besides this, there were certain inherent defects in the Constitution of the League which affected its efficient work. There is no denial that it was a first-class mechanism of peace after the Great War. It could not work because the statesmen, who participated in its debates, proved to be national agents and not cosmopolitan statesmen. Outside Geneva, each nation competes independently and at Geneva they compete in closer contacts. "It is too much to expect a Sir Samuel Hoare or an Eden working habitually in Downing Street, salaried to serve the British interests, to acquire the cosmopolitan mind necessary to plan for the prosperity of the distant Chinese or the dark Ethiopians." Their parish is England or Poland or Peru, but not the world.

Thus the League as a peace mechanism failed at all crucial points. It could not effect just political settlements. What little it achieved in the field of politics was within the scope of any international machinery that existed before the war. To quote the words of Brailsford, the League operated nothing and controlled nothing. It is a superfluity, a functionless fifth wheel in the chariot of history that spun ineffective in the air. It has merely contented itself to register mere pedantic and ineffective censures. The major failures of the League are staring before the vision of the realist in politics. The Corfu murder, the Manchurian, the Abyssinian, the Spanish and the present Sino-Japanese question are a few of the ignominious failures of the League.

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SCHOOLS OF PACIFISM

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Besides the absence of the right democratic temper in men, the Constitution of the League is also defective. It does not facilitate the effective use of collective security. The League, as created at Versailles, has left the national sovereignties intact and has provided no machinery to compel respect for the Covenant. The League is not a government. Government has a legislative, executive, and judicial function. It does not require unanimity but can act on majority votes. Neither the Council nor the Assembly can compel dissentient members, nor can they revise the unjust provisions of the Treaty without the consent of the signatories. The League has not an executive. The only force at its disposal is the member-state, which is used to withhold as national governments decide, and not as the League may demand.

b. The Socialist stands for peace, but he believes that it can only be achieved by liquidating the existing class-relations. The Socialist believes in a violent revolution. Violence is the midwife of a new social order, says Lenin. Non-violence they say, is not an effective and immediate remedy for peace. They declare in unerring terms 'that the society today rests on violence, and in order to set it right we need nothing short of *Revolution*. It must be a violent revolution, not the democratic process of progressive taxation suggested by capitalist economists. Marx declared that there is no use interpreting the universe and he insisted on our changing it. Revolution, they say, is above all a theory of action acclaiming education through action.

Peace, the Socialist says, is a function of an equitable social order and not the silence of the grave, nor the contentment of the beggar in his rags. Peace is the consequence of the nature of society in which we live. It can only exist in a just economic order. Such an order of society can never be achieved except by violence. Prof. Harold Laski in his eloquent book on the "Parliamentary Government in England" argues at great length that Revolution alone can usher in an era of peace. The nerve of his argument is as follows: The so-called democratic institute parliament successfully

functioned in the nineteenth century, because it rested on a community of interests among those who, in practice, control its operations. Throughout the nineteenth century, the government of the two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, could get on well, because of the fact that both the sides were fundamentally in agreement. Their quarrels were mere sham family quarrels. The end of the nineteenth century saw the rise of a political party which did not believe in the principle of private profit. So the issues that were faced in the Parliament are no longer mimic battles but they are real wars. If the party which stands for economic equality and socialism is returned to power at an election and if they put their programme into practice, there is no place for compromise, because there is no community of interests between the different parties. The party in power, i.e., the Socialist, will not be allowed to establish the just economic order of society through the legislative process, because such an enactment would endanger the position of the capitalists. Under such circumstances, the party of the capitalists will make use of all its key-positions, such as the King, the Church, the Judiciary, the Police, the Civil Service, the Press, and the B. B. C., which are under their control and destroy the constitution as well as democracy. This is the Fascist phase of capitalism. Hence the need for the revolution. This, in short, is the case of the Socialist.

c. Some of the great men of the West found that the cause of peace cannot be adequately advanced nor effectively realised by the principle of collective security. Their despair is confirmed by the monumental failure of the League in every first-class political crisis. So they formed themselves into a powerful organisation called the Peace Pledge Union. They go under the name of *absolute pacifists*. The great representatives of absolute pacifism are the late Dick Shepherd, Aldous Huxley, George Lansbury and the War Resisters' International. The absolutist pacifists contend that the use of violence in any form is bound to end in disaster. They are not

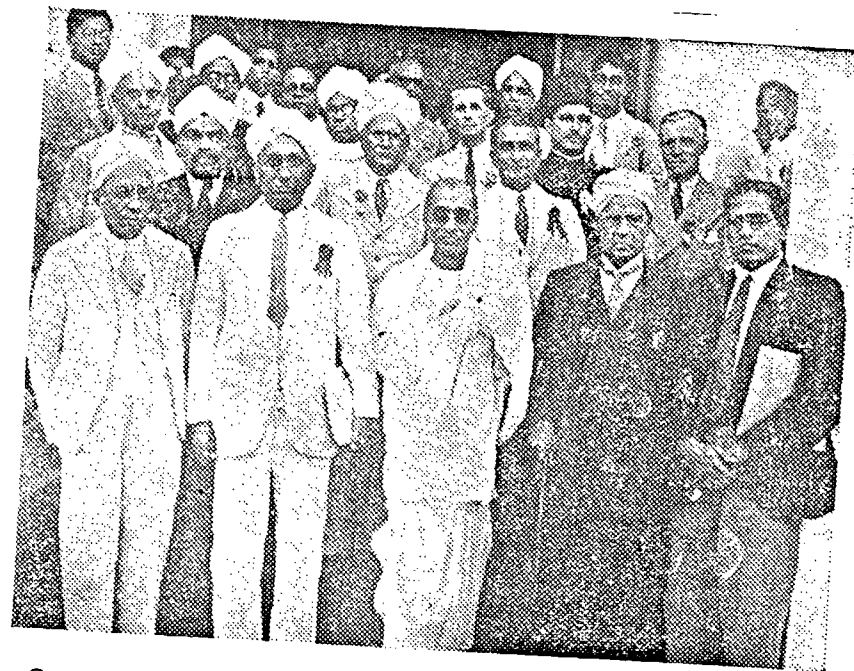
utilitarians. To them individual life is most sacred, and it should not be flung away without any consideration or for trifles. They do not even approve the use of violence for just purposes. The *Means* to them must be as sacred as the *Ends*. They say that their purpose is peace, and the way to achieve it 'we will not fight'. They shudder to contemplate the possible effects of any war between the scientifically perfected nations, trained in the use of the explosives, the thermite, the incendiary, and the gas bombs. They very well know that within a few hours expert air bombing can reduce London to just cinders. They believe that violence is intrinsically bad, and never can be the midwife of a new social order. It will perpetrate the old order and inaugurate the age of violence. Huxley clearly points out that the end does not justify the means. The means condition the end. Just war is a contradiction in terms. War and violence can never be justified on any account, be it for an empire or for colonies or to establish a classless society or to punish an aggressor, not even in self-defence. So they do not believe in the doctrine of collective security, and gibe at it and style it as *collective insecurity*. They are for a prudential and wise resignation and refuse to use violence in any form.

This school of thought has great merits. It is a sound ethical position answering the needs of morality. Politics and moral are put together here. The practical-minded statesmen of the modern world feel the solution of the absolute pacifist a long term remedy and not of great help for immediate danger. Some have characterised this pacifism as the alluring doctrine of despair of the famous character in Dostovesky's novel "Karmazov".

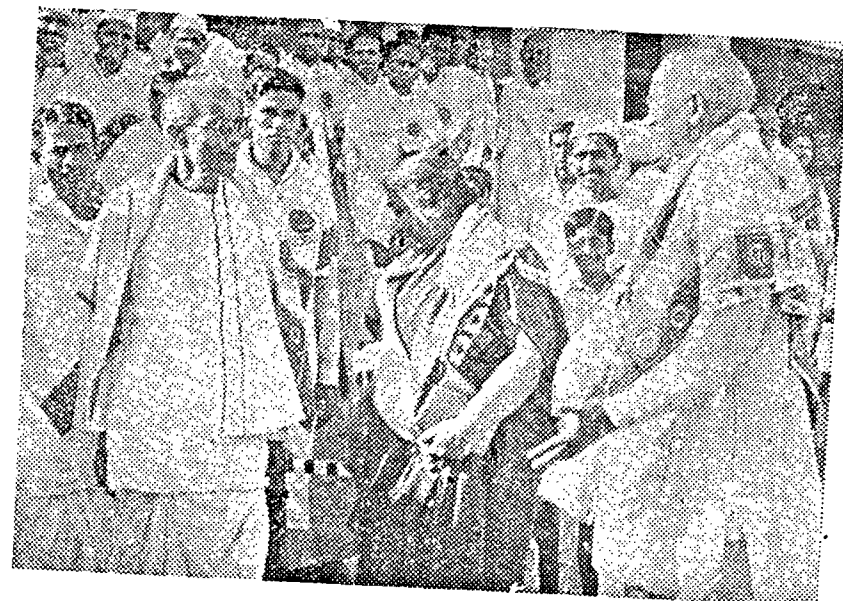
d. *The constructive pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi* is a great and a definite advance on the absolute pacifist school of thought. The Gandhian pacifism is a constructive and a creative creed. He has not merely proclaimed a programme like the visionary but he has also fashioned

a technique. This technique goes by the famous name of *satyagraha*, non-violent resistance. It is a new machine for establishing peace. It has for its background Christian ethics and Upanishadic outlook. It is not the same as the *Gita* doctrines. *Gita in fact is frankly sanctionist and not pacifist*. It stands for a just war. The *Gita* ideal is more in line with collective security. The Gandhian doctrine of non-violence is not mere acquiescence, nor is it a cowardly retreat, nor the cool deliberations of a calculating diplomatist. It is an effort and a challenge to the opponent and a resistance to evil. The term violence in the compound non-violence is non-militaristic in its significance. The negative element in the compound is not a bare negation, it is significant. Non-violent resistance is the application of soul-force. It is not the comfortable love of life for life's sake. It does not like a coward count the cost in the hour of trial. The Mahatma exhorts all the soldiers of his army to rush and resist evil, but not to inflict violence on the opponent. He does not advocate a base utilitarian love of life. Before we go to the scrap heap, he wants us to exert every nerve of ours to resist evil. He does not want us to shape our tongue to any lie; he would rather have it plucked out. Whether this doctrine of the Mahatma is practical is a matter left to the future historian and to the forces of politics. There is no denying that this scheme of pacifism is constructive and creative at once. It is not as mild as absolute pacifism. It is dynamic in its force. Politically this doctrine has just this unique advantage. In a struggle between an individual and a State, there are more chances for the individual to convert the State to his opinion if he practised non-violence more than violence. Non-violent resistance is the great educating medium between the honest citizen and the oppressive State. This, in short, is the constructive pacifism of the Mahatma. It is not an impossible and an austere discipline to follow, but its adoption will turn Earth into a Paradise.





C. R. who inaugurated the Fourth Session of the Indian Academy of Sciences, snapped with Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Mr. G. A. Natesan etc.



Sarojini Devi, Dr. Pattabhi and "C. R." at the Hindi Convocation, Madras.

THE ANNUAL GATHERINGS

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION

SIR COWASJEE JEHangIR welcoming the delegates to the 20th Session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held at Bombay on December 30, reaffirmed his faith in the Liberal creed. "Our ultimate political goal," he said,

is the attainment by constitutional means of *Swaraj*, that is to say, responsible self-government and Dominion Status for India at the earliest possible date. The Congress creed of complete independence implies that India must be left to her own resources to fight against external aggression without hope of reinforcement from Britain or the Empire. Our creed will entitle us to a measure of protection from foreign aggression which otherwise will not be available to us.

Sir Cowasjee also sounded a note of warning to those who believe in direct action and mentioned that direct action would not lead them to the goal of their ambitions, but only to suffering and and disorganisation would follow in its hardship. He contended that it was a triumph of Liberal foresight that the Congress had abandoned, even if temporarily, the direct action. He believed

that if the Congress abandoned its present method of Constitutional Government and resorted to civil disobedience, as threatened by its President, large numbers of thinking people in India, who, while approving of the present constitutional Congress policy, would be most unwilling to subject this country to a fresh spell of political confusion. Such people would then naturally turn to a political party which has no communal basis and which can afford a common rallying centre for the bulk of political opinion, which does not belong to the direct action school.

He then criticised the Federation Scheme and said that it was

quite unlike any other Federation that exists in the world. It would be illogical to have a Federation, some of the component parts of which are based on Democracy whilst the others are based on Autocracy.

In conclusion, Sir Cowasjee referred to the cult of Communism and warned the country of the danger of following the Russian example.

MR. SAPRU'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú, in the course of his presidential address, reviewed the present world situation which, he contended, was due in a great measure to "Britain and France, who have followed policies which have weakened definitely

the forces of Liberal and Social democracy and strengthened those of Fascist reaction". After making a comprehensive survey of problems, national and international, he prescribed Liberalism as the cure for all the maladies from which the modern world is suffering.

Referring to the Indian problem, Mr. Saprú stressed the need to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status and made a plea for greater Indianization of the army and the reduction of British troops.

Viewing the world situation in its proper setting, bearing in mind what these new imperialisms are and mean for the weaker races of mankind, I think we were wise in fixing as our objective Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster. No one disputes that a country has a right to aspire to be independent. It is equally true that the British Commonwealth is not an achievement of the Indian race and that the Indian people cannot take pride in it as Britishers, and those who are of British stock can. But Dominion Status, which is a dynamic conception, is hardly distinguishable for any practical purpose from virtual independence. It is a free association of free peoples in no way subordinate to one another. In a world full of menace to the democratic states, we have in the British Commonwealth of Nations an organization which can provide the base for a system of collective security. And surely democratic states must pull together. In a world full of menace to the Asiatic and African races, it would give to India a sense of security, which an entirely independent existence cannot. But if forgetting the dark chapters in our relationship, it is wise for us to accept it loyally and unreservedly as our objective; it is equally the duty of those who control British policy to endow India as speedily as possible with Dominion Status; for Indian thought is running in channels which threaten to make an Indo-British Commonwealth an unacceptable ideal.

After criticising the financial and other matters of Congress Provincial administrations, Mr. Saprú referred to the control of the Congress High Command as undemocratic.

He reiterated his opposition to the Federal Scheme. He pointed out the directions in which the Scheme must be revised, and uttered a warning against the dangers of carrying out the threat of mass civil disobedience in order to wreck the Federation.

Not by refusing to handle the machinery set up at the Centre, but by utilizing it in an independent, courageous and constructive manner for the removal of those obstacles which the Act has unfortunately

placed in our way, shall we be able to build up a mighty force, which even this extraordinarily rigid Constitution will not be able to resist.

Referring to Indian States, Mr. Sapru emphasised that it was imperative that genuine representative government, as a prelude to responsible government, should be established in all the States.

Pointing out the various disquieting aspects of Congress policy, he deprecated the tendency of the Congress Spokesmen to identify it with the nation and stated that there was too much intolerance in the Party and even its leaders were not free from it.

After dealing with the economic problem and Indians overseas, Mr. Sapru enunciated the principles and programme of Liberalism and emphasized that the truths enshrined in Liberalism are eternal and they cannot die.

RESOLUTIONS

One of the most important of the resolutions passed at the Session reiterated its opinion that the Federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 was utterly unacceptable and in several respects retrograde. The resolution, as moved by Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh and adopted at the Session, ran as follows:

The National Liberal Federation reiterates its opinion that the Constitution, especially as regards the Centre, as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, is utterly unsatisfactory and in several respects retrograde.

While the National Liberal Federation accepts a federal form of government for India as the only natural ideal for our country, the Federation considers that vital changes are required in the form of the Federation as laid down in the Act, especially in the direction of

(a) clearing up the position of the Princes and securing the subjects of States the right of election of States' representatives;

(b) doing away with the safeguards regarding monetary policy and commercial discrimination;

(c) introducing direct elections for the members of the Federal Assembly by the Provinces, and

(d) making the Constitution sufficiently elastic so as to enable India to attain Dominion Status within a reasonable period of time.

The National Liberal Federation considers that the present position, when there is an irresponsible government in the Centre coupled with responsible governments in the Provinces, is altogether untenable and earnestly urges on Parliament to make immediate changes in the Federal part of the Constitution so as to make it generally acceptable.

The Federation is further of opinion that these modifications are essential for the successful working of the Federal Constitution.

Sir Maharaj Singh, in moving the resolution, pointed out various objections to the Federal part of the Government of India Act, and stoutly challenged the motion that it was not possible for Parliament to make amendments now. He could not say what sort of opposition the Liberal Party would adopt if the present Federation was forced on India.

But he was sure that the Liberals would be opposed to anything in the nature of mass civil disobedience.

The resolution was supported by Mr. N. M. Joshi, Dr. G. S. Mahajani, Mr. B. N. Gokhale, and Mr. L. G. Sabnis. It was passed unanimously.

Other resolutions dealt with the working of provincial autonomy, reform in Indian States, Indian military policy and Indians overseas, and expressed disapproval of the appointment of civilians as Governors, demanded the appointment of Indian Consuls, suggested a scheme for economic development and urged educational reform, and separation of the executive from the judiciary.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye of Poona moved the resolution on Provincial Autonomy. It reads:

The Federation expresses satisfaction that in all Provinces, Provincial Autonomy, as consistently advocated by the Liberal Party, is being worked on constitutional lines without any undue interference from the Governors and trusts that this atmosphere will continue and lead to the establishment of complete autonomy in the Provinces and early introduction of responsibility at the Centre.

The Federation strongly deprecates the Congress Working Committee's attempt to impose its will and decisions on the Provincial Ministries, as such interference is calculated seriously to hinder the growth of a healthy democratic system of government.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Sapru said that though the Liberal Party was a small one, it would yet play an important role in the country's affairs.

One of the major issues confronting the country to-day was the threatened imposition of the Federal Scheme, which had already been rejected by all parties. He was convinced that the Scheme in its present form would retard the progress rather than advance the cause of Indian freedom.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THE 26th Session of the All-India Muslim League met at Patna on December 26, under the presidency of



MR. M. A. JINNAH

Mr. M. A. Jinnah. It was attended by a huge concourse of Muslim people from different centres, and among those who participated in the proceedings were: Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, and Sir Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal. The Session was characterised by the virulence of its attack on the Congress and the Hindu community, unsurpassed even in its own annals in the past.

Syed Abdul Aziz, Chairman of the Reception Committee, accused the Congress of duplicity and tyranny.

On assuming office, the Congress has not hesitated to act in contravention of many of the important provisions of the Karachi Resolution on fundamental rights. In Bihar, the Congress Government are trying to whittle it down by putting wholly unjustifiable and exasperating restrictions on the exercise of the rights of Muslims. Under the pretext of maintaining law and order and of preventing breaches of peace, the Congress has in reality been seeking to deprive Muslims of some of the legitimate rights and basic privileges.

He further accused the Congress of fomenting disturbance in Muslim States,

particularly in Hyderabad, and warned it of the consequences of such activities.

MR. JINNAH'S ADDRESS

Mr. Jinnah's speech was even more vituperative. It was full of bitterness and fury. He went a step further and accused Gandhi himself. "It is Mr. Gandhi alone," he said, "who destroyed the very ideals with which the Congress started its career and who has converted it into a communal Hindu body with a view to a revival and propagation of Hindu culture."

Mr. Jinnah attributed motives to the Congress in its different moves. In creating agitation in the States, the Congress wanted to establish an alliance with the States' people in opposition to the present alliance with the British Government and the States' rulers and thus secure numerical strength in the Central Legislature and continue to dominate Muslims. Mr. Jinnah would have to come to the rescue of Muslims in the States if the other body exploited them. The Congress, he said,

had dashed every possible hope of arriving at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question on the rocks of Congress fascism. In fact, it did not want a settlement with Muslims on equal terms. Congressmen's claim that they alone represented the entire country was preposterous. The League and Muslims did not want any gifts or concessions from the Congress. Muslims wanted to advance as a nation.

The Congress might go on saying that it was a national body, but it was not a fact. It was only a communal Hindu body and it knew it. That a few Muslims had been misguided into joining it did not mean that the Congress represented Muslims. The Congress did not represent any community properly, least of all Muslims. It was intoxicated with the power it had so far obtained.

He added that "the League would never be an ally of any one except the Muslim nation". Congressmen would not oppose Federation if they had their own majority at the Centre. They wanted to establish an authoritative, totalitarian, and Fascist Hindu *Raj*. By means of Federation, the Congress would be able to reduce the four Muslim Provinces into mere feudatories.

RESOLUTIONS

At the open Session of the League the next day, resolutions condemning Britain's policy in Palestine, and the agitation in

the Indian States, as adopted in the Subjects Committee, were adopted.

Federation was the subject of considerable discussion in the Subjects Committee, where it provoked a strong debate. A compromise resolution was decided upon and adopted by the League. The text of the resolution runs as follows:

The All-India Moslem League reiterates the view that the scheme of Federation as embodied in the Government of India Act is unacceptable, but in view of further developments that have taken place or may take place from time to time, it hereby authorizes the President of the All-India Moslem League to take such steps and adopt such a course as may be necessary, with a view to exploring the possibility of a suitable alternative, which would completely safeguard the interests of Moslems and other minorities in India.

A resolution advocating direct action by Muslims following the "atrocities" committed on them in three Congress Provinces and the suppression of their legitimate rights and interests was moved by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan (U. P.).

Strong criticism of the British policy in the North-West Frontier Provinces was made during consideration of the next resolution, which was moved by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan of Punjab, who said

that the British policy was futile in the Frontier since the tribes against which it was directed had been independent from time immemorial. He asked the Government to change the present policy to one of conciliation.

The resolution was passed.

Three more resolutions were passed. One related to the present Provincial League Parliamentary Boards. Another urged Muslims strictly to discard all un-Islamic customs in conducting meetings, while the last one, which was of a technical nature, related to the payment of subscriptions by members.

Winding up the proceedings, Mr. Jinnah said that the League had laid down during the present Session a fundamental principle of a revolutionary nature, which was a departure from the past, namely, the decision to adopt direct action if and when necessary. All along, he said, the League had been wedded only to the policy of constitutional progress.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA

THE claim "that the Hindus were the nation and the Muslims were a mere community" was made by Vinayak



Mr. V. D. SAVARKAR

Damodar Savarkar, presiding over the 20th annual session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Nagpur on December 28. The Session was an impressive demonstration of Hindu unity as the Muslim League was of the Mahomedans.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. M. G. Chitnavis, M.L.A., Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said that

the Mahasabha could no longer confine itself to religious and social problems. One lesson they had to learn from the recent events in India was that they must make it perfectly clear that Hindustan was not only for Mahomedans, but mainly for the Hindus. If the Mahomedans continued to non-co-operate with the majority community, the Hindus single-handed would fight for their rights both against the rulers and the Mahomedans. He deplored that sincere efforts at reconciliation between the two communities had proved a failure, and declared that a solution of the communal problem was possible only if the Hindus redoubled their efforts and strengthened their organisation. So long as they were weak and disorganised, they could not hope to command the respect of other communities. He hoped the

Mahasabha would take effective measures early for the fusion of all Hindus, which was their ultimate aim, and make it representative of all sections of Hindus.

Dr. Moonje, in proposing Mr. Savarkar to the Chair, attacked Mr. Gandhi for giving "gratuitous advice" to the Jews and Czechs while he would not say what he would do for the Hindus in India.

MR. SAVARKAR'S ADDRESS

Mr. Savarkar in his address traced the growth of Indian nationalism and accused the British of depriving the Hindus of a political predominance, which was their due as the overwhelming majority in India. "We Hindus made the Congress what it is to-day," he declared,

but it has suddenly turned against us who raised it to a position of power over some seven provinces in India. Now the very concept of a Hindu nation stinks in its nostrils. It has already declared the Hindu Maha Sabha a communal and reprehensible body and ordered a million Congressite Hindus not to have anything to do with it. But the Congress has now grown too strong for us to dislodge it from its present position and compel it to yield back the political power which, as a right, was due to the Hindus alone.

Mr. Savarkar characterized the Muslims as Muslims first, Muslims last and Indians never. They sat on the fence as long as deluded Hindus kept struggling with the British to wrest political rights for all Indians alike, going to the prisons in lakhs, to the Andamans in thousands, and many to the gallows. But when sufficient pressure had been brought to bear on the British Government and it had been compelled to hand over some substantial power to Indians, the Muslims jumped down the fence and claimed their pound of flesh.

"It is absurd to call us Hindus a community in India," he said.

The Germans are the nation in Germany and the Jews a community. Even so, the Hindus are the nation in India, and the Muslims a minority.

Mr. Savarkar reiterated the Maha Sabha's opposition to the communal award. The Hindus will never tolerate," he added,

the absurd and the unheard of claim of the minorities to have any preferential treatment, weightages or special favours over and above what the majority community obtains. The Hindu nation will go so far as to accept the equitable national principle of 'one man one vote', irrespective of religion or race or culture in the formation of a common Indian State. But it shall knock on the head any political demand that claims 'one Muslim three votes' and 'three Hindus one vote' or any cultural demand that antagonises

or insults or suppresses Hindu culture in its historical, linguistic or racial aspect. The minorities will be free to follow their religions, speak their language, develop their culture amongst themselves, provided it does not infringe on the equal rights of others or is not opposed to public peace and morality. If the Muslims join us on these equitable conditions and bear undivided loyalty to the Indian State and Indian State alone, well and good. Otherwise our formula holds good: 'If you come, with you; if you don't, without you; but if you oppose, in spite of you.' We Hindus will fight out the good battle of achieving the independence of India and herald the rebirth of a free and mighty Hindu nation in the near future.

He warned the British

to take serious note of the fact of the open declaration of the Muslim League to divide India into two parts, inviting the alien Muslim nations from outside India to form a Muslim Federation and raise an Independent Muslim Kingdom in India. The British may find in the end that in their attempt to encourage the Muslim separation movement just to spite the Hindus, the British have but succeeded in spiting themselves.

Regarding the foreign policy of the country, Mr. Savarkar said that no academic and empty slogans of Democracy or Nazism or Fascism could be its guiding principle, but it would be guided from an outspoken and unalloyed Hindu point of view.

Mr. Savarkar concluded with a parting shot at the Congress. He advised Hindus to boycott the Congress so that it will come to its senses in no time. If Hindus made it a point not to vote for the Congress, not a single Congressman could be returned either to local bodies or the legislatures.

They (Congressmen) stand on Hindu shoulders and as soon as they raise themselves to high places they kick the Hindus back, disown them, call their organization communal, betray Hindu interests at every turn and keep dancing attendance on the Moslem League.

RESOLUTIONS

The Maha Sabha concluded after adopting a dozen resolutions, two of which related to Federation and the Communal problem.

In its resolution on the Federation, the Mahasabha,

while emphatically reiterating its opinion that the federal scheme as adumbrated in the Government of India Act of 1935 is highly inadequate and unsatisfactory, felt that the Federal scheme should be worked so as to secure and maintain the integrity of the entire country.

The resolution further stated that

considering the present situation, it was essential that British India and the Hindu States should send to the Federal Legislature only such representatives as would protect Hindu rights and interests, thus ensuring that the legislature was not misused by anti-Hindu and anti-national reactionary forces in the country.

Dr. Moonje, speaking on the resolution, strongly pleaded for an early inauguration of federation even though the scheme was not satisfactory.

The Mahasabha strongly condemned the Muslim League leaders' demand for two federations which, in its opinion,

was not only a serious menace to the growth of the Indian nation, but also a clear indication on the part of the Muslims to establish Muslim *Raj* in certain parts of the country, leaving the door open for the future domination of the whole of Hindustan.

The Mahasabha protested against the recent declaration of the Congress that the Hindu Mahasabha, like the Muslim League, was a communal organisation and warned the Congress

that in view of this declaration, the Congress had forfeited its claim to represent the Hindus. The Mahasabha further made it clear that any communal agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League would not be binding on the Mahasabha or the Hindus generally.

Another resolution of the Mahasabha reiterated its condemnation of the communal award

as being grossly unjust to Hindus and advised the Hindus to carry on persistent agitation to get it annulled.

A comprehensive resolution on the Indian States adopted by the Mahasabha objected to the Indian National Congress policy of interference in the internal administration of the States, as Congress activities were restricted to, and concentrated only in, Hindu States to a practical exclusion of the Muslim States.

The Mahasabha decided

to constitute a Hindu national parliamentary board in order to form effective opposition parties in the Central and Provincial legislatures and also to prepare to fight the next elections, and appealed to all parties who agreed with its policy to co-operate with this Board. In the opinion of the Mahasabha the existence of at least two parties was essential for democracy to function and without an effective opposition party the Government was converted into the tyranny of one party. Therefore, to combat the evil effects of the policy hitherto followed by the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha resolved to appoint a parliamentary board.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

IN refreshing contrast to the proceedings of the Muslim League and the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Indian Christian Conference, which met at Madras on the 30th December, stressed the need to merge the interest of the community in the larger interests of the nation. The Conference condemned separate electorates and urged its adherents to give up all claims to preferential treatment.

MR. RANGANATHAN'S ADDRESS

Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address stated that he had always condemned the system of separate electorates and had expressed his opinion in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats.

There was complete freedom among the members of their organization to join any political party they chose, but it must be said that all sections of the community were in sympathy with the national effort to achieve self-government for the country by constitutional means.

He said that in Madras, they viewed with satisfaction

the assumption of office by the Congress Party last year, and he was glad that their confidence in the Congress Ministry had been so far justified.

DR. MOOKERJEE'S ADDRESS

The key-note of the President, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's address, was a strong plea for orientation of the Indian Christian Community. Referring to the opportunities for service for Indian Christians Mr. Mookerjee said that they should give up of their own accord all claims to preferential treatment as a minority, that is to say as a weak and helpless community, as the only means of preserving their separate entity.

In other words, they should merge their interests in the larger interests of India as a whole. They had to demonstrate by their actions that they had such confidence in the sense of justice of their countrymen that they refused the special protection offered by their rulers, that in order to occupy their rightful position, they relied solely on their efficiency.

He said that for real unity among diverse elements and conflicting interests, the one thing necessary was,

that all minority communities including theirs should be absorbed into and made an integral

part of the Indian nation so as to form a homogeneous whole.

And he passed on to observe:

The Congress with its policy of maintaining Law and Order combined with the programme of bringing about progress and improvement in every department of Indian life has an undeniable claim to our loyal support. No attempt should be made from any direction either individually or through any Christian organisation to discourage those members of our community whose inclinations lead them to join the Congress openly. That seems to me the only way to influence the Congress and to help it in shaping its policy towards our community.

To stand outside the Congress organisation and then to accuse it of injustice without making any effort to set matters right seems neither just nor fair. If the views I have expressed above regarding our attitude towards the Congress are accepted by the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, then it is incumbent on this body to make a definite pronouncement for the information of the Congress on the one hand and for the guidance of those members of our community who wish to join the Congress on the other.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted important resolutions touching the social and educational uplift of the community. But attention must be drawn to the following resolution moved by Mr. Rallia Ram, outlining the aims and purpose of the organisation:

It is hereby resolved that, in the opinion of the Conference, the following statement accurately states its position: (1) The Conference is not an organisation pledged to a policy of communalism but, on the other hand, it desires to throw its influence, on the side of eradication of all forms of communalism. (2) The Conference is not a separate political party. It does not wish to advocate the formation of a separate political party of Christians in India. It leaves its members free to join the various political parties in India, according to the individual convictions exercising their influence within these parties. (3) The Conference recognises, however, that Indian Christians are given a separate position in the Constitution of India as a minority group. This and other circumstances have unfortunately made it a separate social and economic entity.

This Conference is, therefore, primarily concerned (a) to see that Christian citizens are not debarred or restrained from having their due share in the service of India in all spheres of life on account of their faith and as a minority group; (b) to strive to improve the economic and social status of Christians; and (c) to inculcate in them an abiding love for their Motherland and a determination to serve her, uplift her, and to join with their countrymen in making her free and great.

By another resolution, the Conference appointed a Committee of Five to discuss

with the Congress High Command and negotiate on an All-India basis all matters of interest to the community.

The resolution on the Communal problem is characteristic:

This Conference deeply regrets that no solution has yet been found for communal divergences. It humbly and respectfully urges the leaders of the Nation to renew their efforts towards a just settlement in the larger interests of the country. For its own part as a small but otherwise important minority in India, it is prepared to accept joint electorates with or without reservation of seats as may be decided upon for India as a whole.

A resolution was adopted approving the proposal for the appointment of a joint committee of Roman Catholics and Protestants to deal with such matters as were common to the Christian community as a whole.

In this connection mention must be made of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Christian Association, Madras. Sir David Devadoss, presiding over the celebrations, recalled the achievements of the Indian Christians of this Presidency by their united efforts and appealed to them to unite so that they might be able to accomplish much and serve not only their own community but also their countrymen in the future.

THE CATHOLIC CONGRESS

The All-India Catholic Congress, which met at Mangalore on December 30, with Mr. A. Soares in the Chair, passed a resolution reiterating the sympathy of the Church with the principles of genuine nationalism in India, and urging educational institutions to promote the study of Indian languages. The following is the text of the resolution:—

This Congress reiterates the general principles which govern the attitude of the Church to genuine nationalism, which has ever been blessed and fostered by her, and expresses its full sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of the country.

The Congress takes this opportunity to express its pride in the glorious cultural heritage of India and denies that the Catholic Church is in any way opposed to her national culture.

That with a view to enabling Catholics to assimilate and enrich this culture, this Conference urges Catholic educational institutions all over India to take the necessary steps to promote the study of Indian languages and their literature, both ancient and modern.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

WE referred last month to the Meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences, which was held at Madras under the presidency of Sir C. V. Raman, who, with other delegates, was welcomed by the Premier Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar.

Since then the 26th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association met at Lahore under the presidency of Prof. J. C. Ghosh of Dacca University. Over 350 delegates from all over India attended the Session. In the course of his welcome address, Mian Afzal Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, referred to the scientific advancement in general, and its effect on trade and industry, in India. But he regretted

that scientific principles and methods have not as yet received, in adjusting differences between man and man and nation and nation, the recognition they deserve. Methods of trial and error and test of strength still dominate the outlook of politicians. Political science is still outside the fold of sciences and outside the Indian Science Congress, and it is a pity that sociology is still a much neglected science in this country.

Prof. J. C. Ghosh, in his presidential address, appealed to the Indian Universities to take up seriously the question of a thorough overhauling of the methods of teaching this branch of knowledge. He was not satisfied with the step-motherly treatment meted out to industrial research in the country. He observed:

It is with great relief and thanksgiving that we welcome the resolution passed at the Conference of the Provincial Ministers of Industries, recently held at Delhi, that the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and economic regeneration in general, cannot be solved without industrialization; and as a step to such industrialization, a national planning committee should be set up, which will formulate comprehensive schemes for the development of industries in India.

He traced the cause of the tragedy of the modern world to our refusal to work for social justice. He said:

Modern science has, indeed, become a menace to civilization, because we have refused to work for social justice, because the interests of individuals and communities have not been subordinated to those of the country, and because considerations of patriotism and the prejudices of race, creed, and colour have been allowed to override the wider considerations of humanity.

Therein lies the tragedy of the modern world—the tragedy that we witness in the flaming cities

of Spain and China, in the mountain homes of Abyssinia, and in the concentrated hatred in the armed camps of Europe.

It is not enough that mankind should be provided with tools of progress. It is a much bigger task to teach them how to use these tools. Men of science cannot escape moral responsibility even for the evil fruits of their labours. The chaos of modern world is calling out to every man of goodwill and understanding to join in a great educative effort, with a view to making the minds of men more flexible and adaptable, with a view to removing those narrow prejudices which are choking the paths of progress.

PAPERS READ

The Presidents of the various sections delivered their addresses on many interesting topics. Prof. J. N. Mukerjee, President of the Society of Soil Science, gave a talk on "Agriculture in India" and aspects of promotion of studies. Prof. S. K. Roy of the Geology section dilated on the need for conservation of resources, the mineral wealth of India. Prof. N. Subrahmanyam, President of the Geography section, spoke on the situation of India and its influence on civilisation. At the Chemistry section, Dr. M. N. Goswami read a paper on "Synthetic plastic" and his investigations in that line. Mr. Haripada Maiti chose an interesting topic for his address at the Psychology section—the development of personality and the importance of social factors. Dr. K. R. Ramanathan, Superintending Meteorologist, Poona, presided over the Mathematics and Physics section and his topic was the Earth's magnetism and the upper atmosphere. Dr. Tirumurti presided over the Medical section. In his address, he surveyed the progress of medicine through the centuries and indicated the need for co-ordinated scientific research.

Prof. N. M. Basu, President of the Physiology section, spoke on "Physiological Research in India". Prof. C. R. Narayana Rao gave a talk on "Batrachians of South India" in presiding over the Zoology section. Dr. Ramakrishna Iyer discussed the "problems before the farmer" in the Agriculture section. In the Botany section, Dr. K. D. Bagchees read a paper on "Tree Diseases".

No less than 665 papers dealing with a variety of subjects were read in the eleven sections, which comprised the Science Congress.

ALL-INDIA CULTURAL CONFERENCE

MR. NANDA LAL BOSE, one of the organisers of the All-India Cultural Conference held under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Students' Conference at Calcutta, in welcoming the delegates to the Session, said:

We shall have always to bear in mind that the student movement is not a sectional movement, it is the movement of the mass of the students. We shall have to mobilise the mass of the students under our banner. We shall have to draw the sympathy of the professors, teachers and guardians. And, moreover, students must be in the know of the social, economic and political life of the other sections of the society.

MR. R. CHATTERJEE'S MESSAGE

Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee, in a heartening message to the Conference, pointed that only culture and civilization endure for ages and not mere conquest. Thus our ancients have bequeathed to us a legacy in the sphere of literature, art, and philosophy which is imperishable.

By exclusive devotion to the science and art of fighting, the Spartans no doubt produced some great military leaders, but what else had they left to humanity except the names of these men? And even as soldiers they were not superior to the Athenians who were votaries of all-round culture. The ancient Phoenicians excelled in commerce and attained great economic prosperity. They even produced a General like Hannibal. But not having paid any attention to cultural progress, they have left nothing to posterity for which it may be grateful to them. In modern times the Australians, the New Zealanders and many South American Republicans are prosperous; and they have their politics too. Compared to their size and wealth, however, their cultural achievement is meagre. But it is the affluence of the soul, heart, and intellect denoted by culture that endures.

DR. ANAND'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, who presided over the Session, delivered a thoughtful address on the "Crisis in Culture". In the course of his presidential address, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand said:

Culture is represented by the vast and intricate details of that life which the people of the world have built up for convenient living, for orderly living, for aesthetic living. All the most beautiful books of the world, all the most beautiful pictures as well as pots and pans, the clothes, the houses, the means of communication from vehicles of traffic to music are attempts to happy living, efforts at understanding pain and seeking emancipation from the bonds that bind man, seeking freedom, a greater and greater freedom.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand went on to add:

But all those who have grasped the forces of history, will understand that as against the imperialist, fascist bias of these spokesmen, there are many of us who believe that civilization and culture are no one man's, no one nation's, but that they are the common heritage of mankind as a whole.

PAPERS READ

The Session lasted two days during which a number of papers were read. Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti read an interesting paper on "Cultural Planning".

Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State, sent an interesting paper to the Conference entitled "A New Ideology in Education". The paper was read before the Conference by Mr. Rajani Mukherji.

In addressing the Conference, Dr. Abdul Alim, of the Allahabad University, criticised the Wardha educational scheme. He said that it laid too much emphasis on handiwork education through crafts.

Speaking on "Students and Culture", Mr. Sajjad Zaheer said that their task to-day was not only to make themselves cultured, which was their primary task, but at the same time to spread this culture to the people of this country.

In his paper on "Decadence of Culture under Fascism", Mr. Bhabani Sen pointed out that the days of universal disaster were approaching with lightning rapidity.

The next paper read at the Conference was that of Dr. Bhagwandas on "Hindu Thought and Culture". In his opinion the one thing which was regarded as peculiar to Hindu culture was, what was known as the "Caste System" and he concentrated his attention on this question.

Mr. Soumendra Nath Tagore read a paper on "Materialism and Modern Tendencies in Science". Mrs. A. K. Saha, a Russian Lady, gave an interesting account of Russian affairs. Dr. Abdul Alim, who also addressed the Conference, expressed his great appreciation of the art exhibition of Mr. Jamini Roy in Calcutta, and hoped that those present at the Conference would be greatly delighted by paying a visit to it.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

THE Indian Philosophical Congress, which met at Allahabad under the presidency of Rev. C. F. Andrews, was



REV. C. F. ANDREWS

attended by some 50 delegates from all over India. The proceedings opened with an address of welcome by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Prof. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University. In the course of his address, Dr. Jha stressed the need of the philosophic mind in these days. He said:

Those of us who spend our time in pursuits that are not considered philosophical, feel that the future welfare of mankind depends on the increasing recognition of the truth that the principles of right action are identical for individuals as well as for States, and that the philosopher alone can be trusted to lay down what these principles are.

If one may venture to diagnose the cause of the present disease, it is the decline of religious belief; not of faith in dogma, in effete formalism, in superstition, but of real, abiding, burning devotion to the highest good. I am aware that in thus emphasising the supreme necessity of religion in life, I am treading on dangerous ground. But I recall the words of Bacon: 'A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth man's mind to religion.'

Rev. C. F. Andrews chose an appropriate subject for his presidential discourse—the Philosophy of *Ahimsa*—which might be translated into Christian term as "the Word of the Cross". He referred to the amazing spiritual potency of early

Buddhism as a vital force in the history of Asia and its wonderful influence through the ages on the thought of mankind. He went on to explain how Mahatma Gandhi in recent times had been showing to the world more and more truly the amazing power of this principle (of *Ahimsa*), not only through individual life but by corporate moral resistance. The East, Rev. C. F. Andrews concluded, had already found

a commanding moral genius in Mahatma Gandhi, who had been able to put this corporate power of *satyagraha* into effective action. What was needed in Europe, if the West was to be saved from another internecine strife, was that some personality should arise over there of such calibre as to be able to organise the various sporadic efforts for world peace into one over-whelming movement of society, which might sweep away for ever the awful menace of a world war.

At the second day of the Session, a symposium on "Philosophy and Mysticism" was held. Thereafter, Mr. M. V. V. K. Rangachari, Advocate, Cocanada, and Dr. P. T. Raju, of the Andhra University, delivered their presidential addresses to the Ethics and Social Philosophy section and the Logic and Metaphysics section, respectively. Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, presiding over the Indian Philosophy section, spoke on the "Indian Conception of Philosophy".

THE THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION

IN his presidential address to the 63rd Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Benares in the closing week of December last, Dr. George S. Arundale referred in strong language to the savage persecution of the Jews in Germany and Austria. He called upon every member of the Theosophical Society to cause the light of Theosophy so to shine upon his life that he should leave an example of the wisest understanding of his fellow-men and should prove a noble warrior to defend the oppressed, to fight tyranny and cruelty, and to succour the weak.

The Convention lasted a week during which representatives of different nations, who had gathered together, presented reports and delivered addresses on different aspects of international affairs emphasising the need for brotherhood among the nations.

ALL-INDIA STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

HIS EXCELLENCY Sir Henry Craik, Governor of the Punjab, declared open the second session of the Indian Statistical Conference at Lahore on Jan. 5. It was attended by a large number of statisticians from all over the country, besides many prominent persons in the world of business, banking and insurance.

The Hon. Mr. Manohar Lal, Minister of Finance, and Chairman of the Reception



HON. MR. MANOHAR LAL

Committee, in welcoming the delegates, spoke of the function.

You are the light-bearers that show the way to life's adventures. At your touch, Nature's apparent confusion can present intelligible order. . . . It renders true description possible, because that complete statement of facts called "enumeration" is not within our competence and prediction, which is necessary to plan and progress, is dependent on accurate and adequate description.

His Excellency in his opening remarks stressed the need for statistical investigation, particularly in the present circumstances of India.

The changes, which in the space of less than 100 years transformed England from an agricultural country into a modern industrial state, were carried through unplanned and almost unperceived. No statistician was at hand with a mass of carefully tested and selected figures to advise or warn. But now we have conceived the idea of controlling or even planning economic and social changes and India, which to-day visualises with hope and expectancy the possibility of transforming herself from a poor agricultural country into a wealthy and semi-industrialised State, may perhaps be thankful that this transformation has been so delayed that the modern science of statistics is available to guide its execution. May she have wisdom to equip herself so that this science may be availed of to the full.

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, General Secretary, submitted a brief report on the activities of the Statistical Institute and the progress of statistics in India.

Dr. T. E. Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, delivering the Presidential address to the Conference, discussed the relation between statistics and the other social sciences and concluded with a plea for educating the public in the elements of statistical knowledge.

We need a class of popularisers of the calibre of Gaton, Fiffen, Chiozza Money, Lord Stamp and others, who are both scientists and educationalists. What was needed was a thorough process of education. The public needed to be trained to think in terms of scale and proportion. At the same time the urge for standardisation would be assuaged if such statistical concepts as the mode, the decile and the quartile could replace the concept of the average in political and popular thinking. Statistical teaching of a simple kind could thus help to impose on the average man's mind the idea that variation was natural—a fact which certain schools of thought were only too anxious to make him forget.

Thanking His Excellency for opening the Session, Dr. N. K. Bose referred to statistics as the science of kings.

The Conference then divided itself into different sections.

Prof. P. J. Thomas read a paper on the "Economic Results of Prohibition in Salem", and Mr. A. R. Sinha on the "Distribution of Expenditure of Working Class Families in Bombay and Madras cities".

Messrs. N. Sundararama Sastri and N. T. Mathew presented a paper on "Trends of Foreign Trade in India, 1875-1935". Dr. D. C. Ghose read a paper on the "Statistical Estimates of Internal Trade", and Dr. H. Sinha on "Economic and Business Statistics".

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Annual Gatherings

THE Christmas and New Year holidays in India are marked by annual conferences of various bodies, such as national, provincial, and communal, besides many professional gatherings. The common topic of discussion in the political conferences was the impending Federation. The working of the Government of India Act in the Provinces, and the attitude to be adopted towards Federation, were the burden of the speeches, and resolutions passed at the various sessions.

The U. P. Political Conference, which met under the presidentship of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, reiterated the Congress policy of fighting Federation at all costs.

The Tamil Nad Provincial Conference passed a resolution expressing undiminished confidence in the Madras Ministry and condemning the anti-Hindustani agitation as a mere political stunt. The Premier, participating in the debate on the resolution, made an impassioned speech replying to the criticisms of the objectors and protesting against the attempt of a minority to impose its views on the majority.

The Liberal Federation, which met in Bombay, criticised the Government of India Act as retrograde and suggested various remedies to make the impending Federation acceptable. The Federation would fain give the Federal plan a trial with a few alterations.

The Muslim League, while reiterating its objections to Federation, deferred judgment and left the course of action to a committee of advisers. The Mahajana Sabha, to spite the Congress, perhaps, would accept Federation in spite of its defects and in the absence of a better scheme.

In all this medley of conflicting views, it must be refreshing to find a body like the Indian Christians wishing to merge themselves completely with the national cause, rather than clamour for special interests. Spurning aside any selfish demand for the community, they expressed their firm faith in the justice of their cause, which they avowed is also the cause of the country—a luminous example to other minorities.

The Justice Party

It is some satisfaction that the more responsible leaders of the Justice Party are realising the seriousness of the trend of opinion that is leading the party astray. More and more it is becoming clear that the party is not inspired by any genuine national feeling, but is merely bent on a class war without rhyme or reason. Sir Mahomed Usman, once a pillar of the Justice Party, could no longer stand their un-meaning opposition to every proposal of the Congress Government, irrespective of its merits. The hymn of hate carried on by the clique was too much even for the leader of the party—the Raja of Bobbili—who resigned in protest against the methods of the party. And now comes the resignation of the Raja of Venkatagiri. Evidently the more decent-minded members of the party cannot swallow the neo-racial theories adumbrated at the recent session of the South Indian Liberal Federation. They rightly apprehend, it will inevitably lead to a deplorable class war which it is their desire to avoid. For the Raja frankly points out:

While the removal by proper methods of any injustice in the social or economic sphere is expected of a political party, it does not follow, in the very interests of the country, which we all seek to serve, that there should be a resort to class hatred.

If these resignations lead to a searching of heart and cleanse the party of its morbid tendency to class hatred, the leaders would have done their bit alike to the party and the province as well.

The Sind Ministry

Tense scenes marked the conclusion of the no-confidence motion in the Sind Assembly against the Alla Bux ministry, which, however, has survived in a crucial trial of strength. The motion was defeated by 32 votes against 7.

In his reply to the debate, Khan Bahadur Alla Bux, the Premier, made a sensational disclosure of a plot to kill him unless he joined the Muslim League. The Premier declared, in the course of the debate,

I would rather die than join the Muslim League. It is good that the Muslim League has failed in Sind. I wish it would fail everywhere.

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The Annamalai University

It is painful to think that what is called the students' awakening in the country should take the form of strikes and other ugly features of competitive life. We have watched with deep concern and dismay the trend of events in the Annamalai University, where the young men seem to have succumbed to strange ways of impressing themselves on the authorities. We trust, in spite of all that has happened, students will yet realise that "obedience is the bond of rule" and rally round their aged Vice-Chancellor, whose moving words of peace and goodwill should carry conviction to the most desperate of them. It will be strange, indeed, if they persist in an exhibition of violence and hatred so alien to their own nature and so destructive of the finer instincts of scholastic life.

It will be remembered that the University opened after the holidays declared in view of the disturbances in December last. On the eve of the holidays, the Rt. Hon. Dr. Sastri, the Vice-Chancellor, in a letter to the parents, invited them to consider the enormity of the ideas floating about in the atmosphere that students breathe. The readiness with which students go on strike and import the spirit and temper of trade unionism is alarming. "Useful and necessary in its own sphere," he pointed out, "this is pure poison when accepted by students". . . .

Students of Victorian literature must be familiar with passages in which scores of statesmen and scholars recall with glowing enthusiasm the memory of their college days under a Jowett or a Mark Pattison. Such colourful memories are a possession to be cherished. Do the young men of the Annamalai University realise that their own opportunities are no less precious? There are hundreds of middle-aged men who will give anything to exchange their dreary occupations for the privilege of inspiring contact with the wise, old Vice-Chancellor. What folly to make a mess of the golden years of youth—the irrecoverable years of youth—only to reap a harvest of regrets and repentance in after years! Oh, the pity of it; the pity of it!

Pandit Nehru's Offer to Mr. Jinnah

Sweeping charges of "atrocities" against Congress Governments in U. P., C. P., and Behar were made at the Patna Session of the Muslim League. Responsible leaders of the League, including the two Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab, made allegations impugning the credit of the ruling party in more than one Province. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the League, repeated these charges and spoke of direct action. The League itself on his advice is contemplating direct action against the Congress Governments. Such wild allegations cannot go unchallenged, and Pandit Nehru has done well to ask Mr. Jinnah either to substantiate them or withdraw them. No specific instance of Congress oppression has yet come to light, and the Pandit courteously asks for investigation by an independent and impartial body.

It is now Mr. Jinnah's credit that is at stake; for, if he fails either to respond to Pandit Nehru's invitation or adduce facts in support of his damaging allegations, he will stand convicted of gross irresponsibility.

The Ranpur Tragedy

Yet another of those detestable crimes, which dog the efforts of people for reform, has occurred—the shocking tragedy which has culminated in the death of Major R. L. Bazalgette, Political Agent, Orissa States Agency, who was killed by a mob outside the palace of the Raja of Ranpur. Such ugly incidents at a time when States' people are attempting a step in advance will ultimately prove disastrous to the cause. It is curious such things should happen at psychological moments when the party of progress and reform seems most successful. The Ranpur assassination is a warning that leaders should be wary of the material they have to deal with. A peaceful atmosphere is of the essence of any progressive step in reform, and the Praja Mandal should lose no time in investigating the cause of the outrage, which is condemned by all responsible leaders as an unmitigated evil. It should realise, as Mr. Gandhi says, that the slightest departure from non-violence is bound to harm the movement for freedom whether in the States or all-India.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

President Roosevelt's Message

SELDOM has the authentic voice of the American Democracy—as indeed of all democracies in the world—been so well expressed as in Mr. Roosevelt's message to the Congress. It recalls some of the most pregnant passages in President Wilson's memorable utterances during the Great War. Addressing the American Congress, President Roosevelt said:

There are storm signals from across the Seas. War which threatened to envelop the world in flames has been averted, but it has become increasingly clear that peace has not been assured. All about us rage undeclared wars, military and economic. All around grow deadlier armaments, military and economic. All around are threats of new aggressions, military and economic. Storms from abroad directly challenge the three institutions indispensable to the Americans—religion, democracy and international good faith.

No longer is it possible to shut our eyes to the doings of the Dictators. They are corrupting the morale of society, and we must suffer them only at the price of all that is dear and worth preserving.

A dictatorship involves the costs which the American people will never pay—the cost of our spiritual value and the blessed right of being able to say what we please, the cost of freedom, the cost of our capital being confiscated, the cost of being kept into concentration camps and of being afraid to walk down the street with a wrong neighbour, and the cost of having children brought up not as free human beings but moulded and made by machines.

We cannot be passive spectators of this evil. It calls for determined resistance. So urging, that the American nation should make up its mind, the President said:

There comes a time when men must prepare to defend not only their homes but the tenets of faith of humanity on which their churches, governments and their very civilization are founded. The defence of religion, democracy, and international good faith is one and the same fight. To save one we must save all.

At least we should avoid action or lack of action likely to encourage the aggressor. Our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly and may give aid to the aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation warns us not to let that happen any more.

Concluding, the President emphasized:

If the solution of the problem was the price of preserving our liberty, no formless and selfish fears could stand in the way.

Doubtless the speech has created the greatest sensation of our time.

Mr. Lloyd George on Chamberlain's Policy

Judging from his recent denunciation of Mr. Chamberlain's foreign policy, Mr. Lloyd George, the veteran statesman, seems to have lost none of his old-time vigour and pugnacity. Speaking at Llandudno the other day, Mr. George made a bitter attack on Mr. Chamberlain. He accused the Premier of "cringing and crawling before Dictators for months", declaring that his Rome visit had only intensified the apprehensions and stark fears of war.

The truest and grimmest comments on the results of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Rome and Munich were found in two sequels, said Mr. Lloyd George. One was that which immediately followed the Munich pact when after announcing that he had brought peace for our lifetime, he created a new Ministry to take prompt measures for protecting cities against air-raids from Germany.

The other was that when he returned from Rome, the first two colleagues the Premier summoned for consultation were the Minister for Air-raid precautions and the Minister for military aeroplane production.

Japanese Policy in China

Grave anxiety regarding the Japanese policy in China is expressed in the strongly worded note which Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador in Tokyo, recently handed to Mr. Arita, Foreign Minister of Japan.

The Note says that the British Government are at a loss to understand how Prince Konoye's former Premier's assurance that Japan seeks no territory and respects the sovereignty of China can be reconciled with the Japanese Government's declared intention forcibly to compel the Chinese people to accept conditions involving the surrender of their political, economic and cultural life to Japanese control; indefinite maintenance of considerable Japanese garrisons in China, and the virtual detachment from China of the territory of Inner Mongolia.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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England and Spain

In vain has Mr. C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition, appealed to the Prime Minister to summon the Parliament without delay as the Spanish situation is now so serious that urgent action on a large scale is imperative if the wholesale starvation of women and children is to be avoided.

A demand for immediate action with a view to ending the policy of non-intervention in the Spanish War is also contained in a letter sent to Mr. Chamberlain by the National Council of Labour, representing the Labour Party, the Trade Union Congress, and the Parliamentary Labour Party. The letter states:

The continued denial by the democratic governments of the right under international law for the Spanish Government to purchase arms while the dictator governments continue to assist the Spanish insurgents constitutes a flagrant one-sided benevolence to the Fascist rebels.

The Prime minister has declined to move in the matter "in view of the very grave consequences".

German Warning to Britain

What virtually amounts to a warning to Britain that Germany would stand by Italy in case of an Italo-French conflict over Tunis is contained in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which writes:

"In comparison with the cumbersome deliberations regarding the degree of British obligations in case of a conflict over Tunis, one can point to the fact that in the relations between Germany and Italy, no such deliberations are necessary. We know our relations towards one another."

Herr Hitler's Proclamation

Herr Hitler, in a proclamation issued from Berchtesgaden, has defined the tasks before Germany in 1939 as follows:—

1. The training of the people towards national socialist unity.
2. The expansion and strengthening of armed forces.
3. The execution of the four-year plan and the economic incorporation of the new Reich territories.

The Prime Minister's Broadcast

The Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in a broadcast on January 23, inaugurated the Government's drive for



THE RT. HON. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

volunteers in every branch of the country's defence services. The Premier said:

It is a scheme to make us ready for war. That does not mean I think that war is coming. You know I have done and shall continue to do all I can to preserve peace for ourselves and others too.

We in this country would never begin war, but we might be forced to participate in a war begun by others, or we might be attacked ourselves if the Government of some other country were to think that we could not defend ourselves effectively.

The better prepared we are to defend ourselves and resist an attack, the less likely is it that any aggressor will try an adventure in which the chances of success will be so unpromising.

The Prime Minister emphasised that modern war was not like wars of the past.

The development of air forces had deprived us of our old island security, and in our case, as in the case of continental countries, civilians would be victims of the attack as much as soldiers, sailors, and airmen. Indeed, they might very likely be the first victims.

Therefore, if we wished to protect our civilian population in war time, we must prepare the necessary organisation in peace time. Moreover, we must train it in peace, for there would be no time to train after a war had started.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Dec. 28. The Hindu Maha Sabha meets at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr. Savarkar.
- Dec. 29. All-India Economic Conference meets at Nagpur.
- Dec. 30. The National Liberal Federation meets at Bombay with the Hon. P. N. Saprú in the Chair.
- Dec. 31. The Conference of Indian Christians meets at Madras, Dr. H. C. Mukerjee presiding.
- Jan. 1. The Primate broadcasts on New Year's Day.
- Jan. 2. Addressing All-India Students' Conference at Calcutta, Pandit Nehru expresses himself strongly against students going on strike.
- Jan. 3. Prof. J. C. Ghosh presides over the Indian Science Congress at Lahore.
- Jan. 4. Mr. K. Raman Menon, Minister of Courts and Prisons, Madras, is dead.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

—President Roosevelt's historic address to the Congress.

- Jan. 5. Mr. Jayakar is appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

- Jan. 6. Major Bazalgette, Political Agent in the Orissa State, is fatally assaulted by a crowd in Ranpur.
- Jan. 7. Two serious clashes are reported on the Czech-Hungarian border.
- Jan. 8. Pandit Nehru suggests an impartial and independent enquiry into Mr. Jinnah's charges against Congress Government.
- Jan. 9. A splendid reception is given to H. E. The Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow at Trivandrum.
- Jan. 10. The Dewan of Rajkote, Sir Patrick Cadell, resigns. Mr. Maneklal Patel, Senior Member of the Council, takes charge.
- Jan. 11. Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax arrive in Rome.
- Jan. 12. Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli discusses Gandhiji's new draft on the Minorities' question.
- Jan. 13. The Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow are welcomed at Mysore.
- Jan. 14. A strongly worded British Note is handed to Japanese Government regarding Japanese policy in China.
- Jan. 15. H. H. The Aga Khan meets Mahatma Gandhi at Bardoli.
- Jan. 16. Gruesome reports of Dhanbad Railway disaster.
- Jan. 17. An appeal for an embargo on aeroplanes and petrol is made by Dr. Wellington Koo at the League Council.
- Jan. 18. Nationalists force their way to the heart of Catalonia.
- Jan. 19. Mr. C. R. Attlee's appeal to the Prime Minister to summon Parliament to consider the Spanish situation is turned down.
- Jan. 20. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Llandudno, accuses the Premier of "cringing and crawling before Dictators".
- Jan. 21. Herr Hitler releases Dr. Schacht of the presidentship of the Reichsbank and appoints Dr. Walter Funk.
- Jan. 22. Nationalists in Spain capture the town of Villafranca, which is only 22 miles to the west of Barcelona.
- Jan. 23. H. E. The Viceroy inaugurates the Tenth Industries Conference in Bombay.
- Jan. 24. A statement issued by Congress Working Committee Members deprecates controversy over the presidential election.



The WORLD of BOOKS



MARKETING OF RAW COTTON IN INDIA.

By M. L. Dantwalla. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 5.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture drew our attention to the importance of the economics of marketing. The present book is an attempt, the first systematic one to our knowledge, to study the marketing of cotton, one of the most important commercial crops of the country, from the farm to the Exchange. It is not often recognised that the structure and organisation of internal trade, and the working of the Cotton Exchange, have an important bearing on the price paid by the ultimate buyer and the price received by the primary seller. India has about 25 million acres of land under cotton, producing nearly 6 million bales valued at about 60 crores of rupees. These facts alone are sufficient to emphasise the importance of the subject.

After describing clearly the present organisation of cotton marketing, the author proceeds to examine the usefulness of middlemen. While no definite conclusion is possible, the author brings out the glaring defects and evils and pleads vigorously for greater vigilance by the public and the Government. The enumeration of existing defects and malpractices of the trade is, indeed, an eye-opener and leaves one in no doubt about the necessity for Government intervention. In the opinion of the author, most of these defects and evils arise out of over-competition, which forces every cotton dealer to adopt the methods of the worst ones or get out

of the business. The remedies indicated are the adoption of stronger measures and the suggestion that the Government should not hesitate to make frauds punishable by law. But many of these malpractices could, we think, be stopped by better organisation, especially on the sellers' side. As matters stand to-day, the ill-organised and comparatively ignorant producer-seller has very little chance against the well-equipped buyer.

The author's two main suggestions are: co-operative selling and the regulation of up-country markets. The chapter in which they are surveyed is both exhaustive and critical.

Mr. Dantwalla's examination of the problem of the marketing of cotton is both critical and suggestive. The schemes of improvement that he has suggested, in the light of the experience of the other countries, deserve careful consideration.

TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL. By B. Attem. Frederick Muller. 5sh.

The British Lion in its lair is an accommodating beast and enjoys the twisting of its tail by foreigners although in a supercilious manner. So Mr. Attem's book will amuse many of his English readers. His remarks are based on several years' stay in England and his knowledge of English life and history. But much of what he says has already been said and said better by other writers. The Lion will probably be bored and no amount of twisting its tail will rouse its interest.

TRENDS OF AGRICULTURE AND POPULATION IN THE GANGES VALLEY. By Birendranath Ganguli. Methuen & Co., London. Price 18 Shillings.

The increasing population of India is a problem of the first magnitude. At a time when advanced countries are seeking an optimum of distributable goods per capita of the population, consistent with given industrial productivity, it is not a matter for pride that we should still be invoking Malthus. It, however, seems as if the "favourable conditions" theory still holds good for us. One witnessed the high rate in the increase of population in the canal colonies of the Punjab as against the lesser rate in the less favourable tracts. One notices, as an empirical observer, that the fertile double crop irrigated areas have not given increased prosperity to the individual though they have rendered possible the sustenance of a higher density of population in smaller areas. Dr. Ganguli's book is a further contribution to the same conclusion.

The book examines the features of the population problem of India in a narrow geographical setting, on an intensive plan. The appropriateness of the Ganges valley for a study of the problem arises out of the alarming extent to which population has not only increased there, but having reached a maximum in relation to food supply some years ago, is now either stagnating or is being slightly diminished by emigration. The area of study is divided into three regions: the upper and lower Ganges valleys and the Ganges Delta proper. Density of population in each of these areas is related to certain agricultural phenomena, like extension of

cultivation, increase of double cropping, agricultural water supply and a change in the nature of the crops. The author's view that malaria is an "instrument of the adjustment of population to economic conditions" rather than a direct cause of depopulation does not appear to be the whole truth, for, while it is likely that lowered vitality increases liability to disease, the nature of the tract itself—like the Agencies in the Hills—has a great deal of influence in directly increasing the facilities for the propagation of the disease-carrying agent and then the question of lowered vitality resolves itself into one of time; and for the subsequent generations, starts them with a handicap irrespective of high prices and probable economic prosperity.

INDIA'S LIVING TRADITIONS. Compiled from the works of various authors. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Price As. 8.

The book under review is an excellent symposium about the cultural heritage of India. Most of the essays are from the learned pen of Dr. Annie Besant. Next to her, Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri's article is the best of the lot. The chapter on Art is exquisite and it is from the pen of Mr. Havell. The book gives a certain sense of unity to the reader. It is a very good introduction to the student of Indian culture who desires to know the glory of India's past.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CAD. By A. G. Macdonnell. Macmillans. 7sh. 6d.

An exceptionally amusing book. The cad raises a laugh by his naivete as much as by his shrewdness.

THE PAYMENT OF WAGES ACT (IV OF 1936). By Govindlal D. Shah, B.A., LL.B. Published by Messrs. N. M. Tripathi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay. Price Re. 1-14.

The Payment of Wages Act is a short Act containing but 26 Sections. It is, however, a very important piece of legislation, important to a large and growing body of industrial workers in urban areas. In its entirety it is a unique enactment. It regulates payment of wages to certain classes of persons employed in industry and affords them protection against indiscriminate fines and deductions and provides for a speedy determination of claims arising in respect of delay in or deductions from such payments. The author has spared no pains to make the book a complete guide to the subject and all problems arising in it.

A MOTHER'S SACRIFICE. By A. S. Panchapakesa Iyer, I.C.S. Published by Messrs. P. R. Rama Iyer & Co., Madras.

Mr. Panchapakesa Iyer is a prolific writer and has the art of making everything he writes interesting and instructive. In this short drama of three Acts and eight Scenes, he has chosen the ever-fascinating subject of old-time Rajput bravery.

THE ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1938-39. All-India Industrial Federation, Meadows Street, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

Besides being a Directory of industrial and commercial firms and undertakings, the Volume gives us an annual survey of Federal India in its economic sphere, embracing in its scope both British India and Indian States. There are some authoritative contributions of commercial and industrial interest. The Directory would be found quite useful to businessmen.

BOOKS RECEIVED

WEST OF SUEZ. By S. Natarajan. The Indian Social Reformer, Ltd., Bombay. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 3.

FROM MY AFRICAN NOTEBOOK. By Albert Schweitzer, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ. By Dr. Mahdi Husain. Luzac & Co., London.

NONE SO BLIND. By Purshottam Trikamdas. 111, Esplanade Road, Bombay.

CENT PER CENT SWADESHI OR THE ECONOMICS OF VILLAGE INDUSTRIES. Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad.

HANDBOOK ON BEE-KEEPING. By John Dasiah. Secretary, Y. M. C. A. Rural Demonstration Centre, Martandam. Re. 1.

NARADA BHAKTI SUTRAM, BHAKTA GOVINDAM ATMANUSANDHANA KRAMANI. By Guba Das. S. V. Nataraja Iyer, Sengalipuram P.O., Tanjore Dt.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE? By Dr. V. R. V. Rao. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

SHRIVIDYA SAPARYA PADDHATI. Compiled by Brahmarsi N. Subramania Iyer. With a Foreword by Rao Bahadur Dr. M. Subramania Iyer. Published by Sri Brahma Vidya Vimarsini Sabha, Madras. Rs. 2.

THROUGH CONGRESS EYES. By Subhas C. Bose, Kitabistan, Allahabad. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 2-8.

SHELLS FROM THE SEA-SHORE. By K. R. Menon, Ph.D. The Greater India Publishing House, 80, Wilkie Road, Singapore.

INTRODUCTION TO SAI BABA OF SHIRDI. By B. V. Narasimhaswami. 15/16, Angappa Naik St., G. T., Madras.

HINDUTVA. By Vinayakrao Damodar Savarkar. Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, New Delhi.

PREM YOGA. By Swami Sivananda. The Divine Life Society, Rikhikesh.

DHYANA YOGA. By Swami Sivananda. The Divine Life Society, Rikhikesh, Dehra Dun.

BEE-KEEPING IN INDIA: THE BEEHIVE. By Bhupen Apiaries. (Himalayas) Jeolikote, Naini Tal (U. P.)

YOUR NUMBER, NAME AND COLOUR. By Madeleine Kelland. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

DIARY AND CALENDAR. We acknowledge with thanks receipt of an attractively got-up Lalimli Diary, Wall Calendar and blotting book from our advertising agents, the Indian Publicity Bureau, Dhariwal.

Hyderabad

RELEASE OF PRISONERS

The following *communique* has been issued by H. E. H. the Nizam's Government:

In view of the unconditional suspension of the movement for sending individuals or batches into the State from outside its borders for the purpose of committing *satyagraha* in sympathy with the body styling itself 'the Hyderabad State Congress', His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have decided unconditionally to release all prisoners and under-trial persons from outside, convicted or arrested in connection with the above movement. Orders in this regard have already been issued.

PROGRESS OF HYDERABAD

"Hyderabad has progressed to its highest standard during the reign of the Nizam," observed Sir Duncan Mackenzie, the Resident at Hyderabad, at a farewell dinner. H. E. H. the Nizam said that while they regretted the departure of Sir Duncan, they would always continue to remember him.

NIZAM'S GIFT TO HINDU UNIVERSITY

An announcement of the donation by H. E. H. the Nizam of Rs. One lakh to the Benares Hindu University was made by the Vice-Chancellor at a special Convocation of the Osmania University recently, when the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Maharaja of Bikaner, who was on a visit to Hyderabad last month.

This donation is for an endowment to found a chair of Indian culture to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

Baroda

RELIEF TO BARODA RYOTS

Agricultural relief amounting to over Rs. 21 lakhs has been sanctioned by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, in view of the depression caused by the fall in prices of agricultural produce, states a recent Press Note issued by the Government of Baroda.

A Committee was appointed a year ago by the Government of Baroda to investigate the manner in which relief should be distributed, and His Highness has now sanctioned all the recommendations.

These provide for a relief of 2 annas in the rupee to be granted to settlements introduced up to 1908-09, 3 annas in the rupee in the case of settlements introduced from 1909-10 to 1919-20 and 4 annas in the rupee in the case of settlements introduced from 1920-21 to 1930-31.

Every settlement, it is stated, is based on the average of prices prevailing for 15 to 30 years preceding the year in which it was made. This relief plan will operate for a period of five years, irrespective of any rise in prices that may occur in this period. At the end of the five years, however, the question will be examined in the light of the prices prevailing at that time.

BARODA FISHERIES

The Baroda Government have sanctioned Rs. 10,000 for working the Mulvel Fisheries departmentally. Last year, says a Baroda correspondent, the experiment of working the fisheries departmentally proved successful and was found to afford great relief to the backward community of Vaghers of Mulvel and other surrounding villages of Okhamandal in Kathiawad.

Mysore

THE VICEROY IN MYSORE

The public of Mysore accorded a rousing reception to H. E. the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow on January 13. The Viceroy, in his reply to the Municipal address, congratulated Mysore for having a Ruler,

who has laboured so well throughout his rule for the welfare of his subjects and who has done so much to embellish the natural beauties and extend the amenities of the City. He felt glad to find a band of men in the State who, by their labours and by their generous benefactions, were doing much for the advancement and welfare of their fellow-men and said: "There are many cities in India which may well look to Mysore City as an example in the provision of amenities and in the work for improvement of the health and environment of the citizen."

SIR MIRZA AND HINDU TEMPLES

Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail presided over two public functions in connection with the laying of the foundation of Hindu temples at two places in Mysore.

The places were the Sri Ram Mandir at Hoskote and the Sri Choudeswari temple at Upparahalli, where he presided over the functions at the request of the Hindu population of the towns.

Sir Mirza observed on the occasion:

All religions exist for the service of God who is one and indivisible. Those who are aware of the real significance of religion ever live in mutual friendship and regard while others in utter ignorance of what real religion really stands for, revel in strife and ill-will.

At Hoskote, the Dewan hoped that the Ram Mandir he was inaugurating would be contributing to the moral, social, and cultural progress of the community.

MR. N. MADHAVA RAO

Mr. N. Madhava Rao, Second Member of Council, Mysore, has been appointed as First Member of Council *vice* Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachariar granted leave for four months preparatory to retirement.

Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, officiating Second Member of Council, Mysore, has been confirmed as Second Member of Council.

Travancore

THE VICEROY IN TRAVANCORE

H. E. the Viceroy and the Marchioness of Linlithgow were given a splendid reception at Trivandrum during their visit to the State. At the Banquet in honour of Their Excellencies, H. H. the Maharaja said:

That he regarded the visit of the Crown Representative to Travancore as a symbol and manifestation of the close and friendly ties between His Majesty and the successive rulers of the State. He recalled the personal acquaintance which he had had with His Excellency early in his Viceroyalty and gave expression to the indebtedness of India to Lord Linlithgow for the interest he had been evincing in her welfare and progress.

Proposing the toast of His Highness, the Viceroy expressed appreciation of the changes that had been effected in the administration of the State in the last five years, particularly the steps taken by His Highness's Government to safeguard the position of the backward communities, and said:

Travancore has great natural resources and a well-thought out scheme for their development will, I trust, produce results of real and lasting benefit to your State. I was struck in particular by the progressive character of the scheme which, you tell me, you have in contemplation, of exploitation by means of careful planning of great forest wealth of your State.

This is indeed, as Your Highness has remarked, a period of crucial importance in the history of this country as of the world as a whole. And I welcome the assurance which you give me of the readiness of your ancient State to play its due and adequate part in that co-operation between Indian State and the Paramount Power, the importance of which you so rightly underlined.

Rajkot

SIR P. CADELL AND THE NEW DEWAN

Sir Patrick Cadell has relinquished the Dewanship of Rajkot State.

Mr. Maneklal Patel, Senior Member of the Council of Administration, has taken charge of the Dewanship from Sir Patrick Cadell temporarily.

Kashmir and Jammu

FEDERATION SECRETARY

The Council has sanctioned the creation of a temporary section in the Chief Secretariat for a period of six months in the first instance for dealing with the questions relating to Federation.

Mr. M. A. Shahmiri, Additional District Magistrate, Jammu, has been appointed as Federation Secretary.

NEW KASHMIR MINISTER

His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur has sanctioned the appointment of Rai Bahadur P. C. Mogha, of U. P. Government service, as Law and Revenue Minister for a period of two years.

THE KASHMIR MINISTRY

Sir Lalgopal Mukherjee, Law and Revenue Minister, has resigned due to ill-health. His Highness has appointed Major-General Janak Singh, retired Revenue Minister, in his place. The State Assembly passed a resolution praising the services of Sir Lalgopal.

Patiala

CORRUPTION IN PATIALA

The Patiala Government are planning to purge the State of corruption within a short time. "The Maharaja views the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker as guilty of as heinous an offence as murder. The services of the bribe-taker will be summarily dispensed with on reasonable suspicion," said Dewan Bahadur S. Pindi Dagg Sabherwal, the State Minister for Law and Justice, addressing officials, members of the bar, clerks, petition-writers and litigants in the High Court compound. He also assured the officials and non-officials that any help given by them in rooting out corruption would be recognised and appreciated.

Cochin

POPE AND COCHIN CATHOLICS

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, the Dewan of Cochin, during his visit to Rome conveyed to the Pope the greetings of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, who rules over a large number of Catholics. The Pope has now replied repeating his gratitude to the Maharaja for the good disposition he has always shown to the Catholics of Cochin.

COCHIN AND THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

The Cochin Durbar have endowed a chair to be called "Rama Varma Chair" and have been pleased to donate a sum of Rs. 9,000 as yearly recurring grant to the Benares Hindu University.

Jaipur

THE JAIPUR BAN

Commenting on the ban on Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, a member of the Congress Working Committee and President of the Jaipur Praja Mandal, prohibiting his entry into Jaipur State, Mr. Gandhi writes in *Harijan* that Mr. Bajaj and the people of Jaipur are in honour bound to resist it with all the strength at their command, no doubt consistently with the Congress creed of non-violence and truth.

Bikaner

THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER

The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on His Highness Maharajadhiraja of Bikaner at a Special Convocation of the Osmania University, held recently. The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Chancellor, presided.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Indians Abroad

OVERSEAS INDIANS

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, ex-Agent-General to the Government of India in South Africa, moved the following resolution on Indians Overseas at the last Session of the National Liberal Federation of India held in Bombay.

The Federation deplores the recent Burma riots and urges the Government of India to protect Indians in Burma and hopes that the question of compensation to Indian victims will receive the careful attention of the Burma Government.

The Federation deplores the Village Committee Ordinance Amendment Bill of the Ceylon Government which denies franchise to the Indian estate labourers and urges the Government of India not to reopen recruitment of labour for Ceylon or enter into any trade pact with Ceylon until a satisfactory settlement of the franchise question is reached.

The Federation opposes the transfer of Tanganyika to Germany, as it would retard the economic progress of Indians in Tanganyika and requests His Majesty's Government to make an unequivocal declaration against the rendition of the territory to Germany.

The Federation emphatically opposes the proposed Order-in-Council, which will permanently and legally debar Indians from holding land in the Kenya Highlands.

The Federation disapproves of the proposal to settle Jews in Kenya and objects to preferential treatment being given to foreigners in Kenya which is denied to Indians resident there.

The Federation feels that the time has come when the Government of India should compel the South African Union Government to grant political and municipal franchise to Indians resident there.

Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh declared that a full measure of success and equality to Indians overseas was not possible until India herself secured full responsible government. The time had come when something tangible should be done as the time for protests had already passed.

Captain Paymaster of Bombay suggested a more concerted action on the part of India to secure justice for her nationals abroad. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Tanganyika

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

"I appeal to all politicians and statesmen in this country to support the cause of Tanganyika Indians through the Tanganyika Defence League," says Mr. Durga Das, Secretary of the Federated Chamber of Commerce, Tanganyika, and organiser of the Tanganyika League, in the course of a statement.

"The Indian interests involved in Tanganyika amount to roughly £3,000,000. This includes 17 per cent. of the agricultural land alienated to non-natives, 90 per cent. of township property, 70 per cent. of ginning interests, 80 per cent. in the cotton industry, 80 per cent. of the sisal production, and 50 and 60 per cent. respectively of the import and export trades and 80 per cent. of the transport services."

FUTURE OF TANGANYIKA

That the future of Tanganyika should be decided on the principle of self-determination by the peoples residing in the territory, and in the meantime the *status quo* should be maintained, formed the text of a resolution passed by the East African National Congress at its fifteenth session held at Nairobi early last month.

The Congress, representing the opinion of the Indian community in East Africa, urged that the British Government should not bargain with Germany on the fate of Tanganyika.

Germany

INDIAN STUDENTS IN GERMANY

Good relations between India and Germany were the subject of speeches delivered by Baron Dufour Feroence and an Indian student at a tea party given by the Indian Commission of the German Oriental Society.

It was stated that the number of Indian students in Germany had decreased somewhat and hope was expressed this would be remedied in the near future.

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

Indians in Fiji, who met in conference under the presidentship of Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru, have passed a resolution expressing the opinion that an inquiry into the economic condition of the Indians in the Colony is essential and urging the Government to appoint such a commission of inquiry as early as possible, consisting of representatives of the Indian community in Fiji as well as the Government of India.

Another resolution has urged the need for the appointment of Indians to the Fiji Governor's Executive Council. With problems of serious import before them, it is necessary that our countrymen should be in a position to safeguard their interests. After their substantial contribution to the progress of the Colony, it would be extraordinary, says the *Hindustan Times*, if any one in the islands, be he a Fijian chief or a Britisher, should be in a position to make conditions even irksome for the Indians. The recent development over the renewal of leases to our nationals will not have assumed the serious shape that it had but for the absence of our countrymen in the Councils of the Governor of the Colony. Questions regarding passport and domicile are also causing serious difficulty, and the report of the Committee that had been appointed last year to consider the question is still unpublished.

It is hoped that Pandit Kunzru's presence in the Colony will have brought about a change in the outlook of the anti-Indian elements.

British Guiana

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA

H. E. Sir Wilfred Jackson, Governor of British Guiana, opened the Indian Centenary celebrations of the British Guiana East Indian Association. Mr. C. R. Jacob, M.L.C. presided. The following resolutions were passed:

Loyalty to the Throne.

Change of the British Guiana Constitution to provide for an elected majority on a wider franchise.

An Indian Agent-General for British Guiana as recommended to the Governor-General of India by the Indian Legislative Council.

Repatriation and return passage—provision to be made to settle on suitable lands Indians who are entitled to return to India under the terms of their contracts.

Indians on Public Boards—larger number of qualified persons to be appointed by the Governor.

Indians in the Civil Service—larger number of qualified applicants to be appointed by the Governor.

Compulsory Education Ordinance to be rigidly enforced.

Government school to be freed from denominational control.

Literary societies to be established throughout the Colony for the social, moral, and educational improvement of the community.

Philippines

DR. KALIDAS NAG IN PHILIPPINES

Dr. Kalidas Nag, of the University of Calcutta, delivered a series of lectures at the University of Philippines in October last. Among the subjects on which he delivered his lectures were: (1) Gandhi and the rural economy of India, (2) Tagore as a pioneer educationist, (3) India and the Pacific world, (4) Art and Archaeology of India, (5) Gandhi and World Peace, (6) Women movement in India, (7) Economic philosophy of Gandhi, (8) Makers of Modern India: Tagore and Gandhi, (9) Tagore: his mind and art, and (10) Political and Social progress in India.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



THE CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND

A writer in the *Round Table* for the last quarter of 1938, reviewing the activities of the Congress now in office in nine provinces, recounts the various problems with which Congress leaders had to contend. The left wing of the party was bent on trial of strength on several issues, and the right wing, which dominates the Working Committee, was equally determined to assert itself. There had been some downright criticisms of the leaders' actions.

The use of the old repressive laws to suppress anti-Hindi agitation in Madras and industrial strife in Bombay; the course of negotiation between the Working Committee and the Muslim League; the feeling that compromise on federation was not out of the thoughts of Mr. Gandhi and others; and the humiliating treatment meted out by the Parliamentary sub-Committee in their removal of Dr. Khare from leadership in the Central Provinces were all questions on which the High Command had been put on the defensive. The challenge was met at all points, and appropriate resolutions of confidence were carried by majorities, which showed that the leadership continued to enjoy the confidence of 75 per cent. of the All-India Congress Committee.

At Mr. Gandhi's instance, a move was initiated to purge Congress ranks of undesirable elements not pledged to non-violence and truth and to examine the formation of a non-violent national militia.

This was interpreted in some quarters as designed to prevent the infiltration into Congress ranks of extremist elements, planning to exploit the prestige and, if possible, to capture the local and later the national machinery of the party. A resolution presented to the All-India Committee deplored the abuse of civil liberties as

exemplified in speeches and certain sections of the press and declared that Congress Governments would not tolerate such attempts to provoke violence and hatred. Some remarkable speeches were made, an outstanding contribution coming from the Premier of the much-troubled United Provinces. The Hon. Mr. Vallabh Pant roundly declared that the maintenance of law and order and the security of life and property were synonymous with the preservation of civil liberty. All socialist efforts to amend this resolution were heavily defeated, and in the end some thirty members, headed by Mr. M. N. Roy, walked out.

NATIONAL EFFICIENCY

Gandhiji, writing in the *Harjan*, advises Congress Ministers to conserve their energies and not to weary themselves with overwork. "I have often expressed the opinion among friends," he observes, "that in the matter of capacity for detachment, Englishmen are far in advance of us. No matter how important national affairs may be, they will keep their meal hours and hours of recreation."

He goes on to say that it would be a distinct gain to the national cause if the leaders and workers strictly kept their hours. "No man is expected to do more than he really can. If at the end of the day, there is surplus work left or he cannot go through without missing a meal or encroaching upon the hours of sleep or recreation, there is mismanagement somewhere. I have no doubt if we cultivate a habit of punctuality and act according to programme, the index of national efficiency will go up, our advance towards our goal will be rapid, and workers will be healthier and longer lived."

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN STATES

The Federal Scheme, so much discussed about, has developed a new political consciousness in the minds of the people in the Indian States. The State Congresses—the outcome of this new consciousness—with the moral support of the Indian National Congress demand responsible Government. Mr. Appadorai considers some obstacles to the realization of this demand in the *New Review* of January 1939. He says that obstacles in the way of responsible Government may arise from three sources: the Ruler himself, the Minorities, and the Paramount Power.

That the Ruler may be unwilling to surrender power to the people is not surprising; it is in keeping with historical experience. Several cogent arguments are advanced to show that responsible government is unnecessary and undesirable; the traditions of good government by the Dynasty; its obligations to the Paramount Power; the failure of democracy elsewhere; the inapplicability of the example of British India to the States as the latter are not under alien rule; the backwardness of the people and the interests of powerful minorities.

The important minorities, he says, are the second source of opposition, whose power depends partly on their own strength and their organization and partly on the attitude of the Ruler. It is not improbable that an unwilling Ruler may ally himself with powerful minorities in order to put down the movement, or at least retard it. He may say that responsible government has no meaning in a country where the communities are at unequal stages of development and where the minorities have no faith in the reasonableness of the majority. The Ruler represents the State and is impartial. Before granting responsible government, he has to develop those communities which are comparatively undeveloped in education and opportunities.

Regarding the third source of opposition, he adds that the Ruler is bound by

several obligations to the Paramount Power, through treaties, engagements, and *sanads*.

At present the Ruler of an Indian State is able to discharge these obligations, because legally he is the absolute ruler of his State. Under a regime of complete responsible government, he will by assumption be divested himself of his personal responsibility for the administration of his State, but his personal responsibility for the fulfilment of his obligations to the Paramount Power will remain. So long as his ministers respect these obligations, no difficulty will arise but they may not always respect them.

MORAL EDUCATION

The aim of school teaching should be not only the imparting of a body of selected and well digested knowledge; but also the formation of a number of desirable habits of thinking, feeling, and doing which are the true foundations of character. Without this aim, no nation can thrive, says Mr. J. C. Guha in stressing upon moral education as the need of the hour in the December number of the *Calcutta Review*. He says:

Moral instruction should be imparted mainly through the education of the tastes by wielding the potent forces of the instincts, especially those of love and hate and imitation in its three forms, namely, sympathy, suggestion, and imitation (in action). The pupil must be taught to love and hate the right things; true education is just that, as Plato has said. In order to be able to do that, the teacher will not only have to live nobly, but also hold up before the pupils' eyes, whenever the opportunity arises, noble specimens of literature and art, and co-operatively draw from them the ideals of beauty and truth and show by contrast and implication how and why the rotten specimens are to be passed over and looked down upon. Lessons may also be drawn from the rise and fall of nations and dynasties of kings.

He concludes that ideas of clean living and thinking can be built upon the common basis of truth, love, and purity taught by all religions.

MAHATMA GANDHI

"No Moghul Emperor ever had more power in India than Mr. M. K. Gandhi," writes Mr. Richard Freud in the *Spectator*. He holds no rank or post, but his quiet voice plays on the heart strings of a people accustomed to cherish preachers. To show that he is more than a preacher, there is the tremendous fighting machine of the Congress Party, built up and held together by his faith and generalship. At 70, he lives far from the centres of action, as every good Hindu should do in his age, and from his little village hut he rebukes the worldly for their sins like a prophet by the city gate.

When a party is running nine parliamentary governments in a country where that form of government has existed for just two years, things are apt to go wrong in places. There may be corruption in one district and a brawl in another; Mr. Gandhi prints all the facts in his little weekly newspaper, wailing at the depth to which Congress morality has sunk from the heights of truth and non-violence.

When the politicians appeal to him to settle some dispute, he usually replies that he has retired from politics, but he rarely escapes, for they have no one else to turn to for ultimate guidance. If in the past 12 months the fear that Indian self-government would mean bad government has largely disappeared; it is due chiefly to the power of Mr. Gandhi over the consciences of his followers.

The really astonishing thing is his influence with the common people. There is not a village where his name is not known or revered. Even in the distant Frontier Province, where the people profess a different religion and are by no means pacifists like him, he is held in deep veneration.

The upshot of all this is that the villagers all over India are beginning to enter into history, to experience a sense of loyalty beyond the small units of family, caste, and village, which for thousands of years have made their horizon. Unsteadily, tentatively but already visible in outline, an Indian nation is emerging and Mr. Gandhi is its maker.

During the 20 years he spent in South Africa, he developed the technique of civil disobedience as a method of preventing or compelling legislation, which he later applied with success in the wider field of India.

In 1915, Mr. Gandhi returned to India, teaching that passive resistance was India's shortest way to freedom. Three elements, I think, joined to make his agitation successful. Firstly, his doctrine was the exact alloy of mysticism and simplicity that appeals most to the Indian of any class; secondly, he gave new hope of effective revolt to a people still cowed after 60 years by memories of the mutiny; and, thirdly, *satyagraha* was the very thing to disarm the British, who, by some twist of character, cannot easily kill in cold blood.

Mr. Gandhi and his British rulers were made for each other. Had India been ruled by, well, by any other Western nation, Mr. Gandhi would to-day not be a great man, but a dead body. That is worth considering.

Although the vow of non-violence has never been kept by all his followers, many thousands have cheerfully faced police charges and imprisonment without raising a hand,

and such is the trust he inspires that last year the Bengal Government, not a Congress Government, set free hundreds of terrorists simply on Mr. Gandhi's assurance that the lads had promised him to be good.

His language on important occasions, the writer says, can be dreadfully involved, "and if you do not work hard to unravel it, you may think he has said nothing much when he has really made a statement that will change history".

That happened in 1936, when he appeared to be splitting hairs over the special powers of the Governors in the new provincial administrations.

Even Sir Tej Saprú, who has the finest legal brain in India, thought Gandhi's objections were mere quibbles. But when the Government at last met them, it was seen that the re-statement of a few clauses had not only changed formal into real self-government, but had brought home to the Governors, who admitted it, the hitherto nebulous meaning of autonomous government. Gandhi had felt a call, seen a blurr, and groped inaptly for expression, knowing all the time that he was right.

ART AND MORALITY

There are different schools of thought whose conceptions of the relations between morality and art vary widely. Prof. A. C. Bose's article in the December number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* provides interesting reading on the subject. He says:

Apart from instances where the doctrine of "art for art's sake" is intended to shield the unrestricted manifestation of bad temper or bad taste or bad breeding, there is an art, which is detached from life and its moral and spiritual values and seeks only the æsthetic value, that can rightly be spoken of as pure art.

But beyond the schools of didactic art and pure art, which represent, respectively, the puritan and æsthetic outlooks on life, there is a third school of art, a school to which the greatest artists and poets belong, that understands life neither exclusively in terms of its struggles nor exclusively in terms of its joy and beauty, but in terms of both. While this school makes of art a medium for the spontaneous expression of the joy of soul and the joy of living, it also deals with the struggle for existence, biological as well as spiritual. It goes to the depths of life, to its mysteries and problems and the moral and spiritual issues and grasps them with a sure hand. Finally, it leads to a qualitative understanding of life and character and a sense of values.

He concludes:

Art is never moral if morality means super-imposed laws, dead forms and decayed conventions. But morality as the qualitative sense of life, as the elements of power and nobility in character, as the value which intensifies life's conflicts and charges it with a higher significance than biology ever gives it—such morality is the very stuff of which great art and literature are made.

Pure art there has been and there will be—the contemplation of the beauty of form in detachment from life's moral and spiritual issues. But the more intensive and, therefore, the greater art will be that in which the æsthetic appeal is reinforced by all the depth and complexity of meaning that lies in life and the power and exaltation that go with life's moral and spiritual battles.

THE TAMBARAM CONFERENCE

Commenting on the fact that the great conference of Christian missionaries in Tambaram has not attracted the attention it deserves, the *Indian Social Reformer* points out that it may to some extent be due to lack of proper publicity arrangements. But it is also evidence of the fact that Christian missionary bodies in this country are out of touch with the general public, which was not the case 30 years ago,

The indifference of the Press reflects the general feeling that Christianity has sadly failed in Europe, where it had the monopoly of the field under the ægis of the secular powers for over a millennium. To put it bluntly, it is due to the feeling that Christianity, as expounded by Christian Missions, has no spiritual content that may be of use to India and the world. Thirty years ago a conference like that at Tambaram would have created great interest in Indian intellectual and cultural circles. To-day there is a wide-spread feeling of disillusionment in this country regarding the claims made, and in large part accepted for Christianity. Many people feel more than disillusionment. They feel they have been deceived. The world war was a staggering blow to world Christianity, and what has followed has been even more devastating. A thousand years of Christian influence in Europe and America, which is spiritually and culturally yet an appendage of Europe, had had apparently very little effect on primitive human nature. Still the Missionaries come to India to reclaim the heathen as if there was not worse than heathenism to reclaim in their own homelands. Apart from this volcanic change in their background, their methods too have come under scrutiny. The Christian Missionary undertook to provide a short cut to the social and spiritual emancipation of the people of India by way of conversion to Christianity. In the early years of missions, many Hindus were converted by being told that they can find no salvation except by quitting their ancestral faith. When Indian reform movements exposed the intrinsic error of this propaganda and conversions from caste Hindus practically ceased, Missionaries turned their attention to mass conversions. These, too, are becoming difficult.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

Sir Norman Angell, in the January issue of the *Aryan Path*, makes an objective analysis of the motives of the millions of Europe who have been induced to follow the bloody path of war and destruction. Why is it they got war in spite of their own repeated desire for peace? He says:

A single dictator or a group of twenty, or two hundred, or even two thousand capitalists or armament makers cannot force millions. The force is on the side of the millions, not on the side of a dozen or a few score elderly, obese gentlemen. That the obese gentlemen for their own purposes may desire a nation to go to war and tell it so to do, is conceivable. But why does the nation obey, since the power is on the side of the people? The explanation is that the mind of the people has been captured by certain ideas and values, by belief in the advantage of conquest; or in glory; or in nationalism, or patriotism; or in the suppression of this or that race or class or party—ideas which the few or the one may exploit.

The success of the dictators, he says, depended upon reaching the public mind. Adolf Hitler, who started his political career with a handful of followers, is now the Supreme God in Germany, because he had been able to appeal successfully to certain passions of the public—mainly the pugnacities, animosities, hates, desires related to nationalism; passions so strong that those who yield to them become oblivious of where they are being led, what they are sacrificing.

Sir Norman says that despite the apparent paradox, the first and dominant motive of the people has its roots in self-preservation—defence. That primary instinct, obeyed without regard to change of external circumstance, without intelligent recognition of that change, leads only to destruction. The real purpose of the armed force in civilised society is

to render impossible the use of violence to determine disputes or, to put it in different terms, to see that force instead of being the instrument of rival

litigants in which the superior strength of one party is the final arbiter, becomes the instrument of the law—the law against violence so that some factor other than violence can be brought into play.

The community of nations should have intervened and prevented the exercise of violence by the stronger over the weaker in the several tragic European affairs. He concludes:

It is clear from the behaviour of every nation in the world now engaged in re-armament, that it is not prepared to surrender the use of arms for defence. In that case either defence must come by using such arms as do exist, and as long as they exist, for the defence of the law, the law against violence in the way described, or civilization will perish, and we shall drift once more to a Dark Age. If that happens, it will be because the instinct of self-preservation has been expressed unintelligently, as certain animals that have become extinct gave expression to that instinct; because the animal has overridden the human, because blind instinct has overridden the seeing mind.

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N. GOPALA IYER.

Secretary.

Jan. '39.

UNIFICATION OF THE MAHARASHTRA

While the Andhra and Karnataka demands for separate provinces on linguistic basis are afoot, there is yet another demand from Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe for a Maharashtra province. In the December number of the *Triveni*, Mr. Kibe wants a sustained and strong movement to be started by the leaders in the Maharashtra territories. His proposal is that the Maharashtra districts of the Bombay Province, Berar, and the Maharashtra districts of the present Central Provinces should form one Province. To compensate the Central Provinces for its loss of territory, all the districts of the United Provinces west of the Jumna may be given over to Mahakoshal (Hindi C. P.). It will have its capital at Jubbulpore, which will be more centrally situated for the new territories than Nagpur is for the present territories. There will remain some Maharashtra area in the old and new districts to be given over to Mahakoshal; they will have to accept their position of minorities. Even now they are not contiguous to Maharashtra territories and their position will in no way be adversely affected unless it be said with regard to the Maharashtrians in the Hindi-speaking districts of the present Central Provinces that the presence of their compatriots almost in a majority in the united Maharashtra is a safeguard to them.

In the new Maharashtra, there are to be two Universities, one to be newly established at Poona and the other to be at Nagpur. Regarding the question of capital, he says,

like the United Provinces, or as is the case at present in the Bombay Province, there will be two capitals, certain offices and functions being held at Poona and others at Nagpur; or these may be seasonal capitals, the Government going to Nagpur in the cold season. The jurisdiction of the High Court at Poona may extend over the sub-Federation proposed in a previous paragraph, which will compensate it for the loss of Bombay city. The jurisdiction of the University already extends over the Indian States. Therefore, the

extension of the jurisdiction of the Judicial Court over them will not be against any recognised principle and, as a means of the better administration of law for their subjects, this measure may be acceptable both to the Rulers and their subjects. Even the law-making power of the former need not be affected, since the High Court will administer any local laws for those territories.

He concludes that the Congress High Command should be compelled to take up the matter, which could not be achieved without a vigorous agitation.

STUDENT STRIKES

Regarding the wide-spread discontent among the student population and the frequent strikes in educational institutions, the *New Review* writes:

"Making due allowance for local and personal factors and for the puckish spirit of mischief, we think, the cause lies deeper. The Indian college student of to-day feels a profound sense of frustration. He sees that the education he is receiving is not the kind he needs, but is powerless to change it. Before him, after an examination-ridden course, looms the spectre of long and perhaps endless unemployment. He would like to do something for his country, but does not know what or how.

His parents are as helpless as himself. He turns to his teacher, but they are, in our crowded colleges, scarcely accessible or knowable. The Indian readily attaches himself to persons; he can hardly feel the European's loyalty to institutions. He will do anything for a *Guru*. The want, therefore, of personal attachment to his teachers, which is the only safeguard in a crisis and the only solvent of misunderstanding, is the Indian students' greatest misfortune to-day."

TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA

The distribution of infection and disease in India presents a complex problem, as the picture varies in different areas from the almost virgin rural and far away places to the highly urbanized and industrialized centres, says Dr. A. C. Ukil in *Science and Culture*.

Tuberculous infection, though increasing in recent years owing to increasing urbanization, industrialization and the introduction of rapid transport facilities, is not yet so wide-spread in India to-day as in Europe and America. The urban population in India varies between 7 to 20 per cent. according to different regions, as compared with 80 per cent. in England and Wales, 52 per cent. in U. S. A. and 53.7 per cent. in Canada. The infection rate in India is yet only half of that in European countries, and it varies from 21 per cent. in rural to 76 per cent. in urban and industrial areas. The mingling of rural populations, which are much less bacillized and of virgin races like the Gurkhas, Bheels, Khonds, and Khasias with people of highly tuberculized areas, presents a complex picture of hypersensitivity and resistance among the infected people.

People who migrate from rural areas into cities and industrial centres, particularly students, women, children, menials, labourers, and mill-hands usually show a low incidence of infection.

When they are attacked with the disease, they show, like the heavily contaminated rural population, an acuter onset and present a more exudative infiltration and a higher death rate than among the urban people. The course of the disease shows an acuter onset and proves more rapidly fatal than what occurs generally in Europe. It has been noticed that both the pulmonary and non-pulmonary forms of tuberculosis attain their maximum age incidence 5 to 10 years earlier than in Europe. The prevailing type of lung tuberculosis in rural and semi-rural areas shows predominantly exudative changes with very fragmentary attempts at localization. A study of pathological materials by workers in different parts of India has shown that only 5 to 10 per cent. of cases studied exhibited any marked

tendency to fibrosis, while the remainder showed predominantly exudative lesions and as many as 60 per cent. showed extensive bilateral lung involvement. The Anglo-Indians and those who have been born and brought up in the larger cities very often show, however, lesions comparable to those met with in Western countries, when other factors causing hypersensitiveness are excluded.

The writer points out that the frequency and dosage of infection influence resistance and susceptibility by their effects on the physique and bodily chemistry.

Nutrition, environment, habits and customs also influence the complexion of the problem. Poverty, overcrowding and badly adjusted dietary operate in a large number of cases. Of habits and customs, those of indiscriminate spitting within dwellings, of eating and drinking from common utensils and of sleeping together in the same room and on the same bed contribute to a large dose of infection, mostly on an imperfectly immunized soil. Fifty per cent. of the cases diagnosed in hospital polyclinics give a history of close contact with one or more previous cases in the family. Besides these, social conditions like the *Purdah* system, early marriage and motherhood contribute to a considerably higher mortality among young women.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

ASOKA THE GREAT. By Prof. H. C. Seth, M.A., Ph.D. [The *Triveni*, December 1938.]

INDIA: THE NEXT PHASE. [The *Round Table*, December 1938.]

ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA. By S. K. Roy, M.A. [The *Indian Journal of Education*, December 1938.]

INDIAN NATIONALISM. By J. N. Sarin. [Landholders' *Journal*, November 1938.]

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES. By A. Appadurai. [The *New Review*, January 1939.]

SOME REASONS FOR RAJECTING THE BRITISH-MADE FEDERAL SCHEME. By K. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. [The *Modern Review*, January 1939.]

BUDDHISM AND INDIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. By R. J. Jackson. [The *Mahabodhi*, November 1938.]

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By Hon. Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru. [The *Hindustan Review*, December, 1938.]

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, writing in the *Times of India*, endorses the general public plea for religious education in schools. As regards the present attempts, he has a warning to give:

"Is the approach to it legitimate and right? A recent book on religious education says that our approach should be fourfold: historical, moral, emotional, and institutional. It is said further that the students should know something, do something, feel something, and belong to something. Now if we were to examine the various schemes of studies adopted by educational institutions in India, we would find that their approach is only doctrinal and dogmatic and moral. The most unfortunate thing about these institutions is that they represent not so many religions but so many religious sects. The result is that all of them seek to glorify their sects and do not aim at imparting a knowledge of the fundamental truths of their religion of which they form a part. They do not emphasise their points of agreement with other faiths but their points of difference; nor do they generally inculcate reverence for other religions. They seem to say that their truth is the only kind of truth, that their goal is the only right goal, that their scriptures alone are infallible and that their books are the only repositories of wisdom. Thus they turn out students who can repeat what they have read uncritically and blindly."

A PROTEST AGAINST NOISE

In a recent issue of the *London Mercury*, Mr. R. A. Scott James deals with the problem of noise. "The nuisance to-day lies not so much in the loudness of noise as in its ubiquity." He writes:

There is no getting away from it and no effective redress against offenders. In theory the motor-cyclist without silencers on his engine can be prosecuted when he makes excessive noise, but action is rarely taken. Local authorities mending roads are amongst the worst offenders in the abuse of pneumatic drills, yet it is possible at a somewhat higher cost to reduce the noise of these instruments of torture.

There is no escaping, at home or on the road, from the noise of competing radio sets. The main roads of Britain spread the din of traffic far and wide. The noises of motor-horns, which might be standardized and rendered comparatively harmless if not melodious include rasping sounds which violently assault the ear.

Speed-boats on sea and lake and motor-launches on the river disturb the peace of once quiet regions.

During the last year the multiplicity of aeroplanes, military and civilian, has made no remote place in this island safe as a retreat against invading noise. As a nation we have already become motor-minded and radio-minded and we are becoming air-minded. These new habits come upon us quickly and inevitably, producing states of mind at variance with older and still valued states of mind. In the course of many decades they will become reconciled; use-and-wont will create courtesies of the road, the air and the ether. But in the long meantime can we afford to wait? Public opinion demands control and restriction and rules will no doubt be made as in the case of the Highway Code, but only if public opinion is very active will the rules be adequately enforced.



MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

INDIAN ARMY COMMITTEE

The Government of India have appointed a committee with the following terms of reference:—

To examine the process of Indianisation of officers' ranks of the Indian Army with a view to determining whether the results achieved justify acceleration and if it appears from examination they don't, consider such an alteration in the system of recruitment to the Indian Military Academy as may be expected to lead to the improvement in the number of suitable candidates and to make recommendations.

The Chairman of the Committee will be Lt.-General Sir R. C. Wilson, K.C.B., D.S.O., N.C., Adjutant-General in India, and the following, who have accepted the invitation to serve on the Committee, are the members:—

Sir A. P. Patro, K.C.I.E., Mr. V. V. Kalikar, Nawabzada Khurshed Ali Khan, Capt. Sardar Sir Sher Mahomed Khan, Capt. Sardar Bahadur Dalpat Singh, M.L.A. (Central), Lt.-Col. M. A. Rahman, Mr. P. R. Dazen, M.L.A. (Central), Nawab Muzaffar Khan, C.I.E., Sir Joginder Singh, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie, Defence Secretary to the India Government, and Brigadier R. D. Inskip, C.I.E., Commander, First Abbottabad Infantry Brigade.

Owing to the coming session of both the Houses of the Legislature, it has been decided to convene the Committee later in the year.

COMMUNAL ORGANISATIONS

The Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Wardha last month, passed the following Resolution defining what are communal organisations:—

Resolved that for the purpose of Article 5 (c) the following organizations are declared as communal organizations: (1) The Hindu Mahasabha, (2) Muslim League.

Article 5 (c) reads that no person who is a member of any elected Congress Committee shall be a member of any similar committee of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are, in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress."

GANDHI'S ADVICE TO PRINCES

"If the Congress feels that it has the power to offer effective interference, it will be bound to do so when the call comes," writes Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan*.

"I am responsible for the policy of non-interference hitherto followed by the Congress," he says, "but with the growing influence of the Congress, it is impossible for me to defend it in the face of the injustice perpetrated in the States."

Meanwhile, the Ministers are morally bound to take notice of the gross misrule in the States within their borders and to tender advice to the Paramount Power as to what in their opinion should be done."

INDIAN SOLDIERS

Replying to Mr. Kailash Behari Lal of Bihar Congress, Mr. Ogilvie gave the number of soldiers in the Indian Army from each of the Indian Provinces as follows:—

North-West Frontier 7,604; Punjab 11,969; Rajputana and Central India 6,208; Bihar 211; Orissa 4; Assam 3; Bengal 10; Central Provinces 40; Bombay 4,986; Madras 4,545; Hyderabad (Deccan) 309; Sind 1; and Baluchistan 56.

MISS LESTER ON INDIA

Interviewed by the *Associated Press*, Miss Lester said that the spirit of defeatism in India was now disappearing and that there was an increase in self-confidence. "I notice," she added, "a new sort of confidence in people, not only in themselves but in each other, and in life."

BRITAIN'S WORK IN INDIA

Lord Hailey, former Governor of U. P., addressing a meeting in London observed that he yielded to none in appreciating the good work done in India, but he thought there were some things which might have been done differently.

Obsessed by the British conception of property rights, Britain had failed to see that the relation between the landlord and the tenant had completely changed with the improvement in economic conditions. The greater part of the peasantry still lived in economic serfdom to the money-lender. . . .

There will be many, "who will readily agree that the conduct of education is one of the less happy features of our rule in India. Britain's mistake lay in the wide expansion of academic Secondary education before she laid a sound basis for Primary education. They had six Universities before they had an Agricultural institute; and he was not sure they would have had even one if an American benefactor had not provided part of the money. . . .

I suppose there are now few who would not join in regretting the reluctance showed for so long in admitting Indians to our higher administrative services. None will honestly say that with the rising standard of living and education it is possible to prevent the spirit of nationalism rising in India. Everything we have done has tended to foster the growth of political consciousness among the increasing class of educated people. Sooner or later we are bound to make concession to that spirit. If we had been willing at a much earlier date to associate Indians more fully with the administration, we might well have found ourselves able to make political concessions in a form more satisfactory both to them and ourselves. We might in any case have avoided that manifestation of racial distrust, which has already done much to impair the value of the constitutional concessions made.

THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, addressing the Convocation of the Punjab University said:

The first difference is the existence in the democratic State of the rule of law; the second is the right in that State to hold and express one's own opinions and beliefs; and the third is this, that a democratic system of the Government is one which is based upon the personality of the individual man and woman; whereas the other system is based upon the conception of a State as an organisation apart from and superior to the individual men and women who compose it, demanding from them complete and uncomplaining subjection asserting all rights and conceding none.

LORD MESTON ON FEDERATION

Lord Meston, President of the Liberal Party organisation, told the Geographical Association's Conference in London that the most difficult problem facing India is, perhaps, the question of Federation. Federation, said Lord Meston meant

a grouping of the provinces with provincial governments characterised by national democracy and a self-governing spirit with the States that had been living under conditions of more than medieval traditional glory and misery. He said that it would not be surprising in view of the great difficulties, if Federation, which they hoped to see so soon, would not be accomplished for some considerable time as so many are opposed to it. It required a good deal of goodwill but he thought that it was beyond their power to bring it about.

A dominating feature was, said Lord Meston, that

India's rush to democratic government had given rise to an enormous growth of nationalist spirit. Its results differed in various parts of India. In some parts it had given rise to impending rising of peasants against their erstwhile landlords, the condition is fomented by the rash promises of the Congress in other parts. There had been strikes and revolts, which required all the skill and patriotism of the Government to cope with and allay.

CHRIST AND NON-VIOLENCE

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.L.A., of Bengal, in the course of an address to the Indian Christians of Madras paid a glowing tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and his gospel of Non-violence. He said:

"It remained for a Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, to induce his followers on a nation-wide scale to repudiate force and to substitute for it the power of suffering for the attainment of national ends. Apart from its political results, with which I am not concerned at present, India as a whole has at last succeeded in shedding her fears, her inferiority complexes and her slave mentality. Undoubtedly, isolated cases of violence did occur and will, perhaps, occur in the future, but they should not be regarded as proofs of failure in just the same way as Christianity is not a failure because some so-called Christian nations have forsaken the path of Christ."

LOCAL SELF-GOVT. CONFERENCE

The second All-India Local Self-government Conference was convened at Calcutta under the presidentship of Mr. S. Satyamurti.



MR. S. SATYAMURTI

In the course of his presidential address, he suggested that the number of local self-governing bodies should be reduced to a minimum. He said:

We must reduce the number of our local self-governing bodies to the absolute necessary minimum. I say it, first, because our provincial affairs are already managed and conducted by democratically elected ministers responsible to democratically elected legislatures. Secondly, because you will pardon my saying it, we have not yet got abundance of man power, and shall I say of woman power, necessary for running these self-governing institutions justly, honestly, impartially and efficiently. I do not mean my reflection on contemporary Indian public life. But this has been the history of local self-governing institutions in every country including England, and we need not be ashamed that we have not yet made sufficient progress in this direction.

He then referred to the Constitution, the minorities question, and municipalisation.

There was a lively discussion on the "beggar problem in India" and the need of simultaneous action by Municipalities was stressed. A number of resolutions were passed touching joint electorates, adult suffrage and compulsory voting at elections.

SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who comes back to India from the Secretary of State's Council to be Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in succession to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, has had varied experience as politician and publicist in the Madras Presidency. He visited England in 1919 as a Member of the Non-Brahmin deputation and gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee. He was for several years Editor of the *Justice* newspaper. In 1928, he was elected President of the Madras Corporation and was returned to the Council of State in 1930. He was a delegate to all the three Sessions of the Round Table Conference in London, and subsequently served on the Franchise and Army Retrenchment Committees. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar was closely connected with educational and other public bodies in Madras and was a Member of the



SIR A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

Legislative Assembly for four years. In 1936, he was appointed one of the advisers of the Secretary of State for India, and he comes back to India with a rich experience of public life of over two decades

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Hon. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, opened the 14th Session of the All-India Educational Conference



HON. B. G. KHER

at Bombay. Over 1,000 delegates from all over India attended the Conference. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome address referred to a significant tendency or rather a fashion to run down the present scheme of education and stressed the importance of the quality of teaching rather than the quantity.

Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, in his Presidential address, dealt at length with the teachers' part in shaping the destiny of the country and emphasised that one of the most valuable functions which the teaching profession in India had to discharge was to implant in the minds of young Indians the democratic habit of obeying the law, which their own countrymen had made and which their own countrymen were charged with the duty of enforcing.

Prof. P. Seshadri, in winding up the proceedings of the Conference, deplored the present disruptive inclination amongst students of all ranks who took to strikes. The teacher, he said, should make it his duty to foster a spirit of complete discipline and communal unity.

ALL-INDIA STUDENTS' CONFERENCE

The All-India Students' Conference, which met at Calcutta, was presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The President strongly deprecated the tendency of the students to go on strike for slender reasons. He advised the students to combat sectarian and communal tendencies and expressed his utter distress at the methods which the communal leaders of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha are introducing into our public life, which inevitably result in the deterioration of the tone of public life. He then referred to the tragic paralysis of the intellect in the so-called democratic countries. In a plea for 'stiffening' the Congress, he observed:

I have not the shadow of a doubt that British imperialism cannot keep us down from achieving independence to-day. From the long point of view of history, British imperialism is dead.

The Congress to-day has outlived the days of shouting and vigorous denunciation of British Imperialism. Now that it is on the threshold of power and responsibility, not only our countrymen but also the world at large, expect us to follow up our decisions on any issue by suitable action. That explains why the resolutions of the Congress are progressively becoming milder and more dignified in their wording. But the milder wording of our resolutions must not be taken to indicate



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

the weakness of the position of the Congress. Rather it conveys to all those whom it may concern the impression of the strong determination to carry on our decision to the bitter end if need be.

THE LAW WEEKLY, MADRAS

The *Law Weekly*, which has completed 25 years, has published a Silver Jubilee Number—a Special Edition containing some excellent articles and messages from distinguished people. Founded in 1914 by the late Mr. V. C. Seshachariar, the *Weekly* has put in a record of service to the profession of which the conductors can look back with pride and satisfaction.



MR. V. V. SREENIVASA AIYENGAR

Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Aiyengar, the present Editor, contributes some spicy recollections of Bench and Bar in Madras, full of fine anecdotes and personal reminiscences of things that take us back to the days of Sir T. Muthuswami Aiyar and Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar—the veterans of an earlier era.

TAGORE LAW LECTURER

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate-General to the Madras Government, has been appointed Tagore Professor of Law, Calcutta University, for the year 1939. Sir Alladi will deliver a course of lectures on "The Law relating to Statutory and other Powers".

THE FEDERAL LAW JOURNAL

Judgments of far-reaching importance are made in the Federal Court of India—the supreme judicial authority in this country. It is, therefore, fitting that important cases that reach the highest tribunal and the Judgments of that Court are made available in as handy a form as possible. The Federal Law Journal of India is a journal of the law of the New Indian Constitution recording the reports of the proceedings of the Federal Court of India. We congratulate Mr. A. N. Aiyar of the Madras Bar, now a Senior Advocate of the Federal Court, on bringing out a journal of outstanding interest alike to the profession and the public. The Number before us contains the momentous Judgments of the Court on the C. P. Motor Spirit Taxation Act, which formed the subject-matter of great public interest.

IS A JUDGE A MEMBER OF THE BAR?

This question has come up in London in connection with a proposal that the Inns of Court shall make themselves responsible for the payment of pensions to Judges' clerks. The matter has been discussed in the *Times* by Prof. J. H. Morgan. He says:

It is a nice point and one which I was called upon to investigate some years ago when a certain Judge in a certain province in India informed his astonished brethren on the Bench that, having qualified for his Judge's pension, he had resigned and intended to resume practice in the Court over which he and they had been presiding. Exhaustive research failed to disclose any authority on the point until I consulted certain Judges of our own High Court. All of them confessed to doubt on the point with the exception of the late Mr. Justice McCardie who, drawing upon his inexhaustible memory, drew my attention to an *obiter dictum* of Lord Esher to the effect that although Master of the Rolls, he considered himself to be still a member of the Bar.

LIFE INSURANCE MEDICAL FEES

Dr. K. S. Ray, General Secretary, Indian Medical Association, has issued the following statement to the Press:—

It is a matter of regret that in spite of the offer of the Indian Medical Association to come to an amicable settlement regarding the scale of fees for medical examination of life insurance cases, the Insurance Companies have so far shown very little response. The public are aware that the Indian Medical Association has been pressing for some time past for a proper scale of fees for medical examination of insurance cases and various resolutions have been passed in the open All-India as well as the various provincial medical conferences. All these resolutions were duly forwarded to the Insurance Companies and also published in the papers. The Indian Life Offices Association has lately made a suggestion to introduce a uniform scale of medical fees, but they have recommended at the same time for a further reduction of the already existing low scale of fees. They are trying to get the different insurance companies in India to fall in line in this matter.

POLICYHOLDERS' CONFERENCE

The Andhra Desa Insurance Policy holders' Conference has adopted several resolutions including the following:—

This Conference requests the Government of India to incorporate in the Insurance Act the right of every Policyholder to be a voter in the election of Policyholders' Directors.

This Conference requests the Government of India to provide in the Insurance Act that the Surrender Value of any Insurance Policy should never amount to less than 60 per cent. of the premia paid by the Policyholder, excluding the first year's premium.

This Conference requests the Government of India to provide in the Insurance Act that where it is feasible to pay Insurance premia from the available Surrender Value, and where the Policyholder does not pay the premia for any reason, the Companies should not demand any declaration of good health or short or full medical reports.

This Conference requests the Government of India for the incorporation in the Insurance Act of a provision that no shareholder should be entitled to more than 12 per cent. of the paid-up share value in the shape of Dividend or Bonus.

This Conference requests the Government of India to entitle every Policyholder to vote by post in the election of Policyholders' Directors.

This Conference requests the Life Insurance Companies to extend to older Policyholders all new facilities afforded to the new Policyholders.

This Conference requests the Government of India to arrange for the the payment of proportionate bonus on paid-up Policies in the same way as done on ordinary Policies.

BRITISH INSURANCE IN INDIA

Mr. Gordon Cummings, writing in *Indian Finance*, observes:

The year 1938 was certainly a very difficult one for the British insurance companies transacting life business in India. Figures of new life business so far published show for the most part a falling off from the record totals achieved in 1938. Very few companies are fortunate enough to be able to show an increase.

Amongst the most important companies which have published their figures, the United Kingdom Provident shows an increase of £92,882 to £5,116,274 in the net life business transacted. The Pearl Assurance reports total new business of £8,230,510, compared with £8,664,444 in 1937, and Norwich Union states that its new business broke all fresh records at £11,700,000, in comparison with £11,530,120 in 1937.

New life business transacted by Commercial Union Assurance was £5,991,320, or only £85, 203 less than in 1937. Total business of Legal and General Assurance was £16,473,756, as against the high record of £18,549,226 achieved in 1937.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The All-India Economic Conference, which opened at Nagpur, was presided over by Dr. Gyan Chand, Professor of Economics, Patna College.

Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, after welcoming the delegates, probed into the problem of the country to-day—the problem of industrialisation. He said:

It is a sad commentary on the bureaucratic rule that there should have been no reliable statistics of the industries, organised and unorganised, the qualities and values of products manufactured and raw materials utilised. It is regrettable that there has been no systematic survey of natural resources or an analysis of imports and exports. You cannot, however, afford to waste your time in blaming the foreign agency. You have got to put your shoulders to the wheel and prepare the necessary ground for the economic planning.

Dr. Gyan Chand's presidential address was a bold, powerful plea for a new outlook. He observed:

The world to-day is in a state of crisis, which is due to the serious disequilibrium of social forces. The fact makes it necessary to revise the premises of all thought, particularly economic thought; for the malaise from which the world is suffering is primarily due to economic factors and calls for readjustment of social relations and therefore of economic outlook. Disruption of the world economy and with it the Indian economy is well on the cards. But the risks and dangers should stimulate us—the Indian economists—to new and much higher efforts of thought. Scientific outlook in general, and in social sciences in particular, does not mean absence of passion but dispassionate passion, not absence of interest but disinterested interest. India now expects everyone to do his duty, but more than others it expects the economists to do this. His position is one of special trust and responsibility. All sided action is necessary in order that the country may truly and fully awake, in the immortal words of Rabindranath Tagore, 'into that heaven of freedom in which the mind is without fear and the head held high'. Economic freedom must be an essential element in the coming freedom—freedom from alien control and the power of anti-social interests.

We economists have to line up—line up without losing in the slightest degree our autonomy of thought and action. Parallel action of the like-minded men is urgently required. We have to get into step with the nation which is on the march and going with rapid strides towards its goal. If we cannot ourselves set the pace, let us at least keep up the pace which the nations sets for us.

SLUMP IN LANCASHIRE GOODS

The *Manchester Guardian*, discussing last year's trade returns, declares that the slump in cotton goods exports is spectacular and almost incredible. The volume of Lancashire cotton piece-goods exports is the lowest for nearly 90 years and roughly the same volume as in 1850. All the gains of the great Victorian era are gone. Lancashire's export situation is worse than during cotton famine or during the 1931 slump. Proportionately, last year's decline in Indian trade is not so great as it was in the trade with the rest of the Empire.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

Replying to a Deputation of Indian Merchants in Bombay, H. E. the Viceroy said:



H. E. THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW

Whatever the course or outcome of the negotiations, the Ottawa Agreement will not be continued beyond the end of the next budget session. . . . Any agreement reached will be placed before the Legislature for its opinion before effect is given to it.

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The 13th Session of the All-India Women's Conference met at Delhi on December 29. Introducing the President-elect, Rani Laxmibai Rajwade, the outgoing President of the Conference, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, said that there was a definite awakening among women and they needed service and guidance but there was a dearth of workers and there was the necessity of engaging paid workers.

It is for this reason, she said, that a new method of work at our annual session has been pressed by me in order that we may discuss in detail how to find workers, how to expand our work, and how to make living contact with the women who constitute the large majority of Indian womanhood. We must be conversant with the life, needs and condition of the people if we want to be of any service to them.

Rani Lakshimibai, in her presidential address, outlined a fourfold lead to the women's movement. She gave a new orientation to the policy and activities of the Women's Conference. Firstly, she wants the Conference not only to declare its political faith but to work for its fulfilment in a constructive non-partisan spirit. Secondly, she asked for increased efforts to come into vital contact with the real mass of Indian women and reach the village and city workers. Thirdly, she expressed herself decidedly against the formation of any 'women's party' in the country; and, lastly, she made an appeal to Indian women to work for communal and political unity.

For the first time in the history of the Conference, she gave a clear declaration on behalf of Indian women that they accepted the goal of independence for India as their political faith. Rani Rajwade spoke out clearly for extending the scope of the Conference so as to include 'constructive politics'.

The Conference, after due deliberation, agreed to amend the Constitution in the following terms:

The Association of the All-India Women's Conference shall not belong to any organisation nor take any active part in party politics, but it shall be free to discuss and contribute to all questions affecting the welfare of the people of India, with particular reference to women and children.

The proposal for a change from the policy of non-participation in political discussions has been before the Conference in its earlier sessions; but the strong lead in favour of it given in her opening address by the President, Rani Rajwade, apparently influenced the decision this year.

The Session was also notable for a lead in favour of sex education of the young.

It was also notable for what has been described as a socialistic declaration "that Labour must be recognised as part owners in industry along with Capital"; and for a strong denunciation of war and determination not to assist or take part in it even by way of nursing or other humane activities.

The text of the resolution on this important subject runs as follows:

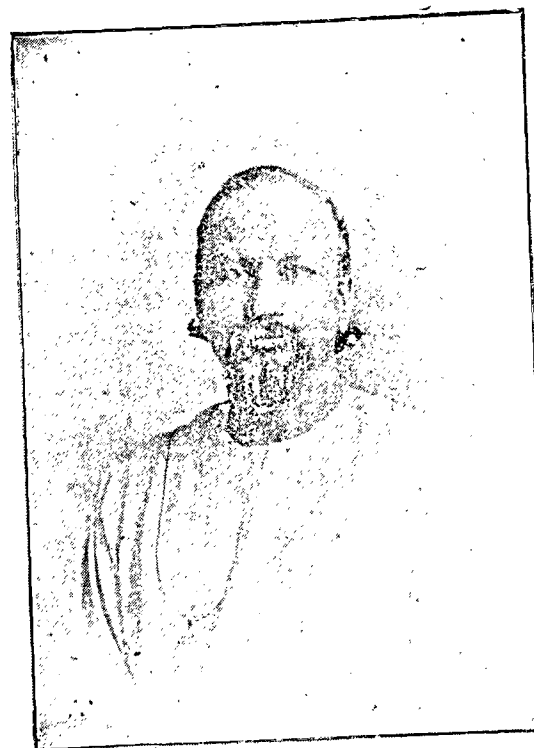
Conscious of the gravity of the situation to-day in the world and believing that the new order is an imperative need, we wish to stress once more our abhorrence of war as a solution of any problem. We declare ourselves in utter and eternal opposition to all oppression and exploitation. We have been pained and horrified at the betrayal of Austria and Czechoslovakia, at the abetment from outside and continuance of the internal strife in Spain, at the merciless persecution of the Jews, at the deplorable interference and cruelties in Palestine, and at the unjustifiable aggression in China. The inability of the so-called great Powers of the world to put an end to all this woe and misery is a proof enough of the futility of their methods of approach. We are convinced that it is only through the banishing of all greed for possession that the shadow of war and armed conflict itself can be removed. We, therefore, protest against the mad race in the building of armaments that continues unabated. We appeal to the women of the world to unite on the platform of non-violence and actively demonstrate that by this power alone can the forces of hatred and desire for possession be brought under control and a real and lasting peace established.

THE WRITERS' CONFERENCE

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand gave this call for unity to all intellectuals in India at the Second All-India Progressive Writers' Conference held at the Ashutosh Hall in Calcutta on 24th and 25th December, 1938.

The popularisation of culture and the necessity to defend the democratic ideal against the onslaughts of reaction at home and abroad demands that we, the writers of India, who as members of a generation which has actually seen the decay of capitalism and suffered years of disillusionment through the oppression imposed upon our country by an alien imperialism, join together, in spite of individual differences, in an unshakable unity for common action, to face the crisis in culture and to rebuild the social order with an intense belief in the organism which we wish to create.

The scientific and objective discussion of the foundations of all belief to find our roots in tradition, the sensitive rendering of the tragedies in our midst to rouse emotion and help men to act, the exploration of the relationship of individuals, as against individualists, to organised parties, becomes a duty to all intellectuals; it is the prelude to a cultural awakening in our country.



DR. BHAGAVAN DAS
the great scholar whose seventy-first birthday
was celebrated at Benares.

THE LATE MR. RAMAN MENON

We deeply regret to record the death of Mr. K. Raman Menon, Minister for Courts and Prisons, Madras, at the early age of 43. Mr. Menon rose to this responsible position by continued service and sacrifice and won the unstinted appreciation of his chief and his colleagues in the Cabinet.



THE LATE MR. K. RAMAN MENON

Mr. Menon practised in Calicut Courts from September 1920, and took part in the Civil Disobedience movements in 1930 and 1932. He was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly in the last general election and was appointed Minister for Courts and Prisons.

The Premier gave feeling expression to his grief when he said that Mr. Menon's death had created a void in the Cabinet.

The choice of Mr. C. J. Varkey to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Menon's death is warmly welcomed in the Province as a fit recognition of the services of the active and enterprising Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education. Mr. Varkey will be in charge of Education, and Dr. P. Subbarayan, who is Minister in charge of the Education and Legal Departments, will take over the portfolio of Courts and Prisons and retain the Legal Department under his charge.

DR. TIRUMURTI'S CALL TO DOCTORS

Dr. T. S. Tirumurti, Principal of the Stanley Medical College, Madras, in declaring open the new pharmaceutical department and analytical laboratory of pharmaceutical



DR. T. S. TIRUMURTI

works in Calcutta last month, referred to the growth of the pharmaceutical industry in India, and said that if it was to make further headway, it was necessary that the Government, the Medical profession, the public, and the capitalists should co-operate.

ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

The 15th Session of the All-India Medical Conference, which met at Meerut on December 27, was inaugurated by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

Dr. Bhupal Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the Delegates, urged the Conference to make the medical profession an important unit of the body politic.

Dr. George Da Silva, presiding over the Session, noted with regret that the Association had not received sufficient support from the medical profession in India.

In spite of Congress Ministries taking over the administration of most of the provinces, our brothers in Government service are either not permitted or are not bold enough to become members of this Association.

An exhibition of medical and surgical appliances, organised in connection with the Conference, was opened by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.

VALUE OF COLD BATH

Cold baths have the effect of increasing the number of active cells in the blood to a very remarkable extent. The white corpuscles are increased to a much larger extent than the red cells, sometimes being nearly doubled. The increase is observed within half an hour after the bath, writes *Good Health*.

This increase in the white cells, it says, is not due to any new cells. It is due to the fact that cells, which have been idle in some deeply seated part, are brought out into active circulation by means of the bath and thus made useful. The effect, however, is practically the same as though new cells had been formed. This is one of the ways in which the cold bath increases the resisting power of the body.

PHYSICAL TRAINING IN SCHOOLS

As it is now proposed to introduce compulsory military training in the higher classes in schools and intermediate colleges and to make physical training compulsory, the U. P. Government have set up a committee of nine with Mr. Karan Singh Kane, Parliamentary Secretary, as Chairman, to draw up a suitable syllabus of physical culture, to advise the Government how the proposed scheme of physical training can be fitted into the school routine and to devise a syllabus of physical culture for girls' schools.

THE CHILD'S CRY

1. More free air.
2. More sunshine.
3. More and better food.
4. More wholesome drink.
5. More play in right direction.
6. More and better education. Mere increase in knowledge is not enough. He must be made to understand and use that knowledge.
7. Better place to live in.

THE RATIO QUESTION

The Government of India in a recent *communiqué* declare that they have no intention of allowing a lowering of the present exchange value of the rupee. The *communiqué* goes on to say:

"Altogether, the Government of India have no doubt that it is their clear duty in the interests of India generally, and the cultivator in particular, to defend the present ratio to the utmost of their power.

As already stated they have every belief in their ability to do this and they are confident that drastic measures of contraction will not be necessary except to the extent that they are forced upon them by the action of speculators who place their funds abroad in a hope of bringing them back at a profit.

Incidentally, they are convinced that the exchange would be materially stronger to-day were it not for the fact that there have been large movements of funds to the United Kingdom by the same speculative interests during the last year."

Replying to an address presented by a deputation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Bombay, H. E. the Viceroy emphatically reiterated Government's intention to defend the present rupee ratio by every means in their power.

BANKING IN INDIA

Mr. B. T. Thakur, Chief Inspector of the Central Bank, lecturing at the Dacca University, explained the difference between money-lending and banking, and how Indian banking and Indian banking habits were still in their first stages. According to him, India was accustomed to tangible and concrete forms of investment securities; and the public still did not fully realize that deposits to be serviceable must form resources for credit.

Mr. Thakur emphasized the imperative necessity of investing short-term deposits in liquid advances, so that in time of need the credit allowed to the public could be reconverted in cash. Failure to observe this principle was responsible for many a bank failure in India.

THE DHANBAD RAILWAY DISASTER

Death and immediate cremation seems to have been the fate of a number of passengers who were trapped in capsized bogies of nine up express, which was derailed on January 12 according to the special representative of the *Associated Press* who visited the scene of accident. Fire continued to smoulder for nearly 98 hours after the accident.

It is understood that the enquiry has established that the accident was caused by malicious tampering with the track. A case under Section 126 of the Indian Railway Act against unknown persons has already been instituted by Government Railway Police for malicious tampering with the track, thereby endangering safety to the travelling public and causing derailment.

The magnitude of this accident is considered to be greater than the last Bhitia train disaster according to officials and others, since four of the wrecked bogies were completely smashed and gutted. Public sympathy with the victims of the disaster is coupled with a strong demand for a public enquiry.

RAILWAY OFFICERS' CONFERENCE

The Indian Railway Conference Association under the presidentship of Mr. A. F. Harvey, General Manager, E. B. Railway, held its thirty-ninth session at Maiden's Hotel, Delhi, on November 26.

The Conference was attended by about 60 officers from 24 railways. The Association considered the annual report of its stores, mechanical, medical, engineering, personnel, and electrical sections as well as the periodical reports of its operating, commercial and accounts inter-change committee. Other subjects on the agenda included introduction of station rate registers, revision of general rules for the working of railways in respect of signalling, prevention of fraudulent use of railway tickets and the annual report on the working of the broad gauge wagon pool.

RAILWAY CONFERENCE ASSOCIATION

Mr. J. W. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., Manager, Jodhpur Railway, has been elected President of the Indian Railway Conference Association for 1939-40.

ART AND TRADITION

Mr. Haldar has done an invaluable service by writing this excellent monograph on Art under review. (*Art and Tradition* by Azit Kumar Haldar. With a preface from the Rt. Hon'ble the Marquess of Zetland. Price Rs. 2-8. Publishers: Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal.) It is a very comprehensive account of the different theories of art, i.e., the expressionist, the impressionist, and the realistic theories of art. The concept of harmony in art is brought out in a brilliant chapter. The chapter on Indian Painting is the most readable account we have on the subject. The contribution of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore to art is assessed at his true worth. The different trends of Bengali art are explained and illustrated. The paintings of Bagh caves, Ajanta caves, and Jogimara caves are explained at length. The book concludes with the insistence on the realistic nature of modern art. The book under review is an excellent introduction to the students of art. We commend this book to all those who are interested in art.

MR. J. F. ARORA

Mr. J. F. Arora, of Multan, is now at work in London, where he hopes to establish himself. He has completed a portrait of the Nawab of Pataudi. Mr. Arora is an exponent of modern Indian art, seeking to introduce into his work the more recent influences without losing the background of Indian culture. He hopes soon to lecture on the Continent and he intends to visit the World Fair in America, where he will expound modern Indian art. Mr. Arora was a teacher at the Bombay School of Art.

THE BOMBAY ART SOCIETY

The Golden Jubilee Exhibition of the Bombay Art Society was held in Bombay on the 20th of last month. The Exhibition was open to competitors from all over India, and a list of attractive awards was drawn up by the Managing Committee. Owing to an unusually large number of entries, the number of prizes was appreciably increased.

BENGAL OLYMPIC GAMES

The Bengal Provincial Athletic Championships concluded on January 14. Although three new Bengal records were set up, it must be admitted that keener contests resulting in better timings had been recorded in the past.

Sgt. Priestley of the Calcutta Police won the Governor's medal by winning the Individual Championship in a convincing manner scoring 37 points. The Indian Athletics Camp won the Team Championship by a huge margin of 188 points.

Sir Harold Derbyshire, Chief Justice, gave away the prizes.

LADIES' GOLF CHAMPIONSHIP

The final of the Ladies' Golf Championship of India was decided at the old course of the Royal Calcutta Golf Club when Mrs. J. Y. Baxendine beat Miss Eileen Homan by 2 and 1.

Mrs. Baxendine fully deserved the honour by steady and consistent play. Miss Homan was runner-up for a second time, last year being beaten in the final by Miss Wharton.

Lady Brabourne, who had tea with the Captain and Committee of the Ladies' Golf Club, presented the prizes.

MOTOR RACING

Francesco Cortese, of Italy, driving a Maserati, won the Grosvenor motoring Grand Prix in the time of 2 hours, 38 minutes, 41.6 seconds at an average speed of 76.8 miles an hour.

Peter Aitken, son of Lord Beaverbrook, was second driving "Era". Time: 2 hours, 44 minutes, 33.6 seconds; average speed: 74 miles an hour.

South African Chiappini, driving Maserati, was third. Time: 2 hours, 44 minutes, 52.8 seconds.

INTER-VARSITY TOURNEY

The Benares University won the final of the Central Zone in the Inter-Varsity cricket tournament beating the Lucknow University by an innings and 50 runs. The winners have qualified for the semi-final of the Championship proper, which will be played at Lahore, their opponents being the Punjab University.

SCIENTIFIC UNCERTAINTY

Sir Shah Sulaiman, the eminent Indian Scientist and Federal Court Judge, who has been unanimously elected President of the National Academy of Science, said in a recent Simla lecture:

That our scientific theories must of necessity be uncertain would become patent when one realizes that, according to calculation, the radius of an electron may be five million millionth part of a centimeter and the electron may be revolving round its nucleus several thousand million times per second. If such is the extreme minuteness of its dimensions, it is impossible to be certain of its structure. Human vision is limited within a very narrow range and there can be no knowing whether there are not even smaller worlds within such microscopic worlds which may never be discovered by man.



DR. SERGE VORONOFF

Dr. Serge Voronoff, famous for his rejuvenation experiments, claims to have perfected a method of making intelligent people from idiots and of curing children whose development has been arrested either physically or mentally.

INDIAN FILM DEPUTATION

The urgent need either to enhance the import duty on exposed films or increase the assessment value was represented to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, the Commerce Member, Government of India, by a deputation of the Indian film industry at Bombay, on January 10.

The deputation was led by Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, member of the Council of State, and consisted of the members of the Executive Committee of the Indian Motion Picture Congress and Silver Jubilee of the Indian film industry.

The deputation drew the attention of the Commerce Member to the handicaps under which the Indian film industry worked and indicated the directions in which the Government of India could encourage and support the industry. The deputation urged the Commerce Member to persuade the Government of India to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Cinematograph Committee of 1927-28.

NEED FOR NATIONAL FILMS

In the course of a speech at Madras, Mr. Sambanda Mudaliar expressed the opinion that Puranic films should give place to really useful national films bringing out the character and qualities of Indians. These films should disseminate the teachings and ideals of the Indian national leaders. The speaker pleaded for a greater element of realism in South Indian films and eradication of certain anachronisms which had crept into some of them.

Srimathi Kothainayaki Ammal, who also spoke on the occasion, in the course of her remarks said that films could depict family life with advantage and drive home morals to children and the masses.

THE BOMBAY FILM CENSORS

We learn the Bombay Board of Film Censors will, in future, submit a comprehensive report to Government on films bearing on Indian life and will issue certificates only after the Government's approval.

GENERAL MOTORS INDIA LD.

An interesting function took place recently at General Motors India Limited, Sewri, Bombay, when a large number of the Company's employees gathered together to receive gold and silver lapel buttons in commemoration of their completion of 10 and 5 years' service, respectively.

Mr. Halsted, the Managing Director, in congratulating the men, said that their loyalty to the Company through the good and bad years was a matter for satisfaction to all concerned. He made no secret of the fact that it was largely due to their individual keenness and effort that General Motors in India had reached the paramount position it now holds in the industry. These members of the organization were in at the birth of this great assembly plant in June 1928, when the first real and organized effort to put India on the motoring map began. Assembly operations actually began in December 1928, and in the following 10 years 92,833 General Motors cars and trucks have been assembled and sold, of which Chevrolet alone accounts for 71,401 units.

The Bombay Factory employs 850 Indians, who have become thoroughly skilled in an industry which a decade ago was entirely new to them.

IMPROVING CAR PERFORMANCE

Prof. A. M. Low, writing on "The Perfect Car" or "What shall we see at the Motor Show of 1948?" in the *Madras Mail*, says:

Probably the most promising way to improve the performance or life of the small modern car is to improve the power-weight ratio by reducing the weight rather than by increasing the power. In view of the high cost of the lighter materials, which can be employed in the body or chassis, however, progress along these lines presents very practical difficulties.

Improvement is being effected by the extended use of plastic materials in place of metal, not only for body parts but for certain parts of the engine, such as valve covers, but the greatest hope of weight reduction appears to lie in departure from the conventional design of bodies and chassis frames, and several makers are experimenting along these lines. In this connection, there is undoubtedly much to be said for employing the body frame as a stress member.

AIR SERVICE OVER SPAIN

Following General Franco's refusal to permit British planes to fly over the territory under his control necessitating the postponement of planes for the new London-Lisbon air service, it is understood that the question of a link between London and Lisbon is now being considered by the Department of Civil Aviation and the Air Ministry which has before it several alternatives, one of which is to cover the journey by flying boat instead of aeroplane.

It is authoritatively stated that General Franco's attitude in no way affects the arrangements for the British service across the Atlantic from Bathurst to Brazil, of which the London-Lisbon service was to have been the first link.

It is understood that General Franco has expressed himself unwilling to afford facilities to countries which have not accorded him full *de jure* diplomatic status.

AEROPLANES FROM MOULDS

The production of aeroplanes from moulds—like cakes—may permit highspeed manufacture of thousands of war planes in the event of national emergency in the United States. This development proposed by American aeronautical research engineers has had initial tests in at least four aircraft factories, though its details remain secret. Two aeroplanes now being tested in a flight are completely constructed of plastics, the same material often used for moulded motor car steering wheels, clock cases and table ware. The United States army air corps is highly interested in the process, and one of the two aeroplanes, which has been flying for several months, is described as being on the government secret list. Extensive research on the same material is being done in Europe.

AIR FORCE OF INDIA

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

A. I. S. A. AND KHADDAR

At its meeting at the Harijan Colony, Delhi, the Council of the All-India Spinners' Association decided, under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, to apply for a loan of Rs. 3 lakhs from the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, for further development of khadi production in the various provinces, to increase further the wages of spinners and to carry all business surpluses that might accrue in actual work to the Spinners' Benefit Fund.

The Council, while thanking the Congress Ministries for the assistance they have so far rendered in the cause of the spread of khadi, suggested the provision of a capital advance and the purchase of khadi for the requirements of State departments.

The A. I. S. A. has been pursuing a policy of progressive rise in wages for the spinners and other artisans since 1935, and considerable advance has been made. The work in this direction has, however, been hampered by the baneful activities of producers and dealers, who are trying to push the sale of uncertified cloth in the name of khadi.

The Congress Working Committee adopted a resolution urging the public and, particularly Congressmen, to use only khadi produced by the A. I. S. A. and the certified organisations.

The Council of the A. I. S. A. passed a resolution thanking the Working Committee and other Congress organisations which have rendered help in this connection and suggesting further suitable measures to eliminate the harm done by the use of uncertified cloth passing under the name of khadi.

GLASS INDUSTRY IN U. P.

Dr. Alexander Nadel, Polish technologist, whose services have been secured by the U. P. Government, in a Press interview, stresses that the glass industry has a bright future in India, provided the requisite level of technical efficiency is maintained and the manufacturers overcome the tendency to produce cheap stuff.

ZEMINDARI ESTATES REPORT

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, in an interview on the Madras Estates Land Act Committee's Report, observed:

According to the scheme of the Committee's report, all enhancements of rent are declared illegal even if they have been made in pursuance of the provisions of the Estates Land Act, 1908. There is no presumption in favour of the existing rent. The rates of rent fixed at the time of the permanent settlement have to be ascertained apparently by a Commission to be appointed by the Legislature and the Government. Where there is a dispute as to the rent payable by a ryot, there is no presumption that the existing rate is fair, but the ryot should be presumed to hold at the same rate and under the same conditions as those fixed for the year preceding the permanent settlement.

There would be immense difficulties in ascertaining the rent for the year preceding the permanent settlement, and allowance would have to be made for changes in the value of money. The ryots themselves in several cases had told the Committee that the rents might be fixed on the level of the neighbouring Government rates. The Committee brushes this aside and says that the ryots were ignorant of their rights and that the proposal made by them should not be accepted as correct.

There is no justification for this wholesale disturbance of the existing provisions and arrangements with regard to the amount of rent payable. It would plunge all the zemindari tracts into wide-spread agitation and extensive litigation and impose on the Government and on all concerned an extremely laborious task for which there is no justification. . . .

The proposed legislation is unfair and is bound to create unrest on a wide scale and have far-reaching repercussions.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT

Various experiments carried out successfully to improve the cultivation of paddy, cotton, sugar-cane and fruits are recorded in an order issued by the Madras Government, reviewing the Administration Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1937-38. During the year there was an increase in the number of farms on which trials and demonstrations were conducted. To extend the cultivation of improved varieties of sugar-cane in areas near sugar factories, the organisation of co-operative societies subsidised by the Government was sanctioned.

WORKERS' FLIGHT IN TITAGARH

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has issued the following statement:—

"It was announced recently that the Titagarh jute strike had failed and that the mills were working. Few people, realise, however, that victimisation on a mass scale has taken place. It is stated that 5,000 Madras workers, men and women, and 2,000 up-country people have been suddenly stranded and driven out of their quarters. Thousands of people, including children, have been rendered shelterless and without food.

"This is an extraordinary situation and quite apart from the merits of the strike, the Government concerned as well as community cannot possibly remain indifferent to it. The fact that most of these thousands who have been dismissed, are from other Provinces adds to their difficulties and to the gravity of the situation. I hope that such help as can be given to these unfortunate people will be given."

DOCKERS' STRIKE IN RANGOON

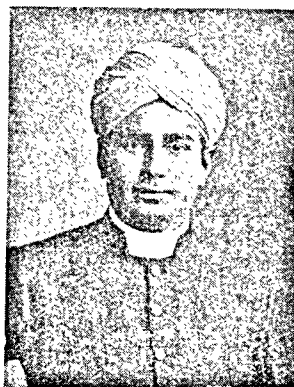
A majority of the employees of the Government dockyard having struck, it has been closed down. A general strike of dockyard workers is threatened. Hitherto 5,000 have downed tools affecting six companies. Several agitators have been arrested. One instance of the intimidation of loyal workers is reported. Nine more persons, including five members of the Do Bama Party, have been taken into custody under the Rangoon Security Emergency Act.

OIL WORKERS' STRIKE

With the call for a general strike, the labour situation in Burma is assuming greater importance. As we go to Press, about 400 workers of the Burma Oil Company's refinery at Syrian struck, bringing the total number of strikers to over 6,000. Among the strikers, there is a large number of Burmese women and Indians. According to official information, the situation in Rangoon is unchanged. About 400 workers of the British Burma Petroleum Company have also struck.

CONSECRATION OF DORNAKAL CATHEDRAL

The new Cathedral of Dornakal was consecrated on the 6th January by the Most Rev. Foss Westcott, Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon, assisted by visiting Bishops. The Cathedral is probably



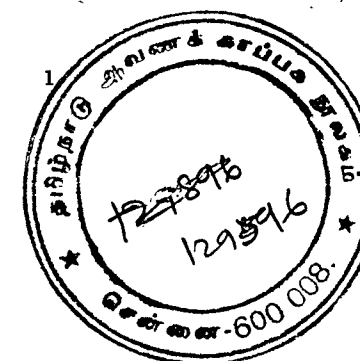
THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL

the first Anglican Cathedral to be built in the Indo-Saracenic style and it has many interesting architectural features.

The diocese of Dornakal was founded in 1912, with the Rt. Rev. Dr. V. S. Azariah, the first Indian Bishop of the Church of England, as its first Bishop. The building fund has been contributed mainly by Indian Christians and by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. The greater part of the work has been carried out by local craftsmen.

THE COST OF THE LAST WORLD WAR

According to the *Evening Standard*, London, the last War cost the world £80,000,000,000. That sum, observes a statistician, could have provided every family in Britain, Canada, Australia, the U. S. A., Germany, France, Belgium, and Russia with a £500 house and £200 worth of furniture, standing on five acres of land. A £1,000,000 library and a £2,000,000 university for every city, with more than 100,000 inhabitants in those countries, could also have been bought.

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Strathmore*	23,500	1st & Tourist	" 18	Narkunda	17,000	1st & Tourist	" 20
Maloja	21,000	1st & Tourist	" 25	Carthage	15,000	1st & 2nd	" 27
Viceroy of India *	20,000	1st & 2nd	April 1				

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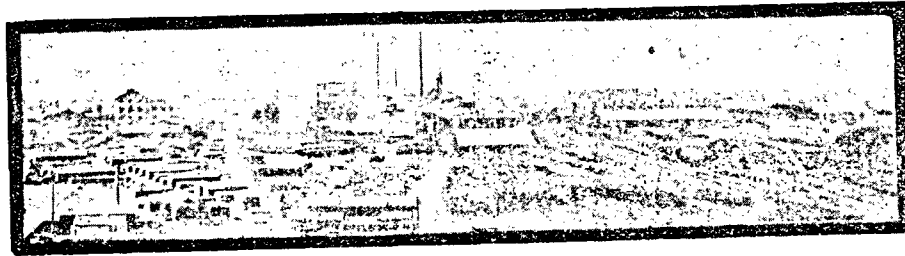
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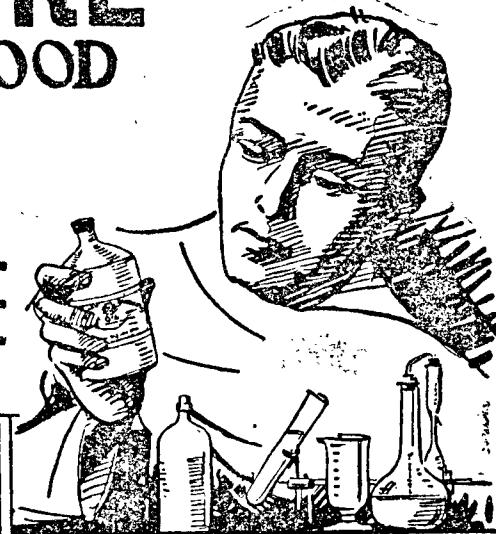
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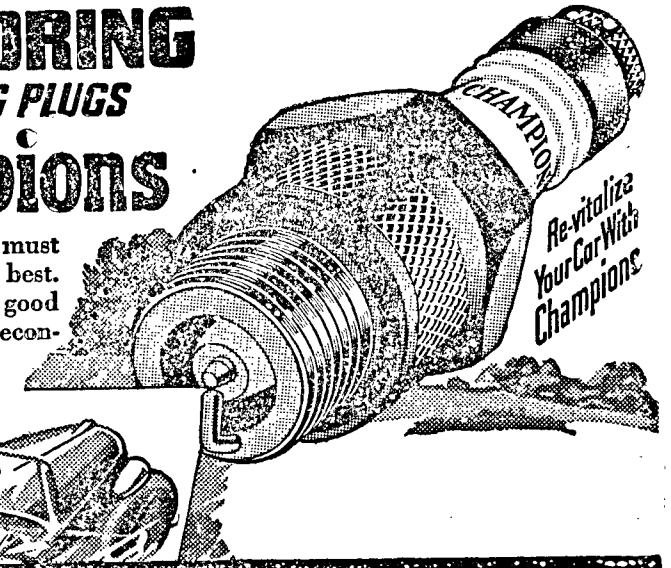
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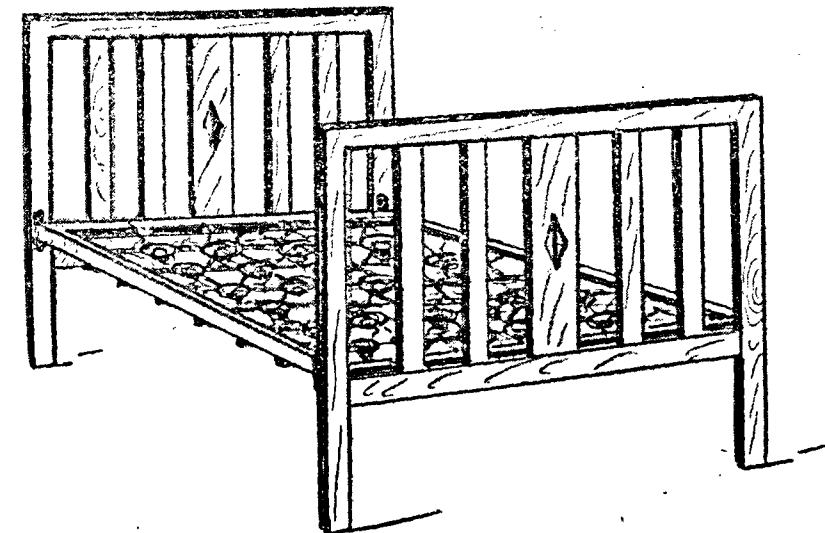
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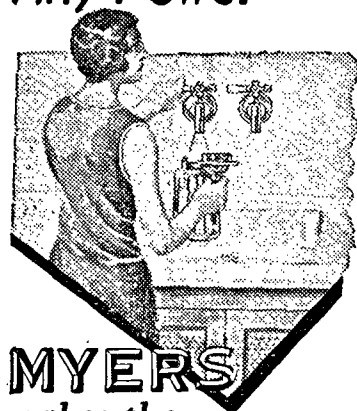
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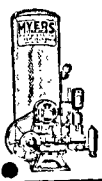


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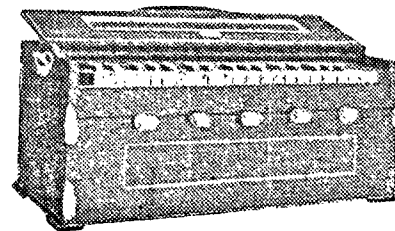
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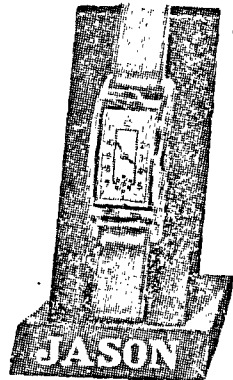
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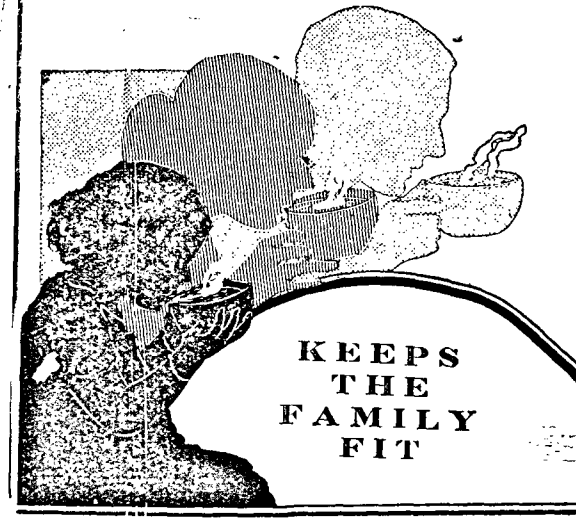
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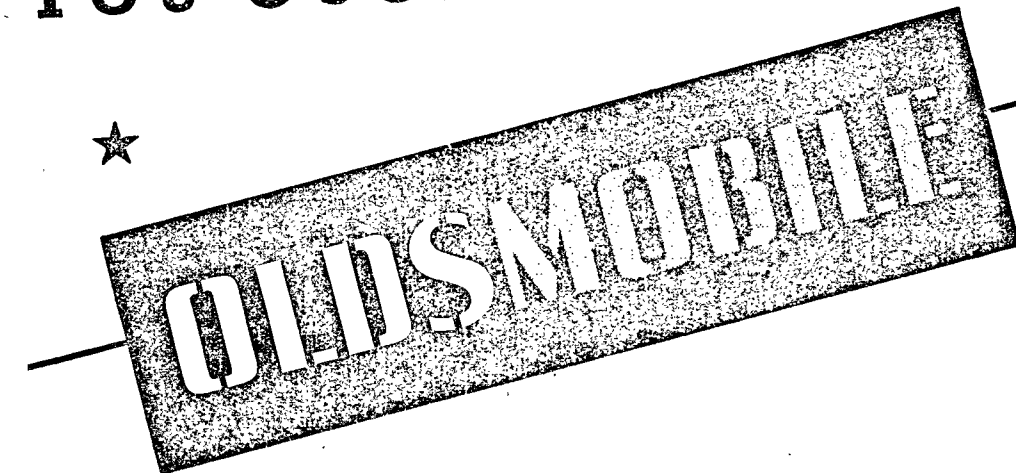
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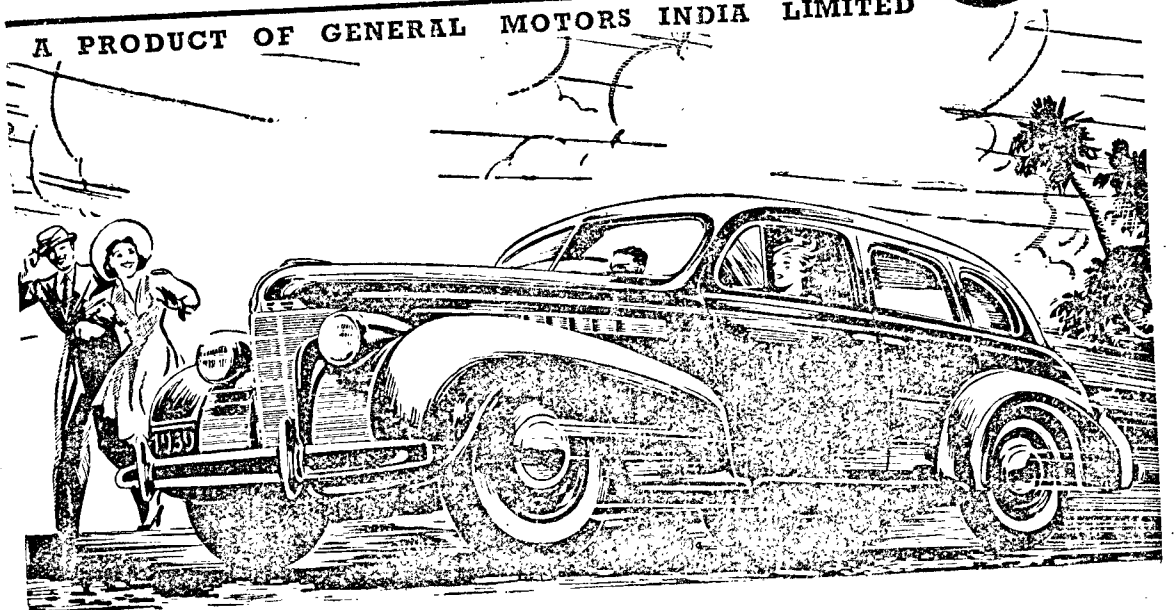
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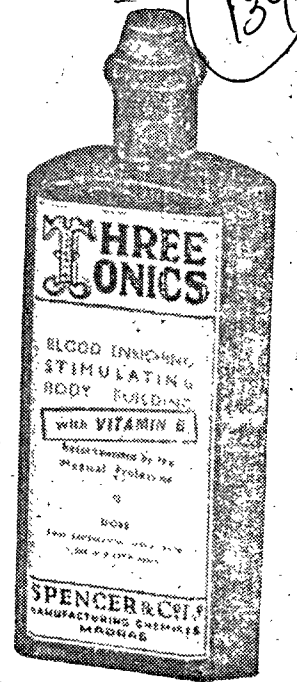
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TUESDAY	3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28	... 7 14 21 28	... 4 11 18 25
WEDNESDAY	4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 ...	1 8 15 22 29	... 5 12 19 26
THURSDAY	5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 ...	2 9 16 23 30	... 6 13 20 27
FRIDAY	6 13 20 27 ...	3 10 17 24 ...	3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28
SATURDAY	7 14 21 28 ...	4 11 18 25 ...	4 11 18 25 ...	1 8 15 22 29
	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST
SUNDAY	... 7 14 21 28	... 4 11 18 25	30 2 9 16 23	... 6 13 20 27
MONDAY	1 8 15 22 29	... 5 12 19 26	31 3 10 17 24	... 7 14 21 28
TUESDAY	2 9 16 23 30	... 6 13 20 27	... 4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29
WEDNESDAY	3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28	... 5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30
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FRIDAY	5 12 19 26 ...	2 9 16 23 30	... 7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25 ...
SATURDAY	6 13 20 27 ...	3 10 17 24 ...	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26 ...
	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
SUNDAY	... 3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	... 5 12 19 26	31 3 10 17 24
MONDAY	... 4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	... 6 13 20 27	... 4 11 18 25
TUESDAY	... 5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	... 7 14 21 28	... 5 12 19 26
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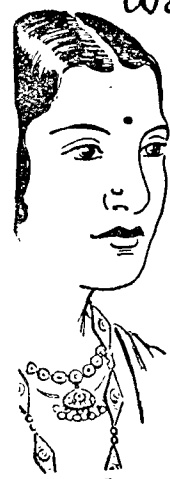
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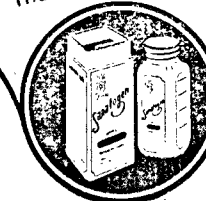
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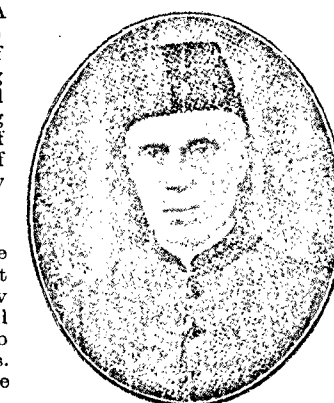


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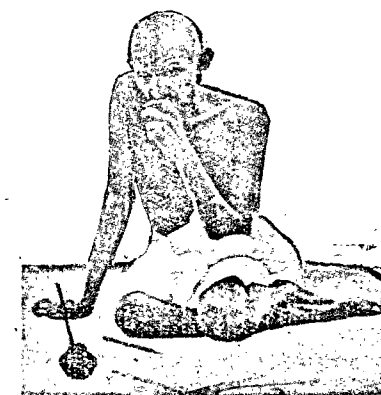
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LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
Called and Paid-Up Capital:—	Rs. A. P.	Loans, Bills Discounted, Promissory Notes and Temporary Overdrafts:—	Rs. A. P.
20,000 Shares at Rs. 50 per share	10,00,000 0 0	I Debts considered good and in respect of which the Bank is fully secured	Rs. 18,31,968 12 3
Reserve Call	500 0 0	II Debts considered good for which the Bank holds:—	
Reserve Fund	Rs. 25,000 0 0	(a) Joint and Several Promotes (including Discounted Bills)	4,37,210 10 0
Contingent Fund for Bad and Doubtful Debts	Rs. 25,000 0 0	(b) Promotes by Several Persons Singly	41,519 7 6
		(c) No Promotes being Temporary Overdrafts	26,121 15 11
Deposits:—Fixed, Current, Savings Bank, Staff and other Deposits	22,96,577 6 0	III Debts considered doubtful and bad	6,953 0 0
Dividends Not Drawn	2,810 4 0	IV Debts due by	
Bills for Collection	3,80,047 3 9	(a) Directors	Nil
Acceptances for Customers	11,233 5 4	(b) Officers of the Bank	Nil
Sundries (including Rebate)	1,94,994 10 0	The total loans including temporary advances made to the Directors in the year amounted to	Rs. 197 7 3
Profit and Loss Account:—		and that to the Officers	Rs. 149 7 10
Balance Brought Forward	Rs. 5,120 4 0	Branch Preliminary Expenses	63,785 3 9
Net Profit for the year ending 31st December, 1938	Rs. 32,411 5 3	Sales, Furniture and Fittings at cost	18,615 7 9
		Less—Written off up to 31st Dec. 1938.	
		Books, Stamps and Stationery	
		Bills for Collection as per Contra	
		Customers' Liability for acceptance as per Contra	
		Sundries: (including Branch adjustments)	
		Investments:—Government of Madras Securities of face value Rs. 4,55,600 (at cost)	
		(of which Rs. 35,600 is earmarked for Prov. and Grat. Fund)	
		Rs. 4,54,461 (Market value)	
		F. D. with Bankers:—(Staff Security amount invested with Scheduled Banks)	
		Cash on hand and with Banks (of which Rs. 3,409-3-3 relates to Staff Security Deposits)	
			1,24,500 0 0
			5,29,065 15 10
			39,73,694 6 4
			Total

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Vol. XL.]

MARCH 1939

[No. 3.

INDIAN CURRENCY PROBLEMS

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.

MONEY is essentially a tool of the business community and it is therefore necessary that the currency system of a country should be so organised and controlled that business interests should be best served. The currency system should be elastic, automatic, and it should aim at comparative stability of internal price level. It should also maintain an equilibrium of the internal price level with the external price level through the stability of the rate of exchange. And, above all, it should command the confidence of the public.

In India, up to the time of the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India, the credit policy was controlled, if at all, by the Imperial Bank of India and the currency policy was controlled by the Government of India, and with divided authority, as remarked by the Hilton Young Commission, there was the possibility of divided counsels. The Commission considered the alternative standards for Indian Currency and finally recommended the establishment of the gold bullion standard for this country. The majority of the Commission also recommended that the rupee should be stabilised at 1s. 6d., and this recommendation was given effect to by the Indian Currency Act of 1927. That Act authorised the currency authority

to give gold or sterling at its option in exchange for notes. Thus if the currency authority made it a practice to give gold in exchange for notes tendered, the standard could be called a gold bullion standard; but if, as a rule, sterling was provided, the standard could be called the sterling exchange standard.

It may be remarked at this stage that in recommending the gold bullion standard for India, the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance chose the English model. Discussing the case of the gold bullion standard against the gold standard with a gold currency, the Commission remarked that in the post-War period, the countries which reverted to the gold standard did not allow gold to remain in circulation. In England, gold was not in circulation and in America gold was circulating in theory but not in practice.

The Commission ignored the fundamental differences in the economic conditions in the two countries in having selected the British model for India. In England, the gold standard was adopted in 1816 with gold in circulation and the system continued to operate up to the outbreak of the Great War. It was under this system that London became the international financial centre and her banking system was thus built on a sound foundation

Before adopting the gold bullion standard, England thus had been on the gold standard with a gold currency for over a century. There was nothing like that in India. Commission after Commission beginning with the Mansfield Commission of 1866, the Herschell and Fowler Committees in 1893 and 1899 respectively had all recommended the gold standard with a gold currency for India. It was the Chamberlain Commission alone which eulogised the services of the gold exchange standard for India, but it also pointed out that that form of currency should be given to the people which they desired most, whether rupees, notes or gold. The Babington Smith Committee of 1919 were precluded by the terms of their reference to consider any alternative system of currency except the perfection of the gold exchange standard.

The recommendations of these earlier Commissions and Committees were accepted by Government. The public thus came to believe that gold standard with a gold currency would be adopted in India. But when this did not come about, the Indian business community was disappointed. Moreover, the huge losses incurred in maintaining the 2s. ratio between 1920 and 1921 made the business community somewhat suspicious of the currency policy of the Government.

Still earlier, the Fowler Committee of 1899 had recommended the creation of a gold fund to be located in India in gold out of the profits of the rupee coinage. The Secretary of State, however, decided subsequently that these profits should be located in London and remain invested in short-term sterling securities to avoid gold lying idle. But in the crisis of 1907, a huge loss was incurred

in selling these securities to maintain the exchange rate at 1s. 4d.

It will thus be seen that the psychological and economic background did not warrant the suitability of the English model for Indian conditions. Even then, the standard recommended by the Hilton Young Commission was not worked in practice.

At this stage it will not be out of place, perhaps, to remark that in considering the alternative systems of currency for India, the Hilton Young Commission definitely rejected the sterling exchange standard, because under any exchange standard the rise in the price of silver beyond a certain point would contain a threat to the upsetting of the currency system inasmuch as the rupee would tend to vanish. The other ground was the possibility, however remote, of the sterling depreciating in gold. According to the Commission, it was not likely to take place except in a world-wide economic catastrophe which would upset world currencies. But the Commission did want to safeguard the Indian currency system against this eventuality also. In spite of this recommendation of the Commission, the rupee was linked to the sterling in September 1931.

An acute controversy has since been waging on whether the rupee ratio should be 1s. 6d. or 1s. 4d., the Indian business community being definitely ranged in favour of devaluation and the Government of India being equally against this step. It may be stated that the arguments for and against 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. were very carefully considered by the majority and the minority respectively of the Hilton Young Commission, and it does not seem to be necessary to go over the ground again.

The preamble to the Reserve Bank Act lays down that the monetary provisions of the Act are transitory, and they will be reviewed when the monetary situation in the world is clarified. Meanwhile, the Indian business community has been agitating for devaluation. It may be recalled that following the Congress Ministers' Conference at the Congress Working Committee Meeting in Bombay, it was decided to make representations to the Government of India for revising the rupee ratio.

In this connection there are two questions to be considered: (1) Have the currencies of the world been so stabilized as to justify a change in the rupee ratio permanently? (2) What have been the effects of 1s. 6d. ratio upon economic conditions in India?

It is, of course, difficult to pronounce a definite opinion on the extent of the stabilization of world currencies. It may be remarked that the depreciation of world currencies began in England in September 1931 when that country went off the gold standard, and later, America followed in April 1933 and one by one almost all the gold standard countries depreciated their currencies to meet international competition. The leader of the gold block countries, too, namely, France, depreciated the *franc* in September 1936 to the extent of 30 per cent.; but after that the race for depreciation was not continued. World trade is now improving. According to the Report of the Indian Trade Commissioner, the total value of the world trade for 76 countries during the year 1937-38 was 29,982 million gold dollars as against 25,554 million gold dollars in 1936-37, or an increase of 4,428,000,000 dollars. These figures do

indicate some degree of stabilization of world currencies.

We may now make a brief reference to the economic effects of the 1s. 6d. ratio. According to the Report of the Reserve Bank of India on Currency and Finance for 1935-36 and 1936-37, the total net exports of gold from India for 6 years from 1931-32 to 1936-37, come to Rs. 298,28,87,450; while the total net imports of the yellow metal for 21 years from 1910-11 to 1930-31 amounted to Rs. 457,85,63,634 (*vide* pages 46, 47 of the Report). It clearly shows that we are not maintaining the standard of our exports, and India is living on her past capital. The fall in prices has been accentuated and thus the burden of agricultural debt has increased. The U. P. Banking Enquiry Committee had estimated the agricultural debt of the United Provinces at Rs. 124 crores, but the recent U. P. Agricultural Debt Enquiry Committee has put the figure at Rs. 186 crores. Thus the burden of agricultural debt has increased. The high ratio has increased foreign competition to the extent of 12½ per cent. and neutralized protection to our industries to a similar extent. Under these circumstances devaluation is bound to stimulate exports and thus give an advantage to the cultivator.

The Government of India have made it clear that they will defend the existing rupee ratio by every means in their power. In reply to the address of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay, His Excellency the Viceroy reiterated the decision of His Government not to change the rupee ratio. Speaking on the subject, he remarked: "I am satisfied, indeed, that to lower the ratio in the market conditions, internationally, of the present

day, would result in no rise that matters in what the cultivator can realise for his produce; that it would immediately and sharply increase the cost of what he buys, and that its effect on the budgetary position of the Centre and of the Provinces would not but be of a character which would injuriously affect the taxpayer, whether urban or agricultural." It may be remarked that the arguments referred to by His Excellency and His Government have been often repeated and they have been answered by the Indian business community through their spokesmen from time to time.

His Excellency also pointed out that the history of the world currency in the post-War period "has very clearly shown the uncharted reefs that confront those who endeavour to sail in these dangerous and difficult waters", and that this fact has always been present before Government in shaping their currency policy. It may be remarked that it has been during this

period that other countries have devalued their currencies.

One fundamental canon of a good currency system is that it should command the confidence of the public and the business community. The Hilton Young Commission referred to the fact that the Indian currency system lacked public confidence. The Indian currency policy in the subsequent years has done nothing to inspire that confidence. It is the duty of Government to shape its currency policy in a manner that it may command the confidence of the public. It can be done by referring the Indian currency problems to a Commission of experts having a fair representation of Indian business opinion. In the light of the currency situation in the world, the Commission of experts can be expected to make authoritative recommendations, which should be acceptable both to the Government and the business community in India.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN PEOPLES

POSSIBLE WORLD ECONOMIC UNIT

BY MR. ARTHUR LAMSLEY

WILL the American peoples, that is the United States and the South American nations, form a League of Nations which would likely become a future World Economic Unit? Since the Pan-American Conference last autumn held at Lima, in Peru, this question has been one of the most intriguing in the logic of international economics. The idea has a practical foundation, although the possibility is at the moment remote, of an economic unit in Europe composed of most of the nations in that disturbed Continent, and the future certain economic

unit composed of the British Commonwealth and the Empire peoples. Here we have three possible world economic units with the British Commonwealth most certain of ultimate fulfilment.

Since the rise of the Dictator States in Europe, the smaller nations of Latin South America have become increasingly anxious over their future for fear of German, Italian, and Japanese economic expansion followed by planned emigration by these three countries, with three subsequent groups of nationals agitating for self-determination. With the object-lesson of recent European

history, the South American States feel their only safeguard against the "peaceful persuasion" of the Dictator States is to form an economic League of their own peoples with the powerful backing of the United States. Canada has also been mentioned as being friendly towards some such economic unity in the two Americas and, of course, she has always been on exceptionally friendly terms with the United States. These two nations are an object-lesson in friendly neighbourhood inasmuch as they live side by side with three thousand miles of boundary which does not possess a single fortification.

One of the difficulties in the way of the proposed League of American nationals is the fact that in some of the South American States there are large Italian and Spanish populations who might not be willing to merge themselves into a protective economic unit against their respective Motherlands. How far hard business bargaining would enable this sentiment to see the logic of its own self-help is not easy to speculate and, what is more, some of the South American States have not shown that their peoples understand the discipline of law-abiding government. Nevertheless with the swift transition of world economic affairs, it might be possible that these peoples will be forced to accept the logic of the present position and act in unity for the self-preservation of their own particular nation.

It would seem, after study of the various deliberations of the Lima Conference, that it would be easier to form an economic alliance of American peoples than it would be to create any sort of military and naval alliance. For obvious reasons it would be a matter of almost insuperable racial difficulty to weld into

an organised unit an armed force composed of all the various States likely to join an American League of Nations. The United States would have to bear the major part of the burden of defence, or armed intervention. The American people themselves might not be willing to play a major part in what might be an unprofitable enterprise, as the South American States or some of them could not be relied upon to fulfill their engagements.

The United States is, naturally, in view of its shrinking markets, both in Europe and in the Far East (especially in China), looking with favour upon the potential markets in the twenty Latin States composing South America. Already her economic advisers have planned friendly expansion in every one of these States, and there is little doubt but what the present new defence plan in Navy, Army, and Airforce will impress the Latin States, who might be willing to concede favourable economic commitments for a "Gentleman's Agreement" for protection in the case of aggression from Dictator sources. This is part of the economic logic of present-day United States thought. Already some of the Latin States have stiffened their opposition to German trade expansion. Their position has been strengthened recently by the known betrayal of the smaller European States by Germany in her so-called trade agreements, which have all been to the economic detriment of the peoples in the Balkans.

Whatever the immediate future of a possible League of American peoples, one thing is certain that the general trend of world affairs is likely to force an association of these peoples in the safeguarding of their national existence. A League of Nations in the New World, comprising North and South America, is by no means an impossibility and might easily materialise in the course of the next generation.

HOW THE INDIAN MAP BECAME RED

BY MR. K. V. RAMASAMI, B.A., B.L.

SINCE the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, the various Governments, especially those in which Congress Ministries have been formed, have embarked on intense legislative activity. Momentous measures enforcing Prohibition, Debt Relief, new forms of taxation and the like have been passed in some provinces and are about to be passed in others. We are not concerned with the merits of the Acts themselves but with the underlying power of legislation. Whence does India get it?

Legislation proceeds from the Public or the Ruling Will and constitutes an open, set mode of interference with the individual, at once forceful, coercive, inescapable. It was largely unknown to the Kings and States of indigenous India and has become part of India's political inheritance through the troubled ways of British conquest. India's legislatures, to-day, in passing laws, employ a power and a technique, fashioned through ages of slow growth in England by the genius of the Plantagenet and Tudor Kings and of the Stuart and Hanoverian Parliaments. Legislation goes back ultimately, through England and Europe, to classic Rome, the first great law-making state in the World's history, beside which all others were mere "tax-gathering" states.

INDIAN POLITY NON-LEGISLATIVE

Indian Polity, as evolved in its most formative period, possessed vast executive and judicial power, but lacked legislative and constituent power, i.e., power to lay down private and public law. There are traces of an incipient legislative power in the early Indian Emperors. Asoka's Edicts envisage an archaic attempt at legislation. Kautilya's Arthashastra recognises King's Command (Rajasasana) as a source of law. But the theory of Hindu Law and the circumstances of its growth in the Sutra and the early Smrti schools were such that the feeble seeds of a legislative polity "discernible at first were soon lost. Law fell more and more into the hands of a hierarchy of learned and religious men. Its doctrines were made to rest on Revelation (Veda). The kingly power was openly circumscribed

to a round of judicial and administrative functions. This ideal of non-legislative kingship was pictured and perpetuated in later Hindu Law, and even in Hindu Political Theory (Nitisastra), which, beginning as an independent science, soon merged into Smrti-learning.

The absence of legislative power is not the mere absence of a high department of state. Nor is it merely a deficiency in the sum of governmental powers. It represents the lack of a vital, organic power, essential to the growth and maintenance of the state, a power perpetually to command, enlarge, modify the obligations of the subjects *inter se* and towards the state. It was this truncated governmental ideal that left the various dynasties of medieval and post-medieval India, the Chalukyas, the Jads, the Senas, the Palas, the Kalachuris, and even the latter-day Maratha and Sikh governments, without any principle of strong cohesive growth and without any large range of power over their subjects. As Hobbes said "the good of the sovereign and people cannot be separated. It is a weak Sovereign that has weak subjects, and a weak People (is one) whose Sovereign wanteth power to rule them at his will".

The history of the Maratha and Sikh states, which grew and careered side by side with the English Company and finally fell before the latter, best illustrates the quality of inherited Indian Polity.

EVOLUTION OF THE MARATHA STATE

The State founded by Sivaji was a resuscitation of the ancient Indian type, based on the old institutions. It comprised a monarchy with an administrative council (Ashtapradhan) and subordinate executive departments under it. The system worked and showed no signs of weakness for a time when the territory was small and before any great and serious conflict arose with an external power. But soon after the Moghul war, the non-legislative, non-coercive type of state embodied alike in the royal Bhonsle and his Brahmin supplanter, the Peshwa, manifested itself in loose, devious growth, in timid power, in weakened parts. The details of the process are clear and rise well out of history. State officers began to be endowed

with lands and military resources; while the victorious soldier or leader was given the territory conquered by him on condition of maintaining troops and paying a portion of the revenue to the descendant of Sivaji. The relationship thus established between the quondam officer or soldier and the state was by means of sanads, pacts or private oaths, to be violated or snapped under the dictates of ambition or self-interest. We read that Baji Rao, after once successfully surrounding the Nizam on the field, "beseeched, wrote and threatened Raghoji Bhonsle to join him, but without effect".—Grant Duff's History. There was no conception of public rules or law; there was no inner nucleus of power in the Maratha State from which public laws could issue.

Territory, which should have, with its revenues and subjects, fallen to the state, lapsed to the individual officer or soldier. Territory and, with it, power, were split into parts and there arose a fissiparous organisation, "a government of numerous authorities and interests". The system may, to some extent, be ascribed to the weak liberality of Sahu and the practice of contemporary Mahomedan states, but really it had its roots in the conditions of ancient Indian Polity, its lack of a central Coercive and Regulative Power, its lack of a high Active Public Will. The Maratha statesmen of the 17th and 18th centuries were not to blame. A high Active Public Will could only come out of the prior governing traditions and legislative habits of the land, even as the larger brain of man and the higher animals has been produced by its incessant efforts and exercise in prior aeons.

The inherent defect of the Maratha state manifested itself not only in the public sphere in failing to evoke a high governmental authority, but also manifested itself in the sphere of internal governance and order. The Maratha state had neither the insight to discern nor the power to punish or to set right—which insight and power constitute the legislative genius of a state—the newer crimes and dangers which were developing in Maratha society—sedition, political disaffection, crimes in high places, new types of proprietary

wrong and dispute, fiscal and economic troubles—all of which were beyond the reach of the archaic law administered by the Nyayadish and his subordinates.

THE SIKH POLITY

The Sikhs rose on the wave of a powerful non-conformist movement in religion discarding Hindu theology and learning. Under the same powerful impulse, they also cut themselves off, though not consciously, from the rest of Hindu traditions and ideas, even their civil laws and institutions. As a result, they threw themselves on their tribal habits and the primitive feeling of independence. Their government consisted of a National Assembly (Gurumata) and an elected Council and leader. They constituted respectively the deliberative and executive organs of the state. The relations between the two and between them and the army were of the most indefinite kind. The Sikhs developed neither public nor private law. The habit of making laws was more radically unknown to the Sikh State than to the traditional Hindu and Mahomedan states.

ENGLISH AND MARATHA GOVERNMENTS

The English Company, which was building its power in contemporary Bengal, proved the final and successful protagonist of the Indian states. Its ways of government were different. But before referring to them, let us note the conditions of the combat between the English Company and the earlier and more powerful combatant on the Indian side.

The English Company, at the beginning of the conflict, ruled over a territory much less in extent than that under the Maratha government. Its revenues at this period were 4 crores of rupees per year as opposed to the 6 crores realised annually by the Peshwa and his Sardars. The Maratha armies were more numerous than those under the English Company and were equally well trained from the modern point of view. The English had acquired their territory by conquest or by cession even like the Marathas, and the English Company was really younger in "age" than the Maratha government by a little less than a century—if we reckon the "age" of the former from the grant of the Diwani and that of the latter from

THE PERSPECTIVE IN EUROPE

By MR. DIP CHAND VERMA, M.A.

Sivaji's coronation. And the final arbitrament between the two governments issued, not out of a single battle whereof the result may be deemed accidental or military, but out of a series of wars denominated the first, second and third Anglo-Maratha wars in books of history, and out of a much longer period—preceding them—of subdued conflict and rivalry, during all which time the innate political resources of either party had time to develop and to tell. Whence then came the final victory of the British over the Marathas!

THE COMPANY'S POLITY

The answer is to be found in the superior governmental organisation which the Company represented. The English Company was one of several trading corporations which had come out from England and other maritime countries of Europe in the Middle Ages. At the end of a century and a half of its existence, it suddenly acquired the revenues of a vast Indian province. The Company continued for a time as such adding the territorial revenues to trade profits and dividing them among themselves. The English people, however—a race more Roman than the Romans in some respects—faced with the acquisition of vast territory in an Eastern land, devised quick and statesmanlike changes, converting the trading Company into a political and legal suzerain and its petty officers and factors into an organised group of administrators, judges and legislators. The transformation was effected by two Acts of the English Parliament, of 1773 and 1781. The two Acts constituted a government consisting of a Governor with three Councillors, with full powers to administer the territories, to pass laws and regulations and to do whatever was necessary for the peace and safety of the dominions. There was an elevated atmosphere in the English politics of the latter 18th century; and there was—in spite of the American revolution—a high constructive quality in the statesmen of this period—Pitt, Fox, Camden and Burke—which made the bodyingforth of a new polity in an Eastern land exceedingly providential and successful. The government that arose in

Bengal and Bihar comprised—if we forget for a moment the subordinate relation, not important from the Indian side, of the English Company to the British Parliament—a fullness of executive, judicial and legislative power such as belonged to the developed governmental types of Europe at this period.

THE ENGLISH COMPANY'S POWER

In the few decades that elapsed between the constitution of the Company's Government and the final years of the Anglo-Maratha struggle, the Company consolidated its power over its subjects and servants in a manner unknown to the Maratha government. The zemindars under them were disaffected; the Company at once settled their dues to the state and put their relations to it on a legal basis. Disorders, both within and without, were met by Police laws and other regulations. The jurisdiction and procedure of the various Courts that had been taken over from the Nawab, or that had been newly set up by the Company, were defined by a number of Regulations. Further, as each new bit of territory was added to the Company's dominions, it passed Regulations for its administration and set up officers over it with legally defined powers and duties. And thus we find, within the short space of 30 or 40 years beginning from the days of Lord Cornwallis, the first Governor-General, who started the Company's government on a career of extensive legislation, the Company's Statute-book is filled with innumerable Regulations, defining the civil rights of the subject, laying down or extending his duties and liabilities to the State, and regulating the action and conduct of governmental officers and departments.

The English Company made themselves and their subjects, in a much fuller sense than those Directors, who penned the words, meant, "a nation in India". A Moghul fief was converted into a European principality. The subjects of a decayed Indian province were knit into a political society, acting with greater effect both in peace and in war than the Maratha and Sikh societies.

I

SINCE the Versailles settlements, peace in Europe had been possible, because, the combined force of England and France, together with their satellites, was greater than any possible combination against them. Italy under Mussolini was the first to revolt against the Anglo-French hegemony, but left to himself the Duce could not exactly have brought back the lost Roman Empire whatever his pretensions. After the Munich surrender, the balance of power has suddenly shifted in favour of the Rome-Berlin axis, and Chamberlain's studied efforts to keep Russia out of the show have further added to the Fascist momentum. France has now become a second or rather a third rate State and her unstable finances, together with the shifty basis of her domestic politics, are factors that will further hasten this process of decline. France, it must be remembered, is John Bull's chief prop on the Continent and so the English influence already at a low ebb will receive further set-back as her ally travels the declining plane.

The British diplomacy at present is two-fold. On the one side, inspite of the talk of a more peaceful atmosphere in Europe, and Chamberlain's pact with Hitler in which their two respective nations are never to go to war against each other, the British armament must be carried on at full speed if further humiliations are to be avoided. Incomplete preparation was one of the factors that forced England to surrender to Germany. This must be rectified. On the other side, England is aiming at the four-power-pact, which would bring England, France, Germany and Italy together. But the Fascist powers must have some foreign subterfuge and according to Chamberlain's calculations, Soviet Russia is likely to serve that purpose, which would now be made the scape-goat of Anglo-French diplomacy. If Hitler wants colonies or raw materials, he would have a free hand towards the East and Ukraine, or some other neighbouring territory may serve as a substitute for the American colonies, which Hitler has already demanded.

20

A similar *quid-pro-quo* seems to have been arranged with Mussolini in the recent Anglo-Italian pact, and although outwardly some 10,000 so-called Italian volunteers have been recalled from the Spanish front, Mussolini must have insisted on a free hand to Franco before entering into any pact. Moreover, the Duce hopes to press France a little, and there is already agitation for Tunis, which is not without inspiration from the Fascist head-quarters. Mussolini also wants some financial help for the exploitation of Ethiopia, as well as the same rights in the Suez as are enjoyed by England and France.

Whatever may be the value of the paper pacts, which the Big Four are now entering with each other, the atmosphere in Europe is far from clear. It is doubtful if the democracies and dictatorships can work in harmony in international affairs, particularly when their imperial ambitions conflict with each other.

II

The principle of collective security, which had been so skilfully strengthened by France, by her system of alliances with Soviet Russia on the one hand and Poland and members of the *little entente* on the other, has now disappeared. The vacuum thus created is being filled by a system of bilateral alliances, political as well as economic. The League of Nations, the organization behind the Collective Security principle, has now lost all *raison d'être* and nobody really takes it seriously. The League served some useful purpose so long as England and France, its two main supporters, were prepared to fight for its principles. Now when they have let down those principles, the League is a dead horse and no longer an instrument capable of preserving either the world peace or the collective security. The League had been founded on great ideals, but in practical politics it became the henchman of Anglo-French interests. It was then set as a sentinel, or a watch-dog of the Versailles treaty—a glaringly iniquitous document. Some sort of machinery was needed which ought to have provided gradual and constitutional

repeal of those settlements but the Covenant provided none. Change being inevitable, the only alternative was force and violence and these in fact have been repeatedly used with irreparable damage to the League and the conception of an international order it represented. For the time being the League must go and the nations must be left to themselves. "Every nation for itself and Hitler take the hindmost." That is the rule at present. The League idea would undoubtedly be revived, but not till the world has met another catastrophe. Europe at present is convulsed by the various ideologies that have cropped up since the last Great War, and another conflict can only be avoided by unforeseen circumstances.

III

The situation was not really as hopeless as it has been made by the nervous wrecks that have guided the foreign policy at London and Paris. Democracy is above everything else a moral principle and it requires moral courage and sometimes material sacrifice to defend it. England and France may be democracies at home, but in their dealings with the Asiatic and the African people, they are imperialists and their imperialism is just as bad as that of Mussolini in Abyssinia or of Hitler's would be, if German colonies are returned to him. There may be a difference of degree but not of kind. Democracy and Imperialism go ill together. When England and France defend their possession of colonies and deny the same right to Germany and Italy, they are hardly on a strong moral ground. Amongst other reasons England and France fought Germany in the last Great War, because the latter threatened the right of "free determination" of other nations. Neither England nor France has done anything to make that right any safer, and the most obvious example is that of British domination in India. There is one blunt reply to the dictators' claim of colonies, but that argument the democracies have fought shy to advance. According to one school of 'Imperialists' European protection was necessary for certain nations supposed to be in a state of political adolescence. We had by now enough of this protection

and trusteeship, and some of the countries at least have grown into full manhood and want to be left to themselves. Hitler and Mussolini have to be clearly told that African or Asiatic countries are not for exploitation by any European country but for the children of the soil themselves. Neither England nor France can afford to say so until their own hands are clean. Democracy is an altruistic and universal principle. If it is good for the Europeans, it is good for the Asiatics also. England and France must understand that unless they are prepared to fight for other peoples' 'Liberty', they would lose their own also. "In a time when men are imprisoned unjustly," said Thoreau, "the only place for a just man is also in prison." Not so to men like Chamberlain and Daladier, to whom it is enough if they can save their own skins. To a bewildered world, the British Premier told in a broadcast that England was not prepared to enter a war for a minor problem like that of Czechoslovakia. It is only a minor problem for Mr. Chamberlain when the liberties of a small nation are ruthlessly destroyed by a heavily armed neighbour. But when London is bombed by Berlin, it would become a major problem. England would then have to fight, but it would be a fight without friends or sympathisers.

CONCLUSION

Democracy has certainly received a great set-back during the recent European crisis. As Pt. J. L. Nehru who recently returned after a careful study of the European situation put it: "Democracy seems to be on its last legs." But is there no way to resuscitate it. Yes, there is one and it has been clearly pointed out by Mr. Anthony Eden himself. England must learn to make a stand against the dictators and call the Fascist bluff. England also should put aside her political proclivities in making her political alignments and establish close relations with Russia as a counterpoise to the Rome-Berlin axis. With France already on her side, there should be close association between democracies in Europe and U. S. A. No amount of table-thumping can frighten anybody. England, France, Russia,

and U. S. A. should pool their tremendous economic and political resources together and firmly tell the Fuehrer and the Duce as well as the Japs in the Far East either to observe decency in their international obligations or be ready for the worst. Such a step would not only revive the decaying cause of democracy but also put the cause of world peace on a sound footing. Unless the democratic countries adopt some such measures to protect the freedom of the small nations in central and eastern Europe, they must throw themselves into the arms of the dictators as a matter of sheer existence. If, on the other hand, respect for the international law is restored, countries like Yugoslavia, Roumania, Greece and even Poland, the small States along the Baltic as well as the democratic States in Northern Europe—all of them are sure to move towards England and France, provided the latter give them a guaranteed

of their protection and not let them down as they recently did with Czechoslovakia.

But this requires a change in the internal politics of both England and France. Chamberlain or Daladier are not likely to serve as agents for that recreation as their basic assumptions are different. Only men who are convinced of the menace of Fascism and the challenge to democracy implied therein can save what otherwise seems to be a lost cause. The British and the French public opinion is slowly reacting to the Munich surrender, and the recent "pogrom" started in Germany is strongly being resented in U. S. A. as well as all over Europe. As soon as England and France find men of the 'hour' to lead them, the cause of democracy would revive. Meanwhile we have to thank Providence for the little mercies the dictators may be pleased to grant to their victims.

Provincial Governments & Party Organizations

BY PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A.

DEMOCRATIC government revolves round the illusion that every adult feels that he has a hand in the administration of his country. Its successful working has, however, come to be associated with party Government, which definitely shuts out a section of the people from having a say in the governmental policy of the day, because at the time of election it was not able to secure the support of a majority of voters. But if the illusion is still to be kept alive—and democracy cannot otherwise survive—it is necessary that those who are shut out from exercise of power should not be reminded of that fact oftener than is necessary. The administration of the country—as apart from the determination of the policy of the Government—should, therefore, be ordinarily carried on so as to convince those who belong to the Opposition that their share in the government of the country has not been destroyed beyond repair by their belonging

to the Opposition. That alone would sooth the transition from the Government by one party to that by another when the electorate changes its mind. If the fact that only one party in the State is in power, is too blatantly noised abroad, it is likely to impair the loyalty of those not in power.

(The introduction of Provincial Autonomy in India has for the first time brought the question of the relations between the Government and party organizations to the forefront. On its right solution may hang the fate of democracy in India. Let us try to study some of the ways in which these relations have so far adjusted themselves.

Parties live very much on slogans, flags, and songs. These are their outward symbols and have their rightful place in party meetings, conferences and demonstrations. Unfortunately almost all over India all these things have been hoisted on to various uses which are

open to serious objections. The Congress Ministries have actively supported the flying of the Congress flag not over party head-quarters or minor offices but over administrative buildings as well. The Unionist Ministry in the Punjab has done even better. It quietly appropriated the official seal of the Punjab as its own party emblem, so that even an M. L. A. had to enquire whether the symbol on the new Assembly Chamber was a Unionist sign. It is true the Congress claims to include all patriotic Indians within its ranks. But the existence of non-Congress blocks in the Legislatures, the emergence of the Socialists even in its own ranks, the trouble over the Red Flag and the Congress colours, and the simultaneous flying of several flags on certain places, should bring home to the Provincial Congress Ministries the wisdom of accepting the position that they represent only one of the political parties, although the most influential, in their own provinces. When this is admitted, the Congress flag, the *Bande Matram* song and all other Congress emblems would quietly take their place as the dearly cherished possessions of the Congress party rather than as things that have to be hoisted on all irrespective of their party affiliations. This flying of party flags and the insistence of singing the party song, the *Bande Matram*, may have been necessary when the Congress had to proclaim its victory in the controversy on Governor's powers. The necessity, and with it the excuse, have by now disappeared and it is no longer necessary to remind the minority every day that they are the dispossessed of the earth.

There is then the question of the relations between the party organizations and the Governments in power. The Congress Governments in the various provinces are supposed to be functioning under the control of the Parliamentary Board, in the setting up of which the newly franchised electorate has not taken any hand. That a party in power in Federal units should have a National Executive is not surprising. That this Executive should from time to time review the policy of various Governments stands to reason. The difficulty begins when it

tries not to formulate policies but to run the administration, it obviously trenches upon matters which would elsewhere be easily left alone to Governments in power. This has certainly undermined the prestige of one or two Provincial Governments. It created the rather unedifying spectacle of two Committees of Enquiries on the Bannu raid, one set up by the Provincial Government of the N. W. F. P. and another by the National Executive of the party. In the United Provinces it led to an abortive attempt at sitting in judgment on the agrarian policy of the Government, which did not increase the prestige or the power of the Parliamentary Board. On a bigger scale, it led to the formation of the Wardha Scheme of Education, where a studied attempt was made to keep out the expert advisers of the various Provincial Governments from advising their political chiefs. That such an important question as the education of the masses in India should have been left to be decided by a party conclave was unfortunate, has been proved by the march of events since then. Worse still has been the Conference of Ministers of Industries and the setting up of the Planning Committee. What should have been a question of all India importance, the right solution of which depended on the co-operation of all Provincial Governments, has been turned into a party problem. It was certainly not necessary that the President of the Indian National Congress should have called this meeting; it could as well or better have been called by one of the Congress Governments when the help of the Provincial Departments of Industries could have been easily utilized. The Planning Commission may be an excellent body of men, but its recommendations, if any, will have to be translated into practice only by the co-operation of all provincial governments. The Congress cannot have it both ways—it cannot studiously ignore non-Congress Governments and also call upon them for their co-operation even in a good cause. That the work which the Parliamentary Board has undertaken—that of supervising, guiding in detail, and co-ordinating the administration in the Congress provinces—is proving too much, for it is clear from diametrically opposite

policies being followed by some Governments on matters which were at one time supposed to be questions of great importance. The Government of the N. W. F. P. assisted in the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, whereas the Madras Government goes on merrily making daily use of it. In the United Provinces a scheme for the separation of the Executive and Judiciary is in the process of active formulation when the Congress Premier in Madras is flatly denying the need for such a reform as long as he is in office. No, the temporary scheme that was meant to sooth the path of office acceptance cannot be made a permanent feature of Indian politics without serious damage to the reputation, authority and sense of responsibility of the provincial governments and without at the same time endangering the successful working of democratic governments in the provinces. It separates power from responsibility.

The efforts of the Muslim League to function as the supervising authority in Bengal and the Punjab have not been very successful. The Premier of the Punjab is Unionist at home and a Muslim Leaguer abroad and has thus easily escaped party supervision.

The relations of the party organization with the machinery of administration also call for nice adjustment. Here again the existing practices call for a good deal of comment.

In the Punjab, the Unionist Ministry seems to have tied the entire administrative machinery to the chariot wheels of party propaganda. Whenever party conferences have been held, wherever demonstrations have been organized, the help of the permanent officials has been requisitioned in the most outrageous fashion. The first government of the United Provinces, however, surpassed all bounds of discretion when it invited a Conference of Commissioners for organizing measures to combat the Congress influence in the Province. Again, the rather undesirable combination of the post of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier and the Secretary of the Unionist Party in one person in the Punjab led to

the Government's threat that it would consider all attacks on the Party as sedition. The transfer of a magistrate on Party grounds sometime back further raised fears which have not yet been allayed. The circular issued by the Government of the United Provinces to its officers instructing them how to treat members of the Congress and Congress organizations has little to recommend it.

The most serious problem presented here has been the conversion of certain offices which are—and should have been kept—a part of the regular administrative machinery into party prizes and political officers. In Bombay, the administrative work of supervising prohibition at the centre was entrusted to a Parliamentary Secretary, in the United Provinces M. L. A's were entrusted with the administration of the work of village reconstruction. Elsewhere similar tendencies have been visible. In the interest both of purity of administration as well as of party organization, it is essential that such distribution of power should come to an end. If the confusion between party members and administrators continues, it might lead to the defiance of law by those who would see into it only the dictates of the party rather than the orders of the Government.

The most unfortunate feature of the recent development has been the yoking of the Speakers to party organizations or administrative work. The Senate of the University of Calcutta is a preponderately nominated body depending upon the Government of the day. The appointment of the Speaker of Bengal Assembly to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta is, therefore, an unfortunate precedent. As the Vice-Chancellor he would have to come into administrative relations with the Government in power, which might easily impair the confidence which the minority should have in the Speaker. The association of the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly with the Fruit Development Board, which has once or twice waited on the Minister concerned for getting concessions, stands in the same category. The election of the Speaker of the Central Provinces to the

office of the General Secretary of the next Session of the Indian National Congress would undoubtedly bring him in party politics as well. The cancellation of the proposed visit to Europe of the Speaker in Madras at the commands of the National Executive of the Congress party, when the Legislature had voted supplies for the purpose, was a needless assertion of the fact that he was still bound by the dictates of his party. But the worst offender here is the United Provinces where the Speaker is openly continuing his active association with his party organization and recently even voted for his party as well in the Joint Session of the Assembly and the Council.

This brings us to the question of the relations between the Legislature and the Government in power. In the Punjab particularly an attempt has been made to treat the Legislature as the bondmaid of the party in power in ways which are not calculated to produce desirable effects on the Opposition. The majority party by becoming the Government acquires certain responsibilities towards the Legislature. As long as the Government remembers that primarily it has to behave in the Legislature so as not to remind the Opposition, in and outside the Chamber, of their helplessness, all goes well. But if the Government allows its partizan character to manifest itself too often, the illusion on which democratic government is based, is broken. The

recent threat to hold a non-stop sitting till a very contentious measure was passed into law, was the culmination of a series of events which are probably unparalleled in the history of Legislatures in Parliamentary Governments. Rather than follow the straightforward interpretation of the rules of business, the Government seems to be intent on securing every advantage that it can by straining the rules which, in their own turn, have been so made as to stifle Opposition. The Punjab Assembly enjoys the doubtful honour of requiring that the quorum for discussing a motion for adjournment or a motion for non-confidence should be almost double that for an ordinary sitting. Here Ministers have rebutted points of order which, after a little reflection, they have been later on compelled to uphold.

I have selected only such matters for remarks above as called for some comment. To some of you, these may seem trivial. To others the count may seem a formidable one. I believe, however, that remembering that we acquired power only less than two years ago, our new rulers have been able to give usually a very good account of themselves. Some of the defects pointed out above might have been due simply to thoughtlessness, others to ignorance. But if successful working of democratic Government is to be assured, it is necessary that everything likely to militate against its success be avoided.

JAPAN AND INDIAN TEXTILES

BY PROF. PREMCHAND MALHOTRA, M.A.

INDIA is the birthplace of the cotton industry. The importance of this industry is supreme whether we judge it by the amount of capital invested or by the employment it provides. Among man's need, cloth comes next to food. The progress of the cloth industry in India has also come to mean a measure of her political advancement.

Two centuries ago the excellence of Indian cotton manufactures secured for

them a position of envy in the markets of Europe. The growth of Lancashire industry following industrial revolution in England, and the neglect of the Indian cloth industry by East India Company, eclipsed India's foreign trade in textiles. But the Indian textile industry has the advantage of a proud lineage.

The first Indian cotton mill worked by mechanical devices was started in India at Bombay in 1856.

The industry has marched along the path of progress year after year. This is clear from the following figures:—

Year	Mills	Capital (in lakhs)	Labour (in thou- sands)	Looms (in thou- sands)	Spindles
1878-80 to 1883-84...	63	657.6	51.0	14.5	1,600.6
1889-90 to 1893-94 ..	127	1,161.1	116.1	25.3	3,263.8
1899-1900 to 1903-04...	195	1,687.9	171.6	42	5,000.9
1905-6 ...	204	1,719.7	212.7	52	5,193.8

The progress of the industry during the Great War was even more rapid as imports were restricted. Since then the industry has grown in volume in spite of occasional slumps. In 1936, the total number of mills was 379 and the number of hands employed daily was 417,803. We must pride ourselves on the progress the industry has made, but it is no good resting on our oars.

Can India become self-sufficient regarding the production of cotton textiles? What should be the future line of action? Who are our most formidable rivals? What is the secret of their success? In order to answer these questions, an analysis of the imports of Indian cotton textiles is very useful.

IMPORTS OF COTTON, TWIST AND YARN

The share of United Kingdom in imports fell from 370 lakhs of lbs. for the Pre-War average (1909-14) to 78.8 lakhs of lbs. for 1936-37. The total imports during the same period also fell from 417.9 lakhs of lbs. to 254.9 lakhs of lbs. The share of Japan increased from 4.6 lakhs of lbs. for the Pre-War average to 213.3 lakhs of lbs. for 1935-36. The same tale is revealed by the figures relating to imports of cotton piece-goods—grey, white coloured, printed or dyed. Although Lancashire still retains the second place in cloth import trade of India, yet it is Japanese competition which has to be seriously reckoned with. The Indian cloth industry is diversifying and is

taking to the weaving of higher counts. But this alone will not enable her to face the menace of Japanese competition. In order to do that, we must examine the structure of industries of Japan in general and of her textile industry in particular.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION IN JAPAN

Trust and *crtel* organisation have brought a high degree of integration in important industries in Japan. The Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, for example, covers about 97 per cent. of all power-looms in the country.

A spirit of group combination permeates Japanese national life. This has endowed the people with an inherent power of organisation. There is thus national bias towards corporate action.

Financial control is likewise centralised. It is believed that 70 per cent. of all Japanese trade and industry is in the hands of 15 great houses.

FEATURES OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN JAPAN

The textile industry is the spear-head of Japan's export offensive. Its special source of strength can be explained by the following features of organization:—

The entire industry is under a centralised control. The members of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association furnish to the Association each month detailed particulars regarding production, working conditions and consumption of raw cotton. The Central Association co-ordinates the different processes and activities of the industry. Prices and export quotas are also determined by the Central Association.

Japanese industry employs advanced spinning technique. The use of ring spindles is ubiquitous. This makes possible the use of cheap Indian and Chinese cotton blended with American varieties. The result is finished articles which compares well with the product of Lancashire. Shipping subsidy is a very common method of help given by Japanese Governments to exports. The purchase of raw cotton is entrusted to a few trading

concerns so that 80 per cent. of import of raw cotton passes through the hands of a few firms. This system of bulk purchase gives a very great advantage to the spinners. Cotton yarn and piece-goods are also sold through the agency of these firms. This method of conducting a two-way import and export business through the same agency is very economical. Commission and brokerage payable to intermediaries is saved. Losses incurred on selling cheap raw cotton can be made good out of profits arising from the sale of manufactured goods.

The business, in fact, is a chain of which the first link is efficient organization in India, America, and other markets for cotton buying; the second delivery of cheap cotton to the mills; the third cheap manufactured goods in foreign markets with a small rate of profit. The turn of the whole business runs into such immense figures that it pays on a very small margin.

So strong is Japanese patriotism that no sacrifice is considered too great to win a place in foreign market. Yarn required for home consumption has to pay a higher price than that required for consumption. The Japanese Cotton Spinners' Association charges a differential price for yarn from small producers catering for domestic demand.

From a study of the above features of Japanese industry, we conclude that a process of controlled development is at work. The leaders of industry, the financiers and the State all work closely towards a common objective. The people of Japan from the Cabinet Minister to the Artisan consider these objectives not purely in financial terms but in terms of national prestige. Each new market conquered, each additional shipload of cotton, dull or rayon, leaving a Japanese port, even each triumph over a technical difficulty is held to exalt the nation and to bring Japan nearer to the place in the sun.

THE LESSON FOR INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

India can become self-sufficient in the supply of her cotton cloth requirements,

We have to find markets abroad for our raw cotton. In exchange we purchase superior type of cotton and piece-goods from abroad. It is very desirable that India grows better type of cotton at home. The future of cloth industry in India will not then be influenced by the impelling factor finding foreign market for her raw cotton. Indian industry must also develop industrial technique.

The lesson that we get from a study of the characteristics of Japanese industry is that the problems of the textile industry must be looked as a whole from one single objective. The need for integrating the various processes in the industry—industrial, financial and commercial—is imperative. Un-co-ordinated efforts will not take the industry very far.

In the interest of the future of the industry, the conflict between the cotton growers and the cloth producers must be reconciled. India's cotton has to find a market out of India. The purchases of Indian cotton by Japan and Lancashire is now connected with our purchase of cotton piece-goods from these countries. By helping the cotton producers, the protection given to the industry is mitigated. On the other hand, unqualified protection may result in a loss of foreign markets for Indian cotton. In order to overcome this dilemma, India should grow finer fabrics at home. A partnership in business between cotton producers and cloth manufacturers is essential so that the interests of the two may increasingly become the same.

In the early days of industrial developments, the Government played a minor part. In more recent times it is being realised that industry left to itself, however efficiently organized and carried on, cannot create or maintain conditions necessary for successful operations. Only Governments can deal with other Governments. To-day, Governments are increasingly regulating and directing trade and industry. The help which the industry needs from the State must thus be ungrudgingly given. The State cannot, at present times, merely sit on the fence in the economic matters.

[We publish below a reply to "A Thinker's" article on "Socialism and the Indian Ideal" which appeared in the December Annual. In answer to this criticism, the writer of the original article has sent us a rejoinder, with which the correspondence will now close.—Ed. I. R.]

A CRITICISM BY "A SNATAK OF GUJARAT VIDYAPITH"

'A THINKER' in the *Indian Review** has exhaustively dealt with the problem of Socialism in its relation with the 'Indian Ideal' as he calls it and it is necessary to examine his thesis on account of the wider aspects of the question, especially as it agitates the Indian youth, who is attracted and more or less affected by the Marxian thought at this critical juncture. The writer has quoted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as saying that our immortal civilisation cannot help us greatly in solving the problems of to-day. He has also evidently not liked the statement of political prisoners of Bengal, who have evinced greater interest and faith in the socialist theory. We have, therefore, to examine the thesis of the "Thinker" of the *Indian Review* in light of practical politics of the day also, and we cannot begin but with the observation that it is hardly fair to Socialists in this country to base counter-arguments against their way of thinking on the insecure foundation of ill-digested or one-sided presentation of their case.

The main argument against the Marxian ideal, as developed by the writer, seems to be his aversion to the concomitants of the creed as they emerge in the after-Revolution period and the reactions that the creed will have on the minds of men fed on the 'hymn of hate' as it has oft been of late called by the opponents of Marxism. And it is argued on the basis of the Russian example and the Stalinist terror that is found in the wake of Russian Revolution that such results are inherent in the very nature of things. Then it has also been assumed that Marxist theory takes man to be an economic animal. Be that as it may, we may first ask what is the panacea that is discovered by our noble friend nurtured in the Indian tradition

that is to solve the great evil of the world. He says: "If the privileged classes in India have not the wisdom to see that it is high time for them to give up privileges which are effectively blocking the way of India's progress whatever might have been their value and utility in the past, a revolution will be inevitable; it will come as one of Nature's own methods for the swift realisation of her purpose. (Italics mine.) A more fatalist view of our future it is difficult to find and the picture becomes dark indeed when we recall how the privileged classes in India react to the compromising and moderate measures proposed by the Congress Ministry in the Congress-governed provinces of the country. Look at the latest 'venture' of the landlords to mobilise their forces and start an All-India Federation of Landlords. This is a quantitative approach of this class of population to a qualitative need of change in the obsolete system of landlordism. He who runs may read the signs of the times. It is not in the nature of privileged classes to respond in any other manner. So we have to fall back upon the natural cure method suggested by our friend, the "Thinker". But let us not fight shy of the word 'revolution', as he also says in another place. And what is revolution? It is nothing but another word for the social phenomenon that is evidenced in the social process to arrive at readjustment of social equilibrium. We should not worry if that is called the Nature's own method for the swift realisation of her purpose by those critics who want to hug to their delusion. But this is not all. The critic is thinking of the dangers attendant on revolution as 'it often destroys more than it creates, and Russia itself should serve as a grave warning to us'. The underlying thought here is that the persons believing in the socialist transformation of society necessarily believe in the

* December 1938.

Russian model which is emphatically not the case.

"The Marxian theory assumes that man is an economic animal, that the course of history has been determined *solely* by the operation of economic forces," so says the critic. This is in reality not exactly what the Marxian theory says or propounds. Bukharin, one of the best exponents of Marxism in his book "Historical Materialism" says in effect that though Society has been governed primarily by the labour relations, which are the foundation of social relations, the superstructure of ideologies is no less important. That is to say, we have not to discard the reactions of art and culture on the minds of men. Man is certainly not entirely an economic animal. Marx was not blinded by the mechanisation of the 19th century; he supplied the corrective to the nineteenth century philosophy blinded in the traditions of unrealistic world of ideas. The materialists, as Marxists are wrongly called, saw the world, and on the objective background thus presented called attention to the neglected economic side of human life. Engels, the commentator and colleague of Marx, has over and again stated what really Marx meant by his materialist interpretation of history. This theory of history is a beacon-light to us to light our path to the intricacies of human conduct in relation to society. And it is no wonder, as the critic himself acknowledges, that this theory of society has become a new Bible for millions of people in the world to-day.

And it is a gross misreading of the Marxian concept to say that this theory rules out the individual factor in their contribution to the shaping of human history. A Christ, a Buddha or a Mohammad affected myriads of men. They were the products of their age. They in turn were instrumental in the great changes, which were knocking the door of history. Thus this 'divine' possibility is not denied to human personality. In fact, the one claim of Marxists is their endeavour to find out the divine (if you choose to call it) in the common man who alas is forgotten in this whole episode. And

without him how are we to recreate history? In the inevitable quest for soul, let us not relegate this unknown entity to a dark corner, where light is denied and existence is sordid. That will be poverty of philosophy indeed.

II

Preaching of class hatred is the one accusation against Socialists and they are out of court. It is disdained by Society and prohibited albeit by the State. And to prove that this accusation is well-founded, Marxian quotations are trotted out. 'How can you expect to arrive at the brotherhood of humanity if you start by cultivating hatred in the human heart?' It is palpably absurd and there it is. We in vain and again and again ask who created this hatred? Did the Socialists create it? Who is the culprit? The social structure is responsible for it and this class hatred is deep laid in the social relations which are in themselves created by productive relations. It is, in other words, the problem of conflict of interests which conflict inevitably is reflected in the social struggle of Haves and Havenots. But say the critics: You socialists are fanning the flame of class hatred. What we want is the soothing of feelings. Here we are reminded of an article of epic interest of Gandhiji: "Conflict of Interests" at the beginning of the *satyagraha* campaign some eight years back. He said there is conflict of interests between England and India, and it can be resolved by India coming into its own. The *satyagraha* movement of 1930 and 1932 followed, and inevitably a lot of hatred for the Satanic rule followed, resulting in commercial safeguards which in effect were there to safeguard the British race in their commercial adventure in this benighted land. So it is with regard to Haves and Havenots. The class hatred will inevitably show itself to the fore. The British did not see the dormant feelings of the Indians. So also the satiated have not seen the dormant feelings of the hungry. Hatred is not the creed of Socialists. It is their reading. It is their diagnosis of the disease of the Social organism. Socialism does not teach hatred. It only takes note of an

existent fact. Socialists do not hide their face ostrich-like under the sand of History. Marx in his preface to "Das Kapital" makes a pointed reference to the fact that he has compassion as much for the exploiter as for the exploited, as both are slaves of the Social system which enthrals them. It is, in truth, a war against system and not persons. The system which man in their time creates, strangulates when it is obsolete and in course of time when the social equilibrium is gone and antithetic conditions are created in the process of history, the readjustment is effected by the inevitable break-up of the shell of Social structure. This process is not painless. It is like the birth of a child and the mother has to suffer the agonies of creation. The classless society is the synthesis following in the wake of intense class struggle.

We are, of course, prepared to admit that Marxism could be vulgarised by its friends no less than its enemies. And we might also admit the grave dangers attendant on the great struggle through which we may have to pass. There is no denying it that great philosophies are belied by their very followers; sometimes, in the lifetime of its own Prophet. Did not Buddhist cult of Non-violence become the laughing-stock of the world by the stupid followers of Buddha so that it became an easy tool in the hands of its conquerors. And in our own time, the non-violence of Gandhi has alas become a fad with some and a ruse with others. Opportunists and self-seekers are sailing under false colours of Gandhism. The weapon of the strong that non-violence is claimed to be, has become thus vulgarised. So it is with regard to the Marxian thought. The only safeguard is eternal vigilance. The personal aspect in the struggle should be properly interpreted and understood. It is not a quarrel with capitalists or the landlords but capitalism and landlordism. The ideal is elimination of classes and not propagation of class hatred. We want to destroy the one without stressing the other. The socialist movement is founded on, and derives its urge from, the millions of down-trodden masses, whose miseries and woes draw the compassion of the noblest prophet of mankind. It has its roots thus in

the love of the lowly and the lost, and not the derision or the cynicism of the glittering glories of the few. The Iconoclast in Marx is the Shiva the Destroyer, if we may use an Indian analogy.

III

We might briefly say a word about Sanatana Dharma on which "A Thinker" bases a lot of his thesis. And it is not necessary to explain in detail the implications of this basis. The Basic Varnashram, as the writer himself admits, *no longer exists*. (Italics mine.) It is wish-fulfilment, as the psychologists would say, to hug the belief that this ancient system could be recreated to suit 'the needs and requirements of modern times'. "A Thinker" further hopes that 'in order that everyone may find work suitable to his nature and capacity, it is necessary that those who have wealth *should* make a proper use of it. Should, certainly. When we are being besieged by the bloodthirstiness of the Money Moloch and in face of the fierce rule of Finance Capital that has invaded the Democracies of the world, it is nothing but fool-hardiness to indulge in such 'should' 'ought to be'. The law of capital is remorseless. It devours and devours. But let us return to Chaturvanya and its law. And we may immediately observe that no system of society is divorced from the real life at that particular period of history. Man is a social animal and immediately he begins his social life. Inevitably a set of rules comes into being. The productive relations are the basic relations in society thus formed, and so it is with ever-increasing complexities of social structure. The system of Chaturvanya is the embodiment of Peasant Proprietor cum-Feudal Society then in vogue. It has served its purpose. It has had its day and is *not* to be, we will it or no. The millennium, if there was one, is gone never to return. The wheels of history have turned a full circle and are now turning on new foundations of new social structure whose life is again fast ebbing away. This is no doubt a radical change from a semi-feudal age to a fast developing and at times full-blown capitalist structure.

Such radical changes, shall we say revolutionary change-over, develop radical change in the mentality of people affected by it. That is the real key-note of Lenin's reply quoted by our friend the "Thinker". It is only with socialism that there will commence a rapid genuine real mass advance; that is to say when society finds its new synthesis, then will begin the great psychological revolution that the Society will inevitably need. "Philosophers have merely interpreted the world, the really important thing is to change it," said Marx (which utterance is worthy of a prophet, says our friend the critic), and this change is not external only but change in values.

But then how is it that Russian experiment of twenty years' duration shows degeneracy so disastrous, say our critics. Mr. M. R. Masani, the acting general secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, drew attention of socialists of the world to the undesirable reaction of Soviet Trials on the world Socialist movement in a memorable article recently. It is, he says, a disservice of Socialism to wink at these facts. The Stalinist Bureaucracy is difficult to be differentiated from the Red Tapism of other countries. Admitting all these is not to admit the defeat of Socialism. Look at the facts. What is the Russian character? A great writer on Russia describes what a Russian Peasant is with his propensity to murder and arson. It has been derived from their Tartar Blood, he says. In the pre-Revolution Period, as in fact in all ages in Russia, it was their very characteristic. Add to this, the incidents consequent on the aftermath of Revolution. The Civil War, the Blockade, the War Danger at all times and fallacies attendant on Socialism in one country and you will guess the contradictions that were bound to develop.

IV

Non-violence is on the anvil of history. Gandhiji has posed the wider problem of Non-violence before the bar of world

opinion. Non-violence, as understood lately, was an individual affair, a domestic problem, at best a solution of inter-family quarrels. But Gandhiji has raised this problem to a higher level; it has crossed the bounds of family or castes and creeds, and touched the social struggles; its frontiers are coexistent with those of the whole universe. It will be amiss if we do not treasure this experience, but it will be equally foolish if we do not try to assess its proper value. Marxism showed the intricacies of human conduct and beckoned the way. Lenin added his invaluable experience to the teachings of his Master. "Transforming the motives that inspire human conduct," as Dr. Dewey characterises it, is the problem that faces the people after revolutionary overthrow of the present order. Call it Intellectual Revolution or the awakening of the understanding, if you please. But we have no doubt that man has in his search after truth gone from precedent to precedent to a still nobler vision that has gripped his heart, and that vision eliminates all strife, all discord. Thus non-violence is a continual fascination for mankind and socialists do not ignore it. As a Technique of Fight, it is unravelling undreamt of possibilities. The first working class action, what is it? Is it not the effort of a body of men to substitute the law of love for the law of the jungle? Collective Bargaining, what is it? Is it not a peaceful way of settlement of disputes? The strike, what is it? Is it not a more humane manner of fight? The history of Socialism is one long story of a mass of humanity to regain their self with the least amount of war to the knife. The masses have been the torch-bearers of Peace, for their blood is to shed, for they are the cannon fodder. And this latest chapter in history of the Technique of Fight being written by Gandhiji, is their invaluable lesson in their age-long story of agony and despair.

A SNATAK of Gujarat Vidyapith has brought the charge against me that I criticised the socialists of our country "on the insecure foundation of ill-digested or one-sided presentation of their case". I sought for a better digested and more correct presentation in his long reply, but in vain. As a matter of fact, I do not find here any clear presentation at all but signs of much irritation and a great confusion of ideas. Is he a Marxist himself? Or is he a Gandhist? It is evident that that our young men who are attracted by the Marxist thought are not thinking very clearly.

He poses to be a Marxist, but gives up the fundamentals of Marxism which consists in the materialistic theory of history, class hatred, violence and the suppression of individual freedom. In another place he holds up the Gandhian ideal, but again ridicules the *Chaturvarnya* which, so far as I know, constitutes an essential part of the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. I have nowhere said that the ancient four-fold order of Aryan society out to be or can be restored. I only pointed out the permanent truth which lay at the basis of that great Indian system; it is the principle that every individual should be given the freedom and facilities to find out and develop his or her inborn nature and capacity and to get a place and work in society according to that nature and power. That is the Indian ideal as we find it expounded in the Gita's doctrine of *Swabhava* and *Swadharma*, and I suggested that we should take up the Gita as a better guide for us than the *Das Kapital* of Marx.

My critic says that socialists do not necessarily believe in the Russian model (that shows that he admits the force of my indictment of the Russian model, and so far the purpose of my article has been served); but he has not said what is actually their model; if there be really such socialists, my article was not directed against them obviously. But there are socialists in India, for example, the Bengal politicians to whom I referred and also Pundit Jawaharlal, who have held Soviet Russia as the beacon-light to be followed by us. They may not like the

extremes to which Stalin is going, but they hold up Russia as the only country which is experimenting successfully with the fundamentals of Marxism. I need not enter here into a defence of my presentation of Marxism and Bolshevism with which my critic has found fault. I can only mention here that I have not said anything more than what is being said on the subject by great thinkers like Bertrand Russel, himself a socialist and a communist in his own way. Bertrand Russel, himself a socialist and a communist in his own way. Bertrand Russel speaks of Marx as being "systematic like Hegel, full of hard intellectual content, appealing to *historic necessity*, suggesting a view of human beings as puppets in the grip of omnipotent material forces. Marx has taught that communism is *fatally predestined* to come about". (The italics are mine.) He says about the Russian revolution: "The ultimate source of the whole train of evils lies in the Bolshevik outlook on life, in its dogmatism of hatred and its belief that human nature can be completely transformed by force." From a first-hand knowledge of conditions in Russia, he speaks of the Russian people as being "maddened into universal hatred". Conflicts of interests do not by themselves (as my critic says) create hatred, as social institutions are results of an evolutionary process and people get accustomed to them, and, also, they are often taught to accept them as the right order of things. It is for this reason that Marxists have taken it as their creed to preach class hatred and thus prepare and educate the masses for violence. My critic speaks of strikes and other humane manner of fight in the long history of Socialism. That shows the depth of his ignorance about the Marxists; they adopt all these methods to educate the masses in strife and violence. Stalin thus speaks of the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolutionary: "A revolutionist may sponsor a reform because he sees in it a means for linking up constitutional action with unconstitutional action, because he feels he can make use of it as a screen behind which he can strengthen his clandestine work, whose aim is to educate and prepare the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie."—*Leninism*. "The deliverance



of the oppressed class is impossible," says Lenin, "without a forcible revolution." My critic himself says in another place: "It is not in the nature of privileged classes to respond in any other manner." So he also admits the creed of hatred and violence when he is in other mood! But I do not. Violence may be necessary under certain conditions, but it is not inevitable and can be avoided. The privileged classes do respond, as they have done in England, Japan, and other countries where feudal landlordism has been abolished without a violent revolution. "To make the transition with a minimum of bloodshed, with a maximum of preservation of whatever has value in our existing civilisation" is possible, if our friends, the socialists, cease to sing the hymn of hate and to take Soviet Russia as their model. Let them ponder over what Marx said apostrophising the workers: "You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change external conditions, but also in order to change yourselves and in order to fit yourselves for the exercise of political power." This has been quoted with approval by Stalin in his famous book on "Leninism". Let our young men accept Marxism with their eyes open and not as ostrich's.

The Indians peacefully developed religious communes, village communes, trade guilds and the joint-family system long before Marx was born. Thus communism is in the blood of the Indians and it was based on a spiritual view of life as distinguished from the materialistic. These ancient forms of communes have become obsolete, but they have rich lessons for us which we should not neglect in our mad pursuit of alien ideals. A radical change in the social and economic organisation of mankind has become imperative, and some sort of communism seems to be necessary. "Regarded as a splendid attempt without which ultimate success would have been very improbable, Bolshevism deserves the gratitude and admiration of all the progressive part of mankind." But for that "ultimate success" we must proceed with a more integral knowledge of human nature and human affairs, and build on a firmer and deeper

basis; and the spiritual heritage of India can best furnish us with these essentials of eventual success.

I have said in my article that those who have wealth should make a proper use of it. The critic regards it as nothing but foolhardiness to indulge in such "should" and "ought to be". That at once shows that he has not in the least understood my thesis. My contention is that in order to bring about a radical change and a real improvement in human life it is necessary to change the inner man, his nature and mentality. The Marxists, on the other hand, do not believe that human nature can ever change essentially; whatever change in the mentality is necessary will follow the socialistic organisation of the means of production, and they advocate a violent revolution as an indispensable means for bringing about this socialism. I regard all changes in the external political and economic institutions as subsidiary; the essential thing necessary is to change human nature, and this can be accomplished only by a great spiritual movement; and India, by her long and great spiritual tradition, is best fitted to give a lead to the world in this crowning movement. That is a fundamental difference in the point of view, and the *snatak* of the Gujarat Vidyapith, deep as he is in Western ideas, has not been able to appreciate it at all.

He says that it is a gross misreading of the Marxist concept to say that it rules out the individual factor. Well, the individual in Marxism has the same place as the slaves had in ancient society. They were fed and clothed and looked after so that they might be of service to their master. But they could not own property, even their wives and children as well as their body and soul belonged to their master. The only difference is that in Marxism the slave-owner is not an individual person but the state, the society, the collectivity. The very term "socialism" implies that it makes society and the collectivity the supreme entity at whose altar the individual must immolate itself. By their theory, their requirement of equality, they are precluded from giving

liberty to the individual; for individuals differ greatly in power and capacity, and if they are given liberty they tend to aggrandise themselves at the expense of others who are weaker or less fortunate. That is the vicious circle in which humanity is moving, and cannot advance a step farther towards the shining goals of liberty, equality, fraternity. If you lay stress on individuality, you cannot have equality, if you lay stress on collectivity, as the socialists are doing, you cannot have liberty; to give equal value both to the individual and the collectivity, and thus to realise equality and liberty simultaneously, humanity must rise to a higher spiritual level, must live in the self, in the spirit in which all men are identified and not in the narrow ego which falsely separates one from another. The planets do not come into clash with each other as each keeps to its own path following a universal law and order; so the individual in a spiritualised society will follow a divine order in following

its own nature, *swadharma*, and there will be no conflict but universal harmony. The individual will have the fullest liberty to follow his own way and to develop his possibilities to the utmost; but as he will realise his spiritual identity with others, he will not feel himself perfect unless others also reach the same perfection. There is one universal Reality of which all individuals and all social aggregates are different forms and powers, one Narayan is manifesting himself in the *vyasti* as well as in the *samasti*; the true relation between the individual and the society can be found only in an organisation based on this spiritual conception. That is a state of things which has not yet been realised anywhere, but that is the ultimate spiritual goal towards which humanity has been advancing or rather groping through all its experiments and blunders; and all political, economic and social movements must be judged by their power to take us nearer to that highest perfection of human life on the earth.

GANDHI SUTRAS

BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., Ph.D.

THIS is a little book of about 150 pages,* which is a worthy addition to the many valuable handbooks that the author has contributed in the field of Hinduism, small works dealing with the Bhagavad Gita, the Upanishads and Hinduism in general. These books have helped the modern Hindus to have a clear insight into some of the profound doctrines of Hinduism and have also evoked a sense of pride in the hearts of the modern young Hindus about their ancient religion.

His former contributions have been more or less of the nature of interpretations in the light of modern thought and to satisfy modern needs of ancient works. The present work is an original one—original in matter, original in method and original in conception. Based on the ancient model of the Sutras in Vedanta

and Mimamsa, Prof. Sarma has constructed a new set of Sutras interpreting and condensing the doctrine of the great saint of modern world, Mahatma Gandhi. The saints of ancient India—the great seers of ancient India—have presented their doctrines in the form of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads belonging to the Vedic literature. The Sutras of Mimamsa and of Vedanta condense these doctrines.

Mahatma Gandhi is a saint and seer of the modern world. His doctrines are presented in the various articles and the various speeches he has contributed. Prof. Sarma has made a careful study of these articles and these speeches, analysed them and selected the fundamentals from them. The fundamental points dealt with in the speeches and writings are now expressed in the form of very short sentences, a form of expression very common in Sanskrit literature and known as the Sutra style. He gives an English

*The Gandhi Sutras by Prof. D. S. Sarma, M.A. G. S. Press, Madras. (G. A. Natesan & Co. Re. 1-8.)

translation of it; and then follows apt quotations from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, giving the particular doctrine of which the Sutra is a condensation.

The entire work is divided into three sections called chapters and contains 108 Sutras, a very holy number for the Hindus. "The first chapter gives general principles, the second deals with Satyagraha, and the third with non-co-operation and civil disobedience."

Professor Sarma's command of the Sanskrit language is something of which any Sanskrit scholar can be proud, as is evidenced by the masterly way in which he writes the Sutras. There is no pedantry, no attempt at artificial effects of style. The language is simple and to the point and absolutely flawless. In the right ancient style he begins the work: *atha navayugadharmam vyakhyasyamah* (we now proceed to expound the Dharma of the new age); *dharmaasyaiva sanatanyasya navollekhah* (it is only a new interpretation of the ancient Dharma). Then he proceeds to the subject-matter. I now quote some of the Sutras to show the general nature of the book. *Mananiyah khalu krishivalah* (honour the ploughman). This is the 41st Sutra and belongs to the first chapter. Then there are three quotations where Mahatma Gandhi has spoken about the point. They are from the *Young India* of April 17th, 1924, and May 21st, 1925, and from the *Harijan* of April 4th, 1936. The immediately following Sutra is *avaskaravahas cha* (and also the scavengers). This Sutra is followed by a small quotation from the *Harijan* of June 8, 1935, and from the *Young India* of April 27th, 1921. Then there is also a quotation from the *Harijan* of November 28th, 1936.

It is not everybody who will have the facility to read through the contributions of the great Mahatma and to understand his teachings. The present work is a great help to such persons who have a genuine desire to understand the essence of his teachings. This is for the living generation. In the case of posterity, the service rendered by Professor Sarma is something whose value cannot be over-estimated. We all know that but

for the Vedanta Sutras and the commentaries on them, we cannot have a real grasp of the doctrines contained in the Upanishads. Similarly, unless some such attempt is made to select the fundamentals from the utterances of the great saint and to present those fundamentals in an orderly form, the posterity will not be able to have a consistent idea of the real doctrine of the great saint. The utterances are made on various occasions on a multiplicity of topics. They do not appear in print in an orderly sequence arranged in subjects. Further certain statements may have only a value for the time being. Other statements may have a lasting value. At a later time one is likely to confuse between what is of a temporary value and what is eternal and also to confound the two. In our own times people are confounding between the principles of the great saint and his policies, between his goal and his paths, between his end and his means. A great teacher's principles, the final end he has in view, the goal to which he is looking forward are eternal, unshakable, and unchangeable according to the changing environments. But his policy, the paths that he shows, the means that he adopts may vary according to varying conditions of the times. It is a great thing that even during the lifetime of the great saint, Prof. Sarma saw the wisdom of distinguishing between the two sets and that he has discriminated between the two. He has collected his great principles and brought them into the form of a small book.

The circumstances that necessitated the compilation of the Vedanta Sutras are exactly similar to what prompted Prof. Sarma to undertake this work, and this work bears the same relation to the writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi which the Vedanta Sutras bear to the great Upanishads. Now we speak of the six Darsanas of the Hindus. There are other Darsanas also and the great Madhavacharya has in one of his works written a brief exposition of sixteen Darsanas. I am sure that at some future time, a great author will think of including this work among the Darsanas of the Hindus.

Congress Presidential Election and After

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE has been re-elected President of the Indian National Congress by a majority of 203 votes over his rival Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the veteran Andhra Leader and the official historian of the Congress.

Mr. Bose shares with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the honour of being President of the Congress for two successive years.

It is difficult to say what was the deciding factor that brought about Mr. Bose's success. Dr. Pattabhi, as the seven members of the Working Committee pointed out in their statement, is one of the oldest members of the Working Committee, has had a long and unbroken record of public service and is quite fitted for the post of President of the Congress.

But the main task before the electorates was probably befogged by other issues—the fight against Federation and the struggle between the Rightists and Leftists, which have no particular relevancy to the issue on hand. For it must be remembered the whole Congress is committed to the Haripura resolution against the Government of India scheme of Federation, and there is no going back upon it without the sanction of the Congress as a whole. Such big issues are not to be decided by party organizations, particularly as the Congress claims to represent the whole country and not this section or that.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

The developments following Mr. Bose's election to the Presidentship call for serious attention; Mr. Gandhi's description of Mr. Bose's victory as his own defeat is frankly disconcerting. The issue was not placed before the electorates in that light, and it is profitless to discuss what the verdict would have been if only they were sufficiently cognisant of the implications involved as subsequently revealed in Gandhiji's statement.

That apart, the statement itself is unexceptionable in its interpretation of the principles that should guide the future policy of the Congress. In his (Mr. Bose's) opinion, says the Mahatma, his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme. The minority can only wish it all success. If they cannot keep pace with it, they

must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority. The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain, when they cannot co-operate. I must remind all Congressmen that those, who being Congress-minded remain outside it by design, represent it most. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress, may come out, not in a spirit of ill-will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service.

"I am nothing," says the Mahatma, "if I do not represent definite principles and policy." Yes; he is more than that; and his personality is the one dynamic force that will count amidst the chaos of conflicting parties and interests. With the instinct of a true democrat, he is willing to give a chance to rival programmes and policy, only reserving to himself the right to continue his own way leaving a free hand to those of another way of thinking.

In this he is uniformly consistent. For as early as October last, he enunciated the same principle of tolerance in unequivocal terms:

It is up to those who do not believe in the fundamental policy of the Congress seriously to consider whether they would not serve the Congress and the country better by remaining outside the Congress and converting the people to their view of conducting the campaign rather than by remaining within and obstructing those who do not see eye to eye with them and yet are in the unfortunate position of having the majority on their side. It is equally the duty of the majority to consider how best to deal with those who will resort to obstructive tactics. My opinion based on experience is that if, after a friendly discussion with the obstructionists (if the use of that word is permissible to describe them), it is found that they believe it to be their duty to continue obstruction, it would conduce to the good of the country to hand over the reins to the minority and themselves follow the existing Congress programme without using the Congress name. All this can succeed beyond expectations if it is done without huff, without malice, without bitterness, and merely to meet a situation that is becoming impossible.

It may be questioned whether such a situation has arisen, whether it is wise to cry halt to the good work that the Parliamentary Wing of the Congress is doing in the country, and whether it is after all in the best interests of the country to go back to the wilderness from which the country has emerged after years of painful and patient labour. These are

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Late Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar

ONLY three years ago, in commenting on the celebrations in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of H. H. Sir Sayaji Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda, it was observed in these pages

that it was mainly due to his personal initiative and his reforming zeal that Baroda is to-day one of the most progressive of Indian States, second to none in importance or repute.

It is now our melancholy duty to record the death of this illustrious doyen among Indian Princes. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar shares with the late Queen Victoria the distinction of an unprecedentedly long reign accompanied by a uniform measure of prosperity for the people over whom they were destined to rule. Under the guidance of a succession of able Dewans, Baroda has had the benefit of an efficient system of administration, keenly sensitive to the wants and aspirations of its people. The material and moral progress achieved during the three score years of Sir Sayaji's reign makes a record of which any modern State might be proud.

Provincial Autonomy and the Centre

The Premier of Madras did well to explain to the Assembly the nature of the "uncertainty" of which he had made vague references in his recent speeches. The uncertainty, he confessed, was with regard to political changes in the country.

The uncertainty as to the part which the States should play and the fact that the Provincial Governments under the Government of India Act find it hard and must find it hard to function with the irresponsible Centre should have made my points fairly clear.

Of course, it is not possible to take the public into confidence at every stage of the discussion between the Central and Provincial Governments. But he made it clear that all is not smooth sailing and the incompatibility between a Provincial Government responsible to the electorates and an utterly irresponsible overlordship at the centre is becoming more and more evident. "I claim," said the Prime Minister, that the Secretary of State is as thoroughly irresponsible as the Central Government so far as we are concerned and it is impossible for the provincial government, however peace-loving it may be, to function under these conditions with an irresponsible overlordship.

States and Paramountcy

Events in Rajkot and Jaipur are threatening to develop into an All-India crisis. The arrest of Mrs. Gandhi and Miss Patel in Rajkot, and of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj in Jaipur, have precipitated the crisis. And Mahatma Gandhi, who has now gone to Rajkot "in search of peace", has repeatedly warned the Government of the consequences of what he calls "organised goondaism" in the States and has appealed to the Viceroy to intercede.

It is significant that the *Statesman*, in a leading article, advocates the appointment of a small Committee consisting of a Political Officer, a representative for the Durbars and one for the Praja Mandal or other representative of the people's organisation to review the position throughout Orissa States and similar Committee for Kathiawar. In Rajputana, the paper suggests, the Rulers themselves should take the initiative in organizing a Constitutional Confederacy. Referring to the numerous small States which are really no more than small estates, our contemporary observes that

there are many Rulers who are a disgrace to the Princely order, but they continue to be a disgrace. Nothing is done about it. Like the Permanent Settlement, they are supposed to go on for ever. Now if anything is certain, it is that nothing can last for ever. If the Treaties which protect petty tyrants are never to be revised, if the Paramount Power is for ever to have an obligation of honour to defend the indefensible, then some day an irresistible force will encounter an irremovable object and, according to the classic answer, to this problem, something will go to smithereens. We have had in Europe, of late, sufficient examples of what happens when treaties are not revised. The whole fabric of public law will be undermined. Revolution, disorder, a unilateral denunciation, forcing acceptance or war are certain in the end. The Paramount Power cannot for ever hold the ring between a rapidly progressing British India, which may resolve to liberate its kinsmen over the border, and a small State and its tyrannous ruler.

Regarding the Paramount Power, the paper adds that it is paramount and cannot remain an idle spectator.

The essential thing is that some means should at once be found of calling a halt to the growing disorder and of providing a real and not a sham remedy with all speed.

Kenya : "An Imperial Scandal"

At last we have the text of the Order-in-Council regarding the Kenya Highlands. The issue has been hanging fire for months past and it is common knowledge that both the Government of India and the Kenya Indians have put up a brave, persistent fight against iniquitous discrimination against Indians. The *Communique* accompanying the Order attempts to comfort us with the interpretation that

the danger that what is now an administrative practice would become a statutory prohibition has thus been averted.

But it is really no comfort, for

His Majesty's Government have made it clear that there is no intention of changing the administrative practice which has been followed for many years with regard to alienation and transfer of land in the Highlands.

That is to say, only Europeans would be entitled to acquire by grant or transfer agricultural land in the Highlands. And these Europeans need not even be British subjects! Jewish refugees and people of foreign nationalities but of European descent are to be preferred to loyal British Indian subjects, who have helped to make the Colony what it is! Could there be a more palpable instance of Imperial scandal? The Government of India record their profound disappointment at this decision. Not until this insult to India is rectified, will public opinion in this country be satisfied.

An Anglo-Indian Protest

Mr. C. E. Gibbon, President of the Anglo-Indian Civil Liberties Union (All-India), presiding over a public meeting in Calcutta, to discuss the provisions of the Bengal Finance Bill (1939) and the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill, observed:

We members of the Anglo-Indian community who recognise the fact that we are the sons of the soil, will not tolerate any traitors or moral cowards within our ranks. We too stand for the independence of our motherland and we too are ready to give battle when the time comes. It is, therefore, the duty of every national Anglo-Indian, Hindu and Muslim citizen of this city of ours to raise his voice in protest against such a completely reactionary Ministry; for there is no doubt about it that they have entered into a pact with the Europeans for the reason that they are incapable of ruling themselves.

The Late Lord Brabourne

The death of H. E. Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, after a brief illness, has cut off in the prime of life a brilliant career. As Governor of Bombay, he distinguished himself so well by his sympathy and tact that he was rewarded with a further tenure of Governorship in Bengal in succession to Sir John Anderson. Lord Brabourne, it will be remembered, acted for the Viceroy during the latter's sojourn in England. During all the critical years of office in Bombay and Bengal, he proved himself an able and trusted servant of the Crown. India, too, has lost in him a sympathetic and sincere friend.

Lord Brabourne was, by all accounts, one of the most lovable of men and a gallant personality. Pathetic interest attaches to his last act of devotion to duty. It is revealed that when it was necessary to perform an operation on Lord Brabourne, His Excellency received advice from England to fly home. He declined to do so, however, owing to the impending Ministerial crisis. The sympathy of the whole country goes out to his wife and children in their deep bereavement.

Prohibition in Bombay

While Madras has led the way in Prohibition, Bombay has made giant strides in the experiment. For the Hon. Mr. Latthi's Budget is essentially a Prohibition Budget, and the Finance Member has definitely promised to complete the Prohibition programme by 1940-41. Replying to a recent deputation of the liquor trade in Bombay, the Hon. Mr. Kher, the Prime Minister, reiterated the Government's firm determination to eradicate the drink evil. He would not mind the cost. We would prefer "a poorer India than an India of night clubs and drunkards". The Congress made no secret of its aims with regard to Prohibition. The Premier added that he

was aware of the many difficulties in the execution of the programme such as bootlegging and smuggling, but nevertheless the Government would go ahead with its programme.

Segregation of Indians in South Africa

Recent reports from South Africa confirm the opinion in this country that the position of Indians over there is becoming more and more hazardous. In response to persistent anti-Indian agitation, the Minister of the Interior in the Union Government has undertaken to sponsor a Segregation Bill. Far from implementing the Feetham recommendations, the South African Government are bent on introducing "legislation for the purpose of restricting the rights of Indians to acquire immovable property". The Segregation Bill is, in fact, an ingenious attempt to give the local authorities power to declare any area "an European area" if a fixed percentage of residents petitioned to the Government requesting such a declaration. It is obvious that the creation of European areas will make effective the segregation of Indians by a supposedly European segregation.

"The proposal is a serious attack on Indians," says the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, Mr. Abdulla Kajeec. It would appear that all groups and politicians are determined to exploit the colour question on every conceivable occasion. "The present circumstance," as Mr. Kajeec declared, "calls for firm opposition from the Government of India so as not to allow her children to be driven from pillar to post."

India and Burma

India cannot be expected to sympathise with Dr. Ba Maw and his Cabinet, who have been compelled to resign. They have proved themselves thoroughly incompetent to handle the situation during the recent riots. The resignation of the Ministry is a sequel to the no-confidence motion passed by both Houses of the Legislature.

In this connection, it will be remembered that the Indian Legislative Assembly passed without a division Sir A. H. Ghuznavi's motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss

the recrudescence of anti-Indian rioting in Burma, the looting of Indian shops, the burning of an Indian cotton mill at Monywa and the failure of the Government of India to secure the safety of life and property of Indians in Burma.

The significance of the motion it is impossible to exaggerate.

The States' People's Demands

It is hardly possible that the ferment in British India should leave the neighbouring Indian States untouched. And for some time past there has been a great awakening among the States' people, whose demand for full responsible government has become persistent and well-nigh irresistible. The more sagacious among the Princes recognise the inevitability of the situation and have, of late, attempted to help their people to line up with their British Indian neighbours. The recent Conference of the States' people at Ludhiana, presided over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, passed a resolution which is couched in persuasive terms, but there is in it an unmistakable note of warning. The Resolution runs:

This Conference feels that the Indian States system is completely out of date, semi-feudal and an obstruction to the progress and advancement of the people. Autocracy as embodied in the system has long ceased to exist in every part of the world, and the progress made by the rest of India demands the liquidation of the Indian States system. The close association of this system with British Imperialism involves a danger to all people of India, and in the interest of the whole of India it is urgently necessary to put an end to this association and to make vital changes in the system. These changes must necessarily be in the form of responsible government. This Conference desires to point out to all the Rulers of the States that the establishment of responsible government in the States is not only in keeping with the spirit of the times and the natural aspirations of their people, but also provides for them a position of influence and dignity above contention and strife. It is, therefore, to their interest to issue unequivocal declarations of their decision to establish full responsible government and immediately to bring up the system of the administration to a level with that prevailing in the provinces. Attempts to delay this inevitable development are likely to lead to grave and disastrous consequences, and the Conference appeals to the Princes to avoid these perils by lining themselves with their people.

Extension of Prohibition in Madras

North Arcot in the Madras Presidency is to be included in the Prohibition area from October next, and the cost of this extension is computed at Rs. 13½ lakhs during the year. North Arcot would be the fourth district going dry in the Presidency, and the total loss of Excise income sustained by the Provincial Government on account of Prohibition in all the four districts together would be at least Rs. 66 lakhs a year.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Pope Pius XI

THE death of the Pope, though at the great age of 82, has evoked universal regret. It has been deeply mourned not only by the 400 million Catholics throughout the world, but by the millions of non-Catholics as well; for he was the most outstanding figure in public affairs for more than a decade and a half. His reign, as has been said, coincided with one of the stormiest periods of the world's history and was crowded with events of momentous importance, not only to the Catholic church, but also to the entire human race.

A scholar and a statesman, his brilliant encyclicals, touching some of the burning questions of the day, gripped the attention of the world, while the concordats and agreements which he concluded with many Powers, Catholic and non-Catholic, won him universal respect and admiration and paved the way for a better understanding between the Church and the State in the countries concerned.

America's Foreign Policy

President Roosevelt described as "a deliberate lie" the report that he told the Senate Military Committee that "the American frontier was in France or on the Rhine". Addressing a Press Conference, President Roosevelt gave a four-point summary of American foreign policy as follows:—

Firstly, the United States is against entangling alliances;

Secondly, it favours the maintenance of world trade for everybody;

Thirdly, it is in complete sympathy with any and every effort to reduce or limit armaments; and

Fourthly, as a nation, the United States is in sympathy with peaceful maintenance of the political, economic and social independence of all nations in the world.

President Roosevelt emphasised that the foreign policy of the United States had not changed and would not change. It had been deliberately misrepresented by some members of the Congress and some newspaper-owners.

French Recognition of Franco

A definite move to recognise the Government of General Francisco Franco, Spanish Nationalist Leader, is being taken in France. M. Edouard Daladier, Prime Minister, has urged the Council of Ministers to decide in favour of recognition. Replying to criticisms of his statement, M. Daladier said:

The security of our third frontier has been mentioned. On all the 600 kilometers of this frontier, France is in contact with the Government of General Franco. That is why I consider that the French Government should have neighbourly relations with the real Government of Spain, which are now that of General Franco.

In the course of his speech, M. Daladier revealed that British envoys to Spain were unable to find sufficient unanimity among the members of the Republican Government to negotiate on the question of an armistice.

The Arab Delegates' Case.

The Arab Higher Committee delegates have presented their demands to the London Palestine Conference.

Briefly, their demands are:—

First, recognition of Palestine's complete independence;

Secondly, replacement of the Mandate by a Treaty;

Thirdly, the abolition of the Balfour Declaration;

Fourthly, the immediate cessation of Jewish immigration and land sales.

The question of a possible confederacy has also engaged attention, but it is felt this subject could be best broached after the signature of a treaty with Britain.

The Supreme Council of China

A National Defence Supreme Council has been formed to direct military and political affairs. It is noteworthy it includes none of the Communist leaders.

A Standing Committee of eleven, headed by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, includes Premier Kung and three members of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Spain

Republican resistance to General Franco has practically collapsed and public attention is now directed to negotiations concerning the terms of peace in which both Britain and France are taking an active part. The Republicans are expected to surrender if an assurance is forthcoming from Franco that there would be no reprisals by Francoites against their enemies. Francoites say that those against whom evidence of "blood-guilt" has been established must be courtmartialled.

Scotland Yard Disclosures

Sensational revelations have been made following the bomb outrages in two London tube stations. Scotland Yard discoveries disclose the existence of a well-planned attempt to terrorise the British Government. It is stated that one of the documents seized shows that the men behind the movement proposed to bomb Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. Elaborate police precautions are being taken. The outrages are generally attributed to the Irish Republican Army.

The Soviet and Hungary

M. Litvinov has informed the Hungarian Minister that the Soviet Government has decided to sever diplomatic relations with Hungary owing to the German pressure on Hungarian affairs and Hungary's adhesion to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

The San Francisco Exhibition

"The ugly truculence of autocracy" was denounced by President Roosevelt, declaring open by wireless San Francisco's 10 million-pound Golden Gate International Exhibition on February 18.

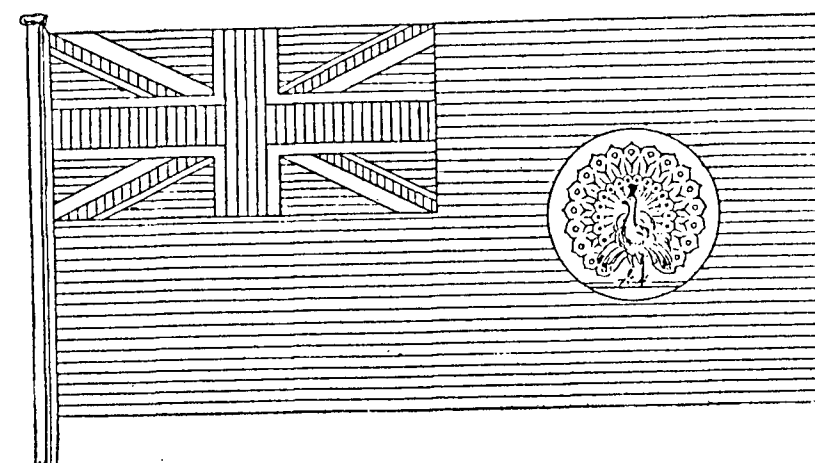
The nations on the American Continent by setting an example of international solidarity, mutual trust and mutual helpfulness might keep faith alive in the hearts of the anxious and troubled humanity and at the same time lift democracy high above the ugly truculence of autocracy.

Opening immediately afterwards another exhibition at Tampa, in Florida, President Roosevelt outlined the American foreign policy thus:

We desire by every legitimate means to promote freedom of trade, travel and exchange of cultural ideas among the nations. We seek no territorial expansion; we are not covetous of our neighbours; we shall co-operate in every proposal honestly put forward to limit armaments. We abhor any appeal of force except for repulse of aggression, but we say to all the world that in the Western hemisphere, the institutions of democracy and government with the consent of the governed must and shall be maintained.

Japanese Assurance

Japan has assured the United States through the American Ambassador a Tokyo, that she has "no territorial ambitions in China," and that the occupation of Hainan Island will not go beyond military necessities.



THE NEW BURMA FLAG

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Jan. 25. Sardar Patel appeals for a fresh Satyagraha campaign in Rajkot.
- Jan. 26. Franco's troops occupy Barcelona.
- Jan. 27. Earthquake at Santiago de Chile.
- Jan. 28. British Cabinet changes. Lord Chatfield succeeds Sir Thomas Inskip.
- Jan. 29. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is elected President of the Tripuri Congress.
- Jan. 30. Herr Hitler, reiterates Germany's claim for the Colonies.
- Jan. 31. Gandhiji issues a statement on Bose's election to Congress Presidentship.
- Feb. 1. Mr. Jammalal Bajaj is arrested on defying the ban on his entry into Jaipur.
- Feb. 2. Mr. Jammalal is taken to Muttra and released.
- Feb. 3. Mrs. Gandhbi and Maniben Patel are arrested at Rajkot.
- Feb. 4. Scotland Yard reveals sensational discovery of a plot to bomb the Buckingham Palace, etc.
- Feb. 5. Sirdar Patel, in a speech in Bombay, protests against the Paramount Power's interference in Rajkot.
- Feb. 6. The Gaekwar of Baroda is dead.
- Feb. 7. The Palestine Conference meets in St. James's Palace, London.
- Feb. 8. Mahatma Gandhi issues an important statement on Rajkot and Jaipur.
- Feb. 9. Soviet severs diplomatic relations with Hungary.
- Feb. 10. H. H. Pope Pius XI is dead.
- Feb. 11. Mr. Justice Varadachari is appointed Judge of the Federal Court.
- Feb. 12. Hindu-Muslim clash in Cawnpore.
- Feb. 13. Mr. Subash Bose arrives in Wardha to consult Gandhiji.
- Feb. 14. Madrid is steadily bombarded.
- Feb. 15. The State's People's Conference meets at Ludhiana with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the chair.
- Feb. 16. The Burma Cabinet resigns as a sequel to the no-confidence motion passed by both Houses of Legislature.
- Feb. 17. The States' People's Conference urges dropping Satyagraha in Hyderabad.
- Feb. 18. President Roosevelt opens the International Exhibition at San Francisco.
- Feb. 19. British Industries Fair is opened in London.
- Feb. 20. "C. R." the Premier and Finance Member presents the Madras Budget.
- Feb. 21. Congress Leaders meet Gandhiji in Wardhanagar.
- Feb. 22. Thirteen Members of the Congress Working Committee, including Pandit Nehru, are resigning from the Committee.
- Feb. 23. H. E. Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, is dead.
- H. E. Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, is appointed in his place.
- Feb. 24. The Hon. Mr. Justice S. Varadachari is Knighted.
- Feb. 25. Mahatma Gandhi leaves for Rajkot via Bombay.
- Feb. 26. Mr. Subash Bose accepts the resignations of the thirteen Working Committee Members.
- Feb. 27. Mr. Neville Chamberlain announces in the Commons the Government's recognition of General Franco.
- Feb. 28. Hon. Sir James Grigg presents in the Central Assembly the Budget for 1939-40.



THE LATE LORD BRABOURNE



The WORLD of BOOKS



THE JOYFUL DELANEYS. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillans. 7sh. 6d.

This is one of the brightest novels Mr. Walpole has ever given us. There is a plot—a beginning, a climax and an end. It is a story about London—the world of Curzon street, the world not of the decadent aristocracy but of the upper middle-class, living a padded, isolated life, their economic moorings in jeopardy but their hearts in the right place. The Delaneys are joyful; landlords but considerate and, in days of Building Societies and Modern Flats, in love with their period house and their grandfather clock. They live a corporate life; never happier than in the family drawing-room, and the centre of the family circle is Meg Delaney. She stands out among the characters in the Novel—solid and real.

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF COMMUNISM. By R. Palme Dutt. Day to Day Pamphlets, The Hogarth Press. 1sh.

What are the aims of Communism? According to the author, the ultimate aim of Communism is to organise the productive powers of society for the supply of all human needs, utilising to the best advantage the existing natural resources, scientific possibilities and co-operative labour of all human beings able to work and by this to liberate humanity from the dependence on imperfectly mastered natural and economic forces with the consequent antagonism of class divisions. Mr. Dutt's tenfold enumeration of the advantages of Communism as a higher stage of social organisation is interesting. The style of the book is tense and lucid.

HITHER AND THITHER. By Emily Taylor. W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge.

This is a collection of fugitive pieces on a variety of topics—"a pot-pourri of literary fancy". Subjects that look unpromising are treated with a charm and feeling that make them at once significant and full of human interest. Owls and candles and copper and cheese are not exactly themes on which one could write enthusiastically, but any subject is good enough for an artist with the true vision. There are people,—stolid, unimaginative, prosaic people—to whom

A primrose by the river's brim
is a yellow primrose and nothing more.
But the author of these essays is of a different order to whom

... the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

Much of the charm of these pieces arises out of their literary allusiveness and an Essay like the one on "Absence of Mind", is typical of the author's method of approach—full of fine feeling enriched with a copious knowledge of the best in literature. The parable of Sanatan and the Brahmin from Tagore's "Fruit Gathering" with which the Essay concludes, is symbolic of the supreme felicity of poetic feeling.

THE RUIN OF INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES. By B. D. Basu, Calcutta.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of Major Basu's old work. According to the author, Indian trade and industries were destroyed by various acts of omission and commission on the part of the East India Company.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LITTLE STEEL. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London. 7sh. 6d.

Old Quayale is a steel magnate. A firm of "industrial counsellors" get at him and poison his mind by representing that a subversive "Red" movement is spreading in his own town and that he should initiate, as the only alternative to revolution, vast measures of amelioration and recreation for his workmen. Quayale's daughter, however, is a socialist, and having secretly married a young reporter, imbued with similar ideas, she exerts her influence in favour of the workmen. There is a strike, vividly described, giving one a cinematographic view of the underhand measures adopted by the "bosses" to put down the workmen and the network of administrative and judicial corruption that makes such measures possible. Quayale's daughter, now definitely against her father, goes away with her husband to Georgia as a socialist worker. Meanwhile a neighbouring steel magnate, working through the "industrial counsellor" tries to buy up Quayale's plant and Quayale himself makes up his mind to sell his stock. His other children, brought up in idle luxury, are dismayed at the prospect of a diminution of their income and make arrangements to have him certified as of unsound mind. Quayale escapes with the help of a boyhood friend. This part of the book dealing with the adventures of these two, an itinerant mechanic and a disillusioned millionaire steel magnate, in a motor van, is pleasant reading; for here, unusually with Mr. Sinclair, he ceases to be a prophet and becomes a story teller. The final meeting of the father and daughter in Georgia is merely touched upon and leaves one, from the point of view of drama, frustrated.

THE SOUTHERN INDIA DIRECTORY 1939. Edited by T. Sivagnanam and K. Srinivas. Shivaji Publications, Trichinopoly. (G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 5.)

THE MADRAS STATES AND MYSORE DIRECTORY, 1938. Edited by T. M. Satchit. The Pearl Press, Cochin.

As books of reference for businessmen, each of these is valuable in its own way. The first is more than a Directory in that it contains a wealth of information relating to the educational, commercial and industrial prospects of Southern India, with a complete trade list of important cities in the whole country. A welcome feature is the "Who's Who" of persons who count in the public life of the Province, with their portraits.

The fact that the Madras States' Directory is issuing its twelfth edition is evidence of the public appreciation of its value as a book of reference. All the main features that have made the publication popular are retained, while the sections are enlarged and brought up to date with copious information.

THROUGH CONGRESS EYES. By Rastrapati Subhas Chandra Bose. Kitabistan, Allahabad. Rs. 2-8-0.

The volume under review is a collection of speeches and writings of President Subhas (to be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras). Most of the essays here, with the exception of the Presidential address, are reprinted from the *Modern Review* and the *Orient* of Calcutta, and the *Contemporary Review* of Lahore. There is a unity of mind that is all its own. The views expressed here are the reactions of a mind that has suffered a great deal at the hands of the relentless British Government. The spirit of the essays is the patriotism of a fire-eating Nationalist.

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION. By C. J. Varkey. Humphry Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay and Madras.

OUR LADY: A Story. By Upton Sinclair. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

BY TENT AND CAMP FIRE. By "Outspan". Arthur Stockerell & Co., London.

DASAN'S ATMANUBHAVAM 1st Part. By Guha Das. S. V. Nataraja Iyer, Sengalipuram P. O., Tanjore District.

CHALLENGE OF THE EAST. By Dorothy Hogg. S. P. C. K., London.

WHAT NEXT, BABY? A play in 3 acts. By A. G. Macdonell. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London.

THE CATTLE WEALTH OF INDIA. By E. V. S. Maniam. Patt & Company, Cawnpore.

RETHINKING CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA: A Symposium. Published by A. N. Sudarisanam, 8, Beracah Road, Kilpauk. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 2-8.

FOR NECESSARY ACTION: SPEECHES AND JUDGMENTS OF SIR DOUGLAS YOUNG. Edited by Shri Ram and V. M. Kulkarni, Indian Cases Ltd., Lahore.

PRACTICAL REJUVENATION IN MEN AND WOMEN. By Dr. K. V. Mathew, Trivandrum.

WITH THE SWAMI IN AMERICA: A Western disciple. Adwaita Ashrama, Calcutta. As. 12.

WHAT BRITISH PEOPLE OUGHT TO KNOW. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt. Reprinted from the *Indian World*, Bombay.

ELEMENTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By B. P. Adarker, M.A. (Cantab). Swastik Publishing House, Bombay.

WHITHER WOMAN? A critical study of the Social Life and Thought of the Western Woman. By Y. M. Rage, M.A., LL.B. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS. By Sophia Wadia. International Book House, Bombay.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Humphrey Milford, Amsa House, London, E.C.

A CATECHISM OF ENQUIRY. Being a Translation of the original instructions of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi Sri Ramanasramam, Tiruvannamalai.

A CATECHISM OF INSTRUCTION: Being a Translation of the original Instructions of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi. Sri Ramanasramam, Tiruvannamalai.

AN IDEAL KING. By S. A. A. Tilhari. Published by Muayyedul Uloom Association, Madrasatul Waizeen, Lucknow.

NECESSITY OF EDUCATIONAL MUSEUMS. Published by J. C. Basak. 363 Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta.

A DISCOURSE ON BHAGAVAD GITA. By Harkishen Das, M.A. Published by K. C. Malhantra, 6-F. Model Town, Lahore.

THE SCIENCE OF THE SELF. By Bhagavan Das. The Indian Book Shop, Benares.

HOW THEY DID IT: LIFE STORIES. (1) General Franco, (2) DeValera, (3) Neville Chamberlain, (4) Charles B. Cochran, (5) Joe Louis, (6) Field Marshal Goering, (7) Ex-President Benes, (8) Herr Hitler. Pallas Publishing Co., Ltd., London. 1sh. each.

THE MODERN CLASS BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY. BOOK V. VICTORIA AND MODERN TIMES. By E. J. S. Lay. With a Prefatory Note by Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

LUCID MOMENTS. By V. R. M. Chettiar, B.A. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London.

LIFE'S FANTASIA: A Miscellany of Poems. By Ram Aray Misra. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

WHO IS NOT A COMMUNIST. By M. R. Raju. Elliotts Road, Mylapore.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF INDIA OFFICE. (Sanskrit Books.) Vol. II, Part I. By Prana Natha M.A., and Jitendra Bimala Chaudhuri. His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. Price £1 3sh.

PLAIN PEOPLE: Short Stories. By Kathleen Norris. John Murray, London.

VICTORY. By Rajendra Somzarayen. Surat City Printing Press, Near Ghanta Bridge, Surat.

DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT SCHEME. By Sir M. Visvevaraya. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN HYDERABAD STATE. 138, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA. By N. K. Kathia. Bangalore Printing Press, Bangalore.

ELEMENTS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE. By N. K. Kathia. Bangalore Printing Press, Bangalore.

THE GARLAND: A Sonnet Offering. By Susi P. David. Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE BOOK OF THE DAYARAM JETHMAL SIND COLLEGE, KARACHI. Edited by Prof. L. H. Ajwani. Educational Printing Press, Karachi.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By Chandra Chakravarty. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta.

SOCIAL REFORM ANNUAL 1939. Edited by P. S. Bakhale, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.

GRINDLAY'S PASSAGE HANDBOOK 1939. Grindlay & Co. Ltd. Post Box No. 93, Bombay.

THE FUNDAMENTALITY OF BEINGS. By M. M. Hassan, Nindur E. P., Ceylon.

A CLASS BOOK OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS FOR HIGH SCHOOLS Vols. I and II. By B. S. Yagnarama Ayyar, M.A., LT. The Scholar Press, Palghat.

Jaipur and Rajkot

GANDHIJI ON CONGRESS POLICY

The policy of non-intervention by the Congress in the States would be an act of cowardice when there was all-round awakening in the people of the States, declared Gandhiji in an interview to *The Times of India* at Bardoli. Replying to a question, Mahatma Gandhi said:

If the action of the Jaipur authorities precipitates a first-class crisis, it is impossible for the Indian National Congress and, therefore, all India, to stand by and look on with indifference whilst Jamnalalji, for no offence whatsoever, is imprisoned and members of the Praja Mandal are dealt with likewise. The Congress will be neglecting its duty if having power, it shrank from using it and allowed the spirit of the people of Jaipur to be crushed for want of support from the Congress. This is the sense in which I have said that the example of Jaipur or, say, Rajkot might easily lead to an all-India crisis.

The policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice when there is all-round awakening among the people of States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognised, the struggle for liberty, wherever it takes place, is the struggle of all India. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene.

PANDIT NEHRU'S WARNING

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sounded a note of warning that if the struggle is prolonged in Rajkot and Jaipur, the British Indian people cannot remain idle spectators.

The whole country was watching anxiously the awakening in the Indian States and the determination of the people there to shake off the slavery of the 125 years. India could not achieve independence unless the nation had political consciousness.

The Indian States' rulers exercised absolute powers, barring control of war and political department, and it was the British policy not to allow the growth of any popular movement in States, as they wanted to keep their hold and interest intact there. Whenever the States' people demanded civil liberties and responsible government, the movement was falsely characterised as communal so that they could suppress it easily. These rulers were independent in name only and had to obey the dictates of the Political Department, and popular movements were at present being crushed by armed forces.

A new theory of independence in States had been advanced in recent years, and it had been advanced by the very power that held them in an iron grip and kept them in subjection. Neither history nor constitutional law gave any justification for this, and if they examined the origin of these States, most of their rulers would be reduced to the status of feudal barons.

After tracing the history of the State movements in Rajkot, Jaipur, Orissa States, Hyderabad and Kashmir, and how efforts were made there to crush them, Pandit Nehru said that

Gandhiji was like a political thermometer and there could not be a better judge to find the nation's temperature. Gandhiji had repeatedly warned the British Government and their agents in India of the far-reaching consequence of this conflict.

It was manifestly impossible for the conflict to be confined to particular States, and for the Congress at the same time to carry on provincial administrations involving a measure of co-operation with the British authorities. If there was this major conflict, then its effects would spread to the remotest corners of India, and the question would no longer be limited to this State or that, but of complete elimination of the British power.

Mysore

MYSORE ADMINISTRATION

A general and all-round improvement in the administration of Mysore State during the year ended June 30, 1938, despite the unrest in the political atmosphere which characterised this period, is recorded in the Administration Report of the Government of Mysore.

The expenditure on Education was Rs. 52.7 lakhs. The scheme to vernacularise high school education was completed with the extension of the Vernacular as the medium of instruction in Science subjects. All non-language subjects are now taught in Kannada. A scheme of vocational middle schools was sanctioned and experimental work commenced in two centres.

The strength of the Mysore University pupils was 3,167. Of them 252 were women students. Inclusive of the Government grant of Rs. 10,70,416, the income of the University was Rs. 12,51,980.

Hyderabad

SATYAGRAHA IN HYDERABAD

The opinion that the Satyagraha campaign in Hyderabad was inopportune, was expressed at the States' Peoples' Conference, which concluded at Ludhiana on Feb. 17, after passing a number of resolutions.

The resolution on Hyderabad was adopted after incorporating Munsht Ahmed Din's amendment that the Conference was of opinion that the Satyagraha movement in Hyderabad, started with the object of getting religious disabilities removed, was inopportune, as it tended to have communal repercussions and gave a pretext to the State to suppress the movement for responsible government under cover of communalism.

EDUCATIONAL COLONY

An Educational Co-operative Colony has been opened under the auspices of the Co-operative Department.

The chief feature of this Colony is that it aims, not only at schooling the boys in the ordinary sense of the term, but in training them for some practical work which will ultimately enable them to make a living from what they have learnt at the Colony.

Cochin

COCHIN AND FEDERATION

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, Dewan of Cochin, replying to the toast of H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin proposed by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar at the State Banquet at Ernakulam on January 30 observed:

"The fate of Indian Federation is on the lap of the gods. But whether Federation comes or not, I might say here and now that so far as the Ruler of Cochin is concerned, we will always be prepared to work in co-operation with the people of British India and other Indian States in evolving the political destiny of this country."

Baroda

BARODA IN MOURNING

Baroda was plunged in sorrow on February 7, when thousands of his late Highness' subjects gathered near the railway station precincts, when the special train from Bombay carrying the body of the Gaekwar drew alongside in the morning.

The body was taken to the Luxmi Vilas Palace where it lay in State. Townsmen and villagers from the interior filed past to have a last look at His Late Highness.

Shrimant Yuvaraj Pratapsingh Gaekwar has been proclaimed as the successor. His Highness held a durbar in the afternoon. Court mourning is being observed for three months.

NATIONAL PLANNING

The Government of Baroda have offered their co-operation to the All-India National Planning Commission and have expressed their willingness to place at its disposal the services of any of their officers if needed.

Benares

MAHARAJA'S PROCLAMATION

"I have no intention of unnecessarily delaying the fulfilment of the reasonable aspirations of my subjects," says the Maharaja of Benares in the course of a Proclamation made known recently throughout the State through district authorities, town committee and *mukhias*. No Durbar could be held due to the indifferent health of His Highness.

The Proclamation announces the appointment of a Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha of Patna for exploring the avenues of further progress in the State.

The Committee is expected to meet in the first week of March and will submit its report at an early date, after which the New Constitution will be announced.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Travancore

NEW HALL FOR LEGISLATURE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dewan of Travancore, opened the new buildings intended to house both Houses of the Legislature in the State at Trivandrum, on February 8.

The Legislative Sessions were usually held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. From the time the Assembly was reconstituted at the time of the present Maharaja's investiture, it was found very difficult to provide suitable accommodation for the increased number of members in both Houses of the Legislature. It was, therefore, decided to construct a new building with sufficient accommodation and on up-to-date lines.

The new building consists of a Council and Assembly Hall 99½ ft. long, 54½ ft. broad, a main staircase hall 54½ ft. x 26½ ft. a dais for the President, the Dewan's retiring rooms and cloak room.

The foundation-stone of the building was laid by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Viceroy of India, on December 12, 1933.

THE MAHARAJA'S STATUE

The pleasant function of laying the foundation-stone of the pedestal for a statue of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore in commemoration of the historic temple-entry proclamation, issued by His Highness in 1936, was performed at the grounds of the Iron Villa in the Fort area by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, on January 26.

The function was attended by nearly 5,000 invitees, donors, Government officials, Judges of the High Court, Members of the Bar, prominent, businessmen and many leading Nambudiris.

Kashmir

KASHMIR REFORMS

A measure of constitutional reforms is announced by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir in a Proclamation issued on February 11.

The elective seats in the Praja Sabha (the State Legislative Assembly) are increased from 33 to 40 seats and the non-elective seats are reduced from 42 to 35.

Provision is made for a Deputy President to be elected by the Members.

While the Council of Ministers will continue to be responsible for the administration of the State, it is proposed to have Praja Sabha Under-Secretaries attached to the Ministers so that the administration may be run with the co-operation of representative public opinion as expressed by the Praja Sabha.

In future, proposals of the Councillor for appropriation of revenues and monies for expenditure on votable items will be submitted in the form of demands which may be assented to or refused by the Sabha.

Bhopal

BHOPAL REFORMS

On the occasion of H. H. the Nawab's birthday in January last, the following reforms were announced by the Durbar.

Firstly, two more elected seats have been added to the Legislative Council from the Bhopal City and Sehore Cantonment.

Secondly, the strength of the Municipal Board of Bhopal has been increased by five more elected seats.

Thirdly, under the Municipal Act of the Government of Bhopal, a Municipal Board for local administration, consisting of five nominated and five elected members, has been created. The Chairman will be nominated by the Government from members of the Board.

South Africa

TRANSVAAL INDIANS

A plea for justice and fair treatment to the Indian Community is made in a leader in the *Johannesburg Star*, a leading daily of Transvaal. The paper says:

"To-day close on 70 per cent. of the Indians in this province are Transvaal-born. No others can enter here from outside. Yet there remains an insatiable determination on the part of a section of the European community to harass and repress this minority.

The Congress Memorandum not only furnishes refutation of the charges which led to the Commission being appointed. It asks—as it is entitled to ask—that the Commission will recommend the repeal of such legislation as discriminates against the use, occupation or ownership of land by Indians, and it invites the Commission to report that there has been no penetration or intrusion by Indians into European areas. This plea should not go unheard. The fundamental question is not whether the Indian trader comes into occasional commercial conflict with the European. It is a deeper issue than that. We have closed the door on any Indian immigration into the Transvaal. We have withheld from a minority of people—far too few ever to be a political or social challenge to our order—any part whatsoever in the making of the laws they have to obey. We have segregated them from any residential contact with our own people. Is this not security enough against any peril they might once have constituted? Or are they now to be penalised in advance for evasions of the law they are not yet committing but which our unnatural restraint on their legitimate enterprises might very well provoke?"

Fiji

INDIANS IN FIJI

On his way back from Australia, Pandit Kunzru visited several places in the Far East including Fiji and the Straits Settlements, studying various problems affecting Indian residents there.

In an interview with a representative of the *Statesman*, Mr. Kunzru said that Indians in Fiji, who formed 43 per cent. of the population, were at present concerned with renewal of leases of agricultural lands held by them from the Government or from Fijian Chiefs, which were about to expire. The education of their children was in a more backward condition than that of the Fijian children, and the community felt its political inferiority in more ways than one.

The organization of labour, which has a vital bearing on the future of Indians in Fiji, Mr. Kunzru observed,

is virtually impossible at present, as both the labourer under contract who absents himself from work, and the man who induces him to do so, can be punished with fine and imprisonment.

The Indian community keenly desires that an agent of the Government of India should be appointed in Fiji, and strongly feels that the absence of such an officer is a handicap to its effort to raise its position both socially and politically. The question has already been placed before the Governor of Fiji. It is a matter of cardinal importance which should receive the immediate attention of the Government of India. Owing to the distance of Fiji from India, an Agent of the Government of India is even more pressing there than in Ceylon or the Malaya States.

Considering the class of Indians that have emigrated to Fiji, the progress they have made there is a tribute to their self-reliance and enterprise and reflects great credit on their motherland. But they have arrived at a stage when questions relating to their future require very serious consideration. The status of Indians in Fiji would virtually determine the status of Indians in the Pacific.

Malaya

MALAYA INDIANS' MEMORANDUM

No emigration of Indian labour to Malaya without a guarantee of citizenship rights to them, and rights both of entry and citizenship to Indians of non-labouring classes, is the gist of the demands made by Messrs. S. M. Sharma and L. R. Chandran, the representatives of the Central Indian Association, Malaya. The process of sending shiploads of labourers to Malaya when the rubber industry is in need of labour, and shipping them back to India when there is no further need, has done immense harm to the country, they declare.

INDO-MALAYAN NEGOTIATIONS

Members of the Standing Emigration Committee were informed at a meeting held on February 8, at New Delhi, that the Government of India had come to the conclusion that negotiations with the Malayan Delegation could not usefully be continued any longer. The Committee is reported to have approved the action of the Government of India.

Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR INDIAN ASSOCIATION

The news of Sardar Patel's visit to East Africa along with H. H. the Aga Khan has been received with jubilation abroad. The Zanzibar Indian Association has cabled to the *Associated Press of India* as follows:

"Along with the whole of East Africa and Zanzibar, we Indians are greatly enthused over the news of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's forthcoming visit, which we heartily welcome. We earnestly hope that Zanzibar will be included in the itinerary in order to take the opportunity to review the working of the Clove Agreement, with particular reference to the recent Government preference to two European and Java firms."

Jamaica

INDIANS IN JAMAICA

Disappointment with the Indians' working and living conditions in Jamaica was expressed by Mr. J. D. Tyson.

Mr. Tyson is investigating the economic conditions of Indians in the British West Indies.

The East Indian National Union presented him with an address asking for free homeward passages for all destitute and disabled Indians, grant of lands to immigrants who fulfilled indenture obligations and who continued their residence without claiming a proportion of the passage money to which they were entitled in respect of their return to India, and a money grant in lieu of land grant.

The address also requested the appointment of an officer with powers of the defunct office of the Protector of Immigrants.

Mr. Tyson, replying to the address, hoped to prepare the way for something being done. He whole-heartedly sympathized with the request for a Protector.

As regards repatriation, he said that those who were poor would find great hardship if they returned to India. It was better if they could make a living in Jamaica.

Tanganyika

MR. PATEL'S VISIT TO TANGANYIKA

In a special cable to *The Daily Herald*, Gandhiji says that Sardar Patel may accompany H. H. the Aga Khan on his visit to Tanganyika. The object of the visit is purely to study the condition of the Indian community there. He does not confirm the earlier Press reports that Mr. Patel will organise the Indians to agitate against the return of former German colonies to the Reich.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



INDUSTRIAL PLANNING IN INDIA

To exploit fully a country's resources and thus secure the maximum national gain, a definite co-ordinated scheme of economic activities is necessary which should be controlled by a central authority. Is such a scheme, or in technical terms a 'national plan', possible in India at present on the lines adopted by Russia, Germany, Italy, and America? Mr. S. P. Saksena considers this important problem in the January issue of the *Twentieth Century*.

The four important national plans—the Soviet plan, the Nazi plan, the Italian plan, and the Roosevelt plan are all essentially different in their outlook, method, and objective, though their common aim is attaining the best for their country. Says Mr. Prasad Saksena:

"The Soviet plan was based on the idea of a total reconstruction or revolution of the entire economic organism—the methods of production and distribution—in Russia with a view to increase the total material wealth in the country and to insure general prosperity for all citizens to a more or less equal degree. It was a plan of an all-round economic development under peace-time conditions directed towards the welfare and the happiness of the toiling masses. The Nazi plan was a scheme of production guided by the theory of economic self-sufficiency and promoted by the ideal of economic nationalism of a military state. The whole plan was based on war-time economy—the production of the weapons of destruction and defence, and the security of war supplies, e.g., cloth, food, chemicals and the raw materials. The Italian plan was modelled on similar lines with minor alterations according to the exigencies

of the situation. The American plan was to regulate the distribution of national dividend between the various factors of production. The industrial codes of Roosevelt lead to the fulfilment of the desire to limit the profit motive in industries, to effect a more equitable adjustment of national income and in general to subordinate individual interests to the needs of the vast majority of the people."

Any such plan presupposes three things:

1. A complete knowledge of the resources, demands, services, possibilities and extent of State help and the present stage of production and industrial organisation.
2. A complete control of the planning authority over all factors of production.
3. An absolute control of the fiscal policy of the State.

Mr. Saksena feels that to talk of any effective planning at this juncture is premature, as none of the above-mentioned conditions is present in India. He finds necessary a general plan for the country as a whole, and a second plan—a partial plan—for the provinces which would provide a base for the All-India plan. Considering the existing conditions, the Gandhian plan, he says, holds out the best prospects and possibilities of success. The merits of the Gandhian cottage and village industries scheme are:

- (1) It can be put into operation immediately under the provincial governments.
- (2) It would enrich the large mass of poor cultivators and thus increase the purchasing power.
- (3) It can be the basis of any future plan, including even the Soviet plan."

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN STATES

Writing on the above subject in the February number of the *New Review*, Mr. A. Appadorai points out the relative position of the States and the Paramount Power in respect of the State-people's demand for responsible Government. In States like Mysore where there is a clause in the treaty requiring the consent of the Paramount Power for any change in the administration,

"it is obvious that the consultation of that Power is obligatory. But even elsewhere, legal obligation apart, prudence dictates that it is best for the Ruler to consult the Paramount Power, at least to forestall difficulties which might subsequently arise. There is another advantage: the Paramount Power is in a position to advise from the vantage-ground of a wider experience in other States as well.

Secondly, the Ruler cannot consistently with his obligation to the Paramount Power concede by a unilateral act full responsible government. He must reserve to himself certain special responsibilities somewhat analogous to the special responsibilities of the Governor and the Governor-General. The removal of this limitation can only be by a joint act of the Ruler and the Paramount Power."

Three considerations are likely to weigh with the Paramount Power in tendering advice with reference to full or partial responsible government:

"The most important is that the Paramount Power must have adequate guarantees from the new authorities for the fulfilment of the obligations due to it. The criterion of adequacy must necessarily depend upon the circumstances of each State. Another consideration is that owing to its duty of maintaining the rights of the Ruler, the Paramount Power cannot countenance any attempt at eliminating him. And the third is that the Paramount Power is admittedly bound to prevent misrule and disorder in the States, in the interests both of the States and of all India."

It may be argued that in the long run the best preventive of misrule and the most effective guarantee of adequate government is the adoption of responsible government.

Whether the States can act against the advice of the Paramount Power is at best an academic question. In practice, the writer points out, it can hardly be doubted that the States will have no option but to accept the advice.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

If religion means dogma, creed or communalism, then surely science is antagonistic to them. All sorts of superstitions and supernaturalism are denied by science. But as Huxley has said: "True religion and true science are but twin sisters." Einstein believes that it is the study of science alone which makes one truly religious, says Mr. A. Ganguli in *Calcutta Review*.

The religion which science teaches is cosmological and not communal. The marvels of the microscopic world within an atom or a spermatozoa amazes the student of science.

Again, the study of the great cosmos with billions of stars of magnitude equal to or greater than that of the sun, this earth of ours being a mere speck in the Universe, teaches us humility.

The love of truth which science infuses is the highest form of ethics. It is this cosmic religion which will bring about a better understanding between man and man and bend the senseless squabbles of communalism and class war. As Bertrand Russel has said, the two things which can bring salvation are love and knowledge, and scientific knowledge will surely play an important role in the evolution of a better world.

"THE MARTIAL CLASS"

Writing on the Government of India's classification as martial and non-martial class for recruitment to the Indian Army, the *Modern Review* editorially comments as follows:—

"In the Indian section of the army in India, Sipahis belonging to the Punjab and N. W. F. Province and the Gurkhas have been the predominant element for many decades past. Owing to the British policy, an impression has been allowed to grow up that they are the only martial people in India and that they alone can fight.

But the greater portion of the British empire in India was acquired with the help of Sipahis of other provinces and those parts of India which at present are wrongly considered to be the only nurseries of soliders were conquered by Indian men belonging to those other parts of India which are at present wrongly considered to be inhabited by non-martial people."

The real truth is that all parts of India can produce both privates and officers. In the course of his inquiries in France, Dr. B. S. Moonje found that many French military officers were sons of grocers, bank clerks, etc., and that the parentage of some is unknown, they having been brought up in orphanages.

"Changes have taken place in the Government of the several Provinces. Similar changes are rapidly taking place in the Indian States. When the Federation will be established, quite radical changes will take place in the Constitution of the Government of India. Under the circumstances, the Indian Army cannot remain in its composition what it is to-day, that is, practically a monopoly of the Punjab and the N. W. F. Province.

The autonomous Provinces will have to be represented in the army according to the proportion of their population. Recruitment for the army will have to be thrown open to the Indian States also. This cannot be done unless the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial class is done away with."

THE ECONOMICS OF PEACE

Mr. Richard B. Gregg, discussing the economic basis for world peace, observes in the course of an article in the *Aryan Path*:

"To end unemployment and to build up social satisfaction in work, I see no reform so hopeful as the revival of handicraft work of all kinds carried on mainly in small groups among the unemployed and the intellectually or spiritually alienated.

Of special importance are hand-spinning and hand-weaving, because the product is a necessity, the spinning tools can easily be transported and brought to group meetings, the work is easily learned, can be done by all ages and kinds of people at all seasons and at almost any time of the day." This is, of course, Mahatma Gandhi's proposal.

Continuing, he writes:

"To those who protest that to take to handicrafts means the abandonment of that immensely fruitful industrial principle of division of labour, I would answer that the invention of automatic machinery has already caused the discard of that principle over wide industrial areas and that discard is steadily and rapidly proceeding, nor does this proposal mean for society the abandonment of machinery. But to those whom machine industrialism under financial control has robbed of self-respect, work, satisfaction in work and a happy and stable social life, the exercise of handicrafts in groups will restore that which was taken away, will provide enduring standard of living, will give poise and significance to life. It will build democracy and help to heal the existing dangerous ill-feelings in society."

BEST LINGUA FRANCA

How Hindustani helps to a great extent as *lingua franca* for the Indians abroad is described by Rev. C. F. Andrews in the *Harijan*.

In addition to the familiar language which may be spoken at home, he says, there is only one *lingua franca* which, in different forms and many corruptions, holds its place with English as a common medium. This may rightly be called Hindustani, if that name may be used for a speech which no one would recognise as pure Hindi or pure Urdu, though both languages have gone to compose it. The corruption has chiefly been caused by the introduction of *pidgin* English (a mixture of corrupt English and foreign words as to serve as a sort of *lingua franca*). Such was the state of things when I first visited Fiji. Owing a great deal to the efforts of the Arya Samaj, the Hindustani that is now learnt is simple and grammatical.

In British Guiana and Trinidad, the basic language has been Hindi; for, the vast proportion of settlers have come from the U. P. and are Hindus. There are very few from South India; therefore the question of finding a common language hardly arises. In the schools of Trinidad, the Hindi language has been far better taught than in British Guiana where the mother-tongue of the children has been terribly neglected. It has often seemed to me, from my own practical experience, in the different colonies, that the one where new teachers sent from India were most needed was British Guiana. I would specially urge that some Indian women teachers should find their way out, whose mother-tongue was Hindi.

PHILANTHROPIC CENTRES

Writing under the caption 'Agriculture and Industry', *Industrial India* observes:

It seems very plain from the economic, political and social view-point that industry must co-operate with agriculture.

Businessmen, landlords and industrial magnates must be sympathetic to the legislative needs of the agriculturists and they must not oppose every programme put forth by Congress leaders and Ministers.

Secondly, industry must co-operate in the decentralisation of manufacturing a process that will greatly aid the advancement of agriculture. It will be beneficial both to industry and agriculture.

Thirdly, industry must be of some assistance in the decentralisation of philanthropy. The great cities of the country are filled with museums, institutions of learning and hospitals—almost all of them are gifts of public-spirited men. It may be wiser and better for the country if more of such gifts are applied to betterment in the rural and small town areas of the country.

A great Congress leader has expressed an opinion that it might be wiser to halt the endowments of universities located in some of the great cities and spend a large portion of this money in locating educative institutions in rural parts and small towns.

Fourthly, there must be co-operation between agriculture and science. If through science, agriculture can broaden its market and place progressing industries side by side with agriculture, a very great step forward will have been accomplished.

IF CHRIST CAME TO-DAY

Every one has a conception of Christ and His Mission on earth, even those who do not propose Christianity. Suppose He came on earth, what reception would be accorded to Him by the millions who call themselves Christians, asks Swami Paramananda in the *Message of the East*. What would be His reaction to a world feverishly engaged in preparation for war—and what a war! Bursting bombs, poison gas and wholesale destruction of defenceless men, women and children! If He came to-day and found these existing conditions, would He give up His dream of peace-making as an impractical visionary idea and surrender to the inevitable?

"At the time Christ came on earth, He was considered by many as a revolutionary and a radical—one who was unwilling to accept any compromise or to adopt any half way measures. His aim was to establish a kingdom of love and peace on earth. He was not interested in starting organizations or establishing churches. His mission was rather that of giving expression to great truths and inspiring men to put them into practice by the force of His own radiant example. Perhaps we would again hear Him say: "I am come not to destroy but to fulfill." It is far from likely that He would rise up against the advancement of science; that he would condemn inventive genius or that He would abolish the comforts and conveniences which the scientists and inventors have provided for common usage. He might even use them for the furtherance and the fulfilment of His mission. Someone once asked me: "If Christ were on earth, would He ride in an automobile?" Of course He would—if He saw it would help Him save time and enable Him to cover greater distances in carrying out His mission of love and compassion. All master-spirits have practical minds. Christ and other great spirits might even use the airplane if it helped them to speed their

cause of mercy and service. A Christ would have no quarrel with the outer things of life but rather with the motives of men who make ill use of great inventions for purposes of revenge or for selfish gratification of greed for gain. A Christ would be willing to accept progress but He would also try to inspire men with the idea that the force of love and tolerance is greater than all other forces."

The most outstanding contribution of Christ to the time in which He lived was that He became a vivid example of the great spiritual truths, which the people were able to quote but which they had not demonstrated in their times.

"Christ was the embodiment of the Truth He taught. He not only talked about the Light, He was the Light; and to be a light and an example to men is the greatest contribution possible. This it is which differentiates Christ and Christlike beings from the rank and file of humanity."

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N. GOPALA IYER.

Secretary.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF ARYAN CULTURE

In the course of a paper published in the *Indian World* for February, the Hon. Mr. K. M. Munshi explains the essentials of Aryan culture as distinguished from other cultures. The first essential feature of Aryan culture is

"family life dominated by strong patriarchal traditions and, as its corollary, imposing strict regard for feminine virtue which would preserve in name the purity of the race, but in substance the purity of culture.

To this normal institution created by social evolution, Aryan culture has contributed special significance. It lays down:

(a) that the father's supremacy has to be maintained not only by respect but by emotional worship of all male forefathers traced right up to a Vedic or Puranic semi-divine person, and by an identity of interest between three consecutive generations of male descendants; and

(b) that the mother's (i.e., the wife's) identity with the father (i.e., the husband) has to be absolute and inalienable.

In many ancient countries, Rome and Greece, for instance, the first idea was accepted. But in India, both these ideas have been worked into rituals, ceremonies, beliefs and laws."

The next essential feature is a conception of society as made up of an inalienable interdependence of classes of men divided according to their functions, that is, "(a) the creative, the intellectual and the idealistic classes; (b) the organisational and protective classes; (c) the classes producing and distributing wealth; (d) the classes which render essential services to society. This organisation of society was conceived irrespective of territorial limits. Every man was held to have been born with Svadharma, a word connoting both aptitude and function.

This was the idea of Varnasrama, but it was more than this. The four castes were interdependent components of one harmonious whole. Society was conceived as an association of four castes for the maintenance of social order as inspired and controlled by Dharma."

The third essential of this culture was an unwavering faith in Aryavarta, the holy land of the Aryans, leavened by an abiding veneration for those who lived

and died so that Aryavarta may live one, indivisible and eternal.

"A keen sense of historic continuity has been preserved through a belief in the Vedas as the ultimate source of all inspiration, giving to all races of every origin and period a conscious unity of life and history.

This value is achieved by associating Aryavarta with Samskrita which, according to Aryan values, is not merely a language perfect in structure and classic in expression with a rich, varied and beautiful literary achievement. It is the living embodiment of the cultural ideals of the race, an Aryavarta in verse and prose of undying beauty woven into the mind and life of every cultured home."

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense as England belongs to the English. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs," declares Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *The Church of England Newspaper*.

Referring to the cry for a "National Home" for Jews, he asks: "Why should they not, like other peoples on earth, make that country their home where they are born and earn a livelihood?"

Referring to the persecution in Germany, Gandhi says:

"The tyrants of old never went so mad as Herr Hitler seems to have gone."

Regarding the Jews in Germany, he writes:

"I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into a summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women, possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will then be a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of a dehumanised man."

THE FOUR PATHS OF YOGA

"In India, aspirants who take to spiritual life seriously are expected to follow one or the other of the Yogas," writes *Vedanta Kesari* on Sri Ramakrishna's teachings.

The original meaning of the word 'Yoga' is union. In application to spiritual life it means union with God, and the several Yogas may be described as the ways of union with the Divine. They are generally described as four in number: Jnana Yoga or the way of knowledge; Raja Yoga or the way of psychic control; Bhakti Yoga or the way of love; and Karma Yoga or the way of work.

While all the four of these have their own distinctiveness and can be described as separate paths, the general tendency is to reduce them to two: the way of knowledge and the way of love. The reason for this is not far to seek. For, Raja Yoga deals mainly with the technique of concentration, and concentration being essential for every path, Raja Yoga can be easily incorporated with any of them.

Kama Yoga too can be interpreted as the ethical discipline of the different paths.

In the master's teachings also this tendency is in evidence. For example, one of the important and, perhaps, the unique feature of Raja Yoga is the control of breath with a view to suspend it completely as an aid to concentration.

According to the Master, this state of suspension, technically known as Kumbhaka, comes naturally when the clamourings of the mind are hushed. It is also attained through Bhakti Yoga; for, when the mind is filled with intense love of God, the breath gets suspended.

As for concentration and meditation, these the Master recommends to all who take seriously to spiritual life.

THE JUDICIARY

The separation of Judiciary from the Executive is not advisable, argues a writer in *Triveni*.

The High Courts, he points out, are not in any way amenable to executive influence. If the executive should abandon its control of the subordinate judiciary, which is all it can now control, it would be relegating them to the complete control of a body judicial no doubt but which is not constituted by the people, the members of which are not necessarily appointed by a Cabinet subject to popular control, nor even in theory removable by the Legislature, and the jurisdiction, of which cannot altogether be altered by popular vote. Even the procedure it has to follow, or the laws it has to administer, are not completely subject to provincial control.

In the absence of a check over the Judiciary, why should a popular Executive and through it the people themselves give up their limited control over the subordinate judiciary? Even as it is, the High Court has, under the Act, extensive powers of superintendence and control over the subordinate courts. The people would then be surrendering something valuable which the new Act has given them.

In theory, and if the Electorate is sensible in practice, we need have no dread of the Executive any longer. There is no scope for the application of pure and strictly theoretical constitutional principles to the relations *inter se* of a judiciary and an executive such as we now have.

THE PRESS IN INDIA

The history of the press since its birth in the early eighties of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of the Mutiny for nearly 80 years has been one of chequered existence. Mr. Ram Nihore Chaturvedi in the December issue of the *Journal of Indian History* makes an analysis of the period under review.

1780-1818. The press was subject to preventive rather than punitive measures and rigorous Government supervision and control were exercised over it.

1818-1823. The censorship was abolished, Government control relaxed and prohibitory regulations issued throwing much more responsibility upon the editors and printers.

1823-1828. The stringent regulations were restored and the press was stifled.

1828-1835. The road towards the freedom of the press.

1835-1857. Complete freedom of the press and the heyday of its prosperity.

During the early days the papers generally "teemed with the scurrility of the worst kind and there was little real vitality in them". Lord Wellesley subjected the press to rigorous supervision to suppress libellous and politically offensive matters. Thus the condition of the press throughout the reign of Minto remained miserable. Lord Hastings, a man of some liberal views with an idea of effecting reforms removed the restrictions from the press, which act was received with appreciation by the public. This freedom was short-lived, and Sir Thomas Munro, in 1823, concluded that the Native press was dangerous in the highest degree to the existence of the British in India. The Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, Mr. Buckingham, availed himself of the partiality shown to the British Press and commented freely on the public measures with a great boldness. So bold was his comment on an appointment to a well-paid office that he received an

order to leave India for ever "in consideration of his disrespectful expression". Thus once again the stringent regulations were restored and the press was stifled.

The freedom of the press was timidly foreshadowed in spite of the existent stringent regulations during the regime of Lord Amherst. Lord Bentinck, later on, thought there was "no subject that the press might not freely discuss" and regarded it as an "auxiliary to good government". Thus with a few reservations, the press once again enjoyed practical though not legal freedom. Lord Bentinck had to depart from his policy of non-interference on the occasion of the First Burmese War, when his 'Half-Bhatta Order' met with a great hue and cry in the papers, and he found it was necessary for the public safety that the press in India should be kept under the most rigid control. Sir Charles Metcalfe, at that time a Member of the Supreme Council, after a fierce, bitter struggle, brought out a measure which gave the press its freedom in 1835 and thus the press was found to be rather the handmaid than the antagonist of Government.

The period 1835-1857 is of importance, because the press enjoyed complete freedom, and a number of papers started during the period are still running, notable among them being *The Calcutta Review* and *The Times of India*.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIAN WOMEN AND THE VILLAGE. By Dame Edith Brown. D.B.E., M.A., M.D., M.C.O.Q. [The Asiatic Review, January 1939.]

WHEN MADRAS WAS ATTACKED. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. [The New Review, February 1939.]

MY VISIT TO INDIA. By Dr. A. H. Reginald Buller, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. [Prabuddha Bharata, February 1939.]

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. By a Member of the R.A.S. [The Modern Review, February 1939.]

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

GANDHIJI ON MR. BOSE'S ELECTION

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement on the election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President:—

Mr. Subhas Bose has achieved a decisive victory over his opponent Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitharamayya. I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his re-election for reasons into which I need not go.

I do not subscribe to his facts or the argument in his manifestoes. I think that his references to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy.

Nevertheless, I am glad of his victory.

And since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Sahib withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand. I rejoice in this defeat.

It gives me an opportunity of putting into practice what I preached in my article on the walk out of the minority at the last A.-I. C. C. meeting in Delhi.

Subhas Babu, instead of being President on the sufferance of those whom he calls Rightists, is now President elected in a contested election.

This enables him to choose a homogeneous cabinet and enforce his programme without let or hindrance.

There is one thing common between the majority and the minority, namely, insistence on the internal purity of the Congress organisation.

My writings in *Harijan* have shown that the Congress is fast becoming a corrupt organisation in the sense that its registers contain a very large number of bogus members.

I have been suggesting for the past many months the overhauling of these registers.

I have no doubt that many of the delegates who have been elected on the strength of these bogus voters would be unseated on scrutiny.

But I suggest no such drastic step. It will be enough if the registers are purged of all bogus voters and are made foolproof for the future.

The minority has no cause for being disheartened. If they believe in the current programme of the Congress, they will find that it can be worked, whether they are in a minority or a majority and even whether they are in the Congress or outside it.

The only thing that may possibly be affected by the changes is the parliamentary programme.

The Ministers have been chosen and the programme shaped by the erstwhile majority. But

Parliamentary work is but a minor item of the Congress programme.

Congress Ministers have after all to live from day to day. It matters little to them whether they are recalled on an issue in which they are in agreement with the Congress policy or whether they resign, because they are in disagreement with the Congress.

After all, Subhas Babu is not an enemy of his country. He has suffered for it. In his opinion his is the most forward and boldest policy and programme.

The minority can only wish it all success.

If they cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority. The minority may not obstruct on any account. They must abstain, when they cannot co-operate.

I must remind all Congressmen that those who, being Congress-minded, remain outside it by design, represent it most.

Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress, may come out, not in a spirit of ill-will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress President, reacted thus to Mahatma Gandhi's statement in an exclusive interview with a representative of *Associated Press*:

It will always be my aim and object to try and win his confidence for the simple reason that it will be a tragic step for me if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest man.

Mr. Bose expressed the opinion that there was neither reason nor justification for a split within the Congress ranks over this issue.

CONGRESS AND STATES

Discussing the relationship between the Congress and the States over the question of reform, the *Manchester Guardian* advocates "discreet and tactful intervention" by Britain in the matter.

Characterising the Government's present attitude as one of benevolent neutrality, the *Guardian* says that if the Paramount Power wished to exert pressure on this occasion, there would be no lack of precedents.

PANDIT NEHRU ON THE STATES

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of his Presidential Address to the All-India States' People's Conference at Ludhiana on February 15, observed:

The people of the States are rapidly coming into line with the rest of India; they are no longer a burden and a dead weight keeping us back. They are setting the pace for India to-day and our national politics are dominated by their struggle. The time has come, therefore, for the integration of these various struggles in the States *inter se* and with the major struggle against British Imperialism. There are no longer many different struggles going on for independence; there is only one mighty struggle for India's freedom, though its aspects may vary and though its battle-grounds may be many. As Gandhiji has said, the struggle for liberty, whenever it takes place, is a struggle for all-India. It is in the fitness of things that at this moment of vital crisis for the States, India's leader, ever thinking of her freedom and jealous of her honour, should step out, and in his ringing voice of old, that we remember so well, give faith and courage to our people. Gandhiji's lead has finally settled all the old arguments that obscured the issue, and that issue stands out now, clear and definite.

The conflict in the States is only incidentally with the Rulers; in effect it is with British Imperialism. That is the issue, clear and simple; that is why the interference of the British Power in the States against the people has a special significance. We see this on an increasing scale, not only by the Political Department of the Government of India and its many Agents and Residents, but through its armed forces as in Orissa.

This interference, in order to crush the popular movement, is no longer going to be tolerated by us. The National Congress will certainly intervene with full vigour if the Government of India intervenes to crush the people.

MRS. NAIDU'S ADVICE

Addressing the Rotary Club at Delhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said:

My dream of to-morrow is of a world in which the soul of man is unfettered, not only by the tyranny of man, but also by social, economic or political prejudices—a world in which humanity lives for the common purpose of making life beautiful.

I confidently believe that youth will triumph and to-morrow will see the establishment of the right type of ideal under which the spirit will find wider scope for expression and for work, not for self but for the common good and common service. I am confident that youth will make its great contribution to humanity by abolishing monopolies of power, selfish, narrow-minded nationalism and economic exploitation. The spirit of to-morrow stands for service above self, for an international conception of humanity, for unity of purpose and for liberty of thought and action.

C. R. ON CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras, proposing the toast of the Motherland as the chief guest of the Y. M. C. A. Annual Dinner at Madras, said:

There is an analogy, which is false, which I want you to give up in your association of ideas in this connexion. What I refer to is the party system of Government.

Because we have read histories of party government in other countries, we have had analogy that to-day also the Congress is running a party government. I emphatically say 'No.' The Congress objective, the Congress ideal, the Congress philosophy and the Congress practice are entirely different from this notion.

[It is not a party government; You can have a party government if you have two fairly well-balanced parties tugging at the rope; sometimes the one winning and sometimes the other, and you can have a tug-of-war notion of party government or system. But the Congress did not start in that way, does not believe in that way and, I maintain, does not practise that way.]

[There is no Party which we consider as our Opposition which is likely to be capable of and willing to take up the Government from the Congress.]

We claim it, follows from the nature of the things because the Congress claims to represent the people as a whole. The Congress was not started to take over party government. It was formed, it was nurtured, it has been constituted to take over the Government from a foreign power, not the Government from any other party in the country.

The Congress is an army; it is not a party. You have an army to fight for the country and you have asked and allowed the Congress to fight. You did not imagine that it was a party. It could not suddenly become a party yesterday if it did not start as a party, if it did not believe itself as a party and it would be wrong very suddenly to call it a party and look upon it as a party whether for good or evil. If, therefore, any people belonging to the Congress commit the mistake of imagining that they are a party, think and act in that sense, you should not take it as correct. It is an aberration or mistake which has to be corrected.

I think you will not misunderstand me if I say, therefore, that we are simply governing and we are not governing as a party.

We govern well or ill according to our capacity. If we go wrong it is because we are not to that extent capable of governing. It is not on account of the fact that we 'belong to a party'. Everyone, therefore, should look upon the Congress as representing everybody. To the extent that they do not, it is your duty to ask them, to represent to them, to bring them into line, discuss and argue with them but do not look upon them as a different party or as strangers.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESIGNATION

Thirteen members of the Congress Working Committee: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Sankarrao Deo, Mr. H. K. Mehtab, Acharya Kripalani, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Mr. Jambhalal Bajaj and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru resigned from the Committee on February 22.

Pandit Jawaharlal sent his resignation separately and issued a long statement explaining his reasons and indicating that he will not be prepared to co-operate with the new Committee.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and eleven others telegraphed to Mr. Bose informing him of their resignations. The following is the text of the telegram:—

We regret that your illness has prevented our meeting. Hence no opportunity for personal discussion on the present situation. In the circumstances we regretfully decide to resign from the Working Committee. The letter of resignation follows and we are also giving it to the Press to avoid public misunderstanding and unfounded rumours.

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO BOSE

What Gandhiji is reported to have told Subhas Chandra Bose during the latter's recent visit to Wardha appears in *Hindusthan Times*. The report runs:

I personally appealed to you to withdraw from the presidential contest, warning you that, if you persisted, you would lose the sympathy and support of the Right Wing in addition to weakening the solidarity of the Congress. Yet, you fought and won. The majority of delegates are with you. Why don't you carry on and why do you seek coalition with the Right Wing, who, in your opinion, had reduced you to a mere figure-head? After making serious charges against them of compromising with our enemies how can you expect them to support you? Nor is it in the interests of the Congress that there should be divided counsels in the High Command. Therefore it is best, in the circumstances, that you should carry the Presidential election to its logical conclusion and take charge of the Congress machinery and run it with those men in whom you have confidence and who will accord whole-hearted support to your ideology.

THE LATE MR. KESAVA PILLAI

Glowing tributes to the memory of the late Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai



MR. P. KESAVA PILLAI

were paid by several speakers on the occasion of the unveiling of his portrait at the Madras Legislative Council Chamber, Fort St. George, on February 15.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar unveiled the portrait. The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurti, Speaker of the Madras Assembly, presided.

The portrait, which has been drawn by Mr. M. S. Nagappa, is a gift to the Chamber by the Kesava Pillai Memorial Committee.

B. P. C.'S ULTIMATUM

"With a view to making India's demand for self-determination irresistible, a period of six months should be fixed within which the British Government would be expected to give a categorical reply to India's national demand," says a resolution passed at Jalpagiri on February 5, by the Bengal Provincial Conference on Federation.

THE WARDHA SCHEME

The Central Advisory Board of Education has generally approved the principle of the Wardha Scheme which is one of



SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI

education through activity, stated Sir G. S. Bajpai in the Central Assembly. He said:

"In accordance with the recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education, the Government of India proposed to forward a copy of the report of the Board's Sub-Committee on the Wardha Scheme, together with a summary of the discussion of the subject at the Board's meeting held on 3rd December 1938, to the Provincial Governments and Local Administrations for consideration and such action as they might consider necessary. It will be for the Local Administrations in the centrally administered areas to consider in the first instance what action, if any, should be taken in the matter within the areas under their control. Any proposals on the subject which may be made by the Local Administrations will be considered by the Government of India in due course."

THE MODERN SCHOOLS

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, President of the U. P. Congress Committee, said at the Hindu High School, Lucknow:

"Modern schools lay stress on brain work and the dignity of manual labour is thoroughly neglected. The idea behind such an education is to produce 'Babus' and clerks, but these days are fast fading away."

GANDHIJI'S TELEGRAM TO SASTRI

The following telegram has been received by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri from Mahatma Gandhi:—

"Never knew anything was serious in your University. Full letter received yesterday gave me shock. My heart went out to you. I pity students who have been so unworthy of your great stewardship."

SALARY FOR VICE-CHANCELLOR

As a measure of economy, it is understood, the United Provinces Finance Sub-Committee has recommended to Government that the Vice-Chancellors of the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities should draw a monthly salary of Rs. 500 each. Further retrenchment in the general cost of Provincial Administration is being considered.

EDUCATION IN ASSAM

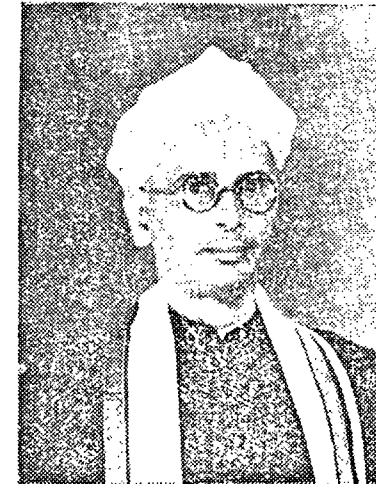
The Assam Cabinet is providing Rs. 50,000 for college and secondary education and Rs. 25,000 for primary education amongst the Tribal, Scheduled, and other minority communities in addition to the usual grant for education in the next budget.

DR. A. SANKARA AIYAR

Dr. A. Sankara Aiyar, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, has been appointed to act as Superintendent of Sanskrit Schools.

JUSTICE SIR S. VARADACHARIAR

One of the most distinguished jurists of South India, Mr. Justice Varadachariar of the High Court of Judicature at Madras,



SIR S. VARADACHARIAR

is appointed Puisne Judge of the Federal Court of India in succession to the Hon. Mr. Justice Jayakar, who has been appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The appointment has given general satisfaction as Mr. Varadachariar is held in high esteem alike for his learning and character. Simple in his habits and deeply religious in private life, Mr. Varadachariar has been distinguished alike for his great culture and stern sense of duty. As the Advocate-General truly remarked, the appointment is a fitting recognition of Mr. Varadachariar's learning and ability and of his great distinction as lawyer and as a Judge.

As we go to Press, comes the welcome announcement that the King has been graciously pleased to approve that the honour of Knighthood be conferred on Mr. Varadachariar.

AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACT

The Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, in delivering judgment on behalf of a Full Bench of the High Court on three references on the question whether those provisions of the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act which relate to the scaling down of debt and interest were *ultra vires* of the powers of the Provincial Legislature on the ground that they were repugnant to the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, regarding the distribution of subjects for legislation by the Federal Legislature and the Provincial Legislatures, observed:

"When examined, the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act is in substance within the express powers of the Madras Legislature and the fact that in particular cases it may operate to reduce liability on contracts evidenced by negotiable instruments cannot affect its validity.

Even if the matters dealt with in the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act do not come within the exclusive powers of the Provincial Legislature, the Act can be supported on the ground that it relates to contracts falling within the concurrent Legislative List."

The Bench consisted of the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Wadsworth and Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Ayyangar.

PRISON REFORMS IN ENGLAND

Drastic prison reforms planned by Government are described in the Criminal Justice Bill published in England.

These include the abolition of corporal punishment except for serious prison offences, the abolition of penal servitude, hard labour, and the ticket of leave system, and the abolition of the use of the word 'convict'.

FEMALE LIFE INSURANCE

Indian Insurance Companies find it a knotty problem to assess the risks on female lives. This is due to the absence of reliable and adequate data on which assessment of risks could be made. Some Insurance Companies are very cautious in entertaining proposals for female lives and most Companies do not entertain the proposals at all. Dr. (Mrs.) Suborna Mitra, in the January number of *Insurance World*, considers the handicaps that are felt regarding female life insurance.

In the course of her long experience in regard to medical examination of female lives, she says, she found that ordinary female lives are generally as good as males except for the important factor, of the child-bearing risk and also for a few other factors indirectly influencing female lives in India, and they are as follows:—

1. Unhygienic conditions of living;
2. Absence of outdoor work and physical exercise;
3. In comparatively poor families inadequate nutritious food for the female members;
4. During the period of maternity, lack of adequate attention to health which leads to some women being permanently maimed and this being followed by gradual deterioration of health, and,
5. Owing to unsatisfactory general health, the susceptibility of Indian women to tuberculosis and other fatal diseases.

She suggests that Indian female lives belonging to educated families living in important towns could be accepted without much hesitation. She concludes that child-bearing is a great risk for female lives particularly in India, and as this risk may not be sufficiently covered by the small extra fees imposed by the Insurance Companies, they should do well to include in their contract that in case of death during the first child-birth only a reduced sum will be payable.

POSTAL INSURANCE BONUS

In announcing a second bonus to holders of Post Office insurance policies, a resolution of the Government of India states:

"A further valuation of the fund as at 31st March 1937, has again shown a substantial surplus, of which a considerable portion can be distributed without affecting the financial stability of the fund. The Governor-General-in-Council is accordingly pleased to grant to the holders of policies in force on 31st March 1937, a simple reversionary bonus as an addition to and payable with the sum assured at the rate of one per thousand thereon, both in the case of whole-life assurances secured by premia payable throughout life, or for a limited period, or for which as further premia are payable, and in the case of endowment assurances, for each full month during which the respective policies were in force between 1st April 1932, and 31st March 1937."

INSURANCE FIRMS & DEPOSITS

Reciprocal arrangements between the Government of India and Indian States with regard to deposits to be made by insurance companies were urged by the Committee of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce at a meeting held in Delhi.

The Committee's suggestion was that an insurer who had made deposits with the Government of India should be exempt from the requirement to make deposits with the Government of Indian States.

The question arose out of the Mysore Insurance Bill, now in its third reading stage, requiring every insurance company operating in the Mysore State to make deposits similar to those required by the British India Insurance Act.

INDIA AND WORLD TRADE

Trade conditions in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, United States of America, Argentina, Brazil, Japan and India are surveyed in relation to Indian trade and commerce in the report on the work of the Indian Trade Commissioner in London during 1937-38, published recently.

"India being predominantly an agricultural country, the prosperity of her trade is dependent on world commodity prices," says the Deputy High Commissioner for India in London, commenting on the report. "In 1936-37 India derived the full benefit of the progressive rise in commodity prices. To some extent this boom was due to an element of speculation and a fall in prices was inevitable. But the decline in the early months of 1938 was so steep that her exports fell off considerably both in quantity and value."

In particular, the position in regard to wheat was most unsatisfactory, the price having dropped to so low a level as to preclude the possibility of further export on a large scale.

Similarly, India's exports of linseed and castor seed have dwindled considerably in the early months of 1938. India has lost ground to other exporting countries.

In raw cotton and cotton waste, there was a slight improvement in 1937, but this was followed by a serious decline in the first quarter of 1938, which was due to American competition, reduced demand from Japan owing to the Sino-Japanese war, and the difficulties experienced by the Lancashire cotton industry. Similarly, the export of wool, which showed an encouraging expansion in 1937, registered a heavy decline during the first quarter of 1938.

LANCASHIRE AND INDIAN COTTON

The hope that the Government of India and the various Provincial Governments of the country will not hesitate to stand by the Indian cotton grower in the event of Lancashire manufacturers boycotting Indian cotton, is expressed by Mr. Krishnaraj Madhowji Thakersey, President of the Bombay Millowners' Association, in a statement commenting on Mr. Platt's (Lancashire Cotton Corporation Managing Director) article in the *Oldham Chronicle* about the Indian textile industry.

Mr. Krishnaraj categorically denies "India having retained high tariffs and bolstered up great profits secured by terribly low wages." He asserts that Indian tariffs are by no means high and that, in judging the case for protection, one must take into consideration that India has a duty on raw materials, such as cotton, stores, dyes; a duty on machinery and spare parts; and a duty on chemicals, etc., whereas no such duties are payable on these items in the United Kingdom.

The statement adds that Lancashire is not purchasing Indian cotton due to any philanthropic intentions, but solely owing to the fact that Indian cotton can be had at favourable rates compared with American or any other cotton.

THE CALTEX OIL TANKER.

M. S. China, one of the world's largest oil tankers, is owned by the Caltex Company. The transportation at one time and in one hull, of six million and fifty thousand gallons of oil, is a storage and freightage achievement possible to very few single deep-sea vessels in the world—and one of them is the new 10,781 ton oil tanker, *M. S. China*.

WOMEN IN POLITICS

"The place of women in politics" was the subject of an interesting lecture by Mrs. Mona Hensman at a meeting of the Students of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Mrs. Hensman referred to the long struggle of women in England to obtain suffrage, whereas in this country it was fairly easy because women were welcomed into politics in 1919. Now, however, women outside India had a greater influence and power in politics than the women of India.

Continuing, Mrs. Hensman said women in politics had first to look after social welfare and social legislation and the harmony that should exist among its workers.

They were learning in this country that union was strength. Women in politics and outside it felt alike in the matter of disarmament. There was a great future for women in politics, if they could influence the policy underlying disarmament. What was wanted was an active form of peace.

Mrs. Hensman pointed out with regard to franchise that Indian women had not only the literary franchise as in the case of men, but also franchise based on other qualifications such as ownership of property, etc. If woman was to take her rightful place in politics alongside men, high ideals of electioneering should be kept up.

And women in politics had to deal with the progress of the nation as a whole, not confining themselves to the women's problems, for example, women's education. They had not only to deal with the present generation, but as mothers, had to consider a generation ahead.

SEX EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Nowadays women are taking the most important roles in all the activities of our country, including police. Parents are adapting to new innovations and giving their daughters adequate education so that they may serve their duties creditably and efficiently. *The Bombay Sentinel* publishes an informing article by a shrewd sociologist who says that it is as true as anything that apart from other duties, the most real duty a girl has to know is sex knowledge during her education. Pleading this cause, the writer says:

"A nation is built upon its sons and daughters and it is always the mother who is to rear them from childhood. But very few understand the profound responsibility of becoming a mother or a father. Most of the mothers think little on the subjects which every one ought to think very seriously, namely, that on what particular condition they are to procreate and when to control the birth of the children."

MRS. CHAMBERLAIN

Mrs. Neville Chamberlain deserves the first place among the wives, whose help and unfailing encouragement have directed their husbands' careers to the happiest consummation. In a recent speech the Prime Minister paid this tribute to his wife:

"No politician owes more to his helpmate than I do. My wife rejoices in my successes, encourages me when I am disappointed, guides me with her counsel, warns me of dangers, and never allows me to forget the humanity underlying all politics. She has been privy to all my secrets and she has never divulged one!"

THE LATE MR. W. B. YEATS

The news of the death of W. B. Yeats, the celebrated Irish poet, playwright and philosopher, has been received with the greatest regret by all lovers of English literature and with particular poignancy in India, where he has been well known for his sincere admiration and love for Hindu culture and institutions. He was one of the supreme literary artists of the day and was fittingly awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923.

In a tribute to Yeats, Dr. J. H. Cousins, who collaborated with Yeats for some time, says that for 50 years Yeats gave the world the most distinguished verse in the English language, and some of the choicest of its prose. He led the dramatic revival in Ireland, gave it a series of idealistic plays that will survive the fluctuations of theatrical fashion, and encouraged a realistic drama that healthily influenced the European and American stage. His art was exercised for the sake of his vision of an Ireland freed from external imposition to rise to the height of the "eternal beauty" that he saw as her spiritual birthright. Dr. Cousins adds:

Behind the varied enthusiasms of a complex personality, I always felt Yeats to be an essential mystic, who saw the external world as a perpetually changing improvisation on eternal verities and the purpose of life as the bringing of the outer personality into harmony with its inner being. Dr. Cousins says that the influence of Indian mythology is seen to Yeats' earliest poems.

MR. EDWIN HAWARD

Mr. Edwin Haward has been appointed the British Member of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, with his permanent residence in London.

Mr. Haward, who recently retired from the Editorship of the *North China Daily News*, has had a distinguished career in Indian journalism. He came to India to join the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, and was for some time the Delhi-Simla correspondent of *The Times*. Later, he was the Editor of the *Pioneer*.

NEW APPOINTMENTS

A *communiqué* announces that the King has approved the following appointments consequent on the expiry on December 6, 1939, of Sir Harry Haig's term of office as Governor of the United Provinces:—

Sir Maurice Hallett, at present Governor of Bihar, to be Governor of the United Provinces.

Sir T. A. Stewart, at present a Member of the Governor-General's Council, to be Governor of Bihar.

Mr. A. G. Clow to be a Member of the Governor-General's Council in succession to Sir T. A. Stewart.

Sir Maurice Hallett is resigning his post as Governor of Bihar on August 6, 1939, and will proceed on leave until he assumes office from Sir Harry Haig. Sir Thomas Stewart is resigning his office on April 1, 1939, and proceeding on leave pending assumption of office from Sir Maurice Hallett on August 6, 1939.

THE LATE MR. PATWARDHAN

It is with profound regret that we record the death of Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, founder-member of the Servants of India Society, aged 66. Mr. Patwardhan was a well-known worker in the cause of the States' people, and edited for 13 years till his death a weekly Marathi Journal to promote that cause.

In him the country has lost an unostentatious worker, and the loss to the Society to which he gave his all, is well-nigh irreparable.

DR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, has appointed as his adviser under Section 278 of the Government of India Act, 1935, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao in succession to Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who is returning to India at the end of April to take up the appointment of Commerce Member to the Government of India.

Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao was twice Minister in the Central Provinces and acted as Governor of C. P. in 1936.

A PRIVATE CANCER HOSPITAL

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Premier of Madras, declared open the new buildings of the well equipped Madras Radiological Institute and Private Cancer



Dr. P. RAMA RAU

Hospital run by Dr. P. Rama Rau, the well known Radiologist, on the Poonamallee High Road, Madras, on 2nd February, in the presence of a large gathering consisting of many distinguished members of the Medical profession. The Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Public Health, who laid the foundation-stone of the buildings last year, was also present.

The Premier, at the outset, paid a tribute to the energy and enterprise of Dr. Rama Rau. The Government in this country could not start as many hospitals as the sick population needed and as many schools as the illiterate people required. It was not a bad arrangement by which it was proposed to have some free wards for the poor people to be maintained by the money given by the paying patients in other wards. They should not on that account run away with the notion, "oh, people have to pay and where is the charity in it?" "People who can pay should pay, so that those who cannot pay, may get healed and not be left in their huts," declared the Premier.

MORTALITY FIGURES FOR BRITISH INDIA

A study of the mortality figures for British India shows that about 49 per cent. of the total mortality in a year is among those people who are 10 years of age, whilst the corresponding figure for England is only 12 per cent. During the first year of life India's proportional mortality is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times that of England. At the next period, between 1 and 5 years, it is five times greater, and between 5 and 10 years, it is three times as high. About 25 per cent. of the total deaths were among infants under one year, the English figure being about 7 per cent. Another significant fact is that whilst in England women have lower mortality rates than men at all ages, in India the female death rate exceeds that of the male during the reproduction years 15—40.

ON CHEWING *pan*

The Indian habit of chewing *pan* (betel leaves), says the *Indian Medical Journal*, appears to be an adjunct to correct nutrition. Betel leaves are rich in carotene and calcium. The carotene content is nearly a quarter of the carotene content of red palm oil and the calcium content is nearly the double that of milk. The practice of chewing *pan* along with lime is, perhaps, an additional factor towards the better assimilation of calcium as the lime precipitates all oxalic acid of *pan* before ingestion.

RELIEF FOR EYE-STRAIN

Regular adequate rest periods are advocated as a remedy to relieve the eye-strain, says the *Life and Health*.

Modern civilization has placed an abnormal burden upon the eyes. Eye-strain is brought about by excessive use of the eyes, inadequate rest periods, improper lighting conditions.

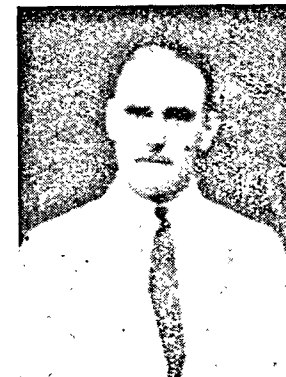
COL. COTTER

Colonel Cotter, I.M.S., Deputy Public Health Commissioner, succeeds Colonel Sir A. J. Russell as Public Health Commissioner, Government of India.

SIR JAMES TAYLOR ON SCHEDULED BANKS

Sir James Taylor, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, addressing the annual meeting of Shareholders at Madras, said:

"The past year has seen important developments with regard to the establishment of closer connections with scheduled banks. The closing of the doors of a



SIR JAMES TAYLOR

scheduled bank with many branches in this part of the country brought to the forefront the question of the relations of the Reserve Bank *vis-a-vis* scheduled banks in distress.

In view of the experiences gained during the crisis, we addressed a letter to the scheduled banks asking for more detailed information regarding their bills, advance and investments. We also offered to depute an officer of the Bank to establish informal contacts with them.

In accordance with this policy, closer contacts with some of the South Indian banks were established during the year. The advantage of such connections are obvious. In the first place, the arrangement is entirely voluntary on both sides and affords an opportunity for frank and confidential discussions between the officers of the Reserve Bank and those of the scheduled banks. Secondly, it keeps the Reserve Bank more fully informed of the financial position of the member banks and enables the latter in certain cases to ward off trouble by the receipt of timely advice or guidance from the Reserve Bank.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET

Sir Thomas Stewart, the Railway Member, presented the Railway Budget for 1939-40 in the Indian Legislative Assembly on February 18, while Sir Guthrie Russell presented it in the Council of State.

The estimates show that as against a realised surplus of Rs. 2.76 crores in 1937-38, the revised estimates for the current year show that the surplus in the current year is expected to be Rs. 2.05 crores and in the coming year Rs. 2.13 crores.

The following Table gives the essential figures:—

	[In crores of Rupees]		
	Accounts 1937-38.	Revised Estimates 1938-39.	Budget 1939-40
Gross Traffic Receipts (State lines)	95.01	94.65	94.75
Working Expenses (including depreciation)	62.94	63.55	64.25
Net Receipts	32.07	31.10	30.50
Net Miscellaneous Receipts	—05	.23	.59
Net Revenue	32.02	31.33	31.09
Interest Charges	29.26	29.28	28.96
Surplus	2.76	2.05	2.13

The surplus of 2 crores goes to the central revenues. The gross total works programme is 15 crores.

On the question of railway rates, Sir Thomas Stewart said:

To meet road competition which, having none of the general obligations laid upon the railways, has concentrated on the cream of the traffic, the railway administrations have not been slow to quote special rates in particular areas, but it is obviously not a proposition which can be justified on any grounds, practical or theoretical, that road competition can be met by a universal reduction in rates. Railway rates in India are low, the average rate per ton being amongst the lowest in the world. It can hardly be urged that we have been making excessive profits at the expense of the general public.

We have our financial obligations which we must meet and if over and above that obligation we make a profit, it goes not to the individual capitalist but into central revenues to the relief of the general taxpayer or, as at present arranged, to the assistance of provincial administration whose financial necessities are only too well known to all of us.

A PLEA FOR STATE THEATRES

"Menaka" (Mrs. Leila Sokhey) broadcast a talk from the Madras Air Station on "The dilemma of a dancer". *Inter alia* she said:

"Every province in India should have a local centre of Academy for the preservation of its particular type of dancing. There should also be a theatre in which the most talented and trained artistes should be employed permanently and be able to get systematic work without being worried about their livelihood. These theatres should be a national organisation supported by the State just as in all European countries where art is still alive and flourishing.

Our present-day autonomous provinces should extend their support and sympathy and give their aid as the Indian States are doing and the ancient royal patrons and Princes were doing for all our national arts. Modern India can never hope to take her place as a first class nation until her arts flourish and take a pre-eminent place in the life of the community."

SIR EDWIN LUTYENS

The election of Sir Edwin Lutyens, as this year's President of the Royal Academy in England has more than a passing interest for India. The aesthetically much criticised but imposing buildings of the Indian capital at New Delhi were planned by this great architect. Amongst his other works may be mentioned the Whitehall Cenotaph, the British Pavilion at Paris and the new British Embassy at Washington.

KING GEORGE'S STATUE

H. E. the Governor of Madras, unveiling the statue of the late King George V, the Memorial erected by the people of Madras near the Victory Memorial, observed:

"Many have been the tributes paid to him (the late King George V) since the day of his passing, and there could be no more fitting subject for eloquence or more splendid example wherefrom to illustrate the highest virtues—virtues in which, though he shared them with many, he was rivalled by none."

SPORT

MR. J. CHINNA DURAI

Mr. J. Chinna Durai of Middle Temple, London, has been elected foreign secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association, of which the patron-in-chief is the Viceroy of India.

Mr. Durai is well known in South India, having captained the Salem College Football XI in 1913-14, playing at centre-forward. During the same period he held the record for the 100 yards and hurdle events in the Inter-Collegiate Sports.

In 1926, in England, he met F. J. Perry in the Finchley County Club Tournament and took a set off him. In 1927, he was elected to act as umpire in a tennis match in which His Majesty King George VI (then Duke of York) played. Last summer he won the singles championship of the Lindfield Hard Courts Club, Surrey.

He plays table tennis for the Cator Club, Beckenham, in the Surrey League matches. He is also a member of the Elmers End Sports Club.

GERMAN MOTORIST'S FEAT

Rudolf Carracciola, the German motoring-ace, driving a Mercedes Benz car, broke the International Class 'D' record for cars between 2,001 and 3,000 c.c. by covering a kilometre, standing start, at 177.52 kilometres an hour, beating his own previous record of 175.097 kilometres an hour.

DON BRADMAN

Don Bradman, by scoring 135 runs for South Australia against New South Wales in the Sheffield Shield match, equalled the world record established in 1901 by C. B. Fry, of scoring six successive centuries.

JOE LOUIS

The *New York Daily Mirror* says that Joe Louis, the heavy-weight champion of the world, will defend his title against Tony Galento at New York on June 29.

PRESIDENT, FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION

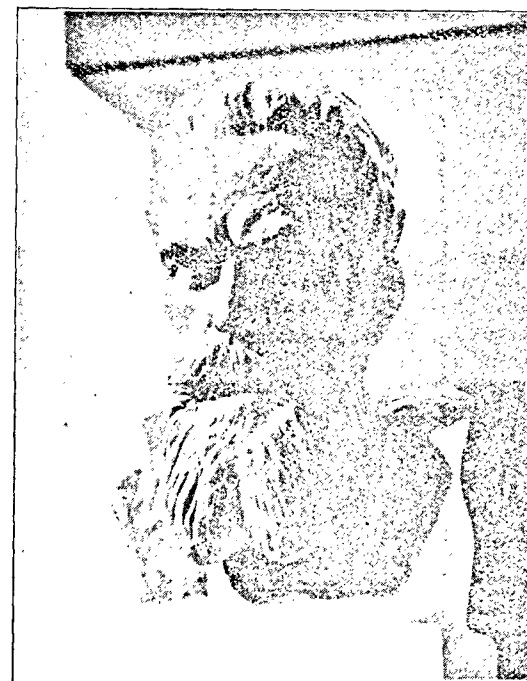
The Earl of Athlone has been unanimously elected President of the Football Association in succession to the late Mr. William Pickford.

CHEMISTRY AS ANNIHILATOR OF CIVILISATION

The ability of advances in chemistry either to overthrow civilisation, or to confer hitherto untold benefits upon mankind, was stressed by a Nobel Prize winner at the meeting at Ottawa of the American Association for the advancement of Science. Professor Harold C. Urey, who won the Nobel Prize in 1934, sounded this warning note: "Chemistry can and, perhaps, will destroy our European civilisation," he said. "I do not believe it is too much to say that a complete destruction of our civilisation may result."

INDIAN TELEPHONES

An "Indian Telephone" incorporating improvements of both a technical and mechanical nature, with particular regard to Indian conditions, may be produced in the near future. The necessary experiments are in progress at the Government Telegraph Workshops in Calcutta, where a drive for manufacturing telephones in India has been launched.



DR. W. C. RONTGEN
Discoverer of X-rays (1845-1923)

SABU IN "BURMESE SILVER"

Alexander Korda announces that he has engaged Sir Robert Vansittart, a famous British diplomat, to write the screen-play for "Burmese Silver", Edward Thompson's best-seller which Korda has purchased for filming during the next season. Mr. Thompson will collaborate with Sir Robert Vansittart on the film version of his novel, which will be photographed entirely in technicolor. Sabu, the Indian child star, and Conrad Veidt will play the leading roles.

Production of "Burmese Silver" will follow Mr. Korda's production of "The Thief of Bagdad", in which Sabu will play a thrilling adventurous role of the thief. The picture, we are told, will be in technicolor.

MR. A. NARAYAN

The death of Mr. Narayan removes from South India a notable film personality who was fully aware of the needs of this industry, having been the pioneer producer of both silent and talking films in South India. To him the industry owes a great deal.

Mr. A. Narayan had travelled widely in Europe and America and had his training for a fairly long period under Carl Laemmle Sr. in Hollywood.

Besides his feature productions, he made several news reels and short films on educational and health subjects.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE'S POPULARITY

For the fourth consecutive year, Shirley Temple, the child film star, has been elected the Box Office Queen of Movies in the poll of the American theatre owners. The complete poll is as follows:—Shirley Temple, Clark Gable, Sonja Henie, Mickey Rooney, Spencer Tracey, Robert Taylor, Myrna Loy, Jane Withers, Alice Faye and Tyrone Power.

"THE DRUM"

After re-examination of the British film "The Drum" (starring Sabu of "Elephant Boy" fame) the Government of Bombay have ordered the deletion of such portions as appeared objectionable and have instructed the Bombay Board of Film Censors to certify the film, whenever requested to do so, in the approved form.

MOTOR MANUFACTURE IN INDIA

Mr. D. E. Gough, the Indian representative in Bombay of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, Limited, of London, has issued a statement, dated January 1939, in which he invites attention to a report of the Australian Tariff Board, which expressed itself as opposed at present to the manufacture of complete motor cars in that Commonwealth. In the same circular, Mr. Gough invites attention to the scheme for the manufacture of automobiles in India and states that most of the conditions which induced the Australian Tariff Board to form its opinion are equally applicable to India, and concludes with the view that in India, too, it is "better to buy than to build".

Commenting on this statement, Sir M. Visveswarayya, Member of the National



SIR M. VISVESWARAYYA

Planning Committee, has made the following observation to the *Associated Press*:—

Mr. Gough does not appear to be aware of the reception given to the Tariff Board report by the Government and the public of Australia. In tabling the Tariff Board's report in the Australian House of Representatives, the Minister of Customs, Mr. White, said in October, 1938: "The Government adheres to the policy of encouraging the establishment of an industry for the manufacture of engines and chassis in Australia. The Government invites prospective manufacturers of engines and chassis, or parts thereof, to submit their proposals with details of the assistance required, not later than March 31, 1939. Consideration will be given to any proposal for complete manufacture."

CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

Addressing the Rotary Club of Jamshedpur on "Civil Aviation in India", Rotarian J. R. D. Tata, Chairman of Tatas, said that India had a mixture of favourable and unfavourable factors influencing the growth of Civil Aviation in the country. The favourable factors were:

- (1) The territorial magnitude of the country;
- (2) the comparative slowness and insufficiency of surface means of communications;
- (3) excellence of climate from the flying point of view for the greater part of the year; and
- (4) the air-mindedness of the people in general.

The unfavourable factors were the general poverty of the country and the illiteracy of its people.

The former was responsible for a restricted volume of trade, both internal and external, and, therefore, of business correspondence and passenger traffic and also for the limited funds at the disposal of Government for the encouragement of such objects as the development of air transport. Illiteracy resulted in almost a negligible volume of private internal mail.

In the absence of adequate internal mail and passenger traffic and in view of the Government of India's 'No-subsidy policy', Indian air transport had to look elsewhere for means of subsistence. Fortunately foreign mail traffic was both abundant and concentrated, and almost the whole of it passed through Karachi on its way into or out of India. Thus it was that the air transport system of India was largely based on the carriage of foreign mails, the principal internal airlines acting as feeders to the main air route between Europe and India.

AN AIRPLANE CRASH

"Aerodo Aircraft" Np. De Her, a new German monoplane, which arrived at the Madras Aerodrome for demonstration purposes, crashed as a result of the left wing having snapped while the plane was in air at Minambakkam recently. The occupants, Flt. Lt. Hurst, Pulkowski the German pilot, and a student of the Madras Law College, died as a result of the accident. Since its inception, this is the first fatal accident that has taken place in the Minambakkam aerodrome.

The ill-fated plane was a two seater and was in charge of Flight Lt. Hurst-Pulkowski and Second Lt. Rudolph Jannet. The plane, it might be recalled, established a world record for such planes in a non-stop flight of 4,000 miles from Tripoli to Gaya early in January.

CEMENT INDUSTRY

Presiding at the Annual General Meeting of the Associated Cement Companies Ltd. at Bombay, Sir H. P. Mody, the Chairman, said that the results showed a considerable



SIR H. P. MODY

improvement over those of the previous year. Commenting on the uneconomic competition with which the Company had to contend, he said:

"To put it quite bluntly, the economics of the cement trade are being completely ignored by this amazing and indiscriminate onslaught on the available markets in the country. We have never been, and do not desire to be, a monopolistic concern. Our objective all along has been to serve the needs of the consuming public by production regulated according to demand, and from time to time to effect a balance between the interests of the investor and those of the consumer by a steady well-directed policy of price reductions voluntarily undertaken without any pressure from any interests, competing or otherwise."

TATA CHEMICALS LIMITED

Once again the House of Tatas are launching out into what is a comparatively new but an essential key industry for India. The Tata Chemicals Ltd. will manufacture heavy chemicals such as Soda Ash and Caustic Soda, and fertilizers such as Ammonium Salts and Potash. During the last 20 years imports of these heavy chemicals have overdoubled and the figure now stands at about 74,000 tons. The Tata Chemical Company will be the first Indian Company to manufacture such chemicals.

RETURN OF FORFEITED LANDS

The little village of Varad in the Bardoli Taluq in Surat District witnessed an impressive ceremony on January 29, in connexion with the return of the forfeited lands to their original owners. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhai Patel attended the function.

The Hon. Mr. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister, Government of Bombay, announced that all the forfeited lands in the Surat district had now been returned to their original owners.

Mahatma Gandhi said that although the occasion was undoubtedly a very auspicious one, he desired to make his audience bear in mind that they should know how to be prepared once again should the occasion arise to lose their now restored lands.

Sardar Patel paid a tribute to the valour of the Gujarat peasants.

THE RENT CLAIM

Speaking on the Estates Land Act Committee's report in the Madras Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister, said the Government would not reject the appeal for justice to the zemindars, whatever the consequences or cost might be. But the same consideration should be extended to the ryot and the cultivator. Unqualified pity for the poor was responsible for the Committee's proposals.

He maintained that the pattadar and not the zemindar was the owner of the land and that the zemindar was only the holder of an office created for the collection of revenue.

There was no question of confiscation or expropriation. On the contrary, to give the zemindar the right to the land and the right to take half the gross produce as rent, according to a hard-hearted assessment of current prices, would mean the expropriation of the entire land of the ryot.

GRANT TO CATTLE SHOW SOCIETIES

A non-recurring grant of Rs. 2,50,000 has been made by the Government of India to the All-India Cattle Show Society, which has now been registered and placed on a footing of permanence.

INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA

In a memorandum submitted to the Government of India, the Central Indian Association of Malaya make the following suggestions:—

"Labour in Malaya is South Indian, and on this question Madras is more vitally interested than any other Province. We suggest that the task of working out the policy of the Government of India as regards emigration to Malaya might well be handed over to the Madras Government. What we have in mind is a Department of Malayan Emigration under the immediate control of the Madras Government, who will be in charge of the selection, recruitment and despatch of labourers requisitioned by Malaya according to her needs."

The memorandum states that while the Indian community in Malaya is highly gratified at the temporary suspension of emigration to Malaya and the stand taken by the Government of India to check the methods by which Malayan employers managed to procure "voluntary" emigrants in large numbers, they feel at the same time that the whole question has to be examined and an arrangement based on full recognition of the principles that should guide Malayan emigration hereafter should be entered into between the Government of India and the Malayan authorities

PLANTATION LABOUR

The Ministers in charge of Industries and Labour, Agricultural and Rural Development and Public Health have had occasion recently to investigate on the spot the conditions of labour obtaining in the Plantations in the Anamallais. Mr. D. N. Strathie, I.C.S., whom the Government subsequently deputed to examine these conditions in greater detail has, after consultation with the interests concerned, submitted an interesting report. In the light of the material before them, the Government now proceed to make the following recommendation:—

"The Commissioner of Labour considers that as in the case of the higher paid employees on the estates, the cuts imposed on the basic rates of wages during the period of depression should now be removed. The Government agree with the Commissioner of Labour and consider that his recommendation should be given effect to at least from May 1, 1938. The tea industry to-day is prosperous enough to be able to afford to pay better wages to the workers. The basic rates of wages should accordingly be revised."

GENERAL

A NATIONAL FLAG FOR BURMA

In recognition of the position of Burma as a unit of the Empire, His Majesty has approved of a national flag for Burma, which hitherto had no distinctive flag.

The flag approved is a Blue Ensign, bearing in the Fly emblem, an emblem of a peacock in natural colours on a circular gold background. The peacock is generally regarded as a national emblem of Burma.

GLADSTONE AND TEA

Mr. Gladstone used to boast that he consumed more tea between the hours of midnight and 4 a.m. than any other man in the House of Commons. When he was not in the House but in his own bed, he used to fill his hot-water bottle with boiling tea in order that it might fulfil the twofold purpose of warming his feet and quenching his thirst.

Y. M. C. A. IN GERMANY

The Young Men's Christian Association at Dresden, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Plaun, Zwickau and Burgstead has been dissolved. Its property will be liquidated.



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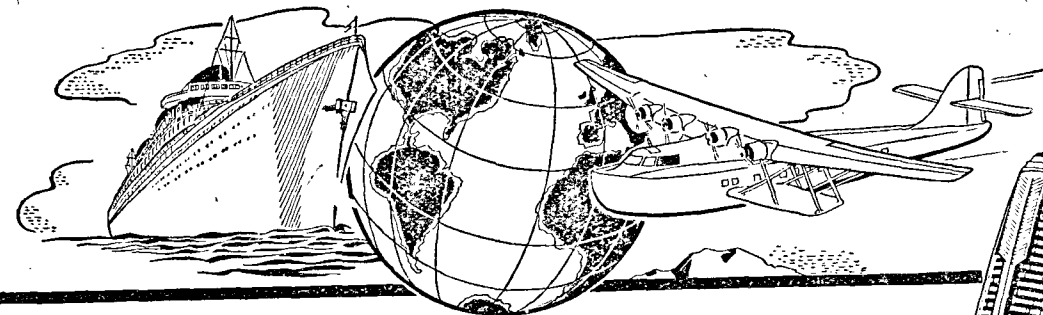


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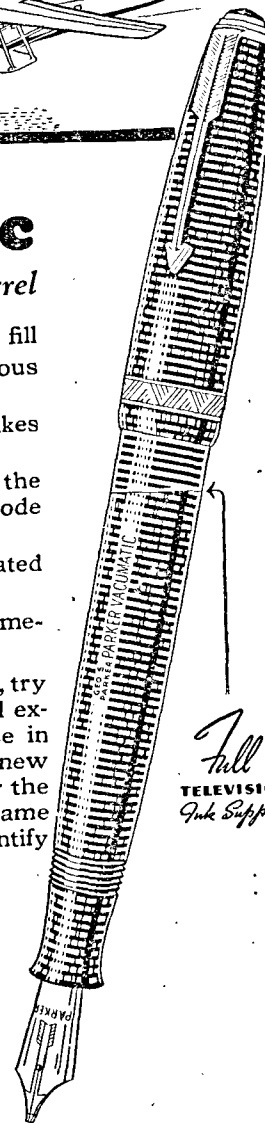
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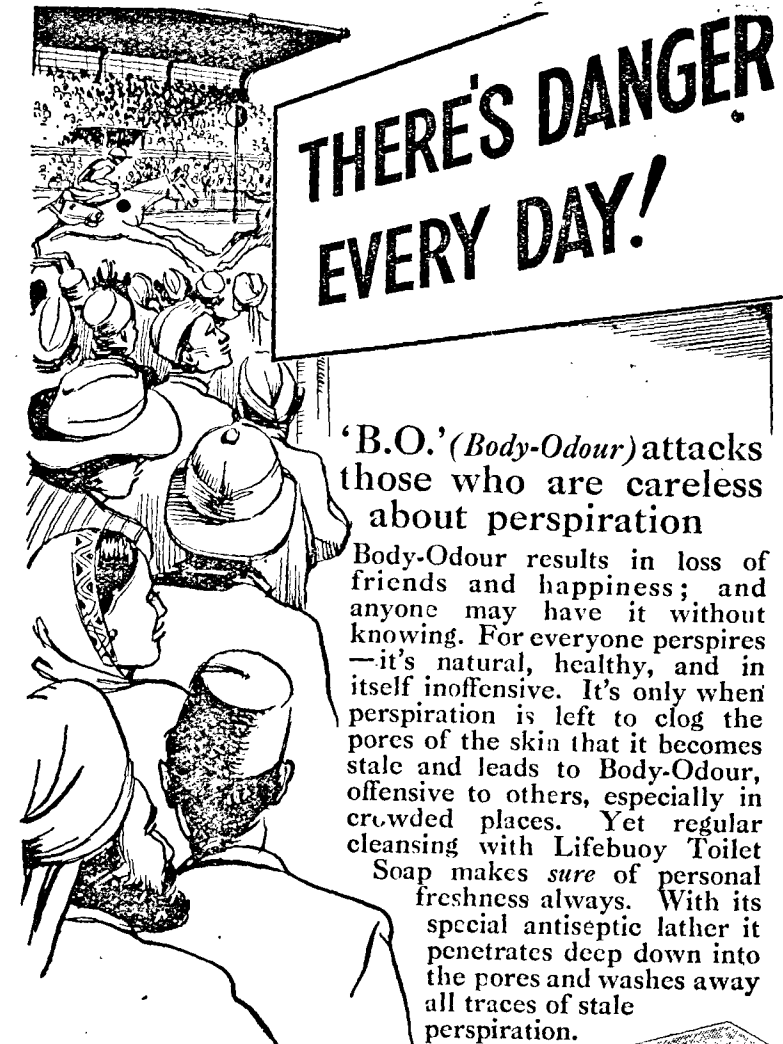
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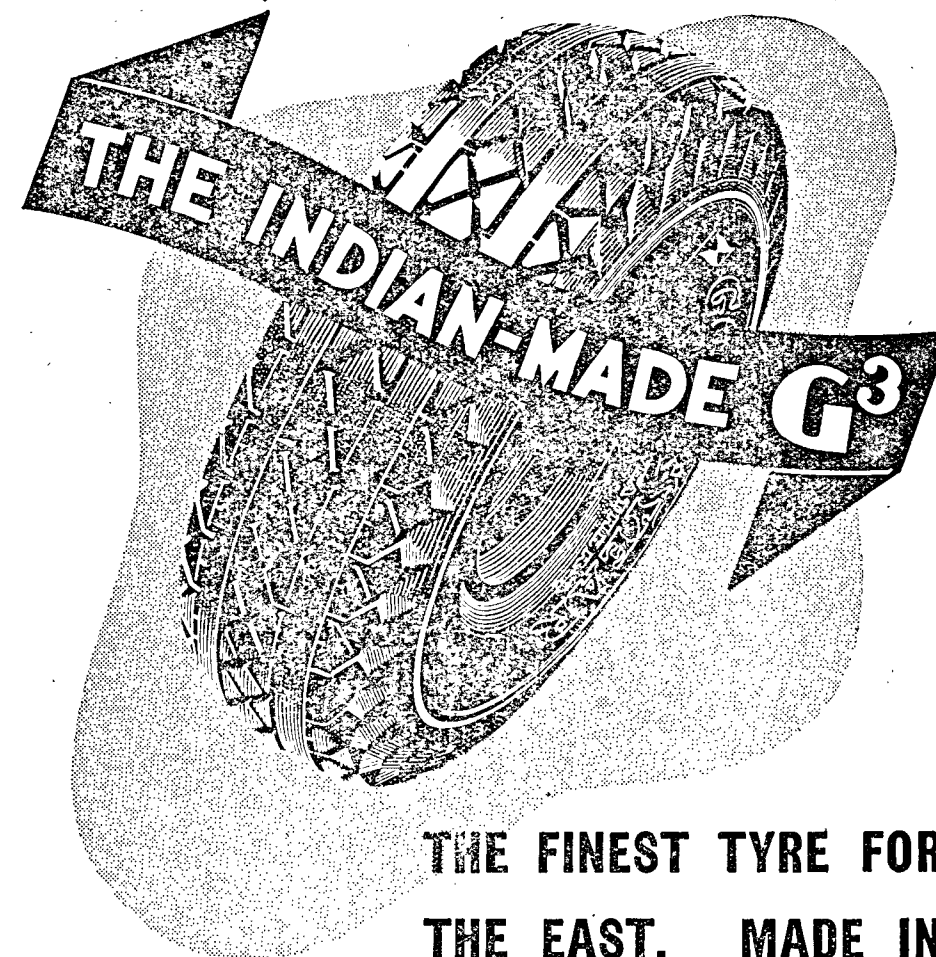
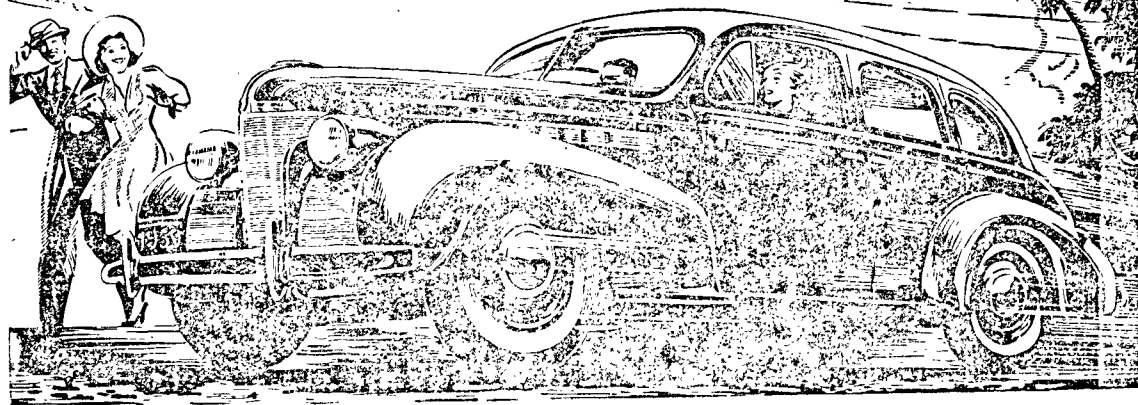
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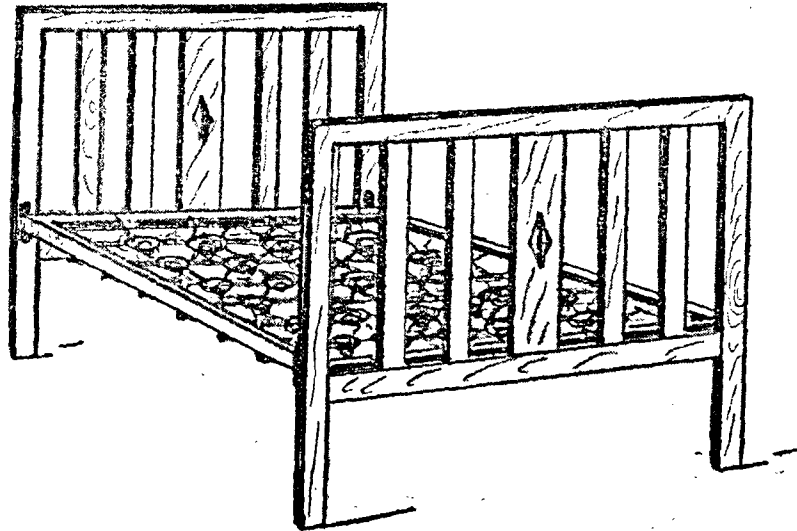
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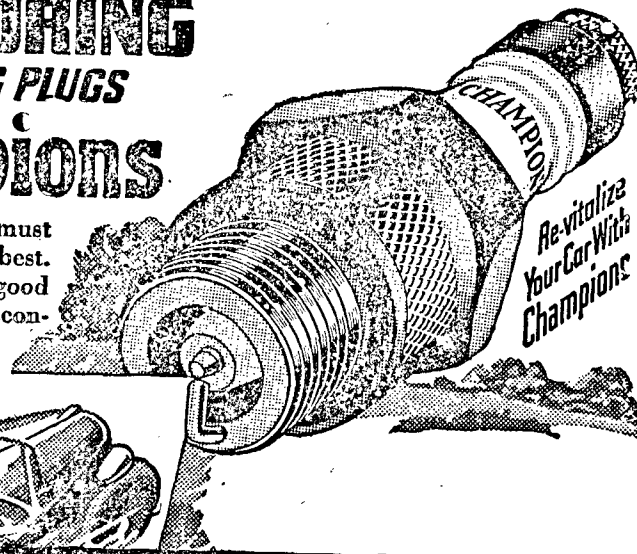
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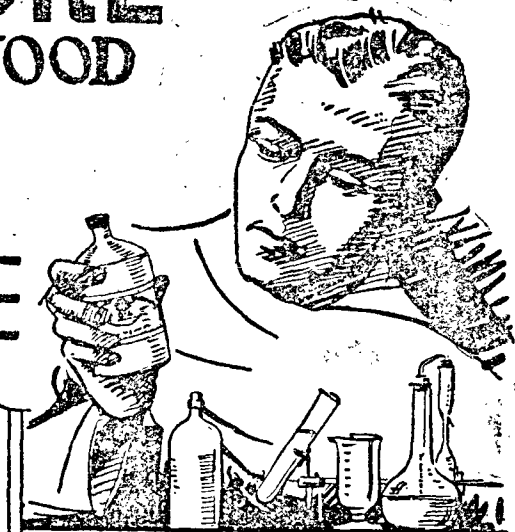
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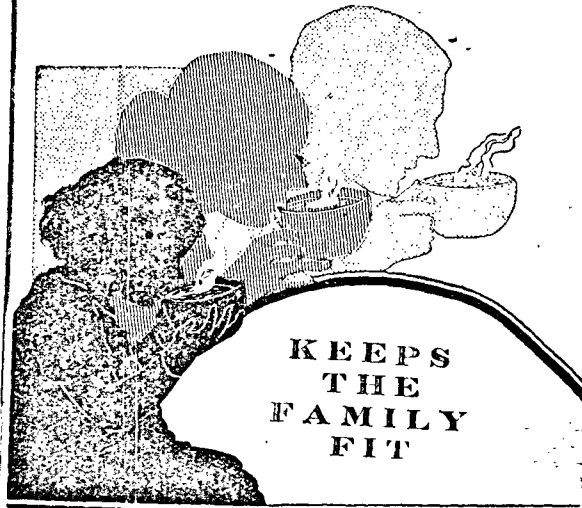
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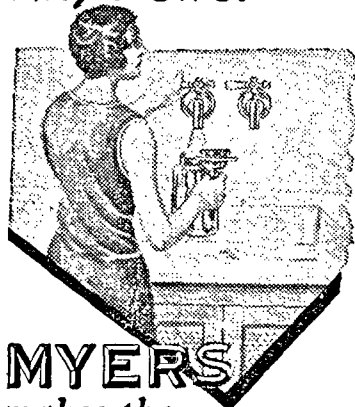
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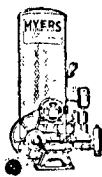


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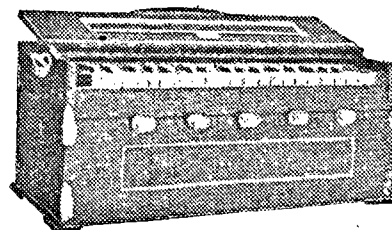
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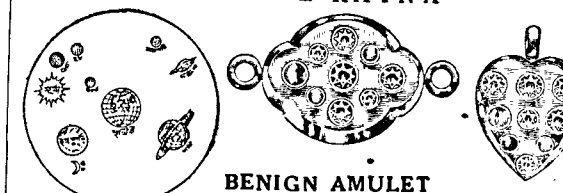
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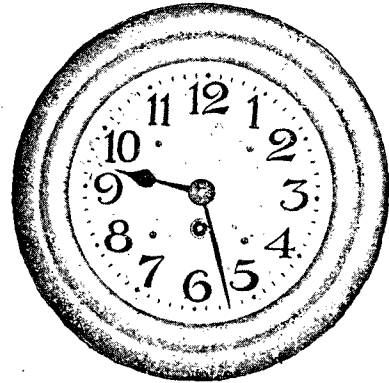
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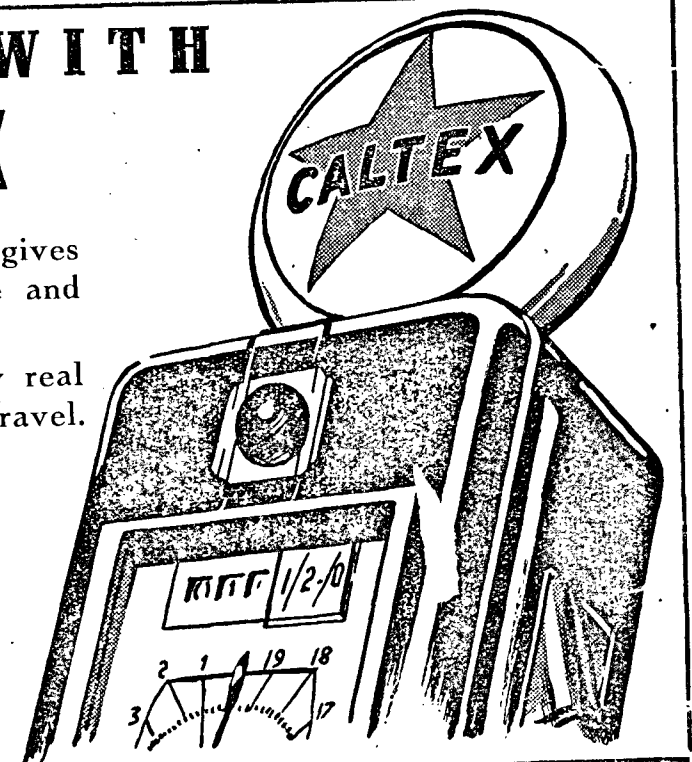
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