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INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

JULY 1938

VOL. 39.

No. 7.

THE RATIO QUESTION

I. By Mr. Gordhandas G. Morarji

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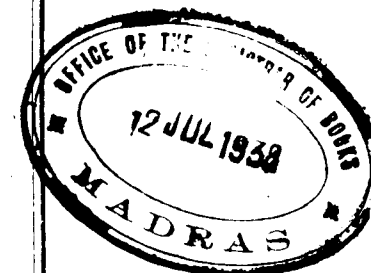
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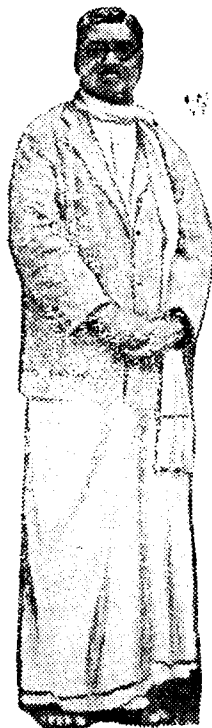
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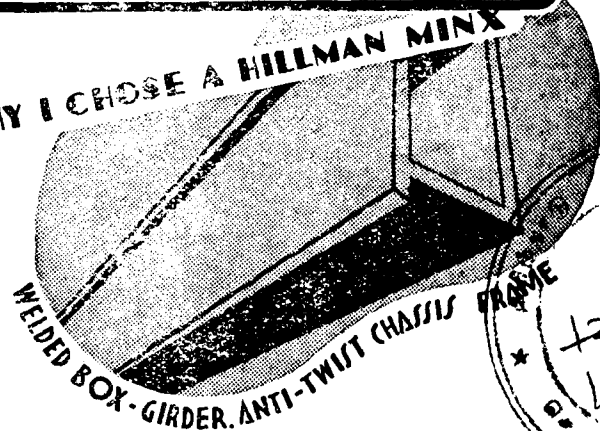


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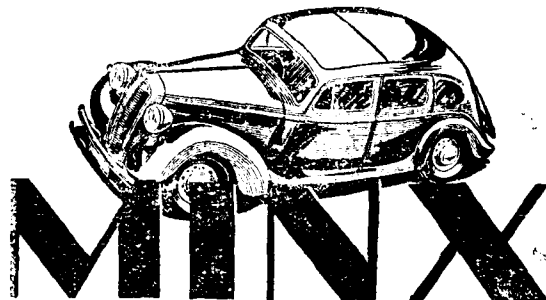
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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

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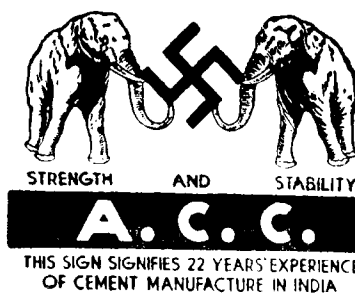
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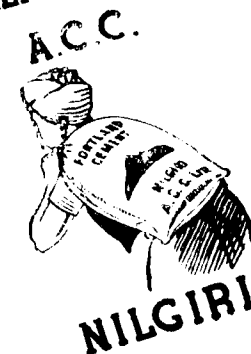
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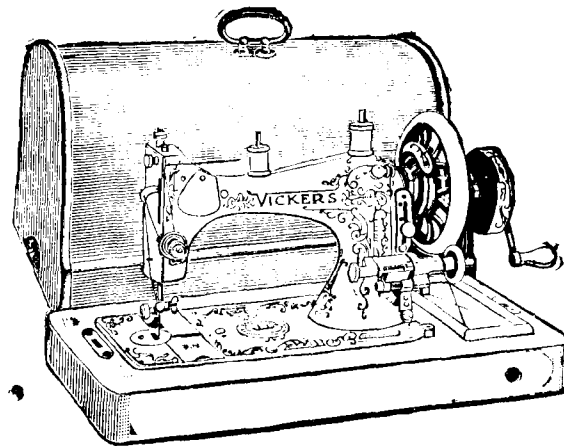
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

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[No. 7.]

THE RATIO QUESTION

I. BY MR. GORDHANDAS G. MORARJI

(President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay)

OF the many muddles for which the Government of India is responsible, the currency and exchange muddle is one. Since 1884, the currency and exchange problem has loomed the largest among all economic questions before the public. It is no ordinary so-called extremist or agitator, but a man of moderate views and a millionaire with vested interests like Mr. Jamshedji Ardeshir Wadia, who has asserted all his life that the country has been ruined through the mis-management of the currency problem by Government. We find that even now the influence of Lancashire is felt on the economic policy of the Government of India. This influence has been there not only from recent times, but almost since India came under the domination of England or rather, even before that time when the East India Company were here merely as traders and when the exports of Indian piece-goods to England were banned not only by high and prohibitive tariffs but also by prohibitive *ukase*. The influence of Lancashire has been visible even with regard to the Government's monetary policy. Without going too far in the past, the incidents which happened in 1921 or 1926 are themselves suggestive of lessons which we cannot and should not forget. India had stood by the Empire in its time of stress

and struggle and when the time came for repayment of debts to this country, the exchange was kicked up to 2sh. 10d. with the result that the debts were almost wiped out by half. The Babington-Smith Currency Committee fixed the ratio at 2sh. in the face of a storm of opposition from the people who counted and from interests which should have weighed the most with the authorities here. Tremendous efforts were made to keep the ratio at 2sh., and 35 crores of rupees of India's money were wasted in these attempts. The struggle was ultimately given up when it was found impossible to keep it up, and even then Government would not recognise the fairness and justice of the cause for which the Indian business community were fighting. It was, I think, about 1922 or 1923 that efforts were made by several prominent Indian industrialists to have a fresh inquiry, and yet there was no response to this because of the opposition of the European Chambers of Commerce. If such an enquiry was instituted then, there was no doubt whatsoever that the ratio would have been fixed at 1sh. 4d. or even perhaps at a lower rate. Things, however, were allowed to drift, with the result that in 1926 Government appointed the Royal Commission on Currency and Finance and

currency to the country which imports and exports is what is called the exchange transaction and the rate at which the currency is exchanged is called the ratio of exchange. This is in short the explanation of the word 'ratio'. As far as India is concerned, she has not got to worry herself about the exchange of any other currency but only sterling with which her rupee has been linked. I will now give a concrete example of the difference in the value of the goods imported and exported at different rates of exchange. Supposing I import goods worth £100 from a foreign country at the ruling rate of 1sh. 6d., I will have to pay Rs. 1,325 and when the exchange is 1sh. 4d., I will have to pay Rs. 1,500. If I am an exporter and export goods worth £100, at the rate of 1sh. 6d., I will get Rs. 1,325 while at the rate of 1sh. 4d., I will get Rs. 1,500. It will thus be seen that the importer benefits if the exchange is higher and the exporter benefits if the exchange is lower. As India is an exporting country it will be to her advantage to have a lower ratio. Unfortunately our destiny is not in our hands and it is for the interest of England to dump her goods on India that the higher ratio is maintained. The only explanation that is given for the higher ratio is that it is not in the interest of the country to make any change in the existing ratio and that the consumers would have to suffer if the ratio is altered to any lower rate. Of all the countries in the world India is the only country that has not so far depreciated her currency. Even the impregnable sterling had to be depreciated in the year 1931. The so called consumers whose interest is required to be protected

by the Government, consist of moneyed classes and 9/10ths of the imported goods really go to them and for their trade and industry, and for this class, the poor cultivators, who form 76 per cent. of the population, have to be sacrificed. We are now told that the exchange has been steady at the present statutory rate for a number of years and we must not change it at the present stage. It is the distressed gold that left India for the last seven years that has come to the rescue of the Government and now that the sources of further gold export are dried up, it is not possible for them to maintain the exchange at a higher level. You may ask any producer of any commodity and he will tell you about the poor demand from foreign countries. To give an instance near our home, the pepper which was quoted at Rs. 750 per candy has on account of want of demand fallen to Rs. 90 per candy and even at this rate it is difficult for the poor producer of pepper to sell his goods. This price is hardly enough to cover the cost of production. The wire-pullers, who are controlling the Government's policy of the exchange, in their anxiety to dump their manufactured goods in India, have not realised that the other countries can take advantage of the higher exchange of over-valued rupee to dump their own goods on India. They never calculated that Japan will be able to dump her cheap goods on India and endanger the very existence of British trade in India. Like carrying coal to Newcastle, because of the over-valued rupee it was possible that the wheat produced in Punjab could not be sold in competition with the Australian wheat imported in Karachi and sent by rail to Cawnpore. It is for the interest of the country

that the ratio should be altered and the persistence of the Government in maintaining the higher ratio is bound to lead to floatation of large sterling loans in London on behalf of the Government of India, to the sale of reverse bills, sale of metals and securities from the reserves. This means a tight money market, starvation of arteries of commerce and industry and complete stoppage of the flow of funds. With all the hardships the country will have to pass through, we will not be

surprised that at the end of this year after squandering away all the resources which are now reported to be 160 crores, the Government may ask the Reserve Bank of India to leave the exchange to its natural course and allow it to run even below the pre-war level of 1sh. 4d. Let us hope that before it is too late the authorities will revise the statutory ratio after a proper investigation is conducted by Indian experts and not imported experts.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE PARLEYS

BY

MR. A. S. IYENGAR

—:o:—

INFORMATION received from London is to the effect that Sir Mahomed Zafrullah, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, is returning in the first week of August with certain outlines of a trade agreement which he has been negotiating there with the Colonial Office and the British Board of Trade. On his return, he will summon a meeting of the Indian non-official advisers in order to consult them on the terms. The fact that this advisory body is to be consulted at this penultimate stage will go a long way in allaying the apprehensions of the public as to the probable outcome of the negotiations which have been dragged on for over two years, for an Agreement to replace the Ottawa Pact which had been denounced by the Indian Legislature.

There is, however, little or no information as to the trend of the negotiations that are in progress in London. What is more ominous is the persistent

propaganda conducted by the Lancashire interests in continuation of what they started in India soon after the failure of the Simla negotiations. The Indian textile representatives who formed part of the Indian non-official delegation have been represented as a selfish body, solely responsible for the failure of the talks on textile trade, as "they made no advance towards meeting the Lancashire point of view" and presented an offer which "was too small to justify any response". In the face of this propaganda it is inadvisable that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas should be silent or that the Government of India should hesitate to publish the thirteen reports that had been submitted by the non-official advisers ever since the negotiations commenced two years ago.

The public are, in the meanwhile, intrigued to know the causes which led to the break-down of the negotiations over

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The public are, in the meanwhile, intrigued to know the causes which led to the break-down of the negotiations over

the textile trade which forms such a large part of the trade between India and Britain. There were expert negotiators on both sides—Messrs. Campbell and Raymond-Street with facts at the tip of their fingers, and Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Birla and Seth Kasthuribhai Lalbhai assisted on this occasion by Sir Homi Mody and Mr. M. S. Aney besides others. The Lancashire delegation made it clear, at the outset, that all they wanted was a "reasonable access" in the Indian market; and, for the first time, were prepared for a maximum quantity of British textiles to be specified. Further, it was well known that the British Board of Trade had given a private undertaking that if on textiles they could come to an agreement, Britain would be able to deal generously in respect of other articles. Moreover, Sir Mahomed Zafrullah was personally straining his every nerve to see that there was a settlement over the textiles, as that would pave the way for official negotiations towards an Agreement between the two Governments. Why then did the textile negotiations fail?

The reason was obvious, that the Lancashire delegates, with their trade with India still enjoying the Ottawa preferences under an executive order issued by the Government of India, felt no real urge for an Agreement except on their own "impossible" terms. If the negotiating parties were to arrive at a business-like arrangement based on business principle in the interests of their mutual trade, it was essential that one party should not have been given this advantage while the other started off with a handicap. Further, the Government of India should have declared that the natural corollary of Lancashire pitching up its demands would only be a stiffening of the attitude of India against the

indefinite continuance of the unjust Ottawa preferences. This might have been done in private, but if that were so, it did not appear to have had the desired effect.

For, actually, the Lancashire delegates who publicly advertised that they were actuated, along with others, by a sense of candid realism developed an attitude from that of a negotiator to one of a dictator; and there were not members wanting in the Conference circles who described the British textile representatives as displaying the spirit of the East India Company, forgetting the limitations under which the Indian textile industry, despite the *swadeshi* spirit, was labouring under more particularly at a time when the radical labour policy of the Congress Governments was having its inevitable effects on the cost of production. "Super-Ottawa" might be an extreme way of describing the demand of the Lancashire delegation, but considering that the Indian textile industry was already working under a handicap of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the form of duties on cotton, mill-stores, machinery, dye-stuffs, etc.—a fact of which the Lancashire delegates were not unaware—their demand certainly savoured of "Ottawaism" against which India had protested.

The position, broadly speaking, was this. India was consuming 266 million yards of British textile, with the Ottawa preferences in force, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and other Indian non-official advisers were prepared to allow Britain to send 400 million yards, representing a 50 per cent. increase, provided there was a reasonable increase in the off-take of India cotton by Lancashire and not merely a verbal assurance that more would be consumed. In formulating these

demands on the side of India, the advisory body was not only actuated by the desire to help the cotton cultivator but to take note of the implications of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement. The actual demand in respect of cotton put forward by the Indian side was that Britain which was already taking 650,000 bales should agree, as part of the arrangement, to take 750,000 bales. These were clear-cut and specific proposals; and it is not fair to describe the Indian advisory body as having made no concrete suggestions, as was alleged by the Lancashire delegation in the course of their statement prior to leaving India.

The Lancashire delegation's demand, on the other hand, was finally this. As against the present 266 million yards of cloth, India should consume a minimum of 338 million yards which could be ensured by lowering the duty from the present 20 per cent. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As for the maximum which Britain could import, this was put at the figure of double the minimum, i.e., 666 million yards, and this was to be reached by fixing the maximum in the sliding scale of duties at $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*. And when it came to a question of the off-take of Indian raw cotton, even the present consumption of 650,000 bales by Britain was not to be regarded as the minimum, but the figure was lowered to a minimum of 400,000 bales as part of the Agreement, leaving the rest to the goodwill of Lancashire which, of course, would not relax in her efforts to take more.

The gap between the two demands being so great, the optimism of the first week of negotiations gave place to pessimism and then to break-down the

efforts of Sir Mahomed Zafrulla to give artificial respiration notwithstanding. The sliding scale suggested by the Lancashire delegation, it was feared on the Indian side, would have placed the Indian textile trade on a par with the imported goods, and if agreed to, would have given no excuse ever to go before the Tariff Board for any measure of protection. And they had the further justification, before the cotton-growers' representatives in India, that the Indian mills consumed during 1937-38 at least 500,000 bales more than they had done during the previous years.

It was inevitable, after the failure of the Simla negotiations over the textile trade, that Sir Mahomed Zafrullah should undertake a journey to London and hold parleys with Colonial Office and the British Board of Trade not only on textiles but over the whole range of commodities that constitute the trade between India and Britain. It is satisfactory that with a view to early termination of his labours he is assisted there by Messrs. Dow and N. R. Pillai and, further, that on return to India he will place the results of his labours before the same non-official body whose advice he had sought all these two years. If the proposals do not smack of "Ottawaism" and bear a sense of that realism for which the British nation is generally noted, except in the field of politics, then there is every chance of India agreeing to the terms and implementing them. Otherwise, a bitter struggle between an India seeking to be economically self-dependent with all her raw materials and Britain which has realised by now what *swadeshim* in India means to her, will become inevitable.

THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

HOW important the place of *dharma* is in the Hindu conception of life is well indicated by the belief, which has been entertained from very early times, that the larger part of the Vedas is devoted to its elucidation. Although there is general agreement regarding its importance, there has been considerable divergence of opinion among thinkers as to the purpose which it serves. Some held that, whatever its significance to social or general welfare might be, it was in the end but a means for securing some personal good like rank or riches either in this life or in a life to come. Others thought that to conceive of *dharma* thus was to lower its status by making it merely instrumental, and maintained that it was an intrinsic good, i.e., a good which should be sought for its own sake and not for the sake of anything else. There is abundant evidence in Indian philosophical literature to show that both of these views were once very influential; but they have for long been superseded by the Vedantic view, which is the one that is generally accepted. According to it, neither of the above views is altogether sound. It dismisses the idea that *dharma* can be an end in itself since conscious activity, which it implies in one form or another, is inconceivable in the absence of an appropriate purpose. Like the first of the above views, it therefore admits that *dharma* is an aid; but, unlike it, it repudiates the idea that its final purpose is to secure any personal good of the kind referred to above. The function of *dharma* is indeed instrumental, but the end it subserves is not the satisfaction of natural desires which, in virtue of their very character, cannot be

finally satisfied; it is rather their complete conquest which is a 'necessary means to the attainment of self-perfection. To state the same in the traditional form, the due performance of *dharma* leads to *sattva-suddhi* or 'the cleansing of the heart' and thereby prepares the way for *moksha* or self-realisation. This is the well-known teaching of the Gita, which is consequently much more than 'a gospel of duty for duty's sake' as it is ordinarily taken to be.

Some, however, prefer to state the same differently, because they lay greater emphasis on the theistic side of the Gita teaching. It inculcates, according to them, not the disinterested performance of duty with a view to qualify eventually for *moksha*, but the following of the divine life here and now by renouncing all *dharma* (*sarva-dharman*) and taking refuge in the Supreme alone as taught in a familiar stanza at the close of the work (xviii. 66). This is the view, for instance, of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose who put it forward in his *Essays on the Gita*, published about a decade ago; and it is favoured, we may add, by the fact that the kind of life which Sri Krishna, more than once, presents as the pattern to be followed by Arjuna is the one which He himself is leading. A new translation of the poem into English, on the basis of this interpretation, has been recently brought out by Mr. Anilbaran Roy.* There was a real need for such a translation for, though Mr. Ghose often alludes to individual stanzas of the original and discusses their import in the *Essays*, he does not translate it as a whole. The rendering now presented to the public is both lucid and precise; and in the case of almost every stanza, copious notes, compiled from the *Essays*, are added. As containing a detailed exposition of a great classic, according to one of the most gifted among modern Indians, the book deserves to be widely read.

* THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA as interpreted by Sri Aurobindo. Edited by Anilbaran Roy. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. 1938. Price Rs. 5.

PARAMOUNTCY AND FEDERATION

BY DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

THE East India Company came to trade but remained to rule. It conquered a vast portion of India or rather India conquered herself for England. Simultaneously England began to exercise a growing suzerainty over the Indian States as well. It is that suzerainty that is known as Paramountcy.

The original and primary basis of paramountcy was described thus by the Marquess of Wellesley in 1804:

A general bond of connection is now established between the British Government and the principal States of India on principles which render it the interest of every State to maintain its alliance with the British Government... and which secure to every State the unmolested exercise of its separate authority within the limits of its established dominion under the general protection of the British power.

This was the state into which the yet earlier state of equality evolved at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. There was such an earlier period when international law could be held to be applicable in regard to the relations between the British Government and the Indian States. Even Lord Dalhousie, who carried out unflinchingly the policy of annexation and developed the doctrine of paramountcy, said in regard to the annexation of Oudh, which he deprecated but which the Court of Directors ordered: "The course proposed by the Court is not warranted by international law. It would be either conquest or usurpation of the power of government by force of arms." About this view the writer of the Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, says at page 585: "This argument of international law would not in these days be raised in connection with the Indian States."

Thus the doctrine of independent equal Sovereign States governed by international

law suffered a gradual but growing eclipse. It is stated at page 570 of the Cambridge History of India:

The earlier system of treating the States as if they stood on an equal footing with us was finally abandoned, and our political as well as our military supremacy was specifically recognised. It is, of course, unquestionable that this supremacy would ultimately have been attained, probably only after conflict, but it is also beyond doubt that the policy followed by Lord Wellesley during the seven years of his office simplified its establishment and shortened the period required for its attainment.

The evolution of the system of independent equal Sovereign States was known as the Guarantee system. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, says at page 570 about the Marquess of Hastings:

The policy of non-interference with the Indian States was, he said, a futile policy; for no highly civilised State placed in the midst of less civilised or less developed States can ever hope to pursue it without disastrous results.

The Guarantee system may be explained in the words of the Marquess of Hastings who said that it was "easy, when no acknowledged usages stood in the way, to establish principles between the Sovereign and the subject advantageous to both, giving these principles a defined line of practical application, a departure from which would afford to either party a right of claiming the intervention of our paramount power". He said further: "While the Sovereign had his legitimate authority and his due revenue ensured to him, the subject was protected against exaction and tyrannical outrage." The Cambridge History of India says at p. 577 of Vol. V: "Above all, it is to Lord Hastings that we owe the founding of that policy of partnership and friendly co-operation which now determines the relations of the Government of India with the Indian States."

It was during Lord Dalhousie's time that the next evolution of the Guarantee

system into pure paramountcy took place. This new policy went on hand in hand along with his feverish annexation policy. But even he was against the annexation of Oudh. He said:

Yet I do not counsel the adoption of this measure. The reform of the administration may be wrought and the prospects of the people secured without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne, and I for my part do not advocate the advice that the Province of Oudh be declared British territory.

But the Court of Directors overruled him and ordered the annexation of Oudh. Professor H. H. Dodwell says in his Introduction to Vol. VI of the Cambridge History of India: "Under the pressure of political fact the Indian States ceased to be the dependent but external allies of 1858 and became integral parts of a new empire of India."

We may take Mysore as a case in point. The State was restored to its Hindu rulers in 1799 on the defeat of Tippu Sultan. Poorniah, who had been Tippu's chief officer of finance, was appointed as the Prime Minister. But the Maharajah was dethroned on account of misgovernment, and Mysore was placed under British rule by Lord William Bentinck. The Viceroy afterwards doubted the legality and propriety of his own action. He wrote to the Court of Directors on 14th April, 1934:

The Treaty Warrants an assumption of the country with a view to secure the payment of our subsidy. The assumption was actually made on account of the Rajah's misgovernment. The subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy. Again, the Treaty authorises us to assume such part or parts of the country as may be necessary to render the funds which we claim efficient and available. The whole has been assumed, although a part would unquestionably have sufficed for the purpose specified in the treaty, and with regard to the justice of the case I cannot but think that it would have been more fair towards the Rajah had a more distinct and positive warning been given him that the decided measure since adopted would be put in force if misgovernment should be found to prevail.

The Maharajah's requests for the restoration of his State were not needed at all. Lord Dalhousie went so far as to state in his Minute, dated 16th January, 1856:

The treaty under which Lord Wellesley raised the Rajah, while yet a child, to the *musnud*, and the treaty which was subsequently concluded with himself, were both silent as to heirs and successors. No mention is made of them; the treaty is exclusively a personal one . . . I trust, therefore, that when the decease of the present Rajah shall come to pass, without son or grandson, or legitimate male heir of any description, the territory of Mysore, which will then have lapsed to the British Government, will be resumed and that the good work which has been so well begun, will be continued.

But Lord Canning took a more generous view. He was of opinion "that the Prince possessed a very strong claim to have his wishes and feelings considered by us, and that we should do that which was both ungenerous and impolitic if we set these aside". Her Gracious Majesty had stated in her Proclamation of 1858 that she did not desire any further extensions of territory in India. Lord Canning hoped that the Maharajah would give Mysore as a bequest to the British Government. Eventually the Maharajah adopted a son on 18th June, 1865. He died in March 1868 without getting back his kingdom. The restoration of the kingdom happened only in 1881.

During Lord Curzon's time, Paramountcy developed into Autocracy and Dictatorship. He "issued an Edict to the Native Princes of India forbidding them to visit Europe without His Excellency's permission". The *ukase* was withdrawn but the policy laid down in it was pursued. In the *sanad* given by him to the Chief of Seraikella, he went so far as to say:

You shall conform in all matters concerning the preservation of law and order and the administration of justice generally within the limits of your State to the instructions issued from time to time for your guidance by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. You

will appoint such officers and pay them such endowments as, on full consideration of the circumstances and of such representations as you may wish to make, may from time to time appear necessary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, for the proper hearing of cases and administration of justice in your State . . . You shall consult the Commissioner of Chota-Nagpur in all important matters of administration and comply with his wishes.

The last sentence in the *sanad* is a gem:

The right to catch elephants in your State is granted to you as a *personal concession* and as a *matter of favour*; but this concession is liable to withdrawal whenever it may seem desirable either on account of abuse or for other reasons, and it will not be necessarily granted to your successor.

At pages 587 and 588 of Vol. V. of the Cambridge History of India, the historian sums up the entire history of the mutual relations of the Indian States and British India thus:

This period is by far the most important in the history of the relationship of the States to the British Government. It witnessed their metamorphosis from a congeries of quasi-independent units, some openly hostile, most at heart, antagonistic to us, and all doubtful and resentful of our intentions towards them, into a body with so complete an acquiescence in our paramount position that even the shock of the mutiny could not subvert it. This result we owe mainly to Lord Hastings, who built so carefully on the foundations laid by Lord Wellesley, the structure being completed by the generous policy adopted when India came directly under the Crown. For Lord Hastings introduced those relations of supremacy and subordination which still fundamentally control the position between us and the States. In his time those parts of India not directly under our administration passed equally under our sovereignty; and our ascendancy, as also our indefeasible right to interfere if the peace and security of India was menaced, became henceforth unquestioned. Step by step, "sorely against its will", the Company had been driven by inexorable fate to abandon its policy of the ring-fence and of non-interference, and so we passed through the system of subordinate alliance to the wise and generous policy of *co-operative partnership* which holds at the present day.

There is no doubt that the paramountcy came in step by step, but it is rather difficult to swallow the words "sorely against its will".

In the above words "co-operative partnership" is to be found the key of the new policy adumbrated by Earl Winterton recently in the House of Commons in regard to the interrelations

of the Paramount Power and the Indian States. In February 1938, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, stated in the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly at Trivandrum that the relations between the Paramount Power and the Indian States stood in the way of the grant of responsible Government. In fact, the relations between Travancore and the Paramount Power are defined by the treaty of 1808. Article 19 of the Mysore Treaty of 1918, says that no change in internal government can take place without the assent of the Paramount Power. It was after Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's statement that the statement of Earl Winterton was made in the House of Commons. Earl Winterton's statement shows that in the case of full-powered States, there will be no objection by the Paramount Power to democratic advance in the States.

The fact is that the intense and increasing pressure of the Congress against Federation is a force of immense potency. One of its weightiest objections is that under the Government of India Act, it is the nominees of the Princes that will sit in the Federal Assembly. The Congress urges that they will be among the bulwarks of British Imperialism. There are many other weighty objections to the scheme of Federation as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935, but the above is one of the most serious and powerful of all the objections to the Federal scheme. That Paramountcy is now liberalising itself is clear enough. The words "co-operative partnership" show that the interrelation between the Paramount Power and the Princes is not a mere relation of guarantee but is or will be or must be a co-operation in

democratisation and responsible government. British India cannot take a single step in the direction of democracy and responsible self-government without Indian India keeping step with her. Probably the best description of their mutual relation will be in the words of the Moon to the Earth in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*:

Brother whereso'er thou soarest,
I must hurry, whirl, and follow,
Shattered by the warm embrace,
Of thy soul from hungry space.

We see one manifestation of the new orientation of British policy in the order about Berar. We see other signs in the appointment of a Minister from the elected member of the Legislature in Cochin, in the new policy found in Mysore in regard to the appointment of

a Committee to report on constitutional advance, the announcement about popular legislatures in Patiala, Gwalior, etc. Though the Government of India Act may not be amended now, His Excellency the Viceroy can exert his influence in the direction of democratic advance in the States and can establish a convention of the consultation of the Federal Assembly in regard to Defence and Foreign Affairs. If he does so, many of the objections to the Federal Scheme will lose their point and force, and the inevitable crisis in regard to Federation can be averted. The problems of Paramountcy and Federation are vitally inter-connected and must be solved simultaneously by wise statesmanship in British India and in Indian India.

A Revised Railway Rate Policy in India

BY PROF. PREM CHAND MALHOTRA, M.A.

FOREIGN trade has received an exaggerated importance in all countries. This is evident from the fact that international trade has been broadly considered an index of economic prosperity. In India, foreign trade monopolised our attention, because the Government was more interested in foreign trade than internal trade. Again, a favourable trade balance has come to occupy a unique importance in view of the fact that India has to meet annual payments on account of "Home Charges" and import of services (shipping, banking, insurance, etc.). The cause of internal trade has consequently been overlooked in India.

World trade has undergone a revolution in the period after 1918. The world depression of 1929 crystallized the new trends in foreign trade. Economic self-

sufficiency became not merely a watch-word but a rigid policy. The result is that world trade is now no more synonymous with international trade but is the sum-total of trade activity carried on in various nations.

The connection between the economic prosperity of a country and its foreign trade is quite uncertain. India's case illustrates the argument for a country of the size and population of India, her internal trade is of far greater importance than her foreign trade. But for a small country like the United Kingdom, her very prosperity is dependent on her foreign trade. As India develops her industries, she would gradually reduce the demand for foreign imports. Her exports will also diminish partly if we buy less from other countries, they will buy less of our goods

and partly because the raw materials formerly exported would be utilised at home. The immediate consequence of her industrial development will be a decline in her foreign trade. There are additional reasons why we must look for prosperity more in terms of the development of internal trade than in terms of foreign trade. International trade is being strangled by exchange restrictions—quota agreements and tariffs. India is pledged to a policy of protection for her industries. This limits the sphere of bargaining power with other countries. Lastly, agricultural revolution abroad, by reducing the cost of production of agricultural products in foreign countries and the adoption of agricultural protection by them, have made the regaining of economic prosperity for us in terms of revival of our export trade very difficult.

The changed conditions call for a re-orientation of our aims and means to achieve them. The railway rate policy can be an important lever for the industrial progress of our country. The connection between transport and industries has always been a very intimate one. The beneficial effects sought from a well-meant tariff policy may be discounted or even nullified by an indifferent or a perverse transport policy. In their own interest the railways in India must revise their rate policy. The tempo of economic development in our country cannot be checked. It may be accelerated or obstructed by a progressive or a conservative railway policy. Railway finances are not in a happy position even now. The future prosperity of our country rests on the development of her vast resources. Railways can make their contribution towards that end and also benefit themselves.

Railway rate policy in the past discouraged Indian manufacturing industries. The port rates were less than the internal rates. The result of this policy has been the congestion of industries in port towns. The Industrial Commission recommended that "internal traffic should be rated as nearly as possible on an equality with traffic of the same class over similar distances to and from the ports". Complaints regarding unfair railway rates on raw materials transported from other parts of India and on their manufactured goods despatched to the various markets were made by Indian industrialists before the Indian Fiscal Commission. The inequity and the anomaly of the railway rate policy in India was forcibly pointed out by the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in their Memorandum submitted to the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee (1937).

A comparison of the freight charged by various railway lines for port and internal traffic substantiates the defective railway rating policy. The freights charged on piece-goods from Bombay to up-country consuming centres are cheaper per maund per unit than those charged from factories situated in the hinterland of the country. Moreover numerous station to station rates are quoted from the port towns. This method of rate quoting is only occasionally adopted in respect of internal mill centres and places them at a disadvantage in competition with the importer.

On the solemn plea of port and inter-railway competition, the Indian railways have kept rates at port towns like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Karachi lower, just enough to cover their supplementary costs and leave a residual share to meet the fixed costs, whereas the internal traffic has to bear not only its share of the total costs but also of the total traffic. Thus the internal traffic has to maintain the railway system and the imported traffic reaps the advantage by paying a little over its out-of-pocket

expenses. The practice of attracting extra traffic at costs just a little above its supplementary costs is permitted and prevalent in railroad competition, but this is true only to the extent of utilizing the unused capacity of the plant which would otherwise run to waste. *This, however, cannot and does not hold good of the imported traffic which pours in from every port of India in considerable bulk. The inter-railway competition, especially when most of the railways serving the major ports are both State-owned and State-managed, is highly pernicious and suicidal to Indian trade and industry. A co-ordinated transport policy, embracing all the varied transport agencies, is the proper remedy.*

Another peculiarity of the railway rate policy in India is that different railway systems are considered as separate units in through booking. This is highly detrimental to the industrial development of the country as telescopic rates are not quoted on the entire distance traversed by a given consignment. The cost of transport on internal transit is consequently unduly high. "Cement despatched from Porebundar to Ahmedabad has to pay higher freight than that from Bombay to Ahmedabad, because in the former case the consignment has to travel over the Porebundar, Gondal and Bhavnagar State Railways before it reaches Wadhwan, from where it is taken over by the B. B. & C. I. Railway to be carried over to Ahmedabad, while in the latter case the consignment is carried direct to Ahmedabad by the B. B. & C. I. Railway alone." Again, coal carried from Bengal coal-fields to Amritsar does not get the benefit of a through rate on the total distance, because the traffic passes over the E. I. R. & N.W.R. This is due to the individualistic policy pursued by the railways even when the different railway zones are State-owned and State-managed.

The unanimous protests of the commercial bodies against the recent surcharge on coal have gone unheeded. Coal is the sinews of industries. Moreover, unlike

England, Indian coal-fields are centralised in a part of our country. The incidence of railway rates of coal on industry proves burdensome.

When we examine the case of the Paper industry, we witness a very welcome change in the railway rate policy.

The special station-to-station rates which the railways quoted on the imported traffic in pre-War years, denying similar facilities to the local mills, have fortunately become things of the past. *Per contra*, the rates position to-day is just the reverse. While the local mills are quoted special station-to-station rates to more important consuming centres, both on actual weight and on wagon load consignments, the imported traffic gets the concession only to a few markets and that too due to port competition. This has helped the mills considerably in marketing their output and gives a substantial protection against the competition of the importer. Thus, the railway rates policy supplements the policy of discriminating protection.

It is incumbent on the railways to pursue a similar policy in respect of other industries as well.

Several chambers of commerce complained before the Wedgewood Enquiry Committee (1937) that rates had not been adjusted to changed fiscal conditions and that they facilitate import and export traffic to the detriment of the Indian industries. There is no denying the fact that an erratic railway rate policy may easily frustrate a well-designed protectionist policy. There should be a central authority to regulate and control the railway rates policy in consonance with the needs of the industries at home and also consistent with income to railways. The Railway Rates Advisory Committee in India has not proved equal to the task.

Some chambers advocated the abolition of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee and the appointment in its place a body with mandatory powers like the Railway Rates Tribunal in Great Britain or the Inter-State Commerce Commission in the United States. Another suggestion put

forward was the reorganising of the Railway Advisory Committee on the lines of the Tariff Board.

The Railway Committee supported the retention and the present jurisdiction of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee and made the following recommendations:—

(a) Less time should be occupied in preliminaries, and the procedure generally should be expedited.

(b) The Government should undertake to refer to the Advisory Committee any relevant application and in case of refusal to refer an application to the Committee give reasons for so doing.

(c) A copy of the recommendation of the Committee to the Government should be supplied to the applicant.

(d) The final decision of the Government on the application should be published.

The above recommendations would no doubt remove several grievances against the Railway Rates Advisory Committee. But it would not energise it into a

machinery for formulating a forward railway rate policy contenting itself not merely with removing anomalies or inequities in railway rate structure but helping and developing internal trade so far as it is possible through the instrument of a remodelled railway rate structure.

An active and energetic railway rates policy is the desideratum for a quicker economic development. A national rates policy must be in keeping with the changed fiscal policy of the country. Up till now railways have moved passively. They have met a demand where it existed. But railways should not only carry traffic but also create it. This is how railways are worked in foreign countries. "In Germany, railway rates are carefully regulated to serve alike the local industries and agriculture. German railways assist the export trade by preferential tariffs carefully framed to enable the home manufacture to enter home markets on favourable terms and augment the restrictive influence of import duties on import traffic."

THE SUPERPHYSICAL

BY MR. K. BALASUBRAMANIA AIYER, B.A., B.L.

THE question of the truth of the superphysical has been, even from remote antiquity and the primitive periods of human history, a fascinating problem. Primitive man started with an instinctive belief in the superphysical and a superstitious fear of the supernatural. As civilization progressed and the physical sciences advanced, he became sceptical and was inclined to deny the truth of the superphysical and, towards the end of the last century, he leaned altogether on the side of materialism. But the further progress of the physical sciences has again shaken his faith in materialism and

the tendency of the present century has been towards a more scientific appreciation of the truth of the superphysical. We are fast proceeding towards the conviction that "there is a reality beyond the senses which may be cognized". Thus we are reverting to the old belief in the superphysical with this difference that it is now based upon reasoning and scientific evidence. To collect, therefore, all the scientific evidences and data furnished at the present day by advanced research especially in telepathy, clairvoyance and hypnotism and the remarkable discoveries and theories of the

physical sciences about the constitution of the atom and the molecule and the rapid strides made in bio-chemistry and present the facts with clearness of analysis and accuracy of statement is a great and notable contribution to modern culture. It is of immense help to the understanding by the ordinary man of the truth of the superphysical and of its influence on his outlook upon life and its problems. A comprehensive treatment of the subject cannot but include a proper appraising of the philosophic conclusions of the Hindu thinkers. In fact, many centuries ago the Hindu mind without merely resting on the instinctive belief in and superstitious fear of the supernatural had courageously investigated the question philosophically and scientifically, and modern science tends to confirm the truth of most of the conclusions which the Hindu thinkers arrived at with the aid of intuition and philosophic reasoning. Naturally, therefore, we find a Western scientist and philosopher like Mr. Arthur Osborn in his book "The Superphysical" * making frequent references in the chapters on the survival of human personality and on reincarnation to the Hindu conceptions about them and to the Hindu theory of the Law of Karma. In fact, a comparative study of Hindu philosophic theories and conclusions on the survival of the human personality and reincarnation, about matter and mind and the modern scientific reflections on these will give a healthy cultural turn to the mind of the modern English-educated Indian and will have a great influence on his attitude towards his own cultural and religious heritage. It will be a strong antidote to the effects of scepticism,

materialism and the mechanistic conceptions of the universe which get their ingress into his mind on account of his superficial Western education, unaccompanied by a deep study of up-to-date Western thought.

Mr. Osborn has placed in our hands a clear and beautiful review of the evidence furnished by modern science in all its departments including psychic research, establishing the truth of the survival of human personality and showing the extreme probability of reincarnation as a fact and of the mystical state of consciousness. The realisation of the truth of these is a preliminary step towards the attainment of the knowledge of the reality behind the universe, the timeless, spaceless and unchanging Unity. The Hindu reader rises from an engrossing study of this book with a sense of pride and joy that the truths perceived intuitively by his great forefathers are being realised at the present day by the acute and impartial thinkers of the West.

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GANDHIJI AS A PSYCHOLOGIST

BY MR. P. SPRATT

ANY popular leader must be something of an expert at psychology. That great demagogue Hitler evidently is. Hitler and Gandhiji have something in common, but they obviously differ greatly. In particular Hitler is far more deliberate about it. He has that intuitive faculty, which Gandhiji also has, which enables him to know what the masses feel and how they will behave; but unlike Gandhiji he has a general theory of propaganda, and devotes much care to working out his appeal in the light of its principles, laboriously arranging even minor details of party propaganda, slogans, uniforms, badges and what not. Gandhiji's appeal also extends to these things. His khadi, his poverty, his style of speech, all might have been designed to further his purpose. But probably they were not designed. He has not sufficient cynicism. In all these cases he does what seems to him right, and what he thinks right usually—not always—happens also to be politically useful.

Gandhiji then, while a supremely good judge of Indian mass psychology, has little to say about it in general terms. He has stated that when speaking to a crowd he can tell how they are reacting by looking at their eyes. But he has never gone into any detail. His spirits are much affected by mass-feeling. When the people are united and agree with him, he is buoyant and confident. When they are divided he suffers a distress evidently more directly felt and more acute than the regret of more calculating politicians. He then says that he feels a sense of weakness, or has lost power. Similarly when he is separated from the people by jail or going abroad, he loses confidence.

Most interesting of all is the idea suggested by some remarks of his that he becomes more sensitive to mass feeling when he fasts.

But of all this he gives no discursive account, and so far as we know has no theory. Though it is so important to him, he is not much interested in the mass-mind. Men in the mass, he has said, are always less moral than individuals. He is concerned with individual psychology, and here he has definite beliefs, derived evidently from his own experience.

When in south Africa he conducted himself through a process, lasting fifteen years or more, of drastic psychological change. Originally weak, timid, sensual, westernised, and totally undistinguished, he emerged just the opposite in all these respects. The initial steps in the process were forced upon him by circumstances, but there is evident throughout a consistent internal drive. The nature of this drive is probably not fully understood by Gandhiji, and if so that is not surprising. But some aspects of it he took up with particular enthusiasm, and on these he has formed general doctrines. They are of course the various departments of his ascetic self-training.

He has always regarded this training as closely related to satyagraha. By its means one is able to develop the qualities of mind necessary to a good satyagrahi. The training is in self-control, that is, suppression of such instinctive urges as are held to be evil. Aggressiveness, pride, sexual desire, fear, and so untruth, all have to be overcome.

The tendency nowadays is to regard suppression and repression with suspicion. Gandhiji admits that the more superficial

kind of suppression is of no use: "Unless there is hearty co-operation of the mind, the mere outward observance will be simply a mask, harmful both to the man himself and to others." This does not mean only that the man is a hypocrite. In the case of a satyagrahi he will be weak: he may be unable to overcome his fear.

On this point there are many very clear statements. Some non-co-operators were tempted to give a thrashing to the C. I. D. men who were annoying them. He told them to suppress their anger, "bottle up all your rage," "and you will rise braver men." Anger is transformed not only into courage but into energy or power. "... anger controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world." "Subduing of one's anger was a storing up of valuable energy." "If we had honestly regulated our thought and speech in the strictest harmony with the outward act, we would never have experienced the fatigue we are doing." He has frequently pointed out the association between anger and helplessness.

Evil thoughts and emotions then must be expelled from the region of consciousness. But Gandhiji is clear that this cannot be effected in general without sublimation. Action is a necessary part of the process of conversion. "Religiously considered, success is there for the individual so soon as he has *acted* on the principle he holds." By making people collect and burn cloth he diverted their hatred "from men to things." The civil disobedience movement was intended in part to "save the country from impending lawlessness" by giving the "party of violence" something else to do.

The success of the campaigns he has led is evidence of the soundness of his ideas on this question. It also confirms his views on repression as a discipline. In these campaigns large numbers of quite ordinary people have been able to perform remarkable feats of endurance, and their unexpected strength is no doubt due to the spirit Gandhiji inspired in them. There seem to be two ways of dealing with such circumstances of strain and suffering. One is the usual soldier's method, of release from normal restraints in other relations—drink, smoking, sex, language, brutality—whereby the self-control necessary for facing danger and submitting to discipline can be maintained. The other is the method of Cromwell's Army of Saints, perhaps in some degree the troops of the Prophet and the first Caliphs, probably many of the Bolsheviks, and clearest of all, Gandhiji's satyagrahis. We cannot say that the latter method would suffice against the severest strains, but the evidence suggests that it is generally more effective.

In particular one would expect this method to be superior as a means of increasing energy and attaining to higher levels of positive achievement. Gandhiji's personal case is an obvious instance, and probably experience supports this view. It may go some way to defend Gandhiji's theory against the accusation that he demands too much of ordinary men. If they will embark on the course he suggests, they will often find that they can do far more than they supposed.

Gandhiji believes further that even when suppression and some degree of sublimation have been achieved, the struggle may still proceed in the unconscious. In contrast to physical weapons, he has said, truth

and non-violence "reside in the human breast and they are actively working their way whether you are awake or whether you are asleep." A true brahmachari must control even his dreams. He must search about in the corners of his mind, expelling improper thoughts. This applies primarily to sex, but not only. Pride is also spoken of in the same way.

In Gandhiji's view, brahmacharya and satyagraha are closely associated, but the connection has not been very satisfactorily explained. Brahmacharya is said to confer physical and psychological benefits of the familiar type, and to safeguard one engaged in public service from distractions such as a family to support. These are relevant to the requirements of satyagraha. Beyond these however are cited in Gandhiji's advocacy only the spiritual and religious value of brahmacharya and his disgust at sexuality. It is impossible not to feel the contrast between the vehemence of his attachment to brahmacharya and the weakness of his case for it.

It is not that sexuality has been of outstanding importance in Gandhiji's own experience. That is a common assumption, supported by the frankness of his autobiography, but it is probably not so. His own greatest enemy is pride.

It is true that, as suggested above, a regime of self-restraint is generally more effective for being thorough. A loose sexual life might go together with fairly strict observance of truth and the rest, but it is rather unlikely. Gandhiji is clear that all these matters are closely related. Many of his dietetic reforms were initiated as aids to brahmacharya. This however does not explain his fanaticism on the point.

I am not here concerned with the causes of Gandhiji's peculiarities, but one

contributory factor in the insistence on brahmacharya is relevant. This is his conception of leadership. He likes to ask others to do nothing which he is not ready to do himself. On this principle a leader must try to attain, and must in some degree approach, moral perfection. Brahmacharya is part of Gandhiji's ideal, and he would prefer men to observe it, but he does not seriously expect many to do so. His moral principles are those, not of an academic theorist, but of a practical leader, a propagandist.

This fact is important. Gandhiji's moral principles are commonly attacked as impossibly difficult. In their complete form they are. But as he has often asked, what is the use of an ideal if it is attainable? The effort to attain to it is for him perhaps more valuable than success. There is no need to point out that application of this doctrine in Gandhian politics: it is one of his most familiar principles. It is important also as throwing light on the content of his moral teaching, and showing its relation to existing conditions.

I need make no apology for entering upon the subject of morals. It is impossible to separate any aspect of Gandhiji's work from morality, and this is obviously true of his psychological doctrine. He discusses less what psychological development is than what it ought to be.

His moral ideal is attacked not only as impossibly difficult, but as intrinsically wrong. Dr. Tagore voiced this criticism many years ago, and the Marxists, especially Mr. M. N. Roy, have emphasised it recently. The ideal of renunciation, they say, is radically unsound. Life must be accepted, and enjoyed.

Now Gandhiji certainly holds his ideal as ultimately valid, as fit to be pursued

for its own sake; and in their objection to it as an ideal, I venture to think that Dr. Tagore and Mr. Roy are right. But that is not its only significance. Its contemporary importance is as an example, as I have said, of effort rather than of achievement, a stimulus to struggle, to self-development; and this I believe to be valuable. The Marxists point out that it has the opposite effect upon the poorer classes: it suggests to them a policy of adaptation to low incomes rather than one of effort to increase their incomes. So far as this is the case I agree that it is to be deplored. But it suggests to poor as well as rich an effort of another kind, and this perhaps the critics overlook.

It is strange that they should do so, since many of the Indian Communists themselves lead lives of exemplary austerity; and the Bolsheviks generally followed a similar practice. Lenin can rightly be called an ascetic. He enjoyed Pushkin and the *Apassionata*; but then Gandhiji likes Tulsidas and *Ragupati Raghava Raja Ram*. Lenin did not think the general adoption of his habit of life a specially desirable thing, and so said very little on the point. He did however make some pronouncements on sex, and in spite of the somewhat bohemian traditions of continental socialism, and the revolutionary effects of science and technique upon sexual relations, he took what would be regarded as a moderately conservative view. Gandhiji on the other hand thinks asceticism is generally important, and so makes a parade of it. Lenin's taste in music was certainly sounder, but Gandhiji is probably right on the latter question.

Life in any community requires instinctive renunciation. In the earlier stages of social development the necessary discipline is enforced by direct social pressure. Such is the case in the traditional social order of India. But the old order breaks down, and if it is not replaced by a new social discipline, and if it is not to be succeeded by a war of all against all and a relapse into the "Morals of the pigstye" it must be succeeded by an individual, self-directed discipline. The old order in India is passing, but there is not yet to be seen any adequate substitute. It seems most likely to be succeeded by the anarchy characteristic of capitalism. That anarchy at its worst is very unpleasant, but its rigours can be mitigated by the presence of the kind of men whom the Gandhian training produces: men of conscience, who because they can restrain themselves, can give others their due.

This is not mere empty theory. A police officer of long experience, an Englishman, once told me that he did not approve of the conversion of untouchables to Christianity, since in his experience it led to a marked increase of vice and crime. Their Christianity was of course very superficial: its principal effect was to destroy their respect for their traditional social order. Ultimately some substitute for the old system is required, and it is not provided spontaneously.

Gandhiji's is not the only possible plan. A population might proceed from a mediaeval social order direct to a socialist one, missing out Gandhiji's bourgeois phase. This must have happened over much of Russia. But the problem is not thereby avoided. If

socialism is to be worth having it must depend upon a free and enlightened individual consent, and the necessary discipline must be maintained by each man in response to his own conscience. It is worth noticing that recently Russian opinion on moral questions has become markedly puritanical. They are finding the truth of Gandhiji's view that the self-education of the individual requires all-round self-restraint.

Dr. Tagore and Mr. Roy criticise Gandhiji's as an ultimate ideal. I think they are right; but I believe that any ideal acceptable to them would involve a sub-

stantial element of Gandhian asceticism. I do not suppose that an aesthete of Dr. Tagore's type, and still less a Marxist, would advocate the ideal of the lotus-eater. Marxists freely accuse the luxurious bourgeoisie of "degeneracy." Gandhiji is to be criticised not as ultimately or wholly wrong, but as taking a one-sided or extreme view. He is after all a propagandist.

I believe therefore that whether the future of India is to be capitalistic or socialistic, Gandhiji's example of self-training through ascetic renunciation is valuable, and that socialists who condemn it are undermining their own position.

Centralisation vs. Decentralisation

BY SPT. J. C. KUMARAPPA

EVERY instrument has to be shaped to fulfil the purpose for which it is intended if it is to function efficiently. We cannot drive a nail into the wall with a watch nor cut a furrow through the field with a pen-knife. We should use a hammer for the first and a plough for the second purpose. If this is so in the mechanical world, how much more important it is to use proper methods in the social and economic spheres. Yet how many give any thought to fitness of instruments they recommend as the means. Centralisation or decentralisation methods are but instruments for social and economic ends. Therefore we have to weigh carefully the claims of either systems to suit our purpose before we can launch out on a definite programme.

THE GOAL OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM

No one of us is likely to question the purpose of an economic order which may be stated for clarity's sake as follows:—

1. It should create wealth as efficiently as possible.
2. It should distribute wealth widely and evenly.
3. It should supply the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for.
4. It should be a means for eliciting all the faculties of the worker and developing his personality.
5. It should be conducive to peace and harmony of society.

CENTRALISATION

Centralisation has been the result of five main causes.

i. Wherever there is to be found accumulated capital with a few persons who seek to keep a close and watchful eye over their investments, they prefer centralised methods. We find a good example of this in Great Britain. When she got the hoarded wealth of India, she

resorted to this form of production in the eighteenth century.

ii. When there is a good deal of pressing work and there is a scarcity of labour, perforce man grows extra hands in the form of tools or mechanism. A good example of this is the growth of industrialisation in U. S. A. America's vast distances, virgin forests and mighty rivers obstructed man's progress through the continent. People who could be harnessed to this work were few, hence the great conquest of natural forces.

iii. Wherever standardised articles are needed, centralisation is essential to multiply a particular kind of article on a mass scale. Such need may arise out of two causes: (a) Functionally, where the article by its very nature calls for standard parts, *e.g.*, motor cars, railway rolling stock, etc., and (b) purposive, where it is necessary because large numbers need identically similar articles as in the case of military equipment; examples of this may be seen in the militaristic nations of today: Italy, Germany and Japan.

iv. Centralisation in production may again be resorted to where labour is plentiful and it has to be manœuvred to a plan of work as in the case of Soviet Russia where regimentation of labour was resorted to to bring about quick results.

v. Again, it may be necessary when raw materials, manufacture and markets are wide apart. It is only by unified control that these can be brought together so as to enable the machines to produce steadily and at an economic speed. Japan, Germany and England furnish good examples of these.

We have mentioned only five, but these are not inseparable. In some countries more than one factor may bring about

centralised production. Those situations considered above are to a great extent solved by resorting to centralised production, but the evils attaching to such a method are not avoided. These evils again may be seen to correspond to the five causes.

i. Centralisation, which is the result of accumulation of capital also, leads to concentration of wealth which is the hot-bed of class cleavage.

ii. When scarcity of labour drives men to methods of centralised production, naturally the labour force being few, purchasing power distributed in the process of production is also small. Therefore, this inevitability leads to shortage in purchasing power and ultimately decreases the effectiveness of the demand and thus causes relative over-production such as the one we witness in the world today.

iii. Where need for standardisation brings about centralisation of production, there can be no variegation in the product. It also checks progress. By facilitating large scale equipment it encourages warfare.

iv. Regimentation of labour leads to a greater concentration of power which is even more dangerous than concentration of wealth. The greater the numbers held by central control, the greater can the power be.

v. Co-ordination of supplies of raw materials, production and finding markets for finished goods results in imperialism and warfare.

DECENTRALISATION

Let us now turn towards decentralisation and consider under which circumstances it can be used with advantage. Here, again, we shall look at the problem from the corresponding five points.

i. Where there is a scarcity of capital, it is not possible nor is it necessary to have centralisation. The only possibility is

decentralisation. An attempt is being made to meet this by the promotion of Limited Liability Companies to gather in scattered bits of capital, but this does not solve the problem of distribution of wealth. It presents other difficulties.

ii. Where there is a plethora of labour, or in other words, unemployment or under-employment, we shall be increasing the melody by centralising the production.

iii. Diversity and variegation is the very essence of decentralisation. Where this is needed, no machine can compete with hand-work, more especially where the hand-work has to be the expression of a personality.

iv. If democracy is to be attained, decentralisation lays the required foundation as centralisation kills all initiative in the masses, they succumb readily to central dictatorship. Centralisation is the grave of democracy.

v. Where raw materials and markets are in the proximity of the producing centres, decentralisation methods will serve well.

i. Decentralisation makes for more even distribution of wealth and makes people tolerant.

ii. The process of production includes distribution of wealth also, as a large part of the cost goes to pay for the labour. Better distribution of purchasing power leads to effective demand and producing is directed into a supply of needs as the supply here will follow demand.

iii. As each producer becomes an entrepreneur, he gets plenty of scope to exercise his initiative with the responsibility of the business on his shoulders, business-like methods and habits will be formed. When every individual develops himself, the average intelligence of the nation will increase,

iv. The market being close to the centre of production, there is not much difficulty in selling the goods nor have we to create an artificial market by forced salesmanship.

v. Without centralisation of either wealth or power, there can be no disturbance of peace on a world-wide scale.

A glance at the above analysis should leave no doubt as to what will suit conditions in our own country. Of course, as regards key industries and public utilities there is no alternative to centralisation, but this can be done either co-operatively or by socialising such industries.

It must be clearly remembered that when we advocate decentralisation, it does not mean that we eschew all machinery. Where machines work as tools or slaves of man, we need them and have to improve the existing ones and invent new ones. It is only when machine is used to transfer the benefit of one man's labour to another that we have to cry a halt.

Under such circumstances machine becomes the master and man becomes a slave. As far as circumstances in our country go, decentralised methods are the only remedy for the ills we suffer from—lack of initiative, want of a sense of responsibility, looseness in business methods, wide-spread poverty, unemployment and under-employment.

Decentralised methods of production have an educative value, which no nation that wishes to progress and is willing to take advantage of every opportunity open to it for the purpose can afford to ignore with immunity. Centralised methods of production offer no such educational values to the worker; on the contrary its strain and stress makes the man deteriorate whatever material contributions it may make to his animal needs. Let us not, therefore, blindly follow the shadow and lose the substance.

THE QUEST FOR EMPIRE

BY PROF. V. THYAGARAJAN, M.A.

THE quest for Empire* is the caption of the book, in which Prof. Husain gives an account of the expansionist policy of three major powers of today. The rapid advance of Japan on Central Asia, Italy's conquest of Abyssinia, and Nazi Germany's staggering ambitions to find for herself a place in the colonial Sun—these incidents, if only they are understood as mere manifestations of this expansionist policy, will help us to follow the tangled international situations of the present time.

The industrially advanced Nations of today are usually recognised under two categories: the Haves and the Have-nots, and to the latter denomination belong Japan, Italy, and Germany. The desire for colonies is particularly strong among them as they find that almost all the prized territories of the World are in the possession of Great Britain, U. S. A., France, Russia, etc., the Haves or the satiated powers as they are called. As such, the three Have-nots joined the last world war hoping to gain more territories to their credit. Though Italy and Japan were on the camp of the victors, their expectations were belied after the War, and they felt 'betrayed' at Versailles; vanquished Germany lost all that she had previously owned and so denounced the Versailles arrangement as a Monstrous vendetta.

Besides this general dissatisfaction at the post-War Versailles arrangement, Japan, Italy, and Germany were and are egged on in their colonial pursuit by such common causes as population pressure, economic needs, the spread of autocratic and militarist ideas. The choice for these countries, therefore, seems to be, in the words of Signor Mussolini, between foreign expansion and domestic explosion. No doubt, the Geo-politicians, led by Ratzel, Kjellen, and Hanshofer, will explain off the expansionist policy as produced by

geographical factors; even so, the historical materialists of the type of Lenin, Trotsky, and Bukharin will see in such an imperialistic expansion only the last and inevitable stage in the development of capitalism.

Mr. Husain, while fully alive to the significance of the explanations offered by both schools of thought, regards their theories as one-sided. The economic utility of colonies appears to be the strongest impetus governing this expansionist movement. Colonies absorb the surplus population of the densely populated mother country; they supply raw materials and food-stuffs and offer a market for the industrial output of the imperialist mother. Colonies are also coveted for the supply of man power in which the mother country is deficient. Lastly, strategic and political considerations, patriotism and national pride often compel States to extend their dominion. This theory of colonial utility is, however, not accepted by one school of thought, especially the English publicists, who maintain that the colonies do not pay but are only "mill stones hung round the neck". The author fearlessly exposes the insincerity of this contention. He asks, if it were to be so, "why should the Haves object to a redistribution of the colonial world", especially when such an amicable settlement can ease the tense international situation and save humanity from the horrors of yet another World War.

In three different chapters, the learned Reader in Modern History describes the present quest for Empire in detail from the points of view indicated above. The description is lucid and interesting, not mere dry-as-dust. Evidently the author expects nothing, fears nothing, as one who loves truth and liberty, and all through the book one sees in the writer, not the partisan politician but the veracity-loving historian. The value of the neat little book is enhanced by the appendices and maps therein, but one should very much like the author to include in the subsequent reprints an index.

THE COOLY PROBLEM OF ASSAM

BY MR. SONA RAM DUTT

THE HARIJAN movement, and still more, Mahatma Gandhi's tour in Assam have helped to bring to the foreground the hitherto little heeded problem of reclaiming a large section of the depressed people of the Province, misnamed "Coolies."

The term "Cooly," as applied in Assam, requires an explanation. A labourer indentured from outside the Province for employment on a tea plantation is a "cooly." It were well if it meant that alone and no more. But in course of time the term has acquired a wider connotation and a bad one at that. If the imported labourer has served out his term on the plantation and as a freed man, has settled down in the land as an ordinary cultivator, he would still be called a "cooly", as though it were a caste-name.

Coolies then are tea garden labourers as well as ex-garden labourers settled in Assam. The 1931 Census put the total cooly population of Assam at over 10 lacs, which accounts for one-fourth of the total population of Assam Valley Division.*

As has been stated above, the coolies are outsiders to the Province. The native people have ever preferred their lot as ordinary cultivators to the hard and regular labour on tea gardens; hence this influx of outside labourers. The story of their immigration to Assam is bound up with the story of the growth of the tea industry. Almost every year since the middle of the nineteenth century when the tea plant growing wild in the fertile plains of North Assam was first discovered, opening

out prospects of a great industry, hordes of labourers have been imported from different provinces of India, chiefly Bengal, Behar and Orissa, U. P., C. P., Central India, Madras and Bombay. The following table gives the quota which each province has contributed to the total cooly population of Assam:—

Bengal ..	291,000
Behar and Orissa ..	472,000
United Provinces ..	68,000
C. I. Agency ..	15,000
Central Provinces ..	82,000
Madras ..	58,000
Bombay ..	6,000
Punjab ..	6,000
Rajputana ..	22,000
Burma ..	8,000
Rest of India ..	57,000

The above figures have been taken from the Census Report of 1931. It will be seen that Behar and Orissa have contributed the largest quota, while Bengal with her 3 lacs (mostly Behari-speaking) comes second. These figures also include labourers employed on mills, oilfields, coalmines, etc. But by far the largest number of coolies are employed on tea gardens.

Below is given another table, also taken from the Census Report, showing the distribution of the cooly population district by district:—

Lakhimpur ..	233,000
Sibsagar ..	229,000
Darrang ..	123,000
Nowgong ..	22,000
Other Districts ..	6,000

Looking at the map of Assam the reader will find that coolies are more numerous in the north-eastern districts than in others. It is easily explained by the fact that these districts have by far the larger number of tea areas. Coalmines, oilfields, etc., absorb only 10,000 labourers. These too are mostly situated in the north-eastern districts.

* THE QUEST FOR EMPIRE. By Mahmud Husain, Ph.D. Reader in Modern History, University of Dacca. Price Rs. 3 or 4sh. 6d. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.

* The total population of Assam Valley Division is 48,55,711 and the total cooly population is 10,50,000 including the ex-garden coolies.

The above table showing the distribution of the cooly population in the districts, leaves out the cooly settlers, that is to say, those ex-tea garden labourers who have left their gardens and settled down in their neighbourhoods. The exact figure of these settlers is not available, but we can roughly put it at 6 lacs.

COOLY CASTES

The bulk of the garden labourers are Hindus. There are not a few Christians among them, all newly converted to that faith after their arrival in Assam. The few Muslims among the coolies are also new converts. Conversion by force is not infrequent.

The very fact that they have left their own homes and friends to face the unknown, hundreds of miles away, speaks volumes; the conditions under which they lived, moved and had their being in their own lands, must have been bad enough to urge them to surrender themselves in the hands of labour recruiting officers in the hope of obtaining a better living.

Naturally enough, therefore, these labourers are recruited from the poorest classes. They belong to the lowest strata of the Hindu society, and as to their castes, their name is legion. The more important castes as well as the number of coolies belonging to each of them, are given below:— (in thousands)

Ahir	5	Goala	22	Bhumij	30	Santhals and
Bawri	34	Gond	31	Munda	76	other castes
Dom	20	Kamar	30	Araon	19	
Chamar	37	Kurmi	14	Tanti	60	
Ghasi	17	Bhuiya	38	Turi	12	

People coming under the majority of the above-named castes would be regarded as untouchables in their own provinces. Castes such as Goala, Kamar, Kurmi, and some others are no doubt exceptions. But in Assam they are all alike; coolies are all

untouchables more or less, not so much as belonging to this or that caste, but because they are outsiders for one thing, and they are poor, their manners and customs crude, their habits unclean and they have very little culture.

Because of their low origin, want of culture, poverty, strange customs and unclean habits, the coolies are looked down upon by other classes. A glance at the list of castes to which they belong, will show that they form the lowest strata of Hindu society as much in their provinces of origin as in Assam; with this difference, however, that whereas in the former they are as such by reason of their birth, in Assam they are so by reason of their foreign origin as well as low economic condition.

I need hardly dwell on the lack of cultural growth among these people. They have for long ages been wallowing in the abysmal depths of ignorance and superstition; and no attempts worth mentioning have so far been made to lift the dark veil. Barring some sporadic attempts of old-fashioned religious institutions (satras) to initiate coolies here and there into their folds, neither employers nor public bodies have so far felt the necessity of instituting uplift work among them.

Their poverty is a corollary of the conditions under which they work as well as of their vices. In point of industry they compare favourably with the Assamese people. They work hard; they slave for their masters like team-bulls. But they little know that as labourers they are entitled to the enjoyment of certain rights and they can hardly dream of fighting for these rights.

The king of vices to which coolies as a class are a prey is liquor. What pittance they earn is swallowed up by drink, leaving barely enough for the necessities of life. The week end sees them given up to drinking orgies. Grog-shops are within easy reach; there are canteens too on the gardens themselves. Men, women and even children are ardent devotees of Bacchus. Drinking forms a necessary part of all festive and religious occasions. One vice leads on to another. Drinking weakens the moral fibre. Labourers possessing a degree of cultural and moral growth come now and then; but they soon shed their distinctive qualities and sink down to the level of their less developed fellow workers.

Go to a tea garden. What was at one time an uninviting, unchartered sea of forest has now been transformed into a beauty spot. Your admiring eyes will sweep over acres and acres of tea bushes. If you have the poetic vein, you will no doubt wax rapturous over the green verdure of the neat, uniform and unending rows of tea shrubs blending with the blue of the distant horizon. You will admire the luxurious bungalows of the manager and other superior officers, nestling among green lawns and flower-beds under shading trees. You will appreciate the beauty of the garden the more by contrast with the wretched huts straggling away on the fringe of the jungle-land skirting the plantations. Here dwell those whose sweating toil in sun and rain from morn till evening has reared the gold-yielding plant and keeps the garden going. If you are fastidious, you will hate to go near those human habitations whose very air is depressing and sight ungainly. The squalor and wretchedness of the inside will startle you: you will find man and fowl and

beast huddling together, a few square feet of space doing duty for kitchen, bedroom, store and what not.

No wonder, therefore, that the hapless, sodden cooly, living under such miserable conditions, shows aversion to all progressive ideas. Educational facilities he has none. Lest you blame the Government for their indifference in the matter, they will refer you to a rusty piece of legislation which calls on the garden authorities to provide for the primary education of cooly children. Nor can you put the blame on the garden authorities, for they too will point to you an open shed as the school building and deplore the lack of interest among the labourers, so that the shed has ever remained empty or has been otherwise utilized.

The 1921 Census Report put the figure of literate persons among coolies at 5859 out of a total 922,000. The Census Officer of 1931 did not consider it worth while to count the number afresh and is definitely of the opinion that there is no reason to believe that the proportion has increased. How can things be otherwise when neither garden authorities nor government nor public bodies have felt the necessity, not to speak of making any serious attempts, to spread education among them? Despite factory legislations, children labourers known as 'chokras' are not infrequent on gardens.

I have essayed above to present to the reader as true a picture of the so-called cooly as is possible within a brief compass. I had the honour of laying a short paper on the subject before Mahatma Gandhi during his recent tour in Assam. Extracts from it appeared in 'Harijan' of June 1, 1934. These and Gandhi's

illuminating comment thereon are quoted below :—

The unobtrusive cooly, the poverty-stricken, drunken illiterate outcast of the Hindu society is indeed presenting a baffling problem. Left to himself, he will go on as he has gone on for the past half-century and over, slaving like a team-bull for his master, dragging on a pitiful existence and drowning his sufferings in sorrow. But we can no longer afford to ignore him. He has come to stay, has taken root in our soil and has multiplied so numerous as to constitute an important factor in the social, economic and political structure of the province.

It will not do to dismiss the cooly as an outsider and treat him as a foreign element unworthy of our notice. Our nonchalance towards him in the past has been but a testimony to our shortsightedness and has proved of advantage to proselytizing agencies. It will not do to look on with apathy at this vast mass of helpless Hindus to whom life is but drudgery and drink and no more. The time has come when we must take a broad view of the matter and regard the cooly as a member of our community, a permanent element of our body politic. The time really has come when we must go to him and lift the veil of ignorance from him and point the way to progress through education and industry.

The coolies have come to Assam from almost all provinces of India. Most of them would be regarded as untouchables in their provinces of origin. By their aloofness, their habits and customs, and linguistic differences and low economic condition, they constitute a distinct class in Assam, which is as bad as untouchable.

Our activities should aim at absorption of the cooly into our society by making him give up his unclean habits, by providing him with facilities to come more and more in touch with the native people, by inducing him to adopt the religious and social customs of the Hindus, and last but not least, by bringing education to his door.

Coolies are hardworking. Given proper facilities they can earn enough ; but they are much addicted to drinking. Vigorous propaganda against this drink habit must be organised.

Although his stay in our midst is all too brief, yet, it is hoped, Gandhiji will give his thought to the hapless cooly and see for himself the conditions in which he lives, moves and has his being. What little time he will devote to the cooly will reveal to his vigilant eyes a world of information. Gandhiji will no doubt appreciate the many difficulties that stand in our way, the chief among them being want of funds. He will, it is hoped, evolve a scheme of work as well as devise ways and means to work it out.

It will not be out of place to mention here many other hapless masses of people whose lot is as dark as, may be even darker than, that of the coolies : the Miris, Mikirs, Nagas, etc. These also demand attention.

We are proverbially poor. Our resources are very limited. Our geographical aloofness prevents

our voice being heard beyond our boundaries. Our problems are many, and it is as clear as daylight that, left to ourselves, we cannot work out their solutions. We are in dire need of help and sympathy from the more advanced sister provinces.

Mahatmaji has made the following comment on the paper :—

I can agree from personal experience with much of what the writer has to say. The very word coolie is a misnomer and reminds one of what happens in South Africa. Instead of meaning a labourer or a porter, the word came to be applied in South Africa to designate the bearer's nationality, and became a word of reproach. An Indian merchant, barrister or doctor was known as a coolie merchant, etc. So, in Assam, the Indian who went from another province to work on the tea estates remained a coolie even after the termination of his contract as a labourer and even though he ceased to be a labourer and became a land-owner. But being industrious, he has multiplied in Assam and yet remains in perfect isolation and ostracism. It is a suicidal policy that keeps him so. He cannot be driven out of Assam. Being grossly neglected, he has become an economic waste. If these men were properly taken care of, they would become an asset of first class importance. It is up to the educated peoples of Assam to study this problem and solve it to the benefit of all concerned. It does not require an outlay of money so much as it requires an outlay of intelligence and industry.

It must be noted in conclusion that the problem is receiving the attention of the Harijan Sangh who have already made a small beginning in a restricted cooly area by opening primary schools for cooly children, 'namghors' (socio-religious institutions), and carrying on propaganda against drink and opium evils through itinerant preachers. Systematic and sustained work even on these lines will no doubt bring about a world of difference and improvement in the lot of the hitherto neglected cooly. As Mahatmaji has rightly said, an intelligent and devoted band of workers with breadth of mind and sympathy, can work wonders among these industrious settlers who, freed from the bondage of liquor and other baneful vices, will indeed be an asset to the province.

Local Autonomy in Medieval South India

BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI

SOUTH India had, from the 5th century A. D. onwards, an elaborate and developed polity. It remained more or less a common continuous type under the various dynasties—the Pallavas, the Cholas, and the Naicks—who in historic succession held universal sway over the peninsula. We proceed to describe it, adopting the well known division of governmental functions into Central and Local.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Central Government consisted of a hereditary king and ministers, five or more, who carried on the general administration with a number of secretaries and subordinates under them. It had the entire management and administration of the revenue, declared war and peace, raised armies and exercised the highest judicial authority. It passed regulations, it granted or confirmed charters to town and village assemblies, made gifts of land or assignment of taxes in favour of temples, colleges, and municipal corporations. It was of the ordinary Indian or personal type, subject to the devolution in the local sphere of important administrative and judicial functions to popular district and village assemblies.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT—"DISTRICT" ASSEMBLIES

A division of the country into areas comprising a number of villages and towns is found all over South India in the middle ages and they are, under the various dynasties and in the several linguistic areas, called variously—Nadu, Kurram, etc. The assemblies had partial administration of these local divisions. As regards their composition, they consisted

of the leading men of the various towns and villages in the division (mahajanams, nattars). The assemblies were in some cases presided over by the prince or a royal officer and discharged their functions in conjunction with him.

The assembly of Venad, a district of Travancore, consisted of 600 "blameless men" and exercised supervision over a certain temple and its income within its jurisdiction. The same jurisdiction over temples is borne out by two scattered inscriptions of the Chola country—(Madras Government Epigraphist's report 1905, p. 52 and 1915 pages 106 to 108). They recite that the assembled residents of Paranthakanadu and Rathapadi Konda Chola Valama Nadu levied or determined certain items of revenue or income to be paid to particular temples. These assemblies seem to have had also some power to levy certain cesses or taxes where village assemblies did not exist. One solitary inscription from the reign of Kulothunga III (Mer. 1915 page 99) suggests that the assemblies were in a way entrusted with the police of their districts.

The most important functions of these assemblies were judicial. A number of inscriptions contain accounts of several cases, civil as well as criminal, which were decided in these large and popular assemblies. Along with the village assemblies with the decided cases arising within the limits of the village, these popular district tribunals were the chief civil and criminal courts of the land.

The district assemblies of the East coast remained purely municipal, exercising administrative and judicial functions under

the regis of the Chola and Naick Kings. In course of time they gained in power and prestige and had an established tenure. The district assemblies of the West coast tried however to develop into more national bodies, or parliaments, seeking to control the king and his administration. They were often summoned by the king when great administrative matters had to be decided and they sometimes met of their own accord. Their activities however often brought them into conflict with the king; and, in the wars and jealousies which sprang up among the numerous small kingdoms into which Malabar was divided, the assemblies finally lost their power.

VILLAGE ASSEMBLIES

The other important element in the local half of the Dravidian polity was the village assembly. The assembly comprised almost all the inhabitants of the village or township on very low property qualification—an acre and a half of land and a house. In some cases—in Brahmin villages—we find even a moiety of the above property was held sufficient qualification in case the owner was read in a Veda. So that, having regard to the low property qualification prescribed for the membership of the assembly, we may assume that it comprised almost all the inhabitants of the village except the purely landless ones who should have been very few in number. The assembly in towns and villages usually met in special halls constructed for the purpose in temples—many such halls, we know, existed in the great temples of Tanjore, Tiruvadamaruthur, Cuddalore and others. In the smaller rural areas or villages proper, the assembly held its session under a big tree of the village.

THEIR COMMITTEES AND MODE OF GOVERNMENT

The village assembly—which is the phrase usually current in Epigraphist's reports, though we should remember that the name "Village" is indifferently applied to villages proper as well as townships—was not a mere deliberative body but actually governed and carried on, by means of large committees, the entire daily administration of the village. This type of government may be compared if I may be permitted to compare these municipal assemblies with more celebrated sovereign bodies—with the best type of democratic government in Greek City—states. The village assembly divided itself into, or choose by lot out of its members, various committees which administered all the affairs of the village. The more important among them are—(following the Uttaramallur inscription)—the general or annual supervision committee, the Tank Committee, the Garden Supervision committee, the Coin committee, a committee for the collection of cesses. These should have been common to almost all the village assemblies. The other committees met with inscriptions from other localities are the committee for the supervision of charities, committee for supervision of wards (Kudumba), committee for looking after ascetics, temple committee and committee for the measurement of land.

The annual supervision committee (*samvatsaravariam*) may be called the general and leading executive committee of the village assembly and had a superior position to that of the remaining committees. It looked after the conduct and administration by the other committees. In places where a committee for decision of cases or committee of justice was not specially appointed, it has been surmised

that the annual supervision committee exercised the judicial functions. It was also intimately associated with the management of temples and other public institutions (E. R. 1916 page 116). Next in importance is the committee for justice where it existed separately. As inscriptions show, it decided all cases arising within the village, both civil and criminal. One of the inscriptions dealing with this committee speaks of a woman sitting thereon (E. R. 1910 Page 99) which proves that women also, if they possessed the necessary property qualification, had the suffrage and sat on the assembly and committees. The tank and garden supervision committees, important in the districts of Southern India lying outside the Cauvery river-system, looked to the storing of water in tanks, the removal of silt therefrom, the maintenance of irrigation channels and so forth and were in possession of a large part of village funds for the said purposes. Charities and temple committees seem to have been purely supervisory in character, since the temples, colleges and other foundations had their own officers, accountants and servants to manage the properties. The Gold supervision committee is an interesting limb of the village assembly. The committee was probably intended to ascertain the purity of the coins that were current in the village. This should have been an important municipal care when the modern facilities for the issuing of coins of a standard size and purity were unknown.

I may follow the Uttaramallur inscriptions in describing the rules for the election and appointment of these committees. It may be remembered that Uttaramallur was an exceptionally large village or perhaps groups of villages—as we find that it

consisted of twelve hamlets divided into 30 wards. (1) After excluding all those who were disqualified from holding office on account of heinous offences or misconduct in committee (the details of which are set out fully in the inscription referred to), each ward shall prepare a packet of tickets containing the names of all those in that ward possessing the necessary property qualification with a covering ticket specifying their contents. (2) The packets of all the 30 wards shall be put into a pot and one name shall be chosen from each packet by lot. Thirty persons are thus chosen, each belonging to a particular ward. (3) Of these 30 persons, twelve who had already served on the Garden and Tank supervision committees and who are advanced in learning and in age shall be chosen for the annual supervision committee. Of the remaining eighteen, twelve shall be chosen for the garden supervision committee and the remaining six shall form the tank supervision committee. (4) For constituting two more committees, the five-taxes and the gold supervision committees, the same process as mentioned in headings 1 and 2 above is adopted. 30 fresh names are chosen, one from each of the 30 wards; and of these thirty men, twelve are chosen, who in division of six each are constituted into the two committees. When drawing tickets for these two committees next year, the wards which had already been represented during the year in question on these committees shall be excluded and the appointments made from the remaining wards. (5) The members comprising each committee of a particular year shall not be eligible to hold office for three years after expiry of which alone the rules

allowed his name to be written on the pot ticket.

The profoundly democratic character of the village assembly and its administration is apparent in the above arrangements. We have no direct evidence of the number of inhabitants of Uttramallur, but we may roughly estimate the same by taking each ward to contain from 20 to 30 houses which may give us on the whole an adult population of not more than 600 or 700. The number of citizens who sat on the various annual committees mentioned above, supposing that they were the only ones appointed at Uttramallur, were 42; and during three years, there would be 126 different committee members. So that, with, within a period of—say—9 or 12 years, the offices would be held by almost every propertied inhabitant of the village. It was thus a democracy of the direct type wherein each inhabitant or citizen had the opportunity and the means of taking a direct and individual part in the municipal administration. As the original editor and translator of the Uttramallur inscription put it, "the annual change of office-bearers would give every qualified and deserving man an opportunity to get acquainted with the details of village administration. This acquaintance would lead him to take a keen interest in the affairs of the village and in course of time the village assembly would become full of men knowing every detail of the village administration and take a keen interest in it. It would be able to exercise a keen and wholesome control over the committees". It should be remembered that Uttramallur was an exceptionally large village or rather group of villages and its population should have far exceeded the average of other villages. In the generality of villages, we may

take it that the offices more briskly circulated among the inhabitants who were small in number.

THEIR POWERS AND FINANCES

The village assemblies were, in their corporate capacity, the owners of the common lands of the village; and with regard to lands subject to payment of royal revenue, the ultimate ownership, the power of selling or otherwise disposing of the holdings of defaulting tax payers, was vested in the Village Government and not in the King. Connected with it and as a consequence of the above, the right to distribute the revenue to be paid among the various landowners, the right to collect them and the responsibility for arrears, lay with the Village Governments.

The finances of the village assembly consisted of assignments of royal revenue and gifts of lands which were purchased and given over to the village. These formed the permanent source of income of the village assemblies. The gifts of land or of revenue were intended or made for the up-keep of temples, charities, tanks, the last of which were very important in the life of medieval villages and required also heavy annual expenditure. The village assemblies had also a minor power of taxation. They levied fines or imposed cesses.

LOCAL AUTONOMY IN TWO VOLUMES

BY G. F. F. FOULKES

This is a topical publication written by the author to attract the attention of the legislators to some of the salient matters that affect the daily life of the people of South India.

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THE NEW COCHIN CONSTITUTION

By MR. N. D. VARADACHARIAR

Advocate, Madras High Court

I gladly comply with the request of the Editor of the *Indian Review* to explain briefly the more important features of the new constitution in the Cochin State.

The constitution is embodied in a statute which has been promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja in exercise of his prerogative power and it is laid down that His Highness alone may amend it. The basis of the new constitution is the fact that His Highness is the repository of all powers and jurisdictions in the State, and, in accordance with the provisions made in the Government of Cochin Act, those powers and jurisdictions are devolved on various authorities for being exercised from time to time.

In the executive sphere, His Highness has put it beyond doubt that he does not ever act personally but always upon the advice of and through one of his two accredited constitutional advisers, the Dewan or the Minister. Thus, personal rule as such has formally come to an end in the Cochin State, if indeed it ever existed there except in pure academic theory. The Dewan is not a mere tool in the service of the Maharaja bound to carry out every behest of his, but a constitutional functionary owing specific duties to the Paramount Power as well as to the people, and having the power to tender independent and often binding advice to His Highness. That, I understand, has always been the tradition in Cochin. The Minister, it is abundantly clear from the terms of the Act and the rules and of the various Announcements made by His Highness is a responsible Minister and his advice

will always follow the ruling opinion in the Legislative Council. As such, the provisions fully ensure a controlled monarchy in the State within the framework of the law.

I need make only a passing reference to the distribution of executive functions between the Dewan and the Minister. The Act contemplates that the Ministerial sphere should steadily expand and that the Dewan's functions should correspondingly diminish, so that at some time in the future, and this time will be determined by how the people have responded to the generous gesture of His Highness made in this Act, the Dewan will be maintained only for purposes, if at all, of formal negotiations and transactions with the Paramount Power, while the real executive of the State will be the Minister. In his brilliant speech at the State Banquet in Ernakulam on June 17th 1938 Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar refuted the unsubstantial criticism that being a species of dyarchy, the Cochin experiment would not be successful.

The powers of the legislature are restricted only by a certain specified number of subjects being withdrawn from their competence: and here again the reservations are necessitated by difficulties of a technical nature in the relations between the Paramount Power and the State. Most of these matters are covered by treaties, and treaties as such are not the proper subjects of the legislature's discussion or action except in a consequential way even in many fully sovereign legislatures. Even in these matters it may well be that a Maharaja in the future may

feel justified in admitting the legislature to greater powers by reason of their sober and steady discharge of their responsibilities and the character they have won for themselves. In an official statement, the Cochin Government have already demonstrated that the restrictions on the financial powers of the legislature are more or less nominal. Aside of these, the legislature has power to make laws for the entire territory of the State and for all Cochinites wherever they may be—an assertion of legislative power as full as that made by any free legislature in the world.

In the third important branch of government, the Judiciary, the Act similarly provides for the creation of an independent High Court with full powers to adjudge all causes arising in the State as a court of final appeal. I am advisedly making this statement without qualification. I submit that it is no detracting of the competence of the High Court that it may not as a matter of legal right entertain any action against the person or property of His Highness, for no court in any constitutional system has the power to try the sovereign whose judicial prerogatives it exercises for him and on his behalf. It is well known that in legal theory the attribute of perfection is enjoyed by the monarch, and the doctrine that the King can do no wrong is reflected in the law by the Crown enjoying full judicial immunity. At the same time His Highness has directed that the judicial machinery should be available to every person with a cause against His Highness in his personal capacity; and the guarantee is given that should His Highness be found to owe a duty to a petitioner, he would discharge that duty without the use of the execution processes of the court. The person who decides whether there is a grievance against the Maharajah is the petitioner himself and not His Highness' agent as wrongly assumed in some quarters. I feel sure

that if the rules in respect of this matter had been examined carefully there could have been no such misunderstanding. It must be remembered that the remedy against the Government as apart from His Highness is preserved in the usual way and is provided for by the Civil Procedure Code.

Then there is the provision which lays down that His Highness' prerogative power of legislation and executive action is retained in full and unimpaired by anything contained in the constitution Act. After the gracious words in which His Highness explained the object and scope of this provision in his Durbar Announcement on June 17th 1938, it is unnecessary to labour the point further that this power is retained wholly in the interests of the sound working of the constitution and not for defeating and imperilling responsible and constitutional government in the State.

In its details, the frame of the Act closely follows that of the Government of India Act of 1935 and to a lesser extent that of 1919. The advantage of this method is that it facilitates interpretation and ensures a better understanding of the provisions by the people while at the same time a large uniformity in the constitutional mechanism is desirable from the point of view of the coming All-India Federation.

Above all, as Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar repeatedly stressed the fact, the Cochin Constitution provides for a fully statutory government, and this in itself is no mean gain to the people of Cochin and to the people of other States whose cause has been so well strengthened by the recognition of popular claims by one of the outstanding members of the Princely Order. Other States may approach the constitutional problem from different points of view, and in this field, more than anywhere else there is scope for a wide variety of institutions being tried. Cochin has preferred to follow the well-known British model being a pioneer; but so far as I am aware, it is not claimed for Cochin that hers is the only solution of this exceedingly complicated question.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Unity Talks

SO the unity talks have, for the moment, failed. Congress and the League must each go its own way till such time as the pressure of circumstance could leave them no option but to stand united. In the meanwhile ardent lovers of unity should wait in patience and hope. For it must be remembered there could be no last word in politics; and in the ever shifting scene of things there is always hope for the resurgence of a better day. Soon after the Bose-Jinnah talks, Mr. Jinnah spoke of the Congress as "a communal organisation, masquerading in the garb of a national institution" to which Mr. Bose thought fit to reply with some warmth at Chittagong. Every one knew at once that the talks had broken down and unity was as far away as ever. But the unauthorised publication of the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Nehru and the subsequent release of the Gandhi-Jinnah letters have made plain how wide apart are the outlooks of the leaders of the Congress and the League. Gandhiji and the Pandit vainly repeated their requests for a precise formulation of the Muslim demands. But Mr. Jinnah did not want to be drawn into any kind of discussion of definite demands. It is obvious that Mr. Jinnah was more anxious to establish the status of the Muslim League vis-a-vis the Congress than to embark on a detailed examination of points of difference.

The final break was evident when Mr. Jinnah communicated to the Congress President the decision of the League Council that no further negotiations could be conducted unless the Congress recognised

the right of the Muslim League to speak on behalf of the entire Muslim community of India. To ask the Congress to disown its national character or to claim for the League the right to speak for all Muslims, when there are more Muslims in the Congress roll than in the roll of the League is to invite failure. Indeed Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah approach the problem from two characteristically different standpoints. In one of the letters Gandhiji says:

In your speeches I miss the old nationalist. When in 1915 I returned from my self-imposed exile in South Africa, everybody spoke of you as one of the staunchest of nationalists and the hope of both the Hindus and Muslims. Are you still the same Mr. Jinnah? If you say you are, in spite of your speeches, I shall accept your word.

You want me to come forward with some proposal.

What proposal can I make except to ask you on bended knees to be what I had thought you were.

But the proposal to form a basis of unity between the two communities has surely got to come from you.

And what is Mr. Jinnah's answer?

You recognise the All-India Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organisation of Muslims in India, and, on the other hand, you represent the Congress and other Hindus throughout the country. It is only on that basis we can proceed further and devise machinery of approach.

Is it that the time is not ripe yet for a real union?

Bengal Ministerial Crisis

The Huq Ministry resigned office on June 22 over acute differences between Mr. Nausher Ali and his colleagues.

Immediately after the resignations were submitted, H. E. Lord Brabourne called upon Mr. Fazlul Huq as leader of the largest single party in the legislature to form a new cabinet.

This he did, with ten members including himself. The new Cabinet is the same in personnel with the exception of Mr. Nausher Ali.

Cochin's New Constitution

The New Constitution which has come into force in Cochin gives effect to the Maharaja's birthday announcement of 4th January last that the people of the State will be associated more directly with the administration and that a Minister will be appointed from among the elected members of the legislature. The Cochin Act is closely modelled on the Government of India Act of 1935. Judged by the standard of political thought in British India the scheme may fall short of full responsible government; but a great beginning has been made and both the Maharaja and his Dewan, Sir Shanmukham Chetty have set a pace which must hearten the people of the State. The new Government is a sort of dyarchy wherein the Dewan, who is not elected, remains in charge of the reserved subjects which include education and finance besides matters appertaining to the ruling family, the management of temples, subsidies and the like. The Minister who is appointed by the Maharaja from among the largest party in the legislative Council, holds office during His Highness' pleasure. He will be in charge of all subjects relating to rural development—Agriculture, Ayurveda, Co-operation, Panchayats, Public Health, Uplift of the Depressed Classes and Development of Cottage Industries and his salary and allowances will be determined by the Council. It is the Maharaja's intention to establish a convention by which the Minister will hold office only so long as he commands the confidence of the Legislative Council.

An important advance is the widening of the franchise. The Franchise has been extended to every person who pays any tax and to all those who have passed the school

final or an equivalent examination. Out of 58 members of the Legislative Council 38 will be elected and the rest—12 officials and 8 non-officials—nominated. The powers of the Legislature are by no means inconsiderable as the bulk of the expenditure from the State's resources is subject to the vote of the Council.

But more than the actual provisions of the Act is the spirit underlying the new constitution as enunciated by His Highness.

"I would ask the people to judge the Act," said His Highness at the Durbar held to inaugurate the new Constitution not so much by the words used in the enactment, but by the declared intentions underlying the whole structure of the new Constitution.

"I may solemnly assure my people," he continued,

that the retention of the Paramount Authority and the Prerogative of the Ruler is intended to safeguard the interests of the State and not to curb the powers of my popular Minister.

Such a declaration must serve as a great encouragement to a popular Ministry to get on with its work with courage and enthusiasm.

We congratulate Mr. Sivarama Menon on his appointment as the first Minister. His will be no easy task. For much depends upon the extent of the confidence he commands in the legislature.

The Times of India Centenary

Our cordial felicitations to the *Times of India* on the completion of its hundredth year. To have merely lived on for a hundred years is in itself no small thing for a newspaper in India: but the *Times of India* has grown from strength to strength and made its mark in the history of these ten eventful decades. The story of its rise and growth reveals the skill and enterprise of a succession of great Editors who have made it what it is today—a newspaper of commanding position and authority.

The Reaction to Lord Zetland's Speech

Lord Zetland's speech at the Bombay Dinner in London has served as an irritant to political India. He discounted the widespread rumour that the Viceroy is going to England not for personal reasons but for conferring with the Home authorities about changes in the Federal structure in the Government of India Act.

The Federal provisions of the Act were the outcome of prolonged and exhaustive examination and discussion over a term of years and the Secretary of State made it clear that there was no intention of making any alterations in the scheme even before it had been given a trial. Now the reaction to this pronouncement has been true to expectations. The President of the Congress promptly declared:

Let me assure His Lordship that petty changes in the Federal Scheme, whether in respect of the composition of the Federal Legislature or in respect of the powers of the Federal Ministry, would not serve to mitigate our uncompromising hostility to that scheme.

The theory of the settled fact can hardly hold good in a world of such rapidly changing conditions. And the Secretary of State's stiff necked attitude could only provoke the Congress socialists' rejoinder that the nation "should prevent the inauguration of any federal scheme that may be offered by the British Government".

But it is plain that no one can lay down the law for all time. The new Act has set in motion a force that is becoming as organised as it would be effective. It is useless to ignore the political potentialities of the Congress in the Provinces and the States. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it" India, warns the *Manchester Guardian*, will certainly leave it.

The Hindi Controversy

Whatever the merits of the controversy over the introduction of Hindi in South Indian schools there can be no two opinions on the absurdity of the methods adopted by the Opposition to harass the Premier. To attempt to modify the Ministry's move by threat of fasting, is, on the face of it, ridiculous. No Government worth the name could tolerate such intimidation; and even a Congress Prime Minister, when confronted by a person who threatens to fast unto death if a Government decision is not revoked, can give but one answer: God's will be done.

That apart, there is no gainsaying the fact that opposition to Hindi, is in a degree, real and earnest. It may be that part of the Opposition is engineered by men not wholly on grounds of culture. Motives political rather than cultural may have something to do with the Anti-Hindi Campaign; but the fact remains, rightly or wrongly, there is an appreciable amount of antipathy to the Government's move in the matter.

It cannot be said that Government is altogether oblivious to this opposition. The Prime Minister's reaction is evident in his explanation and in the Government *Communique* on the subject. The Government's concessions to the agitation are important and striking. (Hindi is to be compulsory only in selected areas; it is to be restricted only to classes above the 6th; and failure in Hindi is not to affect class promotion. These are important concessions and show Government's anxiety to meet reasonable criticism.)

America and the World

MR. CORDELL Hull, the American Secretary of State, addressing the Bar Association at Nashville, Tennessee, on June 3, on "International Law and the Present State of the World" said:

With the use of armed force assuming an aspect of scarcely imaginable brutality we are prepared to join other nations in resuming vigorously and carrying forward the work so auspiciously begun at The Hague two generations ago, of humanizing by common agreement the rules and practices of warfare.

Declaring that there was never a time in their national history when the influence of the United States in support of international law was more urgently needed than at present, the Secretary of State said:—

There is again abroad in more than one part of the earth a spirit of international anarchy. Solemn contractual obligations are brushed aside with a light heart and a contemptuous gesture. Respect for law and observance of the pledged word have sunk to an inconceivably low level. The outworn slogans of the glorification of war are again resounding in many portions of the globe. Armed force, naked and unashamed, is again being used as an instrument of policy and a means of attaining national ends through aggression and aggrandizement. It is being employed with a brutality and savagery that outrage and shock every humane instinct.

In the face of these grim developments is it wise to seek isolation and safety? In the end it will be proved not safe but more damaging to the cause of security.

It is my firm conviction that national isolation is not a means to security but rather a fruitful source of insecurity. For while we may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Attempts to achieve national isolation would not merely deprive us of any influence in the councils of nations but would impair our ability to control our own affairs.

Mr. Hull concluded:

In the years which lie ahead the chances that international anarchy and lawlessness will be replaced by order under law will largely depend upon the sincerity and firmness with which some nations at least maintain their devotion to the principles of international law resting in turn upon the foundation of co-operation, justice and morality. I can wish for our country no more glorious course than to be a leader in devotion to these principles and in service of their preservation and advancement.

Spanish Premier's 13 Points

The Spanish Prime Minister, Dr. Juan Negrin, in a declaration of policy at Barcelona, laid down 13 points for which he said, "We will fight to the bitter end." These points include the following:

A declaration that the war is waged to secure the complete independence of Spain, her colonies and the protectorate, and to eject the foreign military forces.

Provision for a national plebiscite, with the fullest guarantees for free expression, to decide on the juridical and social structure of the State.

Regional liberties without diminution of national unity as the best means of soldering the diverse elements composing Spain.

Fullest civil and social rights for citizens, freedom of conscience and religion.

The State shall guarantee property legally acquired within the limits of supreme national interests and protection to producers.

Far-reaching agrarian reform and guarantees for the rights of labour through legislation. The first concern of the State shall be the cultural, physical and moral improvement of the race.

An army free from party influence.

An ample amnesty for all Spaniards who desire to co-operate in the immense task of the reconstruction and aggrandisement of Spain.

De Valera's Triumph

Mr. De Valera's triumph is now complete. He had gauged the mind of the country so well that he risked an election which has given him a majority, greater than ever before. The following is the final state of Parties in the Eire elections:

Fianna Fail	... 77
Fine Gael	... 45
Labour	... 9
Independents	... 7

The Fianna Fail has a clear majority of 16 over the combined Opposition. This is the largest majority secured by any party since 1927.

Chinese Tactics

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has announced the abandonment of positional warfare. Henceforth his forces will employ what are described as "hit and run" tactics, striking at the enemy at every opportunity but avoiding unnecessary loss by vacating territory that proves difficult to hold.

There is in this a suggestion of the Chinese giving in before the onrush of superior force. But, says the *Statesman*, "this form of warfare which has already proved peculiarly exasperating to the Japanese, has been much favoured by some Chinese commanders, particularly those of the former Communist Army, since the collapse at Shanghai last winter. That Marshal Chiang Kai-shek was not wholly converted to it was suggested by the extent to which orthodox positional tactics were used during the recent big struggle before Suchowfu. The losses the Chinese suffered there, though less disastrous than the Japanese first claimed, seem however finally to have convinced him of the unsoundness of this method of warfare in dealing with an invader possessing pronounced superiority in mechanical resources."

The Chinese still possess vast territory in which to manoeuvre, and guerrilla tactics seem peculiarly suited to the broken and hilly inland country in which most of the fighting is now going on. It is noteworthy, adds the *Statesman*, "that the abandonment of positional warfare, which the German advisers to the Chinese army are understood always to have favoured, practically coincides with their withdrawal from China as a result of the Government's recent instructions."

The New Nanking Regime

In pursuance of their policy of creating new autonomous States in China under the suzerainty of Japan, a new Japanese sponsored Government for Central China was inaugurated recently at Nanking.

During the inauguration of the new Government the declaration was made that contracts and treaties concluded between Foreign Powers and individuals on the one hand, and the Hankow Government or any of its Provincial Governments on the other hand, will not be recognised. An assurance that the just rights of foreigners will be respected, was also made at that time.

The new Nanking regime will be called the new Government of the Republic of China. For the present, the new Government will govern the three provinces of Central China: Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei with a population of 81,000,000. The Government will eventually merge itself with the Provisional Government at Peking.

The Tension in Czechoslovakia

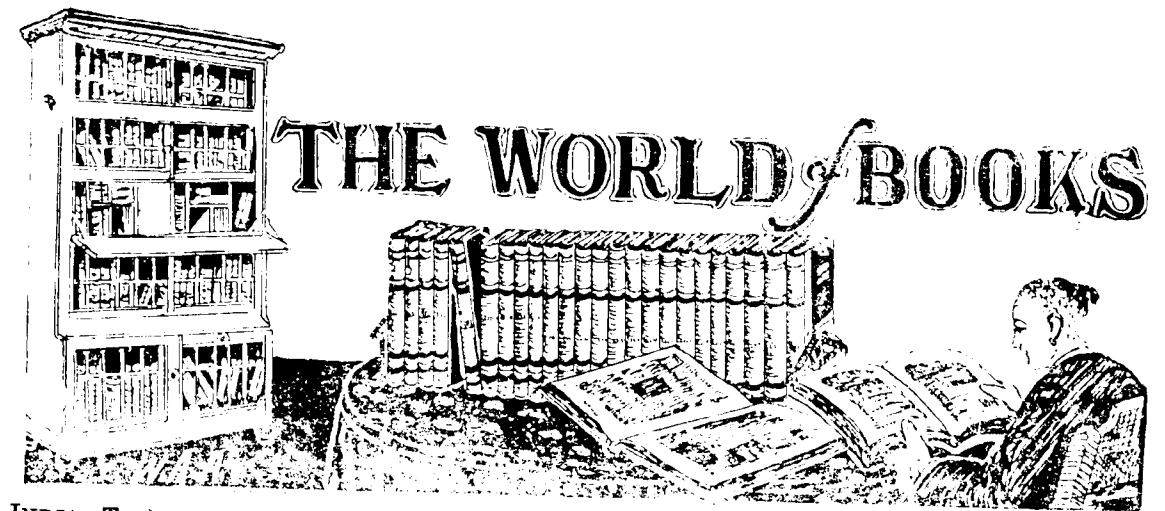
Although grave tension is again evident in the frontier districts of Czechoslovakia, there is a general relaxation in Prague after the strain of the elections.

The results of the elections have strengthened the claim of Herr Henlein to speak for the vast majority of the Sudeten Germans; but the Government also feel encouraged by the results which show that they enjoy the increasing support of the country.

Responsible Czech officials declare that the authorities are in full control of the situation but they feel themselves to be sitting on a volcano.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 26. Anglo-Turkish agreements are signed in London.
- May 27. Lord Zetland, speaking at the Bombay Dinner in London, declares that His Majesty's Government cannot consider alterations of the Federal scheme of the India Act.
- May 28. The Irish Government has fallen and the Dail is dissolved: a general election is ordered.
- May 29. "Germany's peace is an armed peace and is protected by a sharp sword" says Dr. Goebbels addressing a demonstration at Desan.
- May 30. Sir Francis Wylie assumes office as Governor of C. P. and Berar.
- May 31. The British Prime Minister is heckled in the Commons on the question of conscription in war time.
- June 1. Sir Mahomed Zafrulla Khan leaves for England by air to resume the Indo-British trade talks.
- June 2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sails for Europe.
- June 3. Czechoslovakia gives *de facto* recognition of the Rebel Government in Spain.
- June 4. H. E. the Governor of Bengal promulgates the Bengal Tenancy ordinance of 1938.
- June 5. Sir Manmathanath Mukerjee assumes charge of the Law Membership of the Government of India.
- June 6. The Japanese capture Kaifang, the capital of Honan.
- June 7. The Prince's Chamber meets in Bombay.
- June 8. Japan bombs Canton heavily; U. S. A. protests.
- June 9. Mr. C. F. Brackenbury Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras is knighted.
- June 10. The Japs blow up the Peking-Hankow Railway thereby cutting off the Chinese retreat.
- June 11. The U. P. Cabinet decides to appoint a Wage Fixation Board as a consequence of the Cawnpore strike.
- June 12. The Mysore Representative Assembly rejects the Press Bill.
- June 13. Mr. D. Sen, Editor of *Hindustan Standard* is sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment.
- June 14. Sir John Reith is appointed Chairman of the Imperial Airways.
- June 15. Text of the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence is published.
- June 16. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari opens the All India Radio at Madras.
- June 17. Cochin's New Constitution is inaugurated.
- June 18. Mr. de Valera secures a majority in the Irish elections.
- June 19. Bombay Government introduces prohibition in Ahmedabad.
- June 20. Madras is connected with Bombay by the long-distance teleprinter.
- June 21. Punjab Assembly passes the Punjab Alienation Bill.
- June 22. Two British ships are bombed and sunk off Valencia (Spain).
- June 23. The Bengal Ministry resigns. Mr. Fazlul Huq forms new ministry omitting Mr. Nasher Ali from the Cabinet.
- June 24. Mr. G. T. Boag, the Governor-Designate of Orissa leaves London by air.
- June 25. H. E. Lord Linlithgow sails for England.
- June 26. Punjab Government releases Shahidgunj prisoners.



INDIA, TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. By Margarita Barns. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 5-10.)

As a Fabian, Mrs. Barns had the inestimable advantage of coming in contact with two such brilliant intellectuals as Bertrand Russell and Bernard Shaw at the most formative period of her life. The marks of that wholesome influence are evident in her subsequent life and career. A spirit of adventure in ideas, a certain breadth of view and vigour of expression are unmistakably present in these pages. The Indian scene is moving rapidly and even the events of the last ten years with which the author is concerned, look like pages from old history. And yet they are written with first hand knowledge of men and affairs. Attached to an Indian News organisation at a time of hectic activities in Indian politics she came in intimate contact with Gandhiji and the leaders of the Indian reform movement, both in England and in India. She describes the political history behind the three Sessions of the Round Table Conference and the personalities connected with them, with intimate knowledge and insight. Her criticism of men and events is frank and outspoken but essentially sympathetic. The

disappointment and vexation she had to encounter in her own private business has not soured her outlook in regard to the larger issues with which she was concerned as a journalist. And with a background of autobiographical memories and reflections we are treated to a racy and refreshing record of recent history. Not the least entertaining part of her book is her impressions of the leading personalities in the Indian scene. Her picture of Gandhiji in Lancashire and Mira Ben in her quiet, authoritative and efficient method of work, are portraits in miniature and a refreshing reminder of of some unforgettable days. But Mrs. Barns is not content with past history. India, yesterday and today is but a preparation for the India of tomorrow: and her appreciation of history in the making deserves more than a passing notice. As in the rest of the world, she apprehends a conflict between the forces of Fascism and Socialism in India also.

Political India is entering a new phase, and the demand for a lead, an ideology, more positive than nationalism must make itself felt.

To some extent the pace has been set by the Socialists who, alone of the parties, have a definite programme. Some of them already see the seeds of Fascism working in the minds of those who are likely to wield power under the new constitution. While, however, it is true to say that the business interests, who, with the large landowners, would be most likely to adopt Fascism, are the best organised of all the sectarian interests, it is too early to suggest that there is any conscious adoption of such a policy. . .

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. By G. N. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. Advocate, O. S. Professor of Constitutional Law, Government College, Bombay, Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Joshi who has won his reputation by his useful book on 'Indian Administration', published not long ago has now followed it up with a valuable criticism of 'The New Constitution of India'. Setting before him Prof. Dicey's famous dictum that 'a professor whose duty it is to lecture on constitutional law must feel that he is called upon to perform the part neither of a critic nor of an eulogist, but simply of an expounder; his duty is neither to attack nor to defend the Constitution but simply to explain its Laws', he has in his latest book successfully endeavoured to attain his 'object of enabling students of Law and Indian citizens in general to understand and appreciate the legal and constitutional aspects and implications of the New Constitution'. Dr. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, in his Foreword to the book, gives the author just praise 'as for an impartial exposition of the New Constitution of India under the Government of India Act 1935'. Mr. Joshi has indeed succeeded in the very difficult task of being 'so impersonal' and his book has gained in value by that self-denial.

In the chapter on Federalism the author observes: 'historically, everywhere Federalism has been a process of uniting, but in India it is a process of breaking up British India into eleven Autonomous Provinces.' And not only that. Speaking of the proposed union of the States with British India, Mr. Joshi pertinently observes:—

It is not the citizens of the States who have desired union or who are to unite, but the rulers of the States who are to unite. The subjects of

the States are not to share the common citizenship of the Federation.

In all federations the initiative for union came from the constituent units who were moved thereto by their citizens. In India, the impulse to federation, from whatever source it may have come, has been translated into action by Parliament. The Indian Federation has been created by Parliament to secure steadying and stabilising elements in the Central Government. In a Federation the status and character of the constituent units are usually similar. The Indian States are wholly different in status and character from the British Indian Provinces.

In a Federation, there is a double citizenship, Federal and State or Provincial. In the Indian Federation, the subjects of the Native States are not citizens of the Federation and are not in the enjoyment of the same civic rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the British Indian Provinces. Thus the Indian Federation is a union between autocratic rulers and more or less democratic Governments.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN INDIA. (A collection of Essays and Speeches.) By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. (pp. 300; price Rs. 2/- Kitabistan, Allahabad. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

The volume under review is a series of articles, (including the Presidential Address, delivered at Faizpur) from the pen of Jawaharlal Nehru. These articles are of varying merit and importance. They discuss the Indian problems as viewed from the president's points of view. There is the direct expression of the personal reactions to the political happenings and tendencies in India. The central theme of the essays is the immediate necessity to present an Anti-Imperialist Front in order to attain political independence.

RE-GENERATION. By Dewan Bahadur R. Subbayya Naidu, Commissioner of Corporation, Madras. P. R. Rama Iyer Ltd. Madras. Price Re. 1.

The book under review places on record the impressions of Mr. Subbayya Naidu, after his return from Japan. He is very enthusiastic about the process of industrialisation, launched on by Japan. In this book, he suggests "that clay-footed India," should reconstruct her ideals after the model of Japan. The author has no faith in piece-meal reform. He wants a thorough regeneration and is for building civilisation anew. He is not in sympathy with the arcadian simplicity which hopes to replace the Rolls-Royce by the bullock cart. It is a very interesting account of the reactions of a mind which is all aglow with the industrial civilisation of Japan.

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. By Sardar Sardul Singh Cavasheer. National Publications, Ltd. Lahore. Price Rs. 2-14.

This book which was first published under the title 'Non-violent Non-Co-operation' gives an admirable survey of India's fight for freedom since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the field of Indian politics. Although he deals with events still recent and fresh in our memory, the author writes temperately and candidly. He was himself an actor in the drama, but he shows no signs of bias or conscious unfairness towards his opponents. The author is to be thanked for an extremely balanced account of the past, which affords a measure of guidance to our national workers as to the errors they should avoid and the problems they have to resolve.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE VOL. XI. By Sir J. C. Bose, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London. 18 sh. net.

THE FALSE STATE. By Hilda D. Oakeley, M.A., D. Litt., Williams & Norgate, Limited, London.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW. By M. J. Sethna. With a Foreword by Hon. Justice B. J. Wadia. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 4-8.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CURATOR'S OFFICE LIBRARY TRIVANDRUM, 3 Vols. Edited by K. Sambasiva Sastri. Published under the authority of the Government of H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore.

HOW THE NORTH CHINA AFFAIR AROSE: WHY THE FIGHTING IN SHANGHAI: JAPAN-CHINA, FACTS AND PICTURES: Four pamphlets published by the Foreign Affairs Association, Tokyo, Japan.

INDIANS OVERSEAS. By T. S. Rajagopal, M.A., LL.B. Advocate, Santhepet, Mysore.

THE PAYMENT OF WAGES ACT IV OF 1936. By Govindlal D. Shah, N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay.

THE STRUGGLE OF MUSLIMS IN EDUCATION. By S. A. Brolvi. *All India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh.

DICTIONARY OF INDIAN LIBRARIES 1938. Indian Library Association, Calcutta.

BETTER VILLAGES THROUGH SCOUTING. By Shri Ram Bajpai. The Leader Press, Allahabad.

SCIENCE FOR THE CITIZEN. By Lancelot Hogben. Allen & Unwin, London.

STUDENTS OF YOGA IN WEST & EAST. By Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Motilal Banarsidas, Said-mitha St., Lahore.

THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES IN WORLD ECONOMY. Consul-General for Sweden, Calcutta.

SIKHISM. Its Ideals and Institutions. By Teja Singh, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co.

ART AND TRADITION. By A. K. Haldar. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra.

CULTURAL MOVEMENTS IN MODERN INDIA. By Ram Prasad Pandeya, M.A. With a foreword by Principal P. Seshadri, M.A. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra. Re. 1.

SOCIAL WELFARE IN GERMANY. By Werner Reher. Terramare Office, Berlin.

BELIEFS IN HINDUISM. (TAMIL.) By S. Kalyanasundaram Pillai. Caxton Press, Madras.

ALL BELONG TO ONE CASTE. (TAMIL.) By P. Ramaswami. Navayugaprachuralayam, Madras.

GANDHI: An Epic Fragment. By M. Sri Rama Murti. Grace & Co., Publishers, Vizianagaram.

INDIANS IN MALAYA. By M. N. Nair, M.A., LL.B., S.T.C., Kuala Lumpur, F. M. S.

SEX IN MARRIED LIFE. By George Ryley Scott. T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London.

Hyderabad

THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The report of the Osmania University for the year 1344 *Fasli* shows that it follows the policy of affording opportunities to members of the staff to go to Europe for higher study or research. There is a permanent University Loan Fund of Rs. 25,000, out of which loans are granted to members of the staff for the purpose and applications for study leave in Europe are always favourably considered. The members of the staff are also deputed to attend important scientific or literary conferences in India. The total number of students in all the Faculties of the University at the end of the year was 1379 which showed an increase of just 100 over the previous year's figure.

HYDERABAD MERCHANTS

To safeguard their trade and interests, the merchants of Hyderabad city have formed an association, called the Hyderabad Trade Association, under the presidentship of Mr. G. Raghunathmull, a local banker. At a meeting held for the purpose, a provisional committee was appointed with Mr. Mohamed Ayooob as secretary, Dr. N. P. Mahendra as joint secretary and Mir Hasan as treasurer.

HYDERABAD MONEY-LENDERS

The Hyderabad Money-lenders' Regulation will, it is understood, be enforced in the Nizam's Dominions together with the Land Alienation Regulation which has so far been applied in only two districts, namely, Osmanabad and Aurangabad.

NEW REVENUE MINISTER

The services of Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore, have been borrowed by the Nizam's Government as Revenue Minister.

Mysore

THE MYSORE BUDGET

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, addressing the Budget Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly on June 10, made a survey of the activities of the various Departments of the Government and said:

"By lavish expenditure on irrigation, communications and agriculture, and by a lenient policy in respect of taxation, they have endeavoured to put money in the pocket of the ryot.

"By a similar policy in respect of drinking water, electric lighting, medical relief and rural reconstruction in general, they have added to his amenities.

"Education has expanded till it has reached a figure at which it consumes nearly a quarter of the taxation revenue."

The budget for the year ending June 30, 1939 provides for various new development schemes, including irrigation, electricity supply and industries. Funds are allotted for the opening of more middle schools and vocational schools.

The Dewan reiterated the plea for the total abolition of the subsidy paid by the State to the Government of India.

THE MYSORE REFORMS COMMITTEE

The Government of Mysore have appointed the Constitution Committee with the direction that the Committee should examine the desirability of further constitutional reforms in Mysore State in keeping with the progress made by representative institutions in the State up to the present day, the peculiar conditions which obtain in Mysore and the need to meet reasonable public demands in the way of democratising the administration to a larger extent than at present.

Baroda

H. H. THE GAEKWAR'S RULE

The 64th anniversary of the accession of His Highness the Maharaja of Gaekwar was celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout the State. All offices, schools, Government and public institutions in the State were closed. The day was announced with the firing of 21 guns by the State artillery, and the salute was followed by the grand ceremonial parade in which all units of the State Army joined. Mass prayers were held at the principal places of worship after which *puja* of the Royal Throne and Royal emblems was performed. The destitute and poor were fed at the leading State *dharmasalas*. 500 leading citizens and officers attended a garden party given by Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar on the lawns of the Nazarbagh Palace.

FRUIT EXHIBITION

"Gujarat is well situated for fruit culture and its large urban population provides a good scope for organising fruit farms," observed Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan of Baroda, declaring open the Second All-Baroda Fruit and Horticultural Exhibition at the Nyayamandir Hall in Baroda on the morning of June 11 in the presence of a large gathering including many women.

The State had, continued the Dewan, increased the number of farms, organised schemes of distribution of improved seeds and marketing of produce and had added the propaganda staff to bring the cultivators in direct touch with the activities of the Agricultural Department. The Exhibition is proving very popular and is attracting every day large number of visitors from the city and outside.

Travancore

THE BACKWARD COMMUNITIES

In pursuance of the Travancore Government's declared policy of making liberal concessions to members of the backward communities so as to ameliorate their condition, 246 acres of land were assigned during the last official year to 118 Harijan applicants as against 46 acres to 95 applicants in the previous year. The Government have noted with satisfaction this marked increase in the area of land assigned to the landless backward communities is attributable to the new orientation envisaged in the temple entry proclamation, and have directed the Land Revenue and Income-tax Commissioner to see that Government's policy in the matter is liberally carried out.

TIMBER CULTURE IN TRAVANCORE

In view of the fact that there is plenty of timber in the Travancore State and that the strength of ordinary timber can be increased by special treatment, the Government on the advice of Mr. Kamesam, the new Timber Expert and Director of Development, have decided that as an experimental measure a mile of road in Trivandrum and a mile in Nagercoil should be surfaced with pressure-treated wood blocks. The Public Works Department will carry out the scheme in consultation with the Director of Development.

THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

A donation of Rs. 1 lakh to the Travancore University is announced by the management of the Kannan Devan Hills Produce Company. The interest on this donation is to be utilised for any technological development which the Travancore University may decide upon.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Bhopal

PANDIT NEHRU AND BHOPAL

In a recent statement issued on the eve of his departure to Europe Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru criticised the conditions prevailing in some Indian States and drew particular attention to the restrictions imposed on the political activity of the people of Bhopal and the absence of civil liberty in the state. He pointed to the disabilities of the press and the restrictions on the freedom of association, as marks of feudalism in a modern state.

The Publicity Officer of the Bhopal State in a statement issued soon after, refutes the allegations and attributes them to misunderstanding of the actual conditions. He denies there is any coercion or restriction on the freedom of press or person in the state :

The Government of Bhopal with a full sense of responsibility, have no hesitation in declaring that the people of the State do enjoy complete liberty as regards association, assemblage and expression of views within the law, but such rights and liberties do not grant licence to create ill-will and bitterness between the various sections of the subjects or to preach violence or breaking of law. Such liberty is rightly kept under control in all civilised Governments in the world, including the various provincial Governments in British India itself.

Pandit Nehru in his rejoinder expresses gratitude to the Bhopal Government for this answer and says that it is difficult to say from the reading of it how far there is freedom of association, expression of opinion and the Press in Bhopal at present.

The test of civil liberty is how far criticism of the State is freely permitted. I should like to know how matters stand in this respect. The state of political progress can be gauged by the existence and strength of organisations carrying on political work freely, the absence of restrictions on public gatherings for this work and the free admission of newspapers except for very special reasons.

In Bhopal, it is stated, there was no Press till recently. This in itself is a sign of backwardness and of political inertia which the State should endeavour to remove.

Cochin

COCHIN CONSTITUTION ACT

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin have just issued a new Act—the Government of Cochin Act—promulgated by His Highness on June 17.

Under the Act, certain departments pertaining to rural development—Agriculture, Ayurveda, Co-operation, Panchayats, Public Health, Uplift of the Depressed Classes and Development of Cottage Industries—are to be made over to an elected Minister, answerable to the legislature for the administration of these departments, the idea being that, so far as these are concerned, the State will enjoy responsible government.

The Act follows in the main the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. It embodies the main principles, leaving details to be laid down by rules of which the first set is appended to the Act.

The Chief Court becomes a High Court and the Act lays down the provisions governing its status and powers.

Kashmir

KASHMIR DHARMARTH COUNCIL

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has reorganized the Dharmarth Council. Wazir Tej Ram has been appointed president of the Council, Pandit Amar Nath and Lt. Col. Baldev Singh members, and Pandit Thakar Das secretary and officer-in-charge of the Dharmarth Department.

Sikar

POPULAR COUNCIL FOR SIKAR

It is understood that pending the settlement of the Jaipur-Sikar dispute, the Rao Raja of Sikar has requested the Viceroy as the Crown Representative, to entrust the administration of Sikar to a popular Council appointed by him.

South Africa

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

At a reception given in honour of India's Agent-General in South Africa, Mr. Rama Rao, at the Orient Club Durban on May 23 the President of the Natal Indian Congress strongly repudiated the rumour that the Congress favoured a non-European united front. He stated that only the smallest minority supported the proposal. The supporters of the united front movement, he added, stated that their object was not a united front of non-Europeans against the Europeans but a united front of all section of the South African nation including Europeans, based on goodwill. They indicated, however, that the present trend of the Union Government legislation in discriminating between the Europeans on the one hand and non-Europeans on the other contained the inherent danger of non-European sections combining to protect their common interests. The Union Government, therefore, had the remedy in their own hands.

Malaya

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

The Gazette of India announces: "Whereas, it appears that the number of unskilled Indian labourers now in Malaya State is in excess of the present requirements of industry and the continuance of emigration to those States is therefore undesirable, the Central Government in exercise of powers conferred by Section 1 of Section 13 of the Indian Emigration Act of 1922 is pleased to prohibit with effect from June 15 all persons emigrating from the territories under the administration of the Provincial Government of Madras to the Straits Settlements, Federated Malaya States, etc., for purpose of unskilled work."

Br. Guiana

INDIAN CENTENARY IN BR. GUIANA

Referring to the Indian centenary in British Guiana, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews writes in the *Modern Review* :

"It is a great happiness to me to relate, that the Indian community has become splendidly united. There is practically no communal tension and there is an ardent and deep devotion to the motherland. In the course of time, there can be little doubt that leading Indians will gain more and more prominence in their new West Indian home. A sincere and friendly spirit has grown up between the American Negro population and the Indian immigrants. There is also a very kindly feeling between the East Indians and the Chinese. The latter are well-educated and well-organised, and they invite leading Indians at all times to their own festivities.

There is however one side where immense improvement might be made, namely, in the education of Indian girls. There are good opportunities offered, but a dearth of trained teachers.

Among the American Negro population, and among the Chinese, the proportion of girls who are educated is much higher than among the Indian population. Therefore, it has become the greatest need of all to-day to remedy this defect."

Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR CLOVES

The export of Zanzibar cloves fell from 205,687 cwts. in 1936 to 121,128 cwts. in 1937 due principally to the Indian boycott and uncertain trade conditions. This affected the export trade of the Protectorate considerably, which fell from £801,286 in 1936 to £663,258 in 1937.

Kenya

THE KENYA HIGHLANDS

Few overseas questions have given more cause for concern than the question of the Kenya Highlands. It has been a subject of vexed controversy both in Kenya and in India. Mr. Sastri once said "Kenya lost: all is lost." And no wonder that a special Indian delegation came to India from the East African Indian Congress with a view to educating Indian opinion on this single grave issue of the exclusion of Indians and Natives from the Highlands. It is curious, the Colonial office which has so often proclaimed the paramountcy of native interests, should now attempt to give statutory sanction to the obviously unfair demands of the Europeans. Mr. C. F. Andrews has called attention to the gravity of the situation in a timely statement to the press. The issue, he says, was one of the gravest importance because if an Order in Council is passed reserving 16,000 square miles in the Kenya Highlands in perpetuity for Europeans, permanent injustice would be done not only to the Indian community but also to indigenous Africans who will thus be shut out for ever from the most healthy and fertile part of Kenya.

He adds:

Ever since the Kenya conversations in 1920, nearly 10,000 square miles had been reserved for Europeans under the Governor's veto but that was quite different from an Order in Council. Under the Morris Carter Commission of 1934-35 it had been proposed to add 6,000 more square miles of fertile territory to the ten thousand already reserved for Europeans. Now it seemed an effort would be made to reserve 16,000 square miles in all not merely under the Governor's veto but also by an Order in Council which will make the whole matter final.

The Order-in-Council will have the effect of converting what is an administrative into a statutory restriction and it is the duty of the Government of India to warn the Government of Kenya "not to embark on such a course of wanton spoliation and degrading discriminatory legislation and orders by which the rights of Indians are being sacrificed."

General

INDIA'S CLAIM FOR COLONIES

"There is much food for thought and reflection in the report of Mr. Seth Govind Das on the problems of Indians in East and South Africa," comments the *Sunday Express*, Johannesburg.

Mr. Das, who is a member of the All-India Congress Committee and of the Central Legislative Assembly, recently visited East and South Africa, and he has presented, to the Indian National Congress, Haripura a document entitled "Our Brethren in Africa." Mr. Das says:

Few Indians, have enough knowledge of Africa and her people. It could with equal truth be stated that most South Africans know remarkably little about India. Yet India, with an area approximating to that of Africa, south of the Congo border, contains 354,000,000 people.

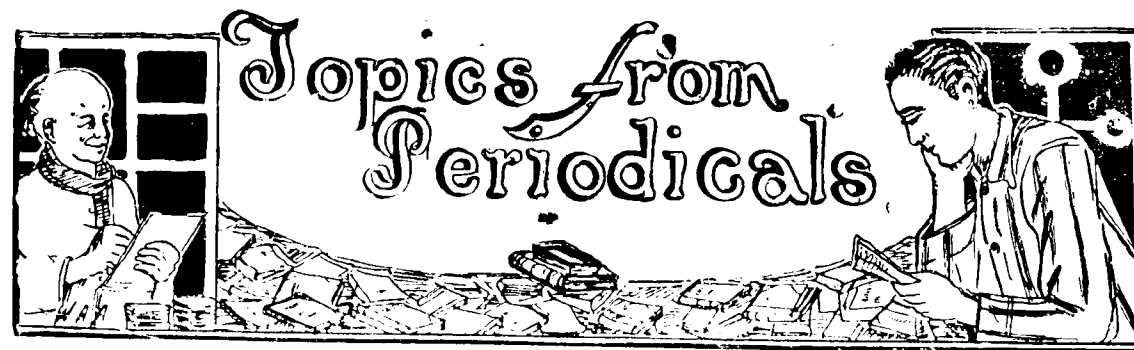
But while there is talk of restoring colonies to Germany, nobody in authority seems seriously to consider India's claim for colonies. India has greater, far greater, pressure of population on her land than Germany or Italy, or even Japan.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, who was India's Agent-General in the Union, has recently written:

We are over three hundred millions in this country; if eight millions of people must have an outlet, and if they find enormous outlets, vast unoccupied spaces all over the world, and keep them all to themselves and coop up the three hundred millions within the limits of India and say to them: 'You have no outlet, but you are equal partners in the Empire nevertheless'—that is a proposition to which it is very hard for us to assent.

But it is impossible to escape the fact that Indians have played an important part in the development of East Africa, and the Indian regiments helped to conquer German East Africa in the Great War.

There appears to be no really valid reason why some of these tropic spaces in the northern section of Africa should not be utilised to assist India in solving her population problem.



THE POSITION OF THE SPEAKER

There has of late been some controversy in India in regard to the position of the Speaker in our legislatures. The consensus of opinion is doubtless in favour of the British convention, whereby the speaker of the House of Commons has been regarded as a wholly disinterested and impartial moderator, unidentified with any party organisation or movement, inside or out-side the body over which he presides.

But there are some who favour the American example where the Speaker is frankly a partisan. Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., writing in the *Harijan* examines the position of the Speaker in the light of history and supports the British tradition which has grown out of the wisdom and experience of centuries of Parliamentary Government.

For the proper conduct of debate in a Legislative Assembly, a Speaker with power to enforce the rules of procedure and to maintain discipline is absolutely essential. It is only to the extent to which all parties and members in the House have confidence in the Speaker that they will bestow willing obedience to his orders and make it possible for him to carry them out. The efficacy of all rules of procedure and the smooth working in any legislative machine depend on the existence of a general willingness on the part of the members of the Legislature, to allow the machinery to work. In the absence of such willingness the working of the machine can easily be made to look away and, in some cases it may even be brought to a standstill. If a Speaker continues to owe allegiance to one of the parties in the House, the members of the other parties have a tendency to provoke quarrels and bring him into contempt, and thus his authority, efficiency and dignity become reduced. In other words, the authority, efficiency and dignity of the Speaker are based upon his reputation for absolute integrity and impartiality. In fact, in England, it may be said that the prestige which is attached to the office of the Speaker has been evolved on practically parallel

lines with the public recognition of his impartiality. In proportion as the Speaker became fair-minded, the strength of his position was enhanced, until today the occupant of the Chair is as powerful as he is impartial.

The Speaker's functions are, to a large extent, of a judicial character, as he has to administer the rules and hold the scales evenly between various parties and interests in the House. He can scarcely be expected to perform his functions to the satisfaction of the members and parties, if he is an open partisan, or, at any rate, is open to be attacked as interested in one of the parties. He, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion.

It is not sufficient for the Speaker merely to be impartial; it is also necessary that others should believe and treat him as impartial, and that he should evoke the confidence of the House in his impartiality and show, by his conduct of aloofness from political activities and parties, that he is entitled to the confidence of the house.

In India the Legislative Assemblies have now existed for a sufficiently long time to have created the tradition, similar to that of the House of Commons. Mr. Satyamurti aptly quotes the authority of the late Vithalbhai Patel, who said at the time of his election on 24th August 1925:

In the discharge of my duties I shall, I assure you, observe strict impartiality in dealing with all sections of the House, irrespective of party considerations. From this moment, I cease to be a partyman. I belong to no party. I belong to all parties. I belong to all of you. And I hope and trust, my Hon. friend the Leader of the Swaraj Party will take immediate steps to absolve me from all the obligations of a Swarajist Member of this House, if, indeed, it has not been done by implication in consequence of my election to this Chair.

That is a wholesome convention which one should like to see observed in all our Legislatures.

THE SIKH GURUS

Prof. Teja Singh contributes an informing article to the current number of *Prabuddha Bharata* on "Sikhism." The founders of the Sikh religion or the Gurus as they are called aimed, in the words of Joseph Cunningham, "at emancipation from priest craft and from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations, and their sects remain in this way as they left them." It was reserved for (Guru) Nanak to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those foundations which enabled his successor (Guru) Govind (Singh) to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal to the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes." Guru Nanak (1469-1539) the founder of Sikhism and the first of the ten Gurus began his religion by proclaiming that god is one.

By adopting the vernacular of the country for religious purposes, Nanak roused the national sentiment of the people. It was strengthened by the community of thought and ideal, realized in the congregational singing of the same religious hymns. He organised *sangats* of people wherever he went. These *sangats* linked up the people with themselves and with their Guru as the centre of their organization.

The writer recounts the doings of the other Gurus in furthering the cause of Sikhism:

Guru Angad gave them a separate script, which would make them independent of the priestly class. Guru Amar Das strengthened the *sangats* by narrowing their frontiers within manageable compass and by disallowing every possible schism. Guru Ram Das further strengthened the system by appointing regular missionaries called *masanda*, and by providing a central rallying place at Amritsar.

Guru Arjun built the Golden Temple, and placed in it the Holy Granth, compiled by him as the only authority for religion. In it he included the writings of himself and his predecessors, along with some chosen hymns from Hindu and Muslim saints of India, most of whom were untouchables.

ETHICS OF THE BUDDHA

Writing in the *Ceylon Daily News Vesak Number*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions at Oxford, observes that in the confusion caused by the co-existence of sublime idealism and gross superstition, many wandering preachers proclaimed the boldest paradoxes and sometimes professed atheism.

Buddha addressed himself to all the free and critical minds who were not only confused by the conflicting opinions, but felt that they had no need of religion, men to whom God was no more than a word and religion an anachronism. He tried to guide all such minds by placing before them the absoluteness of the ethical obligation. Through leading a life of self-control, sympathy and love, we effect a self-transformation which takes up to our goal. This path is open to all, men and women, high and low.

Proceeding the writer observes that the supremacy of the ethical is the clue to the teaching of Buddha. It is clearly visible in his life and thought. The opening words of his first sermon to the five monks relate to the avoiding of the extremes of self-indulgence, which is low and vulgar, and self mortification, which is crazy and fantastic.

After warning the ascetics regarding the exaggerated value they attribute to austerities, Buddha defines the middle way or the eightfold path. And only later does he enunciate the four truths of the nature of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the method of reaching it. His sixth convert, Yasa, is approached in a slightly different way, probably because he was a layman. After treating of moral duties, desires and their renunciation, the four truths are enunciated. "Even as the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt, so has this doctrine and discipline only one taste of nirvana." Buddha discouraged all metaphysical speculation about the motive and meaning of the universe, since such questions seemed to be irrelevant to his scheme of salvation.

The truths laid down by Buddha about the world and the soul are motivated by his interest in the ethical life.

Sarvam anityam, sarvam anatman, nirvanam santam, may be said to sum up Buddha's metaphysics.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

The Congress has now taken up the task of national reconstruction. It can no longer be content with the old objective—the task of destroying foreign domination. But reconstruction needs leadership and discipline among the ranks. That, says Mr. Chalapathi Rau in the *Triveni* for June, has necessitated a sort of dictatorship and the Congress has already been accused of acquiring a Fascist mentality. But Mr. Rau is not scared by the growth of a Fascist dictatorship in the country. Indeed, he feels there is need for some such discipline. Let it be remembered, he says,

that Italian Fascism may be a sin against the world but not against the Italian nation; and apart from Mussolini and his one-man tyranny, Fascism stands for a certain discipline for an interim order. Nobody can deny that the Congress needs this order, this discipline, this Fascist phase. It has long ceased to be the debating club of a coterie, it is no longer led by petticoat politicians. It is a mass organization with a large pyramidal base, with vast provincial branches, and an apex of vigilant leaders at the top. It is necessary to maintain perfect cohesion, if the Congress were not to fall into cliques, as its enemies desire. It must courageously conscript the people, if it were not to be a cobweb of political spiders. When its task will be done, then will be the time for it to inaugurate a real and the democratic process, or, if it likes, to vanish into the limbo of history. A certain regimentation of opinion of drilling and ordering and standardization of patriotism, a barrack-room discipline are the due preliminaries for any kind of organization to undertake the vast, perplexing responsibilities of nation-building. There is no shame in a Fascist phase, as long as it is a phase, and nobody need shy at it. It is the only answer to the dissipated nationalism of our present day travail, and it is not a mere panicky idea to say that even coloured shirt politics may be necessary for this phase. Coloured shirts will do more than bring a sartorial smartness. They will ginger up national morale. They will rouse the sleeping militancy of the people. When these will be achieved, unity will be achieved, and even the good-will of Great Britain will be achieved.

How are the forces balanced in the Congress? There are leaders in the Congress as distinct in temperament as in their ideology. Mr. Rau's characterisation is at once vivid and engaging:

Subhas Bose is a Socialist with a preference for the Fascist process. Jawaharlal's Socialism is alternately utilitarian and Utopian, and is tinged with scepticism and a poet's introspection. Dr. Pattabhi is still a no-changer to whom the only vital creed is Gandhism in its entirety. Patel's is a constructive genius, though he is still the orthodox agitator with a taste for agrarian revolts. To Acharya Kripalini Gandhism is the sacred text, though he adds a Shavian postscript of his own. Sarojini Devi is still as gnomish as Sappho, as vivacious as Madame de Staël. The Congress Premiers are, to adopt the fashionable nomenclature of the day, 'reformist.' The Socialists swear by *Das Capital*, 'the Koran of class war.' Besides, the Congress, like Noah's Ark, consists of every species of patriot. It is necessary, almost inevitable. But, for the time, they are all united by the presence of the common enemy, British Imperialism, and by a common method, which is non-violence, and united also by the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Then there is Mr. M. N. Roy, at one time dreaded "as the red star of Russia." But he has now settled down as "a consistent and imaginative exponent of constructive nationalism." He has come to think of the country first and a Utopia next.

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Nov. '38.

THE ESSENCE OF THE GITA

"There are books which have a perennial interest round about them, which retain their intrinsic value all through the ages. The Gita is one of them. It stands pre-eminent among the mighty works of the Past, because of its universal appeal. The Gita is not a sectarian book—it does not satisfy the needs of any particular era. It deals with the broad problems of life and it therefore remains a book for all ages," writes Mr. Matilal Das in the April number of the *Calcutta Review*. Like Arjuna before the great Kurukshetra fight, we also feel confused as to what our duty is. Our weary soul seeks for a guide—our heart wants a sure line of work, and the Gita gives solace with its invaluable teaching about duty. Says Mr. Das:—

The fundamental teaching of the Gita is one of dependence to the soul of the universe. The Gita does not question the ultimate Reality, but it accepts that behind the phenomenal world—there is a power; there is an intelligence, which governs this world. From the highest metaphysical point of view—this is an unknowable impersonal Reality, but the Gita advises us to adhere to the personal aspect of this eternal principle, for weak and frail human creatures as we are, it is not easy and wise for us to fix our mind on the unmanifest.

The Gita says:—But they who fix their attention on the Absolute and impersonal find greater difficulties, for it is really hard for those who possess a body, to realise God as a formless being.

It therefore advises us to give our love and devotion to the Reality in its manifest aspect of beauty and glory as the Purushottama—the Lord and creator of the universe. If we can devote ourselves heart and soul to the Lord, all our ills come to an end. We live in the bliss and benediction of a serene peaceful life. Nothing can excite us—nothing can worry us.

Srikrishna, while concluding this supreme work on Brahma-Vidya or the knowledge of God, says

that the world divulge the most hidden truth to him as he was his devoted friend and this is the noble utterance that comes for the solace of the world. "Dedicate thyself to me, worship me, sacrifice all for me and bow down to me and thou shalt surely come to me. Verily do I give thee my solemn word, for thou art my beloved." This is the quintessence of the Upanishadic revelations.

So long we live the earthly life, there is conflict of desires and we move on from sensation to sensation never knowing peace of mind. Our selfish desires bind us to the miseries of life. When we can transform ourselves by the life and love of God—there is at once a great change. All that is unholy, all that is materialistic, goes off—a spiritual light floods the view and we share in the joys of the eternal life.

The highest message of the Gita lies in its harmonious blending of the life forces to the noble ideal of God-realisation. The paths of knowledge, work and devotion are in true sense one and the same path. On this the writer says:—

Whatever path we may follow, we must see that it leads to the life in the infinite. Catholic and broad are the teachings of the Gita—for it accepts, in its fold all who seek. The Lord says that every-one should attain them sooner or later by whatever path they follow.

Mr. Das concludes:—

Science is triumphant to-day—mechanics rule our lives, but still we want something for the heart. The Gita is there to satisfy our intellectual and spiritual cravings. Its demands on you are negligible. It does not ask for asceticism. It says—attain peace wherever you are—only be in tune with the infinite. It will bring you harmony, joy and peace. The Gita has no creed—no dogmas, no rituals—it is therefore the best solace to the enlightened modern man.

The sunlight never explains itself—it comes and reveals itself in its truth and beauty and we welcome it. The Gita is like sunlight. It is always there in its majesty and glory—its balmy rays will drive away all our sickness and ailments, if we only invite them to our homes and hearths. What should I care for riches if I get no immortality—said Maitreyi to the great philosopher Yajnavalkya on the eve of his renunciation. This should be the real answer of all who suffer to-day.

BHAGAVAD GITA. Text in Devanagari and translation by Dr. Besant in English. Pocket Edn. As. 4.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras

AMERICAN MILITARY POLICY

According to a writer in the *Political Science Quarterly*, the concept of the nation in arms has become all-embracing, and military policy has come to dominate statecraft to such an extent that the momentum could not be retarded, much less stopped. Even the U. S. A. has attempted to promote national security through clear-cut definitions of national policy, and through isolation based upon natural strategic advantage. The Monroe doctrine was a shrewdly conceived policy of national defence and was not entirely based upon an attachment to republican institutions. The U. S. A. will fight to preserve the territorial and political integrity of Canada and Mexico, but will not fight for a number of things—the right to export arms and ammunition, to travel on belligerent ships, to arm our merchantmen, to transport munitions in American vessels and the like. The impulses which produced the neutrality laws are powerful and in the best American tradition and envisage a policy which attempts to solve problems on their merits before they became enveloped in a fog of prestige.

Between the Monroe doctrine on the one hand and neutrality legislation on the other is a vast zone in which American policy is vaguely defined, as with reference to questions like the open door in the Far East, the status of air-craft, both military and commercial in war time and numerous problems that will arise with any declaration of hostilities in Europe or the Far East. For all these it can be contended that national policies cannot be formulated for unforeseen contingencies.

THE HINDU ALMANAC

The April number of the *Asiatic Review* contains an article on the "Hindu Almanac" by Mr. W. E. van Wijk, Director of the Municipal Museum of Education at The Hague. The principal sources of information about the astronomical conceptions and numerical data of the Hindus are the Siddhantas, Sanskrit works in verse of great antiquity. Of these the "Surya Siddhanta" is important. Mr. Van Wijk writes of this system as follows:—

The Surya-Siddhanta accepts the planets—and sun and moon are considered planets—to move in circles round the unmoving earth at speeds varying from moment to moment. To explain and calculate these irregular movements it imagines a circle, called epicycle, the centre of which moves along the same circle as the planet itself. The speed at which this centre moves is unvarying and equal to the mean time the planet takes for its movement. Round the circumference of the epicycle moves a second point at constant speed; its revolution is completed in the mean period of the planet's revolution. There is a difference in principle between the Ptolemaean theory and the conception of the siddhanta: Ptolemy makes the planets revolve in the epicycles; for the siddhantas the Epicycles are only a means for calculating the true places. Moreover, the dimensions of the epicycles, which are constants in the *Almagest*, are subject to contractions and expansions in the course of each revolution in the system of the siddhanta. These particulars led Burgess to conjecture an independent original Hindu astronomy.

A Calendar based on true movements presupposes an astronomical scientific system of such a degree of development that the results of calculations effected according to that system are generally believed to be in accordance with the results of actual observations. The writer concludes:—

Among the Hindus—who as a rule showed themselves poor observers—the results obtained by calculations according to the siddhantas had even precedence over actual observation; numerous are the inscriptions stating a certain grant to have been made at the moment of an eclipse of the moon on days which most certainly must have passed without the moon having been eclipsed. An analogous example may be found in the "pascal Full Moon," which, in the centuries preceding the Gregorian reformation, sometimes was more than three days ahead of an actual moment of Full Moon.

TRAINING THE HAND

The May number of the *Argan Path* has an interesting article on "Training the hand" from the pen of Dr. L. P. Jacks. The subject is much discussed at present in India especially after the advent of the Wardha Scheme of Education. As the Wardha scheme gives prominence to manual training Dr. Jacks' article which brings out the inter-dependence of head and hand-learning is very timely. "Until mental and moral education is *underpinned* by a right physical education it will have no firm foundation." Dr. Jack continues:

"A trained and skilful hand on an untrained and unskilful body is a most unpromising combination, indeed I think we may say an impossible one. If the body as a whole is untrained in balance, poise, natural self-control, the economy of movement and energy, if it knows not how to breathe, to stand, to walk and to co-ordinate the action of one part with that of every other part, then I do not see how it is possible to get good results in the arts, the handicrafts or anything else by the training of the hand alone. Perhaps we may *begin* by training the hand, but if we do so we shall find we cannot get very far until we have trained the rest of the body to back it up and support it. If, on the other hand, we begin by training the whole body in the qualities just mentioned we shall probably find that the hand will soon participate in the general skill so acquired, become not only ready, but eager for skilful work and take to it spontaneously. This I consider the better beginning. In my view the education of the lines indicated is the right beginning for all human education whatsoever—the beginning, but of course not the end. Until mental and moral education is *underpinned* by a right physical education—and there are many wrong kinds—it will have no firm foundation."

ISLAMIC SOCIALISM

"Islam is a Social polity co-extensive with life itself. Its laws are elastic and broad enough to meet any exigency of of time or situation, without in any way disregarding the fundamental truths of human nature, as pointed out by the Holy Qu-ran" says Mr. M. Fatehulla Khan writing in the June issue of the *Islamic Review*.

"Islam has an evolutionary outlook on life and admits the growing complexity of social phenomena. Yet it emphasises the laws of human nature which are immutable. So, whatever its laws of social order, political structure, or economic development, they have all been so evolved as to remain in consonance with human nature which is not only unchangeable but also universal."

"In Islam, a state should be a powerful organisation and must be strong enough to control all its affairs. Any ideology that seeks to destroy the state-control has, therefore, no place in the Islamic polity. Although class antagonism, such as we see to-day, did not exist at the time Islam was presented to the world, nearly thirteen and a half centuries ago, yet it took cognisance of the dangers of organised wealth and exploitation of labour."

Islam, says the writer, has laid down certain definite rules and regulations under which distribution of wealth and property and the State-control over certain matters should work, and these may be regarded as socialistic elements in the politics of Islam.

PROPHET MUHAMMAD. Life by Ahmed Shafi. His Teachings by Yakub Hasan. As. 12, To Subs. of the "I.R." As. 10.

G. A. NATESAN & Co., PUBLISHERS, G. T., MADRAS.

FRIENDSHIP IN EDUCATION

The June number of the *New Review* contains an article under the above heading by Mr. T. N. Siqueira who pleads for personal friendship between the teacher and the taught in the schools and colleges. The writer says that a serious and concerted attempt should be made to *personalize* education in India "to introduce the personal factor more largely into the relations of students and teachers, by making greater contact between them inevitable and obligatory—so that the greatest weakness of our system, especially in the university stage, may be removed, and a return made to the ancient and rational conception of education."

For providing frequent contacts between staff and students, Mr. Siqueira suggests the following lines:

The college should be so organized as to force them (the teacher and the pupil) to meet often and live together a common life. Each member of the staff may be given the care of a few students (not more than ten), whom he is to see (not interview—which is too formal) at least once a week, and help and guide in every sphere of their life—to whom, in a word, he is to be a tutor or *guru* and whose admiration and friendship he is to win by what he is and does and says, so that when they leave college they may continue to seek his guidance and live by the inspiration of the memory. Thus we shall have something like the tutorial system in Oxford, where the tutor is ostensibly only a guide to study, but often—if he shows himself worthy of it—becomes a Mentor of the undergraduate's private life and thought as well, forging links of esteem and friendship which stretch across the seas and the years.

To make this system easier to work, the tutor should live with the students in his charge—on the college premises, if possible, or in a house or flat where he is always accessible to them. Our large hostels, where one large building houses two or three hundred students, defeat the very purpose for which hostels are meant. They make it impossible for the students to know one another and live together: they degenerate into *hotels*, where each one hardly knows (or cares) who lives

next door. Small houses or blocks, separated from one another by a little garden, each with a name and associations of its own and under the personal care of an esteemed member of the staff who lives there with his pupils—these are the ideal to be aimed at, in spite of greater cost in space and money.

Teaching is an *assimilation* of the pupil to the teacher by a process of very like magnetic attraction. Since this attraction must be voluntary, the teacher has to deserve it. The writer says:

To attract the pupil to imitate him, the teacher must be known to the pupil—he must allow the young naturally critical but hero-worshipping personality to see realized in him its own ideal; the pupil should find solved in his teacher his own perhaps unconfessed problems; he should *see* in his teacher the intellectual, moral, physical, religious, social qualities which he considers worth possessing. Once he acknowledges his teacher as worthy of being his *guru*, his education is secure. The contact of mind with mind, of heart with heart—which Mr. Andrews called friendship—will then follow in the classroom more formally and respectfully, on the playground and in walks and debates and tea-parties more intimately and on less unequal terms, the one completing and confirming the results of the other. It is only thus that any true education can be imparted.

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THE FILM IN EDUCATION

"While it is true that Cinema can have a bad influence over man, its advantages as an aid to education outweigh the defects and disadvantages" says Mr. Kamalakant Mookerjee writing in the *Indian Journal of Education*. Writing on the conditions in India Mr. Mookerjee says:—

Films as instrumens of education have not yet been practically introduced in India, owing to various difficulties the foremost of which is this that most of our schools cannot even purchase an Epidiscope or a Magic lantern, and they cannot possess educational films of their own. Secondly, though their value is inestimable it has not been quite realised yet except by a few progressive and modern educationists and psychologists. Hence, there is the lack of proper organisation owing to the ignorance of the masses and the want of sufficient culture and education amongst most of our parents and guardians. But considering the utility of such a means of practical education, as indicated above, it is absolutely essential that special films should be prepared for educational purposes and mainly suiting the requirements of our children, as the majority shown in the public cinemas are definitely bad. There must be a huge organisation for carrying on this scheme of work.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that there is a growing recognition of the utility of such a constructive programme of work and let us hope that in course of a very short time educational films dealing with topics on History, Geography, Science, Nature Study and even Literature will be introduced in our schools and welcomed by the authorities for giving them a fair trial, for certainly they can be regarded as excellent means for imparting lessons. For practical purposes the filming may be done with a 16 M. M. motion-picture camera with does not require any high degree of technical skill to handle at, and it is also fairly economical to maintain. This equipment, of course, only makes silent pictures which is all the average school can hope to achieve. But when the children will be required to learn the various speech parts, the sound films will serve the purpose.

The time will come when films will be playing a greater part in the education of children, and School life will then be less boring, school books prove more interesting and the teacher less important in the matter of child education.

HINDU SAMSKARAS

"The purpose of the Hindu Samskaras" is the title of an informing article by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey in the latest issue of the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*. Most of the Samskaras are becoming defunct now. But by making the Samskaras or ceremonies compulsory, the ancient Hindu Sociologists aimed at evolving a type of humanity uniform in culture and character and having the same ideal in life. Dr. Pandey says:—

Spiritualism is a chief feature of Hinduism and every phase of Hindu religion is tinged with it. This general outlook of the Hindus transformed the Samskaras into a spiritual *Sadhana*. The spiritual purpose and significance of the Samskaras cannot be given an open demonstration, nor can it be evidenced with paper documents. It is the experience of those who have received the sacraments.

The Samskaras served a mean between the ascetic and materialistic conception of the body. The advocates of the first school try to worship the spirit while discarding the body an absurd procedure in the world of elements. The upholders of the second view do not go beyond the body and deny the spiritual aspect of man's life, and therefore they are deprived of that peace and joy that are nestled in the calm recesses of the Spirit. It was the business of the Samskaras to make the body a valuable possession, a thing not to be discarded, but made holy, a thing to be sanctified, so that it might be a fitting instrument of the spiritual intelligence embodied in it.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

THE HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO PROPERTY ACT. By N. N. Pandia. [The Bombay Law Journal, June 1938.]

A SURVEY OF CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Dr. Satyananda Roy, M.A. [Indian Journal of Education, May 1938.]

INDIA'S DEPENDENCE ON SINGAPORE. By Alfred E. Pieres. [The New Review, June 1938.]

MAHATMA GANDHI AND HINDU TRADITION. By Rabindranath Bose. [Prabuddha Bharata, June 1938.]

AN INDIAN MATERNITY ON THE 13TH CENTURY. By Dr. D. C. Sircar, [Modern Review, June 1938.]

THE PROCESS OF REINCARNATION IN HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY. By Mahendranath Sircar. [The Aryan Path, June 1938.]

WOOD CARVING IN SOUTHERN INDIA. By R. Ramaswami. [The Indian State Railways Magazine, May 1938.]

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NEWS

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

LORD ZETLAND ON FEDERATION

An important statement respecting Federation was made by Lord Zetland at the Bombay Dinner in London on May 27. Lord Zetland said:

There are, I know, criticisms of the federal provisions of the Government of India Act on the part both of the Princes and those who speak for British India. Yet, I should hope that room may be found within the framework of the Act, to accommodate the reasonable requirements of both Provinces and States.

I can understand, for example, the views of those who will represent the Provinces in the Federation as a result of election, that some element of popular choice, as distinct from pure nomination, should enter into the selection of those who represent the Princes. Well, that is for the Princes themselves to decide.

There is nothing in the Act to prevent it, nor will the Paramount Power be found standing in the way of any Prince who seeks to temper the rigid autocracy of bygone days with a more liberal system, as indeed some at least of the Princes are tending more and more to do to-day.

But here let me put in a word of caution. The fact that the Viceroy is shortly coming home on leave has given rise to speculation. I have seen it suggested that he is coming home to discuss with His Majesty's Government changes in the federal structure embodied in the Act and I should fear that silence on my part in face of such suggestions might be assumed to indicate my concurrence with them.

Let me say at once, then, that so far as I am aware, there is no foundation for any such suggestion. The federal provisions of the Act were the outcome of prolonged and exhaustive examination and discussion over a term of years, and in my view, there is not the least likelihood of His Majesty's Government or of Parliament being willing to consider before even Federation has come into operation, any alteration in its structure.

Both the Viceroy and I are ready at all times to listen to comments on the federal provisions of the Act whether by the Princes or by those who speak for British India, but within the framework prescribed by Parliament there is, in my view, ample scope for providing the peoples of India with a degree of political cohesion which they have never before possessed in all the agelong epochs of their history.

Let it not be said of India when this generation stands at the bar of history that they have lightly discarded an occasion which, if it be not grasped now, may never recur.

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THE "GUARDIAN'S" WARNING

Commenting on Lord Zetland's brusque speech the *Manchester Guardian* writes editorially:

Not for the first time are there rumours of some action by the British Government to clear up the obscurities in India's political future. Many of the sanest observers in India believe that there will be an opportunity this summer such as has not arisen since the War—and may not arise again—to settle the relations between India and Britain in a peaceful and profitable manner. It is believed that Indian leaders are prepared to negotiate with regard to the Federal side of the Government of India Act, that there are suitable grounds for negotiations and that such negotiations stand a reasonable chance of success. This optimism is still tentative.

It has received no official encouragement and it has been damaged if not drowned by Lord Zetland's Bombay Dinner speech. There is a feeling that Lord Zetland was unnecessarily brusque. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it", India will certainly leave it. Lord Zetland and the Viceroy have to decide whether some radically new approach to the problems of Federation—new discussions and new understandings—are not immediately necessary. If they decide that there is no such need, the whole Act may crumble and nobody would care to say what the state of things in India will then be.

There is plenty of evidence from India that it will be worth England's while to reconsider Federation. It may be said that to suggest negotiations now ignores the rights and susceptibilities of the Princes. The future, however unpalatable it may be to some people, and however the circumstances may be used to avoid admitting it must be thought of in terms of a self-governing India and immediately that means free and equal discussions of the difficulties.

INDIAN DELEGATES TO THE LEAGUE

The representatives of India at the September session of the Assembly of the League of Nations will be:

Sir N. N. Sircar,

Sir Sultan Ahmed and

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty

Mr. W. D. Croft will be substitute delegate.

MR. SASTRI ON CONGRESS POLICY

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the Union Society of the Madras Christian College, said:

I think it possible from the vantage ground that they now occupy, for the Congress to declare itself a perfectly constitutional body, to give up the idea that they carry on war, to give up the idea that some day they will have to come out and declare war. I should like the Congress to fall into the quiet ways of Government in power, going from strength to strength, until it reaches the goal which it has set before itself, which I prefer to call 'Purna Swaraj.'

In their march towards Purna Swaraj, they may be sure of the active help and co-operation of all patriotic parties in this country. I know of none who will stand in their way. But there are some parties who would demand this that we must openly and avowedly take to peaceful and constitutional methods for attaining this goal. The Congress and we differ still in this one respect.

While we both are non-violent, it occurs to me, though it might sound a little paradoxical, that the Congress, in its methods of approach to the goal is not nearly so peaceful as other parties would like it to be. And therefore I am one of those who think that there is room for more parties than one even with the British still in power. I disagree completely with the Congress when they say that all the parties must merge in them. I do not think so. I think on the other hand, that the Congress Governments ought to have a good, strong, influential opposition ranged against them. Otherwise there is every danger of their becoming demoralised.

Mr. Sastri continuing stated that so long as the Congress believed that, apart from itself, the only other political entity in this country was British bureaucracy, cut off from all sympathies with the people, and that both were engaged in fighting each other, there could be no peace in this land, and he would do all that he could, to ask the Congress to change this item in their ideology.

Concluding the Rt. Hon. Sastri said that he thought that India's progress towards the goal of full self-Government might be achieved by ways of peace, and peace only; not by the peace which the Congress called "War," although constantly using the word "Non-violence." His idea of peace was something more deep-rooted.

PT. NEHRU'S BROADCAST IN PARIS

Broadcasting from Paris, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

I am glad of the opportunity to say a few words to our friends in France, for France has long been for us a citadel of liberty. In our struggle for freedom in India we have often looked to France and French history for inspiration. Europe to-day is full of crises and threat of a terrible and devastating war hangs over all of us.

People in Europe, busy with their own problems are apt to forget India and the East: yet India and the freedom of India are part of the world problem. Until India is free from imperialist domination and has gained independence, there will not be enduring peace in the world. We claim and expect the good will of the French people who have so long been the torch-bearers of liberty in the world in our struggle for freedom.

Referring to Spain, Pandit Nehru said:

I am convinced that the spirit of the indomitable Spanish people can never be crushed. Spain cannot be subjugated by foreign armies, however long the struggle lasts. India has looked at the struggle in Spain with the deepest interest and all her sympathies are with the Spanish people of the Republic. We consider this struggle of vital importance in the world struggle for freedom.

MR. JAMES ON INDIA'S FUTURE

Speaking on "India's Place in the Empire" at a recent meeting at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, Mr. F. E. James said:

I believe that it is to India's interests as well as to the interests of the Empire, that India should be assimilated into the system of the Commonwealth. Yet India cannot be expected to remain content with the position which she occupies in the Empire to-day. The things for which the Empire stands are being threatened almost daily by dominant and domineering Powers. It is, therefore, increasingly important that India's association with the Empire should be happy, voluntary and beneficial, for the Empire's strength will depend upon its unity. If India can with good will and mutual adjustment achieve in the Empire a permanent and satisfying place, not only will the Empire be strengthened in the day of peril, but it will have pointed the way to the solution of one of the gravest problems in the world, the reconciliation of the East and the West.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

"The Indian defence Problem" was the subject of an informing address at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, when Mr. K. Santanam, M.L.A., Editor of the *Indian Express* urged the need for entrusting India's defence to Indian hands. Mr. G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, presided.

In the course of the speech, Mr. Santanam discounted all fears of an invasion of India by any Asiatic or European power and pointed out that the abnormal expenditure on defence was mainly due to the British army, navy and air force now preponderating in the country. He stressed the necessity for the establishment of an aeroplane factory in India, which would be able to manufacture all kinds of 'planes including bombers, and of dockyards to build ships and provision of facilities for large-scale training of Indian pilots and seamen. These he said were the fundamental needs of India's defence.

Concluding, Mr. Santanam said that Britain should be asked to accept India's proposals for reorganization, and should be told that India would, in that case, undertake to help in the defence of countries outside India such as the Straits Settlements, Aden and Burma. In the alternative, Britain should be told India would neutralise all her forces in any crisis. "We are not going to be bullied into any action. In the next war we are going to be either friends or enemies. There will be no middle way."

Mr. Natesan in his presidential remarks, said that it had always been the view of Indian politicians that the Army in India was kept at great cost, and was in excess of her requirements. It would be in the

interests of India and of Britain herself if military expenditure was lessened, and the army, navy and air force were indianised. Responsible politicians had always said that if only Britain changed her military policy, the expenditure could be brought down considerably. The truth of the matter was that since the Indian Mutiny, British policy with regard to military matters had been one of suspicion and distrust. Before the Mutiny, the proportion of English soldiers in India was less than to-day.

Concluding, Mr. Natesan said that now a new era had dawned in India. He added:

My own opinion is you cannot achieve anything unless you have responsible government. You have responsible government in the provinces now, and responsible government in the centre should be your next objective. When you get responsibility at the centre then 99 per cent. of India's defence problems will be solved. If responsible government at the centre is given there would be partnership between Britain and India. Then many misunderstandings between the two countries will be removed and cordiality and good-will will prevail to the advantage of both countries.

MR. SASTRI ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

Presiding over a meeting addressed by Mr. F. E. James, in Madras the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri deplored, that after a century of British rule, Britain has left us in an abject and helpless condition of dependence on foreign protection.

When the final account between Britain and India is written there is much that will stand to Britain's credit, a great deal that will redound to the generosity of her heart. But one thing will stand against her to such an extent that I do not know whether both sides of the balance-sheet will really be found equal as they should be; and that is, the condition in which India has been left during all these years of British connexion, in a state, of abject and helpless dependence upon Britain and especially upon the War Office and the state of even greater abject dependence upon this agency, in which we will be found at the end of the war. I request Mr. James to remember this, that in keeping us where we are in matters of defence, Britain has not been fair to us and perhaps it will be found in the end that she has not been fair to herself either, considering her own larger interests.

THE TEACHING OF HINDI

The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras Premier, has clarified his Government's attitude to the compulsory teaching of Hindi in certain selected schools of the Madras Presidency in an interview to the Press. The Premier says:

The issue is not whether Tamil is going to be ruined, but whether a Government chosen by the people is or is not at liberty to give a liberal education to the boys of the Province. The question is whether the Ministers of the people should govern or a few disgruntled persons should be allowed to intimidate them.

Let every one understand (1) that I love the boys of the Province and want them to be properly educated; (2) that a working knowledge of the language most widely spoken in India is necessary to complete a liberal education; (3) that the Government is not introducing Hindustani in any elementary school where Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, or Kannada shall be the only language taught; (4) that the medium of instruction for all subjects will be only Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam or Kannada and that the teachers have orders to give up the wasteful use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction; (5) that the Government is taking vigorous steps to enforce a higher standard of efficiency in the mother-tongue among all pupils; (6) that Hindustani is to be taught only from the sixth to the eighth school-year of the High School pupil; (7) that no pupil is allowed to substitute the study of Hindustani for that of his own mother-tongue; (8) that Hindustani will not affect the promotion of any boy or girl from class to class though the Hindustani classes will be part of the regular school curriculum; (9) and that Urdu as well as Nagari are left to the option of the pupil for script, the language being Hindustani as commonly spoken.

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His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have given a donation of Rs. 25,000/- towards the Jubilee Fund of the Allahabad University. The Executive Council of the University has resolved to call a wing of the proposed Women's Hostel, for which the donation was given, after His Exalted Highness' name.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

The nomination of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University for a further period of three years has been approved by His Excellency the Chancellor.

GOVERNMENT AND BOARD SCHOOLS

The Government would be taking over the management of the District Board and Panchayat schools shortly and the teachers of these schools would, thereafter, be regarded as Government servants. They would, however, not be entitled to any pension but would secure the benefits of a provident fund scheme which was being worked out.

This announcement was made by Mr. C. J. Varkey, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education, (Madras) addressing a large gathering of Trichinopoly teachers at a meeting held under the auspices of the Trichinopoly Teachers' Guild. Mr. V. Saranatha Ayyangar, President of the Guild, introduced the distinguished lecturer to the audience.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE

A Sanskrit College has been started at Malbari, an important town of the district of Kamrup, from May. It is understood that English section up to the Intermediate Standard will also be opened along with the Sanskrit classes shortly. The public have undertaken to finance and manage the institution the first of its kind in the Assam Valley.

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His Excellency the Chancellor of the Delhi University has appointed the following persons to be members of the Court of the University, with effect from June 26, 1938:—

Mr. Indra Narayan Brijmohan Lal, Chief Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. Muhammad Azmatullah, Delhi; and Mir Muhammad Hussain, Delhi.

THE FEDERAL COURT

"The preliminaries connected with the work of the Federal Court have been completed and we are now ready to deal with any cases that might be referred to us," said the Hon. Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, interviewed at Bombay before sailing for London.

Sir Maurice added that as both the Central Provinces Government and the Government of India might require time to prepare their cases in the dispute relating to the C. P. and Berar Sales of Motor Spirits Act the case would be heard in October when the Court reassembles.

"Now that a beginning has been made by the C. P. case," said Mr. Justice Jayakar, "I am hoping that work will come into our court in profusion. I have no doubt that when the several units of the Federation come to realise what rights they enjoy under the constitution they will be alert in asserting them whenever there is an occasion."

COCHIN HIGH COURT

The High Court of Cochin was inaugurated on June 18. The Chief Justice, Mr. V. D. Joseph, read a message from Sir M. Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India.

Mr. Thomas Manjooran, Advocate-General congratulated their lordships on their appointments and referred to the long history of the Cochin judiciary, while Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate-General, Madras, hoped that the new court would keep up the traditions of Cochin judiciary.

The Chief Justice replying pleaded for mutual understanding between the Bench and the Bar for the cause of the promotion of Justice.

THE 'TRIBUNE' TRUST CASE

After a protracted hearing lasting for over a year Mr. Justice Skemp pronounced judgment in the 'Tribune' Trust case, directing the removal of three of the five trustees, namely Rai Bahadur Kanwar Sen, Lala Jagannath Agarwal and Prof. Ruchiram Sahni.

His lordship directed the remaining two trustees, Mr. Manoharlal and Raja Narendranath, to recommend names to the court for filling the three vacancies.

The suit was brought by Prof. Sahni, one of the trustees, against fellow trustees, Mr. Manoharlal, Raja Narendranath, Rai Bahadur Kanwar Sen and Lala Jagannath Agarwal on the basis of several allegations of mismanagement and misfeasance. The plaintiff prayed for their removal for settling a scheme for reorganising the paper. He also alleged that the policy laid down by the founder of the trust in the will was not being carried out and the paper had become a Congress organ and an organ of urban Hindus. The defence plea was that they were diligently discharging their duties and there was no mismanagement or misfeasance.

His Lordship in the order held that the evidence on the point that the policy of the founder of the trust was not being carried out was insufficient. His Lordship also observed: 'My final conclusion is that the plaintiff has failed in his main case. The defendants, subject to insignificant exceptions have not been guilty of misconduct or breach of trust, but Rai Bahadur Kanwar Sen's appointment 500 to 600 miles away renders him unsuitable as a trustee and the election of Lala Jagannath Agarwal is not proved. They are therefore removed.'

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GOVERNMENT AND INSURANCE

The Bombay Government have passed orders that all insurance on Government buildings and other Government properties should be done with Indian insurance companies. They have also instructed the High Court, District Courts and the Attorney-General that any insurance which they may effect should be passed on to Indian companies.

It will be remembered that at the time of the discussion on the Insurance Bill in the Central Assembly, representatives of Indian companies urged that the Government should place all their insurance policies with Indian companies.

When the Congress accepted office in Bombay, representatives of Indian insurance companies waited on Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister, on deputation and urged that Indian companies should be given encouragement. The Bombay Government are annually paying foreign companies over one lakh of rupees by way of premium on their policies. Indian companies contend that this amount would help the latter considerably.

AVIATION INSURANCE

A number of Canadian and American insurance companies have formed the Canadian Aviation Insurance Managers, Ltd., with head offices at Montreal. It will write all lines of aviation insurance for the Canadian aircraft insurance group which has obtained the business of the Trans-Canada Air Lines. The two Canadian companies concerned are the British America and the Western Assurance. Squadron-Leader J. H. Tudhope will be in charge of the Montreal head office.

THE FAMILY INCOME ENDOWMENT

Among the many attractive types of policies issued by the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada is the Family Income Endowment. Mr. R. J. Baker, Branch Manager of the "Sun Life" at Calcutta describes the benefits of this policy in these terms.

The Family Income endowment policy provides the ideal combination of guaranteed capital and income and is probably the most scientifically up-to-date contract for the family man.

The policy provides:

1. An immediate income of adequate proportions when it is most needed;
2. The continuance of it while it is necessary;
3. The cessation of it when it is not required, and
4. The capital sum when the responsibilities and anxieties of caring for the children have been successfully overcome.

As an example let us consider the case of a young man aged 30 with a wife and two or three children. Normally he would invest in an endowment policy to mature at age 55 for, we will say, £2,000 at the most, and in the event of his death his wife would receive the capital sum of £2,000 or the income instalments offered by most companies but which, based on a capital of £2,000, would be entirely inadequate.

Under the Family Income policy his wife would receive the benefit during the first 10, 15 or 20 years 12 per cent. of the face value of the policy i.e., £240 per annum payable at the rate of £20 monthly. This extra benefit is given in exchange for the payment of the very small extra premium and provides very substantial benefits which would otherwise involve the taking out of, on the basis of 3 per cent. a policy for approximately four times the amount which would obviously be much beyond his means. This monthly income is paid until the expiry of the income period of 10, 15 or 20 years whichever is most suitable and at the end of that income period the full face value of the policy would then become payable.

To give an idea of the cost of these exceptional benefits, this particular company would issue at age 30 a participating 25-year endowment policy to mature at age 55 at an annual premium of £90 but the very substantial family income benefit could be added for 10 years at a cost of £9 per annum, for 15 years at £14.2.0 per annum and for 20 years at £20.2.0 per annum—a very small price to pay to provide a very substantial income for the family at the time when it is most needed. In other words, the company assumes from the outset a very much larger risk for the benefit of the family at extremely low cost.

MR. DALAL'S ADVICE TO EMPLOYERS

"It is not unnatural that on the accession to political power of the wage-earning classes there should be a certain amount of effervescence," said Mr. A. R. Dalal referring to the labour situation in the country, in his presidential speech at the first quarterly general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, held at Bombay on the 20th June. "The business and commercial community, which has played its part in bringing about the present political consciousness," continued Mr. Dalal, "cannot be accused of want of sympathy or the necessity of a fair and reasonable adjustment of the claims of capital and labour."

All sober-minded employers feel that if the capitalistic system is to survive at all, business activities must be conducted not for the benefit of any particular class, but for the community as a whole and that the fruits of such activities should be divided equitably between those who help in their production.

While we and those whom we represent have every sympathy with the Provincial Governments in their laudable efforts to ameliorate the conditions of labour and while we are prepared to co-operate with them, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that events have recently happened in certain provinces which have caused misgivings in the minds of capitalists. This state of affairs will inevitably result in driving away capital and preventing further investment of capital in industry in the disturbed area.

"One of the solutions of the difficulty," Mr. Dalal pointed out, "appears to me to be the establishment of an industrial council for all India, as suggested by the Whitley Commission, which should be representative of both industrialists and labour."

BRITISH TRADE IN 1937

In the House of Commons, the President of the Board of Trade reviewed the economic conditions of last year, and made references to both the Anglo-American trade negotiations and the positions of the cotton industry.

Mr. Oliver Stanley said the year 1937, apart from the weakness which developed at the close of the year, had been an extremely prosperous year for British trade. There had been hardly a section of British industry which had not been able to increase its production and its profits, and where wages did not tend to rise.

In the first four months of 1938, however, there had been a certain slackening in the increase of production. The Minister cited figures of employment, railway receipts, postal receipts and retail sales in illustration of his statement. Industrial production last year had been nearly seven per cent. greater than in 1936, following increase of 9½ per cent. and just over seven per cent. in the two preceding years.

THE TRAVANCORE NATIONAL BANK

The Travancore National and Quilon Bank, Ltd., have suspended business from June 21. The Madras Stock Exchange have removed the Travancore National and Quilon Bank share from the list for quotations.

The Travancore National Bank Subsidiary Co. Ltd., has also adjourned business consequent on adjournment of business of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank Ltd.

EGYPT AND INDIAN TEXTILES

It is learnt that the Government of India have made representations to the Secretary of State regarding the recent heavy increases in import duties imposed by the Egyptian Government on Indian textile goods.

WOMEN IN POLITICS

Women are not a success in politics, is the opinion of a distinguished American political writer, Arthur Krock, reports the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Whereas "Molly" Dewson of whom it is said that she has won unprecedented political recognition for women in the Roosevelt Administration, said they are, in a lively debate which was waged by the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee in its "digest".

"Both these persons are Democratic, so no partisan jealousies are involved," says the *Christian Science Monitor*.

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"Women approach politics as individually as men do, but they are much more prejudiced as a species, and their prejudices are highly personal. They are neither as reasonable nor as logical, and magnanimity is not their prevailing quality.

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WOMEN POLICE IN U. P.

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This is, perhaps, the first occasion in India when women have been enrolled to do police work in public. This necessity arose from the fact that women had taken to picketting side by side with men and it was thought advisable to employ women police to deal with women law breakers.

WOMEN FOR AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

A big drive to recruit women for air raid precaution services was announced by Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, during a debate in the House of Commons.

He hoped shortly to see started a women's organisation, non-party and non-sectarian, representing all the large bodies of women workers in the country, to act in close harmony with the local authorities, and to recruit women for services reserved for women particularly.

WOMEN AND COMMUNALISM

"We do not believe in communal electorates; every women's association in the country has demonstrated that it wants to be free from communalism", observed Miss Mona Hensmen, M. L. C., in an interview before she left for Bombay on June 10 en route to Geneva to attend the Y. W. C. A. Conference as an all-India delegate. "We are inter-provincial and more national and less provincial-minded," she added.

LITERARY

DELHI JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

The journalists working at the headquarters of the Government of India have formed themselves into an association known as the Press Association of Simla and New Delhi with Mr. J. W. Collins, Reuter's agent to Government of India, as the president. The objects of the Association are defined as follows:—

1. To secure and safeguard the rights and privileges of the members in discharge of their duties in relation to the Central Government and the Central Legislature,
- (2) to maintain independence of the press and
- (3) to encourage social activities in the mutual interests of the members and to arrange lectures and discussions.

INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

Lord Willingdon, former Viceroy, proposing the toast of the Newspaper Press of India at the centenary dinner of the *Times of India* at Grosvenor House, London on June 15 paid a great tribute to Indian newspapers.

He mentioned that during his time in India he had several occasions to take drastic action against the vernacular press. Nevertheless, he had a certain sympathy for it, even though this press propounded strong nationalistic views.

Very seldom, said Lord Willingdon, did the nationalist newspapers overstep the bounds of fairness in their criticism.

YOUNG WRITERS AND OLD

According to Mr. W. B. Yeats, the Irish poet, versification comes more easily in later life than in one's youth. With maturity one can write in a day what once would have taken a week to compose. But ideas do not flow so freely with the advance of age. Much of the fire of youthful inspiration is said to disappear, and the tendency to rattle off bad verse becomes more apparent, unless it is checked by discrimination.

MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN PATNA

Mr. P. R. Das, Barrister, has donated a sum of Rs. 500 to the Mass Literacy Committee, for literacy campaign at Patna. He has also promised a monthly contribution of Rs. 100/- to this Committee.

PERSONAL

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE

The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale could be said to be the source of inspiration of the present national movement, observed the Premier, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, speaking at the unveiling ceremony of a bust of the departed leader on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, at Poona. Mr. Kher said: "If we look up to Mahatma Gandhi as our greatest leader and revere him as our guru, the Mahatma in turn claims Mr. Gokhale as his political guru."

THE HON. MR. SAMBAMURTI

The Working Committee of the Congress met Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti, Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, during its Session in Bombay and asked him to withdraw his request for permission to resign the speakership and membership of the Assembly.

Mr. Sambamurti has accordingly agreed to withdraw his letter to the Working Committee and therefore, he continues to be the Speaker of the Madras Assembly.

MR. H. V. KAMATH

Mr. H. V. Kamath, who resigned from the I. C. S., and joined the Congress, has been appointed the Parliamentary Co-ordination Secretary at the A. I. C. C. office. This post, it is stated, has been specially created and he has been entrusted with the task of establishing and maintaining co-ordination among the seven Congress provinces.

MR. SHYAM PRASAD MUKERJI

Mr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, has received and accepted an invitation from Geneva to attend the annual General Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations as India's representative in the place of Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

SIR M. N. MUKHERJEE

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee took over charge on 4th June in place of Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, who is on leave from that date.

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He hoped shortly to see started a women's organisation, non-party and non-sectarian, representing all the large bodies of women workers in the country, to act in close harmony with the local authorities, and to recruit women for services reserved for women particularly.

WOMEN AND COMMUNALISM

"We do not believe in communal electorates; every women's association in the country has demonstrated that it wants to be free from communalism", observed Miss Mona Hensmen, M. L. C., in an interview before she left for Bombay on June 10 en route to Geneva to attend the Y. W. C. A. Conference as an all-India delegate. "We are inter-provincial and more national and less provincial-minded," she added.

LITERARY

DELHI JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

The journalists working at the headquarters of the Government of India have formed themselves into an association known as the Press Association of Simla and New Delhi with Mr. J. W. Collins, Reuter's agent to Government of India, as the president. The objects of the Association are defined as follows:—

1. To secure and safeguard the rights and privileges of the members in discharge of their duties in relation to the Central Government and the Central Legislature,
- (2) to maintain independence of the press and
- (3) to encourage social activities in the mutual interests of the members and to arrange lectures and discussions.

INDIAN NEWSPAPERS

Lord Willingdon, former Viceroy, proposing the toast of the Newspaper Press of India at the centenary dinner of the *Times of India* at Grosvenor House, London on June 15 paid a great tribute to Indian newspapers.

He mentioned that during his time in India he had several occasions to take drastic action against the vernacular press. Nevertheless, he had a certain sympathy for it, even though this press propounded strong nationalistic views.

Very seldom, said Lord Willingdon, did the nationalist newspapers overstep the bounds of fairness in their criticism.

YOUNG WRITERS AND OLD

According to Mr. W. B. Yeats, the Irish poet, versification comes more easily in later life than in one's youth. With maturity one can write in a day what once would have taken a week to compose. But ideas do not flow so freely with the advance of age. Much of the fire of youthful inspiration is said to disappear, and the tendency to rattle off bad verse becomes more apparent, unless it is checked by discrimination.

MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN PATNA

Mr. P. R. Das, Barrister, has donated a sum of Rs. 500 to the Mass Literacy Committee, for literacy campaign at Patna. He has also promised a monthly contribution of Rs. 100/- to this Committee.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE

The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale could be said to be the source of inspiration of the present national movement, observed the Premier, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, speaking at the unveiling ceremony of a bust of the departed leader on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, at Poona. Mr. Kher said: "If we look up to Mahatma Gandhi as our greatest leader and revere him as our guru, the Mahatma in turn claims Mr. Gokhale as his political guru."

THE HON. MR. SAMBAMURTI

The Working Committee of the Congress met Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti, Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, during its Session in Bombay and asked him to withdraw his request for permission to resign the speakership and membership of the Assembly.

Mr. Sambamurti has accordingly agreed to withdraw his letter to the Working Committee and therefore, he continues to be the Speaker of the Madras Assembly.

MR. H. V. KAMATH

Mr. H. V. Kamath, who resigned from the I. C. S., and joined the Congress, has been appointed the Parliamentary Co-ordination Secretary at the A. I. C. C. office. This post, it is stated, has been specially created and he has been entrusted with the task of establishing and maintaining co-ordination among the seven Congress provinces.

MR. SHYAM PRASAD MUKERJI

Mr. Shyam Prasad Mukerji, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, has received and accepted an invitation from Geneva to attend the annual General Session of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations as India's representative in the place of Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

SIR M. N. MUKHERJEE

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee took over charge on 4th June in place of Sir N. N. Sircar, Law Member, who is on leave from that date.

INDIAN REMEDY FOR TUBERCULOSIS

The administration of "Nagbala" or "Naliata", a Himalayan herb, for tuberculosis is advocated by Mr. C. S. O'Neill, who has been conducting researches on Indian herbs for the last few years. Writing to a Karachi newspaper, he says: "Quite satisfactory results were obtained in cancer by the use of 'Nagbala', I need not reiterate the many virtues of this herb as extolled by the various Sanskrit, Arabic and other works, including the famous Vaidic or Ayurvedic work 'Shushruta'. As a result of my research on it and by a few others, I have been able to discover remarkable properties in it for inhibiting the growth and eliminating tubercle bacilli from the system. It has conferred immunity in certain cases, and has been found to control temperature, cough, hæmoptysis in a number of other cases. I think it would prove uncommonly useful in driving out tuberculosis from the countryside."

CLOTHING AND PRICKLY HEAT

A practical aid to reducing prickly heat, says a writer in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, is to wear light, absorbent underwear like aertex, which material absorbs the perspiration as soon as it reaches the surface of the skin, and its indented texture offers a large area to the air which enables it to be more readily evaporated. This quick drying action prevents the perspiration forming in drops and trickling down the body. Those who adopt this precaution—especially men—will find that they are free of prickly heat on the body but get it on the arms and those parts that come in contact with the office desk.

Any part of the body that comes in frequent contact with a non-absorbent surface is more liable to be affected by prickly heat than other parts. Thus those who drive cars with leather upholstery or who habitually occupy leather padded arm chairs are the worst sufferers.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILSON

It is understood that Major-General N. M. Wilson, Surgeon-General, Madras, will officiate as Director-General, Indian Medical Services, during the absence on leave of Major-General E. W. C. Bradfield.

DEEP BREATHING

If only we all breathed properly there would be far fewer colds, coughs and chills, and not so many cases of influenza and nervous troubles. As everyone knows, but not everyone practises, one should always breathe through the nose, not the mouth. The nose, with its crooked passages, always moist and warm, covered with tiny hairs, is for the purpose of preventing microbes and injurious particles in the air we breathe from entering the lungs. It is estimated that the air a person breathes in 24 hours contains eighty-seven thousand bacteria and other impurities. The person who has learned to breathe deeply, to take long breaths through the nose, and hold the air in the lungs for a long time, can run for a train without danger of heart-failure.

HEALTH AND HABITS

The human body is subject to definite rules of health and the most important rule is regularity. This applies to sleep more than to anything else. Children must go to bed at the same time every night and the habit must be kept up in after-life. The brain will grow to expect sleep at a certain hour. The dislocation of the usual routine disturbs the brain. Regularity is the secret of success.

VITAMIN CONTENT OF TOMATOES

Tomatoes contain potash, phosphoric acid, vitamins A, B-complex and C. Vitamin A aids growth, general health and reproduction. B-complex helps the appetite and prevents loss of weight and nervousness whilst it also has a good effect on the condition of the skin and mental outlook. Vitamin C is antiscorbutic. It is also interesting to note that these valuable properties in tomatoes are not destroyed by either cooking or canning.

CHILDREN'S BEST FOOD

"Many things are required for a really balanced diet, says, Mr. R. H. Bernays, M. P. "Most of the essentials are contained in milk, which has been described as the perfect food. But milk is not appreciated as it deserves to be; the country drinks only half a pint a head each day, and the consumption of milk ought to be doubled."

THE RUPEE RATIO

The following *communiqué* has been issued by the Government of India:

"In view of the suggestions that have been given publicity in various quarters that the exchange value of Rupee should be altered, the Government of India wish to make it clear that they are satisfied that maintenance of the present value of the Rupee is required in the interests of India, and resources available for this purpose are more than ample.

In this connection it may be pointed out that gold and Sterling assets, equally in the hands of the Reserve Bank and the Government of India, are at the present time worth more than Rs. 160 crores.

The Government of India have no intention of permitting any alteration in the present statutory ratio."

Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, President of the Congress, commenting on the *communiqué* said:

"No one ever expected that the Government would readily accede to the popular demand for lowering the ratio. If the Government foolishly ignore public demand once again, it will be necessary for us to start a tearing and raging campaign. Our agitation will be successful this time because of the altered situation and also because we shall have the support of provincial Governments."

THE FUNCTIONS OF GOLD

"As a store of value gold still has its place in the monetary and financial arrangements of nearly all nations and innumerable individuals, and it is perhaps one of the brightest signs of transition that the world should have laid aside the restrictions inherent in a monetary system governed by gold, and yet have retained the services of the metal for the purpose it has fulfilled through countless ages of history", concludes an article in the *Midland Bank Review*, analysing the function of gold in the present world situation.

It is plain that gold is still regarded as a store of value, possessing more of the quality of security than most other available assets.

THE B. N. W. RAILWAY

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was an eye witness of an accident at Bhati to a train by which he was travelling to Allahabad. The engine collided against a buffalo with fatal result to the buffalo and damage to the engine. The Pandit goes on to urge the need for fencing.

"The buffalo came on the railway line for the obvious reason that there are grazing grounds for cattle on either side and there is no fencing. For many years past there has been a demand for fencing but the B. N. W. Railway Co., have obstinately refused to accede to it, presumably in order to save a little money, although accidents are not uncommon. The responsibility for all the accidents is clearly theirs and they must realise it. They have no business to run their trains in a manner to endanger the lives of human beings and cattle. Fencing must be put up throughout without delay and full compensation paid to the owner of the buffalo killed."

ACCIDENT TO PUNJAB MAIL

A disastrous train accident occurred on the East Indian Railway last month when the 5 Up Panjab Mail was derailed between Madhupur and Jasidih (Bihar), causing the death (according to the Railway authorities) of the Anglo-Indian driver of the train and an Indian R.M.S. sorter, and injuries to many persons. Five leading bogies of the train capsized down the high Railway embankment and considerable damage was done to the track.

The Railway authorities attribute the cause of the accident to "wilful sabotage."

This is perhaps the second serious train accident in Bihar after the Bihta disaster.

FUTURE OF RAILWAY FINANCE

The Government of India, it is understood, in consultation with the Railway Board, have decided not to take any action on the financial recommendations of the Wedgwood Committee.

The Railway Board issued a memorandum recently outlining the action taken by it on some of the minor proposals of the Committee. But the present decision of the Government has renewed anxiety in non-official circles at Simla about the future solvency of Railways.

INDIAN SCULPTURE

When delivering the Sir George Birdwood memorial lecture on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture" to the Royal Society of Arts in London, Sir William Rothenstein expressed the view that "no people had been so profusely inventive as the Indian people." Said he:

"Their iconography is, I suppose, the richest and most exuberant ever evolved from the human brain. They have peopled their vast heaven with an incredible number of gods, for all of whom they have invented forms, attributes and attitudes whereby they could be recognized.

"There is a tendency to pass too lightly over this prolific creation of forms, gestures and attitudes perfected by the Indian genius, which were adopted and taken over in all their completeness when Buddhism spread to the Far East. Surely this teeming creative fertility is in itself an astonishing and supreme achievement, the more so since they showed in all the forms they conceived for their gods an equally abundant plastic inventiveness."

The lecturer recalled that it was just 28 years since he listened to an address on Indian art by Sir George Birdwood, "who, though he gave full recognition to the beauty of Indian craftsmanship, denied any fine art to India. 'Times have changed,' added Sir William Rothenstein. 'There is a growing appreciation of the great contribution India has made to painting and sculpture, but even to-day the exalted place given to the art of China and Japan is scarcely extended to Indian art. Yet in Hindu sculpture, apart from its spiritual and symbolical character, there are certain plastic qualities of breadth, volume and poise which seem to me to be unique.'"

NATIONAL ART GALLERY

An appeal for public subscription towards the establishment of a national art gallery for India has been issued by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society of New Delhi.

The Gallery will start with a collection of modern Indian paintings and, in due course, it is proposed to add on to the Gallery an Academy of Art and also to hold annual exhibitions of modern Indian paintings.

THE CRICKET CLUB OF INDIA

The differences of opinion that have been in existence for a considerable time now between high cricket authorities in this country and the real reasons for the resignation of the Jam Sahib from the presidency of the Board of Control and of Mr. A. S. de Mello from the secretaryship of the Board and the Cricket Club of India, are revealed for the first time in the reports of certain important meetings that were held in Bombay.

In his letter of resignation His Highness the Jam Sahib made it clear that as long as the Honorary Secretary and the office refused to work under the President's instructions, cricket affairs in India would be a muddle. He cited instances when important decisions had been taken by the Secretary without the President having been aware of them.

As regards the Cricket Club of India, a report of the meeting reveals that the Club is at present indebted to the extent of Rs. 13 lakhs and that liquidation proceedings have not been taken against it by Mr. Shapurji Pallonjee, its chief creditor, only because an assurance was given by Sir Nowroji Saklatwala that sincere attempts would be made to rehabilitate the finances of the Club.

The report also makes it clear that Mr. Bramble threatened to resign from the Club if Mr. de Mello continued to be its secretary.

SILVER STATUE FOR HARBANS SINGH

Sports enthusiasts of Bangalore mustered strong on June 7 at Arya Vidyasala when a public address and a silver statue were presented to Harbans Singh, a wrestler of international repute. Mr. L. S. Raju, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Bangalore, presiding, dwelt on the value of physical culture and hoped that Harbans Singh's example would be one for emulation to all India, he said, was badly in need of such men.

MADRAS BROADCASTING STATION

The development of broadcasting in India has been carried a stage further by the inauguration of the first broadcasting centre of the All-India Radio in the Madras Presidency on June 16 by the Prime Minister the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. With the opening of the Madras centre seven new transmitting stations have been added to the All-India Radio system within six months making a total of eleven stations in operation.

A unique feature of the broadcasting development scheme in the Madras Presidency will be the establishment by the Government of Madras of village receivers over a large area. It is proposed to supply these receivers in districts as much as 300 miles away from Madras and to provide a service to them from the shortwave station.

"RADIO NURSE"

A sensitive microphone and a loud-speaker, both of which can be plugged into the ordinary lighting sockets in the rooms of a house, have been made in America by the name of "Radio Nurse." If the microphone is left near a baby's cot, or by the bed in a sick-room, the slightest cry or word will be heard wherever the loud-speaker is placed. The baby or the patient can consequently be left unattended.

MR. GEORGE FORREST

The man who made the world's first telephone has died at Bedford at the age of 92. He was Mr. George Forrest, who, when Mr. Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone, made the first receiving and transmitting set. He helped to lay the first French Trans-Atlantic cable, and also took part in the development of the automatic telephone exchange.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE INSTITUTE

Acharya P. C. Ray and Dr. N. Chanda-varkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, have been elected to the Governing Council of the Indian Science Institute from the Court.

CINEMA PUBLICITY FOR TEA

Cinema publicity constitutes an important section of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's effort to popularise tea drinking amongst the Indian masses. During the year 1937-38, the Board have utilised three travelling talkie units which, in the course of the 10 months—from April 1937, to January 1938,—visited 117 towns and villages in all important field propaganda centres and gave 4,545 performances. The average nightly attendance is upwards of 2,500 people. The most encouraging feature of the Board's cinema propaganda is the tremendous attendance of women at the performances. The Board have recently added to their existing stock of propaganda films, four new talkies—2 Hindustani, 1 Tamil and 1 Telugu.

LAKSHMI CINETONE

Lakshmi Cinetone are producing under the direction of Mr. A. P. Kapur "Radha Krishna" in Telugu and "Shyam Sunder" in Tamil. A topical of the Kumbha Mela at Brindhawan which takes place in every twelve years, and which draws to it millions of devotees from all over India, will be shot and shown along with these pictures. This will be a unique news-reel.

A FILM COMPANY IN BURMA

A long-felt desire of the Burmese people—to start an up-to-date picture industry in Burma—has at last materialised. A new Burmese film company entitled the Burma National Picture Corporation has been floated in Rangoon with a share capital of five lakhs of rupees. The company will produce talking pictures both educational and dramatic in Burmese.

A COLOUR FILM OF INDIA

A colour film depicting Mount Everest, Darjeeling, Kanchinjunga, Benares and famous scenes in the Khyber and Kohat Passes, taken by Miss Rosio Newman was exhibited in London recently in aid of the Indian Anti-Tuberculosis Fund. The show was patronised by the Secretary of State for India, ex-Viceroy and Governors and several prominent Indians in London.

MOTORING IN FRANCE

The French Academy of Medicine is taking very seriously the question of automobile accidents, and several of the recent sessions of that learned body have been devoted to discussions on that subject.

First of all, the Academy would like to see the compulsory medical examination which is now given to drivers of public transports and heavy trucks given to all drivers before they may obtain a driver's licence.

Secondly, after the candidate has successfully passed his medical examination, the Academy would compel him to take out automobile accident insurance; on the other hand, no one without his proper medical certificate could be insured by a company.

The Academy of Medicine would not, moreover, be satisfied with a single medical examination in a lifetime, but would examine drivers between the ages of 18 and 45 every six years, between 45 and 55 every five years, between 55 and 60 every three years, between 60 and 65 every two years, and after that every year. It now remains to be seen what reply the Government will make to these recommendations.

AUTOMATIC STEERING

An American traffic expert forecasts some startling changes in motoring during the next 50 years. By 1988 he expects that the steering of motor-cars will be largely automatic and out of the hands of the driver.

Buried under the roadways of the future will be a network of electric cables. One set of electro-magnetic impulses will control the car's speed so that exceeding the limit will be impossible. Another set will prevent a dangerous turn by locking the steering gear just when the motorist is about to offend.

Ultimately, this scientific prophet thinks, the driver, by simply moving a switch, will be able to pass over the steering of his car entirely to the underground cables, sitting comfortably at the wheel until the time comes to switch back to manual control.

FLIGHT LT. JACKSON'S GALLANTRY

The resource and courage of a Royal Air Force officer were responsible for saving the lives of a party of Frontier Scouts, who had been surrounded at dusk on a hilltop by a large body of tribesmen.

This thrilling episode is revealed in a Press *communiqué* issued in Simla which says:

"His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India has been pleased to approve the following immediate award for gallantry during the present Waziristan operations:—

Distinguished Flying Cross:—Flight-Lieutenant G. E. Jackson, No. 5 (A. C.) Squadron, Royal Air Force.

Flight-Lieutenant Jackson's action necessitated very low flying in the face of heavy rifle fire from the ground. Throughout he displayed considerable courage and initiative."

AIR-RAID PRECAUTIONS

A series of lectures on air raid precaution will be delivered at Bombay during monsoon months under the auspices of the St. John Ambulance Association. The lectures are primarily intended for those representatives of various establishments, works, etc., who, after qualifying and passing the prescribed examination, will themselves act as instructors in their own institutions. But the lectures will also be open to others, so far as there is room. The course which includes practical demonstrations and respirator drill, will cover a period of one month. There will be an examination at the end of each course and instructors' certificates, pass certificates and certificates of attendance will be issued according to the number of marks obtained.

BR. AIR MINISTRY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The British Air Ministry has announced that the Government have agreed to buy 400 aircraft from two American firms. Two hundred planes are for general reconnaissance duties and 200 for advanced training duties.

The purchase was recommended by the Air Mission to the United States.

A DAYALBAGH COLONY IN MADRAS

The Dayalbagh Institution, Agra, pioneers in the manufacture of indigenous articles will very soon extend their activities to Madras. The Government propose to give them free about 300 acres of forest land adjacent to Dr. Lakshmipathi's Asram at Avadi with a view to enabling them to start a colony there.

The proprietors of Dayalbagh propose in the first instance to open a dairy farm and tannery industry and it is expected that the colony will be started within two or three months. In course of time, other industries also will be started such as cutlery, textiles, electrical goods, etc.

This enterprise, it is hoped, will, in the long run, provide employment to a good number of unemployed educated youths of the Province.

TOE FOR TEA

A new beverage known as "Toe" was mentioned in the course of questions in the Central Assembly last session. Replying to Mr. B. N. Chaudhry, Mr. H. Dow, Commerce Secretary, stated that a net amount of 24,796 dollars had been spent by the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board from April 1934, up-to-date in experiments on this beverage. Mr. Dow added that it was understood from the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board that the beverage was like tea, tasted like tea, had qualities like tea and that it was an aerated, bottled infusion of tea. Replying to a further question, Mr. Dow said that the Government understood that the experiment had been successful to a point, showing that such a beverage could be prepared.

EXHIBITION OF HANDICRAFTS

The International Exhibition of Handicrafts was held at Berlin last month. It consisted of the following: (1) Hall of Honour of International Handicrafts; (2) Cultural and historical show; (3) International show of the different nations with workshops; and (4) raw materials, auxiliary machinery and tools in handicrafts.

The exhibition ground comprised nine exhibition halls with a built-over area of approximately 60,000 square metres and an open ground area of about 100,000 square metres.

PT. JAWAHARLAL ON U. P. TENANCY BILL

"If the zemindars of the United Provinces, invite a conflict on the Tenancy Bill that is before the U. P. Assembly, then they will have to struggle even to retain the semblance of the zemindari system." This warning to the zemindars and taluqdars of the province was uttered by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview, on the eve of his departure for Europe.

"The Congress in the United Provinces as in the whole of India," said the Pundit, "has tried to proceed on a national basis keeping in mind the interests of all groups and classes; but inevitably it has thought and worked in terms of the masses. That has been the very basis of its existence and it must continue to function as such."

"So far as I know nobody has ever heard of this League," he added, when his attention was drawn to the circular letter reported to have been issued by Mr. J. D. Jenkins, ex-M.L.C., on behalf of the "All-India Progressive League," to tackle the "communist menace" in India.

FEDERATION OF LANDLORDS

At the Oudh Zamindars' Conference held recently at Lucknow under the presidency of the Maharajahadhiraja Bahadur of Darbhanga, a resolution was unanimously adopted urging the formation of an All-India Federation of Landholders "to take joint action in matters concerning the entire body of landholders in India."

In anticipation of the adoption of the resolution, a draft constitution had been prepared and circulated to prominent landholders all over India inviting opinion, suggestions and improvements.

ELECTRIFICATION OF RURAL AREAS

It is understood that the Government of Bombay have under consideration a scheme for the construction of a large dam across river Meera in the district of Poona at a cost of Rs. 40 lakhs with a view to electrify rural areas and helping starting of small industries. This, it is stated, would not only help in electrification but also help a great deal in irrigating lands in surrounding areas, which do not get sufficient water supply for cultivation.

COIMBATORE LABOUR DISPUTE

The Madras Government have published the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the disputes between labourers and employers in the textile mills in Coimbatore.

They state that some of the recommendations of the Court involve legislation and some involve amendments to the rules framed under the Factories Act and the recommendations are being considered.

The Government call the particular attention of mill-owners to the recommendations with regard to the need for an immediate increase in the rates of wages, and the grant of leave to workers.

The Court of Inquiry was appointed in December 1937 to investigate and give findings on the points in dispute between the mill-owners and their employees in Coimbatore District. It was a sequel to a series of strikes in the mills.

The inquiry was conducted by Mr. M. Venkataramayya (District Judge).

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

While realizing that any attempt to apply immediately a uniform rule, providing for holidays with pay for industrial workers, would probably produce serious difficulties, the Parliamentary Committee, appointed last year under the chairmanship of Lord Amulree have unanimously recommended that the employers should voluntarily grant an annual holiday with pay of at least one working week.

The Committee have recommended a probationary period, to enable industries to make voluntary arrangements and to examine many cognate problems, such as the questions of intermittent employment. Legislation, it is stated, should be passed in the 1940-1941 session providing for holidays with pay. In the meantime, the Committee have recommended legislation entitling domestic workers to two weeks' annual holiday with pay, and have also drawn attention to the need of spreading the holidays as much as possible between the beginning of summer-time and the beginning of October. A fixed Easter has also been suggested.

GENERAL

A NEW INDIA

"I hope to live to see India united and independent. When that day comes, I hope to carry out the long-cherished wish of visiting America," says Mahatma Gandhi in a message to Mr. James A. Mills, Special Correspondent of the *American Associated Press*, who has had the privilege of interviewing Mahatma Gandhi in Juhu.

Mr. Mills feels Congress has shown a marvellous sense of reality and statesmanship in accepting offices in the provinces to strengthen its hands. "I find an entirely new India—an India more sure of herself, more optimistic and with no fear of outside influence. It seems to me, India has made more progress towards the goal of self-government last year than she did during the previous 100 years. Indeed, there seemed more hope of a brighter outlook for India at present than the rest of the world which is thrown into wars and revolutions, political and social unrest, dictatorships and a profound uncertainty regarding the future," says Mr. Mills in a special interview, comparing the India of 1931-33 with the situation at the present day.

Proceeding, Mr. Mills states:—

India seems to be emerging from centuries of darkness into the light of freedom and progress. It seems to me that the British authorities, practical as they are, sensing the new spirit of liberty that has come over the Indian people, and following the policy of conciliation and accommodation, are striving to meet the aspirations and legitimate demands of the people. This policy, I think, will make for a Greater India and a Greater British Empire.

RS. 1,00,000 FOR VILLAGE ROADS

The Government of Madras have allotted about Rs. 1,00,000 for the development of village roads during the current year.

The District Boards in the Presidency have been asked to submit schemes of work to be financed from this allotment. About half a dozen of them have so far submitted their schemes.

POPULARITY OF TEA

A few months ago, the Madras Premier signalled the introduction of Prohibition as "a charter of freedom for the poor." The signs of this new freedom are nowhere more discernible than in steady penetration of tea into the lives of the poor and down-trodden masses of India.

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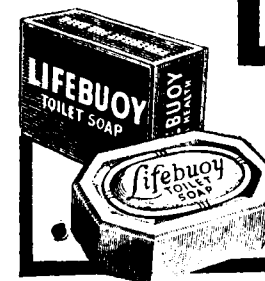
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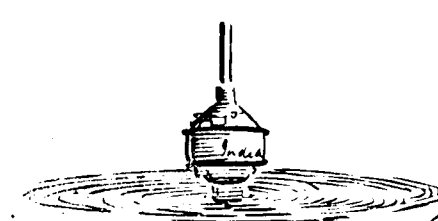
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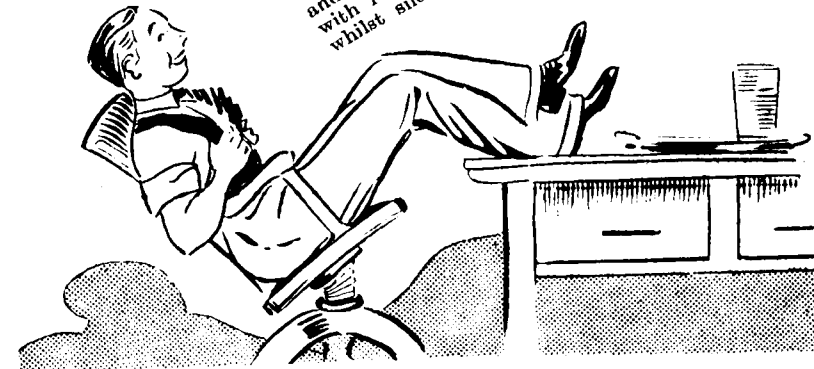
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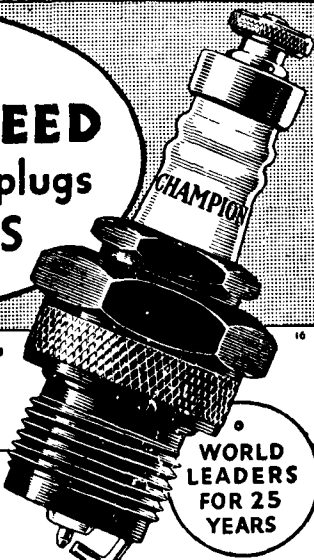
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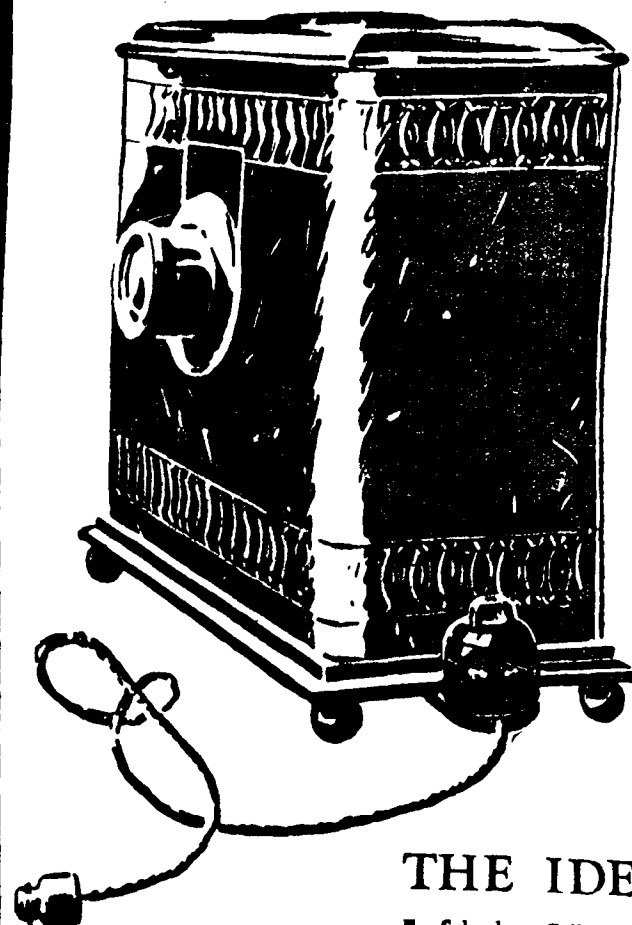
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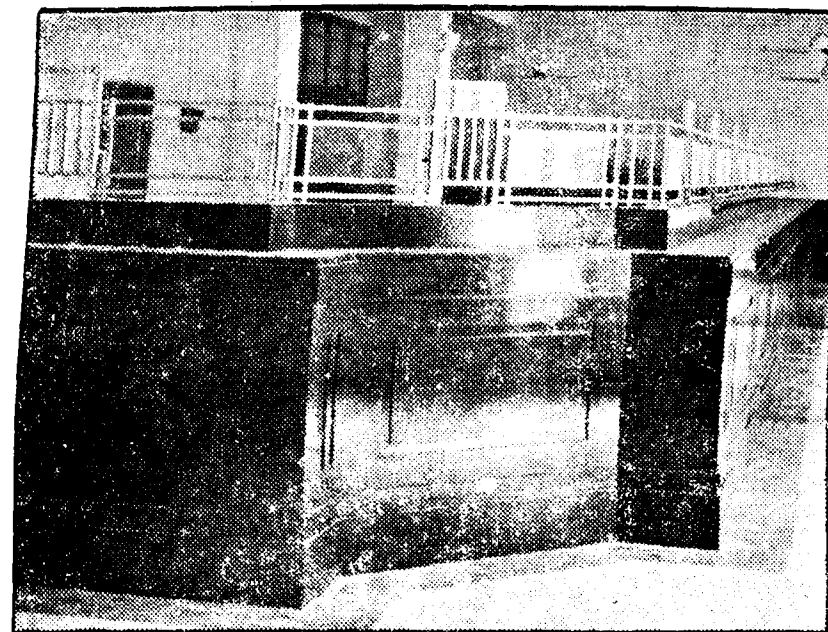
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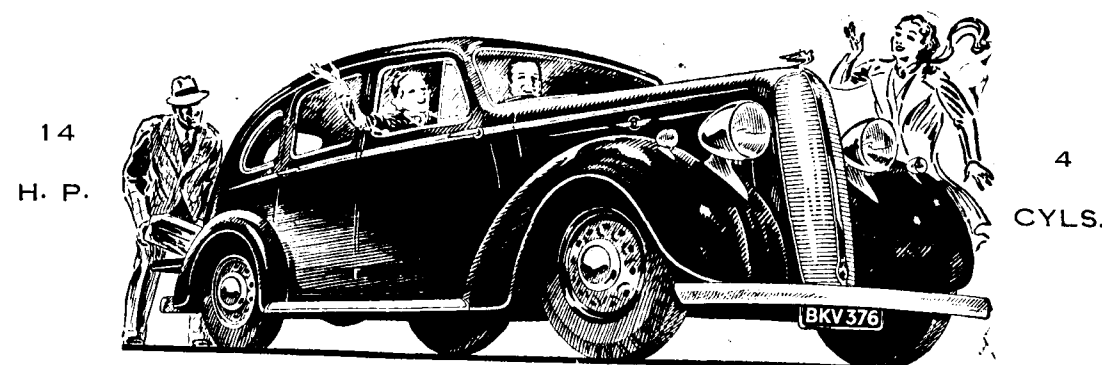
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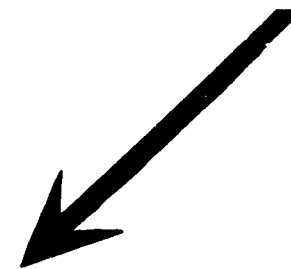
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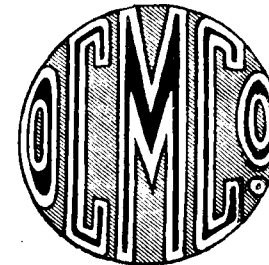
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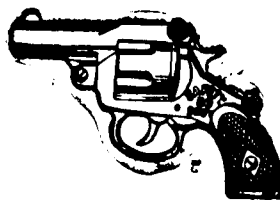
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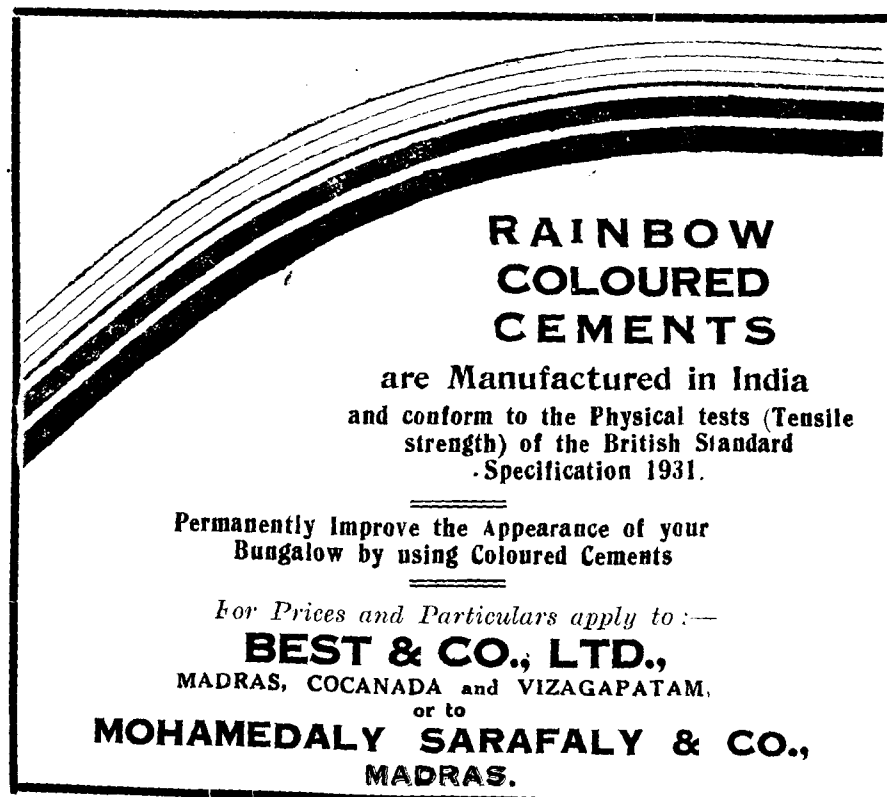
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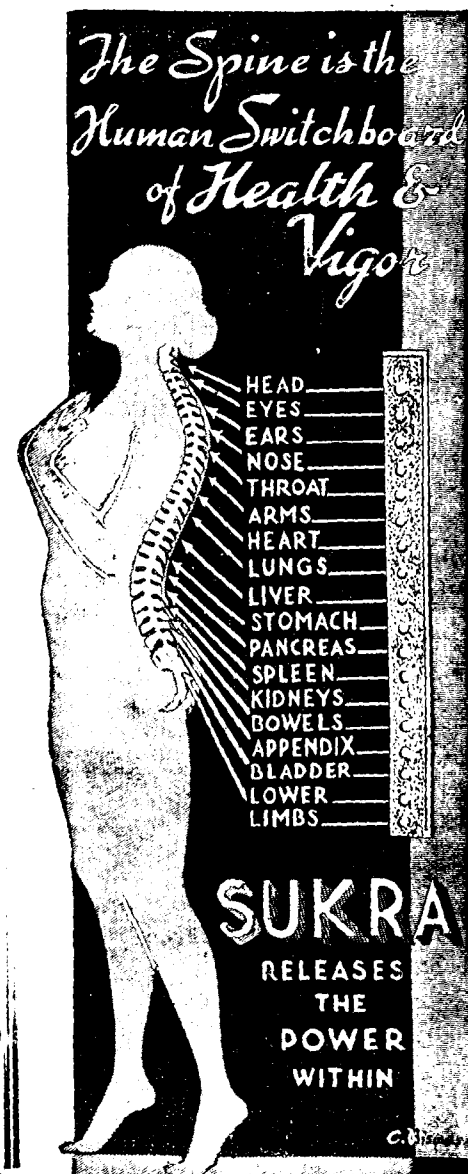
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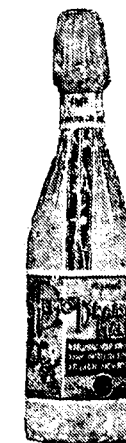
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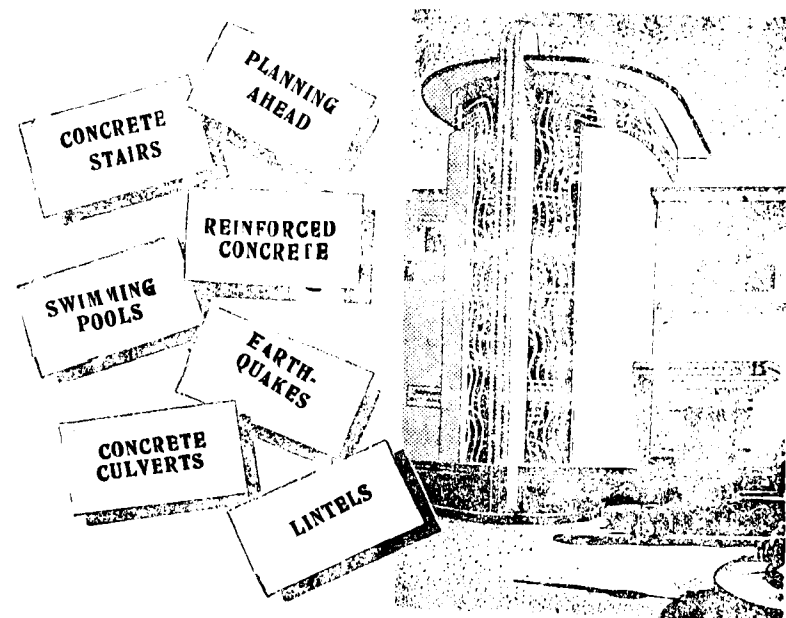
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CHANGES IN THE HINDU LAW

BY DR. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER

THE attention of the Central Legislature has in recent years been drawn to the need for effecting reforms in the personal law of the Hindus. The law of inheritance has been recently modified for the purpose of enlarging the rights of women. The age of marriage has been raised and provision has been made for the stricter enforcement of the restrictions imposed by this enactment. It has been stated that a bill is likely to be introduced for the purpose of permitting divorce in certain circumstances. It has also been announced that a bill will be introduced by another private member for the abolition of polygamy. One important consideration to be borne in mind by the legislature is, how far these changes will be in accord with public opinion or, at any rate, command the tacit acquiescence of the community. There was considerable opposition to the Sarda Act raising the age of marriage and to Mr. B. Das's bill to make the law more effective. The bill for introducing the right of divorce is sure to give rise to much difference of opinion and controversy. While I am personally in favour of the introduction of the law of divorce under certain conditions, it is very likely to create a storm of opposition by the conservative section of the Hindu community. Nor is this a matter for wonder if we realise

that the stability of the marriage relation is bound up with the institution of the family and the structure of society. Even in England, it was only the other day that it was possible to introduce some urgently needed changes in the law of divorce. But I think the time has come for the ventilation of the subject of divorce by raising the issue in the legislature.

There is one important feature in the Hindu law of marriage in respect of which the desirability of a change will be practically admitted by all members of the community, except perhaps by the ultra-orthodox who feel bound by the letter of the law without rhyme or reason. I refer to the provision of Hindu law that a marriage between members of the same Gotra or Pravara* is null and void. What is needed is a legislative declaration that a marriage between Hindus shall not be regarded as invalid merely by reason of the parties thereto belonging to the same Gotra or Pravara. I do not wish to touch the provision of Hindu law forbidding a marriage by reason of Sapinda relationship within certain degrees. Prohibited degrees of

* The term 'Gotra' refers to certain remote ancestral Rishis or sages from whom Brahmins and other twice-born classes are supposed to be descended. The term 'Pravara' refers to still remoter ancestors.

marriage are recognised in every system of law, and it cannot be contended that Sapindaship or consanguinity should in no case be a bar to marriage. The precise number of degrees within which marriage should be prohibited on the ground of consanguinity is a matter upon which opinions may differ and, in fact, have differed even in the Hindu law books. The practice, however, at the present day with regard to the impediments of Sapindaship and Sagotraship is inconsistent and irrational. There might possibly have been some reason for the prohibition based on identity of Gotra and Pravara in the most ancient times when membership of the Gotra was confined to a small group living close together and connected by actual or assumed ties of blood. But whatever justification might possibly be discovered for the rule in ancient times, there is absolutely none at the present day. Two families belonging to two far-off districts or provinces and speaking different languages may theoretically be members of the same Gotra or Pravara. A Tamilian or Andhra in the Madras Presidency, a Maharashtra in the Bombay Presidency, a Guzarati, Bengali or Hindusthani in Western or Northern India may all have the same Gotra or Pravara. There may have been no connection or contact between their families for centuries. On what possible rational basis can a marriage be interdicted between such families? The impediment on the ground of consanguinity is quite sufficient to meet all reasonable objections on the ground of too close inbreeding. But strangely enough, the restraint based on Sapindaship has been grossly violated. According to the Mitakshara, Sapindas within five degrees from the common ancestor on the mother's side

and seven degrees from the common ancestor on the father's side, including the parties contemplating marriage in the calculation of degrees, are prohibited from intermarrying. But even in the time of the Mitakshara, one sage had narrowed the prohibition to three degrees on the mother's side and five degrees on the father's side. The marriage of first cousins and second cousins would clearly fall even within the narrowed interdiction. According to the Hindu law-givers, the relation of husband and wife does not arise in an alliance between Sapindas or persons having the same Gotra or Pravara. According to Bodhayana, a man who marries a Sagotra unwittingly must maintain her like a mother. According to other Rishis, a man who marries against these rules has to abandon the woman and perform a penance. In spite of these stringent rules, marriages are common in South India between the children of a brother and sister; and in some communities, especially among the Vaisyas, a maternal uncle is allowed to marry his sister's daughter, though such a marriage might well be regarded as incestuous by most people. Marriages of this sort are recognised in some of the law-books as exceptions based upon local usage. The reason for the prohibition of a marriage between Sapindas or blood relations is more or less obvious, and yet while marriages violating the rule of close consanguinity are practised and permitted, the prohibition based upon identity of Gotra or Pravara is strictly observed and has been upheld by the courts. One of the first things that the parties contemplating a matrimonial alliance make enquiries about is not the existence of an actual blood relationship, but the

theoretical or imaginary identity of Gotra. The interdiction of marriage between Sagotras can only be regarded as a surviving taboo, based upon no reason or a reason which has long since disappeared. This interdiction is a needless and vexatious interference with personal liberty, and circumscribes the choice of a bride or bridegroom. The removal of this restraint can cause no grievance or inconvenience. What is required by way of legislation is not the enactment of any obligatory rule, but only a permission to marry a member of the same Gotra or Pravara. The necessary change can be brought about by a simple rule that notwithstanding any text of Hindu law or custom or usage to the contrary,

a marriage between Hindus shall not be invalid by reason only of the fact that the parties are descended from the same Gotra or Pravara. Nobody would be obliged, as the result of such legislation, to marry a Sagotra. But one who wishes to marry a Sagotra will not be deterred from doing so by the fear of the marriage being regarded as null and void. It is to be hoped that members of the Central Legislature who are keen on social reform will take the earliest opportunity of introducing this mild, but much-needed, measure of reform. I do not suggest any legislation on the subject of prohibited degrees which is now regulated by usage, local or communal.

ORGANISING PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

BY PROF. SRI RAM SHARMA

NO party in the country seems to have given much time to the question of organising Provincial Governments, though now and then questions of details have arisen and have been settled individually.

The problem raises three questions: The first is the question of filling the *gaddis* of the Provincial Governors. When the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed, nobody seemed to notice that the Provincial Executive Councils would come to an end and that, therefore, it would not be possible to fill the Office of the Governors easily from the same province in case a Governor went on leave. Still further the changed nature of the Office was not recognised and the statutory rights and legitimate interests of the Services were probably so interpreted as to make it impossible for the Government

to decide that public men be appointed to these offices rather than Civil Servants. Some hold that the question of appointing suitable Indians to this office should also have been explored. Now to take the last of the question first, in view of the current opinions of the Governors' Special Responsibilities, that British Government could not have devoted any attention to the problem of appointing Indians to be the Governors of the Provinces. The Special Responsibilities, as then understood, involved the presence of an Umpire as well as an Agent of the British Government in the provinces as the Governors. It is no slur on Indians to have to admit that such persons could not, and cannot, be easily found from among us. If we have brilliant statesmen and clever politicians, we need them as our ministers.

The problem of importing a larger number of English public men to fill the office of the Provincial Governors raises another issue. The 'Assurances Controversy' has rendered necessary a new type of men to become Provincial Governors. The virtues that are now necessary in the almost constitutional Governors of the provinces are not essentially the virtues of the Civil Servants. But it will have to be admitted that Civil Servants who have been acting as Governors under the new constitutions have not so far exhibited any signs of the defects of their qualities. The British Government has already shown that it is capable of adjusting itself to new conditions by appointing a member of the political service to be the Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar. If a concession can be made to the Nizam of Hyderabad, there is no reason why some concession should not be made to Indian public opinion by reserving the governorships, at least in the major provinces, for English public men. The problem of making arrangements during the absence on leave of a Governor should better be solved by reverting to the old system under which no leave of absence was admissible to a Governor. It may be a heroic remedy but it is the only one that is practicable.

The second question raises the problem of the constitution and function of the Ministry. How many members is the Ministry to contain? How many of them are to have a place in the Council of Ministers? What is to be the relation of the individual Ministers to the Council of Ministers? What are the questions on which a Minister should keep his colleagues informed of the action taken and what are the questions which must be

decided by the Council of Ministers rather than be left to the discretion of individual Ministers? How often should the Cabinet meet? What should be the relations between the Cabinet and the Governor? All these questions require careful consideration. Answers to most of these should be sought in the rules of Business and Rules for the submission of cases to the Governors which are supposed to have been made by the Governors in their individual discretion after consulting their Ministers. These Rules came into force on April, 1937. In some cases at least the Ministers do not seem to have played any important part in their formulation. In others they do not seem to have cared what they are.

Every province has at present a Prime Minister who is also the Minister in charge of some subject as well. This arrangement is defective in the extreme. Wherever possible, the Prime Minister should have no department under his own control. Then alone it would be possible for the policy of our Provincial Governments to obtain a cohesion that it lacks at present. Then alone it would be possible for a Prime Minister to avoid incidents such as have recently occurred in the C. P. and N.-W.-F. Provinces. But if the resources of a Province cannot stand a Prime Minister without portfolio, it is best for the Prime Minister to assume charge of the Finance Department. The Finance Department is the watch-dog of the Government. It controls all expenditure in the province, it sanctions all schemes involving new expenditure. It is necessary, therefore, that the Finance Member should have no preferences and, therefore, should not be in charge of any spending department. The number of other Ministers required and the departments

they should control is a matter in many cases for local investigation and settlement. But if democratic government is to be made a success, it is necessary that the distribution of work among the Ministers should be related to the organisation of the Secretariat. It is no use continuing the present system when, as in some provinces, items of administration selected at random from various Departments have been grouped together to form a Ministerial portfolio. This grouping in most cases is arbitrary. The result is that, as in the Punjab for example, a Minister has to deal with as many as six departmental Secretaries, and several Secretaries have to deal with as many as six Ministers. This arrangement does not make either for efficiency or smooth administration. There is no Civil Servant adviser of the Minister advising him on all questions arising in his departments. The result is a chaotic condition of things when it becomes possible for an Indian Minister in charge of Jails, among other things, to sanction instructions excluding Indians from the post of the Superintendent of Jails, simply because in good old days retired British army officers were preferred for these jobs by a British Executive Councillor. This system puts too great a strain upon individual ministers and is prone to lead to favouritism. It tends to negative continuous popular control over various departments as well. These defects impair the quality of the day-to-day administration of various departments which may remain long unnoticed.

Here and there this grouping may represent a better organisation of Provincial administration. Where it is so, there is no reason why it should not penetrate

down to the Secretariat organisation of departmental work. Our Provincial Secretariats seem to have been organised to meet condition of work that existed in various provinces before 1921. Since then accretions have come about, modifications have been suggested and sometimes carried through, but of wholesale organisation we have had not much. It is time something was done in that direction as well. In most Provinces, the Cabinet has been working without a proper Secretariat. It is time that a Secretary to the Cabinet, equal in rank to other Secretaries, was appointed in every province. The Office of the Chief Secretary is a legacy of the past when the Departments controlled by the Heads of the Provinces had to be thus distinguished, or when only one Secretary was given the right of access to 'the presence'. There is no Chief Secretary in the Government of India. Why should the provinces be allowed that luxury? Various independent and attached offices have also grown in various provinces. All of them should now be brought under the general scheme of the Secretariat organisation. The position of the Directors of various departments should also be assimilated to the changed condition of things. In the Punjab, for example, the Director of Public Instruction is an Under-Secretary by virtue of his Office. But there is no Secretary through whom he submits his papers. He does so directly. The position of the Directors of Agriculture and of Veterinary Departments and of Industries, the Inspectors-General of Hospitals, of Prison and Police are still more anomalous. As the Secretary of State suggested to the Provincial Governments in February 1937, all papers should come

to a Minister through a Secretary who should be responsible to one Minister alone.

But to revert to the Ministers. It is necessary that the meetings of the Cabinet be held more frequently where all major questions of policy be settled. So far the fact that the Governors have, in their discretion, the right of presiding over these meetings has resulted in some provinces, at least, in leaving most of the work to be done by individual Ministers. As the working of the Provincial Governments for the last year or so must have convinced most Governors this right is not of much value, it is much better that the Governors should depend upon the Prime Minister for informing him of the decisions taken by the Council of Ministers than that the Governors should be present at meetings like a ghost at a feast. Of course, the shadow of the Congress High Command has cast a gloom over Provincial Ministries and made their efficient working difficult. When most major questions are settled by an outside authority, not much work is left for the Ministers to perform. It is time that the Congress High Command made itself content with supervising the work of the Ministries and surrendered to them the initiation in all matters. If it does not do so, it will soon precipitate crisis. Already the situation in the Central Provinces has provided a warning. The spectacle of three Ministers threatening to resign being called into conference at Bombay which, however, fails to give a definite lead was not edifying. The peremptory orders to the Speaker of the Madras Assembly not to proceed to England to study Parliamentary practices even when the Legislature had granted money for the purpose are no less

unedifying. If the truth must be told, the Parliamentary Board has assumed all the Special responsibilities—and more—of the Governor's in the provinces.

The number of Ministers in various provinces raises a difficult problem. At present it varies from eleven in Bengal to 3 in Orissa. The number is, of course, a matter of local consideration. But, as argued above, if the Ministership is to be linked with the departmental organisation of the Secretariat, it is arguable that the number of Ministers in charge of Departments should not exceed that of the Secretaries. But this leaves it open to the Provincial Governments to appoint Ministers without portfolios. The question of the status of the Parliamentary Secretaries also requires consideration. The Punjab has done better. In order to satisfy the cravings of as large a number of people to hold office as possible, it has created, besides Parliamentary Secretaries, Parliamentary Private Secretaries, a species of Public Servants whose functions even the Speaker found it difficult to ascertain. Here again it is much better to adopt the British convention of making these Parliamentary Secretaries as Assistant Ministers for all practical purposes allowing them to assist the Ministers in various ways. All orders and instructions, however, must be issued in the name of the Ministers. For nothing Administrative or Political should the Parliamentary Secretary be allowed to shoulder responsibility. He is a Minister in training and during the period of his pupilage, he should not assume any responsibilities.

* Witness Dr. Khare's resignation and subsequent acceptance of office followed by his recantation to the Working Committee. It is time that the Provincial Governments were allowed to resume their liberties of action.

This raises the problem of the relations of the Ministers with the Governors. The existing rules give all Secretaries the right of deciding if action proposed to be taken in any matter would impugn upon their special Responsibilities. That devolves a political responsibility on them. It makes it necessary for them to take a decision without the instructions of their Political Chiefs, the Ministers. It is better that the position of the Chief Minister be now brought into line with the new developments. It should be his duty to keep the Governor informed of whatever

is happening in all the departments whether it is or is not likely to involve his Special Responsibilities. Of course, it would then be possible for the Governor to call for more information on any question, or ask the Prime Minister to explain to him the implications of a decision taken by the Cabinet. This would make it unnecessary for the Governor to preside at the meetings of the Cabinet as well. Of course, the Governor always retains the right of disagreeing with his Ministers and calling for their resignation.

THE WARDHA LEAD

THE meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Wardha in the last week of July was looked forward to with more than usual interest. For many questions were pending solution and no single authority in the Congress high command was competent to give direction and lead. The lead was to come from the Working Committee.

In the first place, the sudden crisis in the C. P. Cabinet resulting in the resignation of part of the Cabinet and the dismissal of the rest overshadowed a situation already tense with many perplexing problems; (ii) there was the ticklish question of the Hindu-Muslim tangle which called for an immediate answer to Mr. Jinnah and the League's impossible terms; (iii) the controversy over the question of Federation and the Congress President's challenging statement followed by counter-statements from the exponents of the Parliamentary section called for clarification; (iv) the demand for linguistic Provinces had become more

and more insistent and a deputation of Andhras waited on the Working Committee to press for the separation.

There were other problems awaiting solution, but we must confine ourselves to these principal questions in this brief review.

The C. P. Ministry had by its domestic squabbles brought much discredit on the Congress Government. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee which investigated the crisis last May confirmed the charges of nepotism and inefficiency, but a patched-up solution managed to keep up the Khare Ministry. Dr. Khare has not been able to compose the differences in his Cabinet between the Maratha and Hindustani groups. And then it was evident to every one outside the Congress that the extra constitutional authority to which the Prime Minister and his colleagues have to submit themselves must prove injurious to Cabinet responsibility. This fear has proved true in the case of the Khare Cabinet. Dr. Khare has not been

able to steer through the dual control of the Zonal authorities on the one hand and the proprieties of constitutional procedure on the other. That has led to his fall.

In settling these differences, the Working Committee sought the advice and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and at his instance the Committee passed a resolution severely censuring Dr. Khare for his acts of indiscipline in resigning his premiership without the permission of the Congress authorities and re-accepting office without consulting them. His subsequent recantation did not help him out of the morass. He was precluded from standing again for leadership, and he was declared unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress. The Resolution adds:

By all these acts of his, Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in Congress organisations. He should be so considered till by his services as a Congressman, he has shown himself well-balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging the duties that will be undertaken by him.

This was really hard on Dr. Khare, but painful and unhappy as the episode turned out for him, "it has a lesson for the whole of India," said Mr. Subash Bose, the President of the Congress, who stressed the need "for discipline and morality at a time when the lure of power and position may tempt us in the direction of unworthy thoughts or deeds".

Mr. Bose goes on to say:

During the last few days, there has been a great deal of talk of parliamentary conventions and democratic procedure. Let us not forget that our loyalty to the Congress must have precedence over our loyalty to any individual or group or to any conventions or procedure. When a nation is engaged in a life and death struggle, the need of discipline and morality is paramount.

On the Congress-League question, Mahatma Gandhi also took part in drafting

the President's reply to Mr. Jinnah. The reply is couched in conciliatory terms. But the Congress Working Committee considers the Muslim League's demands as extraordinary. The Committee makes it clear that if the League abandons its quarrel over non-essentials and comes down to brass tacks as to the needs of minority communities, it is prepared to enter discussions and reach a settlement.

President Bose had informal talks with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sardar Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad about the Federation issue with special reference to the recent controversy over it. These talks have cleared up some misunderstandings and it was noted that nothing has happened since the Haripura Session of the Congress to deserve special notice from it now. All suggestions about the slightest weakening of the Congress attitude towards the Federation Scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act were discounted, says a Press report. Mark the words carefully used, "the Federation Scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act". That brings us back to the same old position and much may be said on both sides!

In reply to the deputationists on behalf of the Andhras, the Working Committee held that the Congress was committed to linguistic provinces and the Madras Legislature has passed a resolution favouring such separation. But it could not materialise till the Congress attained full power. It would be folly to obscure the real issue of independence by stressing minor issues. The Working Committee adopted the following resolution:

This Committee desires to assure the people of the areas concerned that a solution of this question would be undertaken as part of the future scheme of the Government of India as soon as the Congress has power so to do, and from any further agitation in this behalf which may divert the attention from the main issue now before the country.

Cost of High Living *versus* High Cost of Living

BY

MR. P. PARTHASARATHI IYENGAR, B.A., B.L.

MR. E. T. GOOD in a thought-provoking paper published in the *Bankers' Journal* for May 1938 is of the opinion that it is not so much the high cost of living as the cost of high living that is the trouble. "The people to-day," says he, "want far more luxuries than their parents or grand-parents wanted or expected. Besides this our local rates have been increased by about 200 per cent. and our national taxes by nearly 900 per cent. in the last 25 years." Public opinion in England and other countries in the West is, however, veering around the view that the Government must be advised to better not merely defence conditions, but also to effect social economic conditions. The rationale for this attempt is in the well known truth that the former is facilitated by the latter. The Government has already raised public loans to the tune of about 200 million pounds for defence purposes. But the cry is to finance health and house building purposes also by the same process.

The last budget revealed an official surplus of £28,786,000 as compared with the anticipated surplus of only £250,000. Of course, the official surplus includes £10,544,000 added to the sinking fund. But as this is only optional you must take it, the surplus is £39,330,000. With the increasing of National debt, these schemes are vigorously pursued. It is expected of the newly appointed Economic adviser that he should take stock of the Indian Finances and see to it that India has to her credit an ear-marked sinking fund, an economic study and compilation of the

cost of life of an average individual, supply means both preventive and curative for health, strength and stamina of the individuals, a general improvement of the level of life, and the amenities civilisation affords to the fed-up nerves of the populace. Mr. Gregory would do well in co-operation with the provincial and central governments to develop the industries, big and small, with financial subsidy and the like, so that the utilisation of the indigenous talents of the country are only for the Nation's cause. Be it known to him and other heads of the responsible Governments that "bread and butter" are the first things to be attended to, and not resort to Language-study and Roman scripts unwanted and unappreciated by the millions of pinching stomachs. It is ignorance that perpetuates poverty and low living, and on their trail, inability to resist disease.

England needs India's help to maintain her power and prestige which lay considerably dwindled—whatever Jingoism say—in the world's stage and international morality. Leaving for the moment the question of currency and exchange, a national currency for India, India's salvation lies in preparing to defend India by her own man-power, by multiplication of her industrial activity. This latter has two aspects—conserving and converting her own resources for the ease and prosperity of Indians and encouraging such mass production as would create a market for foreign exports and on her own terms. This should be the first and last concern of any Government, and i

needs hardly any mention once we satisfy good food, clothing and housing problems, which at present are in deplorably low conditions, then the next question of high living would arise. But there needs some caution in the stigma of so-called high living. I don't agree that there is any rational standard of high living. It is the chimera of idealists to set up a level of living beyond which you shall not proceed. It is fundamentally wrong. It gloats on an equally unfounded simplicity of living of the mystical past.

There is and there is bound to be a progressive rise in the scale of living and otherwise the country is bound to retrogress. Progressive rise is bound to occur, but every nation is responsible to create peace and tranquillity by which the said progress can be assured. That would be surely a creature of a sense of security—a collective security—against aggression depending upon international understanding. In the meanwhile, measures which cannot stand delay must be undertaken by the central and provincial governments.

Retrenchment at the top in the Services, Indianising the departments in the Army and in the Railways, prohibition of imports of commodities which could be manufactured or produced in this country, encouraging foreigners touring in this country by regular institution of publicity and advertisement have to be effectuated. Furtive suggestions are made in certain quarters for State lotteries being introduced, and unless a fastidious moral canon is applied, there could be no objection to the system. There would form a separate contribution for health and industrial improvements.

A ready-at-hand method for making the masses active and interested is in the

fostering of cottage industries. There is plenty of Indian talent and even hereditary equipment and skill till now neglected. Mr. K. T. Bashyam in Mysore referring to the budget opined that industrialisation should not be pursued at the expense of cottage industries, such as khadi, oil, bangle making, and cheriear manuring. There are also toy making, doll making, idol manufacturing, brass ornament and vases manufacturing, etc., which are the admiration of the West. Banks must be advised to finance these village manufacturers. There are products which could be raised without affecting mill activity and industry, fruit rearing, dairy products, pickles and condiments, and I am sure if only they are given encouragement by initial capital, they would quickly improve the country's wealth and raise the level of average life. If India should become self-contained by her own resources and industries yielding all that is wanted for the people, as the Minister for Labour, Madras, recently opined in the Salem district, nothing would be more welcome than a vigorous campaign being launched at once. That is the only way by which Indian trade can prosper and the bogey of unemployment shut out of view.

That the present is passing through a severe trade crisis is clear from the gloomy reports we hear all around. The Madras Chamber of Commerce report says that there was some business in anticipation of reduction of duties, but that it was hampered by the further weakening of the exchange. The League of Nations bulletin for May shows that world trade fell by 12 per cent. in the first quarter of this year much more than usual at this season. It is a standing sterile excuse very often made that because

the world trade fell, India too suffers dullness. But very few realise if India should soon start its own industries, she is bound to acquire a double advantage, make her people happy internally and clutch at a large share in the export trade of the world and assure for herself a favourable trade balance. The Government of India's tardiness in the matter of inquiry into the ways of means of small industries development in arresting competition of Japan is most deplorable. The provincial governments have no enthusiastic agencies to help the development of industries. Technicians and specialists in industrial and chemical science have not been trained yet, and people like Mr. Kamesam, Sir C. V. Raman and Sir Visveswarayya have not yet been requested to launch definite and concrete plans for the purpose. Such brilliants are lost to their country. The initial step has not been taken of training batches of young men for helping the starting of industries. It is no use depending upon companies and factories run by foreign agencies and on foreign capital to help India in this respect. After initial acquisition of the theoretical and practical knowledge in the colleges as far as possible in India, such of them as merit training abroad and in the West should be handsomely paid for it and sent out. By the time they come back to India, they must be employed without any more ado in working industrial concerns. We have yet no indication of any serious

attempt at tackling the problem. Industrial enterprises for manufacturing the requirements of the country would stimulate trade and road improvements. Should the industries be State managed or privately managed? It depends upon the nature of the industry. However it can be asserted safely that in India largely, there must be initiation and management by the efforts of the State till private management be gradually substituted. Whatever we are capable of doing or not doing, he is no good citizen who goes against the interests and prosperity of India by helping foreign exploitation. His aim is towards active participation in making India self contained. Till then fancies and fabrics can abide. The admonition given by Mr. E. T. Good in his contribution to the *Bankers' Journal* for May is worthy enough to be quoted as a piece of wisdom which this poor country cannot help following. He says: "It is not only the manual workers who call for higher wages and spend more on luxuries, but those we loosely termed the middle classes are more extravagant than ever they were. They want motor cars even when they have public service trams and buses near their doors and railway stations near by. Many millions a year are spent on foreign petrol which money might be more usefully spent on British products or invested in British productive industries." Substitute Indian for the word British and that is the moral for our country.

CANAKYA : THE GREAT CHANCELLOR

BY PROF. H. C. SETH, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON)

—:O:—

A better interpretation of the events, following the invasion of Alexander and leading to the rise of the Maurya dynasty, can be obtained if we know about Canakya. The whole career of this great man is shrouded in mystery. Some new light is thrown on him by the conclusions that I have elsewhere set forth that Chandragupta Maurya originally belonged to the Gandhara region and that the starting point of the big empire created by him was the north-west of India.* Chandragupta headed a revolt west of the Indus against Alexander himself about the time when the latter was at the bank of the Beas. This revolt was the real cause of Alexander's sudden retirement and flight through Sindh and the Makran desert, where most of his army was destroyed. Chandragupta's power was first consolidated in or about 325 B.C. in his own home provinces in the north-west of India, and it soon extended to Central Asia, part of Persia and towards the south as far as Sindh.

This conclusion of ours is borne out by the accounts about Chandragupta given both by some of the early European historians and in the Indian literary traditions. Justin and Plutarch inform us that Chandragupta was in the north-western parts of India at the time of Alexander's invasion, and he had some considerable dealings with him as, according to Justin, Alexander ordered his beheadal. It thus seems that the north-west of India

and the Punjab were the scenes of the early activities of Chandragupta. The drama *Mudraraksasa* bears out this conclusion. According to it, the forces with the help of which Chandragupta conquered Magadha were all drawn from the north-west of India and beyond. I have also suggested that Parvataka, Chandragupta's ally in the overthrow of Nanda king of Magadha, was none else than the great Porus of the Greek historians.

The overthrow of Nanda king of Magadha was undertaken by Chandragupta after he had uprooted the Greek power west of the Indus. It is absurd to say, as Vincent Smith² and some others do, that several years afterwards Chandragupta came from Magadha to destroy the Greek forces left behind by Alexander in the Punjab and the north-west, when really none worth the name were left there within a few months of his retirement. As a matter of fact even before Alexander had actually left the confines of India, almost all the Greek satraps he had appointed, Nicanor, west of the Indus, Philips of the royal family, satrap of the Punjab, and Apollophanes, satrap of Gedrosia were killed. The only person who stayed for some time in India was a petty official Eudamus, who most probably took service under the king of Taksasila, or Porus, or may be under Chandragupta himself, in which case the force under Eudamus may be the Yavanas which, according to *Mudraraksasa*, formed part of Chandragupta's army which invaded

* It appears probable that before he undertook the expulsion of the foreign garrisons, he had already overthrown his unpopular relation the Nanda king of Magadha.—“Early History of India”, 3rd Edition, p. 118.

* “Did Chandragupta Maurya belong to North-western India?” *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. II. And “Chandragupta and Sasigupta”, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

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Magadha. The drama *Mudraraksasa* also suggests that with the help of Canakya, Chandragupta, even prior to the conquest of Magadha, had conquered some other parts of the country and assumed the imperial title. Magadha was the biggest kingdom in India at the time of Alexander's invasion. But its overthrow by Chandragupta was facilitated because of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning monarch, which is mentioned alike in the Greek and the Indian traditions.

This reconstruction of the events of the period throws new light on Canakya's character and achievements. We learn from the Buddhist sources that Canakya also belonged to the north-west of India. He was a Brahmin of Taksasila. It is likely that as a young prince, Chandragupta received his early education at the feet of Canakya in the famous University of Taksasila. The drama *Mudraraksasa* everywhere shows very cordial relations between Canakya and Chandragupta, and also a deep appreciation by them of each other's merits, which could only be the result of a long and intimate contact between the two.

As belonging to north-western India, Canakya witnessed the danger of a divided country at the time of Alexander's invasion. He must have seen that only a well organised and closely knit imperial India could successfully withstand a foreign invasion like that of Alexander. It has been correctly surmised by the author of the “*Cambridge Ancient History*” that it seems to have been among the Brahmins of the Punjab that the reaction started which placed Chandragupta on the throne of a united India.³ In view of

* “The Cambridge Ancient History”, Vol. VI, p. 413.

the facts that Canakya belonged to Taksasila and that the Indian literary traditions so closely associate him with Chandragupta, the central figure in this revolt in establishing the vast Mauryan Empire, it seems that Canakya was the instigator and the leader of the revolt against the Greeks. The vision of a strong unconquerable and united India, which he then formed, was successfully realised within a few years. As Vincent Smith remarks: “The conception of an Indian Empire extending from sea to sea and embracing almost the whole of India and Afghanistan was formed and carried into effect by Chandragupta and his Minister in the brief space of twenty-four years. History can show few greater political achievements. Not only was the empire formed, but it was also thoroughly organised that the sovereign's commands emanating from Pataliputra were obeyed without demur on the banks of the Indus and the shores of the Arabian Sea. The immense heritage thus created by the genius of the first emperor of India was transmitted intact to his son and grandson.”*

It thus seems that Canakya was associated with Chandragupta right from the beginning in establishing a vast empire over practically the whole of India and far beyond in Central Asia, the starting point of which was north-western India. His help in the conquest and the annexation of the kingdom of Magadha to the empire of Chandragupta was perhaps the last political episode in his political career. After this, as we learn from the drama *Mudraraksasa*, he retired from active politics, which may explain the absence of reference to him in the fragments of

* “Asoka”, p. 104.

Megasthenes, which have been reported by the early European historians.

Canakya's winning over of Raksasa, the popular Minister of Nandas, was a master stroke of diplomacy. It quashed completely whatever opposition there might have been in the east to the newly founded empire of the Maurya. The drama Mudraraksasa not only throws light on how Chandragupta's position was secured in Magadha, but how even the ineffectual opposition raised by Raksasa and Malaya-ketu with the help of Kashmir, Sindh and some other western powers was nipped in the bud, and with the fall of Magadha the supremacy of Chandragupta was fully established over a great part of India. Thus, it was only after he had seen the Great Chandragupta seated firmly on the throne of a united India, that Canakya, one of the most resolute, self-denying and incorruptible souls produced by India, passed out of the political horizon, but, perhaps, only to devote the resources of his mighty intellect to the bigger social and religious problems that faced the vast empire which his genius had helped Chandragupta to create.

It is a pity that by taking the view that Canakya was involved only in a family quarrel between Chandragupta and the Nanda kings, and that the driving motive of Canakya for the great political upheavals and carnage of blood, which he undertook, was just an insult by the Nanda king, we have made him look very mean and revengeful. In the drama Mudraraksasa, Canakya himself suggests that the Nandas were overthrown, because of their complete disregard of the kingly duties.* The unpopularity of the Nanda

king of Magadha is not only attested by Mudraraksasa, but even the Pauranic traditions attest to the hatred in which Nanda king was held. The extreme unpopularity of the king of Magadha reigning at the time of Alexander's invasion is also recorded by the Greek historians. According to them he "was a man of worthless character, the son of a barber, and that he had obtained the throne by the murder of his predecessor whose chief queen he had corrupted."† Jayaswal was, perhaps, right in concluding that the powers in Gandhara, when faced with Alexander's invasion, "looked towards the imperial power of Magadha".‡ But no help was obtained from that quarter, and Canakya found that for the safety and the imperial unity of India, the Nandas, like so many other monarchs, had to go. In the young but gifted Chandragupta, he found a fit sovereign head of a united India.

Really speaking, Canakya's was the administrative genius which firmly established over almost the whole of India and far beyond the mighty and very efficiently organised empire of Chandragupta. As Vincent Smith remarks, even "Akbar's machine of government never attained the standard of efficiency reached by the Mauryas eighteen or nineteen centuries before his time."§ If we remember that it was only the great political fabric which was raised with the help of his genius, which made it possible for India in the time of Asoka to send to the world for the first time the message of peace, love, and universal brotherhood, that we can rightly regard Vishnugupta Canakya as a maker of one of the greatest ages, not only in the history of India, but in the history of the world.

* "Cambridge History of India", Vol. I, p. 469.

† "Hindu Polity", p. 175, Vol. I.

‡ Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 396.

CREDULITY AND CRAZE

BY PROF. U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

CREDULITY is an attitude of mind which we understand but need not define. Like the mote in the eye, it is more easily detected in others than seen in ourselves. It is a will to believe anything within a particular universe of ideas. It implies unregulated and untrained belief. Not that a credulous man would literally believe anything, but he would certainly believe anything of a particular sort.

Credulity is not confined to savage or uneducated mind. A savage certainly is credulous; but so is a civilised man, too. Only, there is a difference in the credulity of the two. An African savage who does not see water freeze, would not believe that it can; but he would readily believe that the snake is a sacred animal, or, that there is a deity that throws the thunderbolt. The credulity of a modern man is somewhat different. He would much rather believe that the scientist in his laboratory would one day manufacture human blood than that fever is caused by the wrath of an evil spirit. Both men are credulous; but there is a difference in their angles of vision and hence there is a difference in what they are inclined to believe. The modern man is obsessed with visions of the potentialities of science; hence he is ready to accept as possible whatever smacks of a scientific character. The savage, on the other hand, has his mind filled with ideas of ghosts, deities or spirits; he, therefore, finds no difficulty in believing that a spirit appears or a ghost acts. Though the two minds do not move in the same atmosphere of thought, both are credulous. Science, too, can be superstitious.

Whether credulity takes a scientific colour or is superstition, pure and simple, its psychological meaning is the same. It is a hindrance to progress. The real scientific attitude is sober and reasoned belief and not an eagerness to credit whatever is trumpeted under the banner of science. Science does not claim that man already knows whatever is worth knowing; or, that there is no limit to human knowledge or human achievements. Scientific thought does not encourage the belief that because a cure for malaria has been discovered, death also has been conquered. With all its magnificent results, science has its limits and will continue to have them.

Nor is it a sign of sobriety to think that, because science has its limits, because science cannot account for the genesis of life on earth, or foretell the future of the universe, therefore, whatever a hermit from the hills says is true. Yet there are plenty of men in spiritually-minded countries like India who, taking advantage of the admitted limitations of science, would preach any kind of spiritual possibilities.

Credulity is unphilosophical and is, therefore, unprogressive. Whether a people is progressing on the path of truth and sobriety is evidenced by what it believes; and an index of what it believes is furnished by what its newspapers publish for its consumption. Judging according to this standard, what should we think of ourselves?

(1) Only recently, a gentleman announced in the correspondence columns of a well-known Calcutta paper—and the Editor had no hesitation in publishing it—that a neem tree somewhere was yielding a measured quantity of sweet honey every day! The neem is well known for its

* नन्दैर्विमुक्तमनपेक्षितराजवृत्तैः (Act. III.)

bitter taste: its bark, its fibres, its leaves and its juice—all are bitter to the extreme. There is nothing sweet about it. Yet here was an exceptional *neem* which behaved in an extraordinary manner. It yielded a juice—12 seers of it every day—so we are told, neither less nor more! And lo! and behold, it was all sweet honey!

(2) Some two or three years ago, after the well-known Hindu festival *Saraswati Puja*, a certain image of the goddess in Calcutta—so the papers announced—began to nod! Religious emotions were easily roused and hundreds of men and thousands of women congregated every hour of the day to have a vision of the image suddenly come to life! Religion was not dead, the old men assured us; and the gods and goddesses were still there, alive and kicking, as when the human mind first knew them! And what was more important, they could still be *seen*, though only by the lucky few. The tram-cars, the buses and the streets of Calcutta bore signs of an unexampled revival of Hinduism till at last we heard no more about this live *Saraswati*. Parenthetically, rumour has it that the blessed owner of this image had his financial position considerably improved, because money and other gifts were lavishly bestowed upon the deity by the devout visitors, and even the living goddess did not touch them!

(3) Not long ago, it was again in Calcutta that people began to believe that stones used for grinding spices—an article of domestic use which most houses keep—were infected with small-pox! Stone after stone began to wear pox-scars and every one was convinced of the truth of the story. The reason for this unusual manifestation of the disease was also not far to

seek. It was the wrath of the goddess of pox, provoked somehow by some one somewhere. Every believer in divine retribution soon knew that this *was* the case! And since Calcutta houses reported the disease in stones, it was only meet and proper that the *mofussil* should follow suit. And the infection of grinding-stones spread like wild fire!

Grinding-stones were kept away, soaked in cold water, sometimes even in the water of green cocoanuts, to give them relief! And machine-ground spices came into vogue. The price of this commodity as well as of the machine was soon kicked up. Eventually some one ventured the hypothesis that the whole thing was a hoax and was probably due to the design of people interested in the sale of machine-ground spices. Gradually the scars of small-pox began to vanish from the affected stones, until all of them again wore their normal appearance and were reinstated to their wonted office.

(4) The latest of the exhibitions of popular credulity is *jhin-jhinia*! Thanks to the persistence of newspaper circulation, some people were actually smitten with hysteric shivering—cases of sheer auto-suggestion! But the vociferous public made even the Government move in the matter. Responsible and qualified doctors made careful investigations in areas reported to be suffering from the disease. But no genuine cases have been detected. Since then the virulence of the disease is rapidly subsiding. And when a disease disappears from Calcutta, it automatically vanishes from the *mofussil* also.

(5) Another piece of amusing news that our newspapers report now and then, is that of change of sex. Sometimes, perhaps, it is in Bulgaria that a boy of

nineteen suddenly becomes a girl of the same age; or, it may be in Paraguay that a woman after several years of married life discovers one fine morning that she is no longer a woman! Advertisements of hair-oils often give pictures of woman rubbing the oil on their faces and instantly growing a full-sized beard! This is understood to be an exaggeration. But reports of physiological transformations like change of sex are published as *news*. The publications of such news implies that there are men according to whom anything may happen anywhere any day.

We do not multiply instances of credulity; we have not the space for it. But credulity is only one side of the picture: the other is craze. Credulity is passive acquiescence: craze is active participation. Craze in its simplest form is manifested in the life of modern cities in such things as cinema, or cricket or hockey. The number of persons liable to its influence is legion. Witness the number of spectators who throng a football field and the degree of physical torture and inconvenience they can put up with. What does it shew but a kind of brain-fever popularly known as craze? And look at the prominence that newspapers assign to a film-star or a hockey celebrity or a cricket notability! They rank with rulers of states or business magnates or eminent soldiers or scientists. Their pictures fill newspaper pages oftener than those of kings and potentates. Even racing horses are more important in the eye of the newspaper world than University professors. And the pedigree of such horses is more important history than the battle of Waterloo or the Treaty of Versailles.

Channel-crossing and air-race, Everest-climbing and non-stop flight are some of the latest crazes to be added to the list. These are sports, and some of them are adventures, too, no doubt; but one wonders how the human race is benefited by them and to what extent. Yet these things hold one-half of humanity in their grip.

In the spiritual East, it is credulity rather than craze that reigns. Here the field is occupied by a honey-giving *neem* tree or a nodding *Saraswati* or a *Sadhu* who has seen three long centuries roll by his feet and who occasionally has visions of God also and holds conversations with Him.

What with credulity and what with craze, the world is becoming a difficult place for sober men to live in!

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Aug. '38.

The Prospects of Fresh Taxation in Madras

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

(Lecturer in Economics, Annamalai University)

It is understood the Finance Department of the Madras Government are considering six proposals for additional taxation to make good the immediate loss of Rs. 26 lakhs annually consequent on the introduction of prohibition in Salem district and the ultimate loss of Rs. 4½ crores when total prohibition in the Presidency is a *fait accompli*. The proposals are a petrol tax, electricity tax, death duties, advertisement tax, a provincial entertainment tax and a marriage tax. The main policy of the Government in regard to fresh taxation seems to be the distribution of the increased financial burden due to prohibition on the richer classes.

Before these new taxes are examined and are rejected or recommended, it is necessary to have some idea as to the distribution of the burden of taxation in the province of Madras at the present time. In fact, the question of imposing additional taxation can only be decided with reference to three sets of considerations: (1) The need for additional revenue; (2) the equity of the prevailing distribution of the burden of taxation; and (3) the technical merits of the taxes proposed. The starting-point is an established system of taxation with its various parts, each with its own incidence, and we are to consider whether any of the taxes included in the preceding paragraph is suitable for imposition in the province either as an addition to the existing ones or as a substitute for one or more of them. A canon that applies to the entire system of taxation is that it should be equitable,

i.e., bear evenly on all, and the component parts must, therefore, be so devised as to realise this aim. Additional taxes must accordingly maintain the existing equity or redress the prevailing inequality, while alternative taxes are designedly intended to redress a felt inequality or other defect in the existing system. Therefore it is not enough to know that a given tax is suitable in itself. It is far more important to know whether it falls on a class lightly taxed or already overburdened and it is a truism to say that every system of taxation is always approaching but never realising equality of taxation on account of changes in the yield of the tax as well as in the economic conditions of different classes and of the community as a whole.

The petrol tax and the electricity tax now contemplated by the Government of Madras will affect the respective consumers. It is understood that the petrol tax would be in the form of a gallonage fee on petrol and is likely to be deferred till the October Session of the Madras Legislature when the decision of the Federal Court on what is known as the Central Provinces 'test' case is known. The Government of the Central Provinces have introduced a petrol tax bill levying a duty on sale of petrol in the province, which the Central Government contend, belongs exclusively to the Federal Legislative list. With regard to the electricity tax, it is understood it will be levied on consumers of above a certain limit of units, but the proposal is still in the stage of examination of data and

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exploration of methods of how best the tax could be levied.

The proposal for taxation of advertisements, however, is likely to come up at the ensuing Session of the Legislature. It will be on the lines of the Madras Corporation scheme. It is understood the levying bill will provide for the appointment of inspectors to collect advertisement revenue as it is felt the range of taxation would be too wide for the revenue officials to scrutinise the working of the Act in addition to their usual numerous duties. The urgent claims of local bodies—district boards at any rate rich, under the provisions of the new Panchayat Act, would lose the land and education cess—will probably be met from the additional revenue expected from these proposals. The duty on advertisements may take the form of a tax on posters and other forms of displayed advertisement, or of a tax on newspaper advertisements or both. The former is usually levied through stamp affixed to the poster, and the latter on the basis of returns of revenue from advertising submitted by newspapers at regular intervals. Apart from the theoretical objection that the tax would hamper a necessary and developing adjunct of trade, the tax on newspaper advertisements would bring little revenue. But if municipalities in the larger towns are to adopt the tax on posters, etc., it might be some way to augment their slender revenues.

As regards the succession duties, it is generally conceded that these duties should be the first among those to be considered in the event of new sources of revenue being required to replace old ones that may be condemned. Something

like the duty on inheritance is now levied at varying rates in the shape of fees under Act VII of 1870 on probates and letters of administration under the Indian Succession Act, the Hindu Wills Act and the Probate and Administration Act and on certificates under Succession Certificate Act. The broad effect of the existing legislation is that except as regards Hindus, Jains, Sikhs, and Buddhists in Lower Bengal and in the Presidency towns, Hindus, Mahomedans and Buddhists are outside the compulsory effect of the Probate Law. Indian Christians have been treated in a special manner in being allowed to take out a succession certificate for the collection of debts instead of obtaining letters of administration to the whole of the estate in a case of intestate succession. But the considerations applicable to intestate successions are more complicated. Real difficulty will be experienced in the application of the principles of inheritance taxation to cases in Malabar and Canara, where partition is not allowed and the idea of heirship would never present itself in the mind of any member of the family and to joint Hindu families governed by the Mitakshara law. Any practicable measure of taxation must exempt from its scope such cases. Either a tax on the share which devolving by survivorship augments the shares of other members of the family, or any tax on the whole property on the death of each managing member is not a thing to be favoured. In the former case there is no succession. In the latter case the suggestion is crude and unenforceable in practice. From the financial point of view, the most important thing is whether the succession duties will be productive in our province. Unfortunately no figures exist which could

assert us in forming even a rough estimate. Some idea as to the amount that might accrue could be obtained from (i) statistics of the distribution of land among landholders; (ii) statistics of income-tax levied on trade income; (iii) statistics of the distribution of securities. In conclusion it is worth emphasising that whatever the yield, succession duties are essential in any system of taxation that claims to be equitable. Its yield will increase *pari passu* with the prosperity of the people.

The taxation of marriages in the form of a fee for registration of marriages is not quite a new proposal. The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee (1926) suggested this measure, but its recommendations are cautious and tentative and it is very

doubtful if local conditions are favourable. However, the city municipalities may try a variant of it in the shape of a licence fee for marriage processions of any kind. Registration fee on marriage seems to be quite reasonable provided a graded scale is introduced but the trouble in our country is twofold. It introduces the element of registration in a purely religious ceremony, for marriage at any rate among the Hindus is a sacrament and not a contract. Secondly, we pay a sufficient fee to the *Purohits* and to the community for evidence of the marriage. A further registration fee may reasonably be held to be an additional burden, and from a fiscal point of view, the yield of such a duty in our province is not likely to be considerable.

Pushkar : The Lotus Lake of Rajputana

BY MR. RAM CHAND MANCHANDA, B.A., LL.B.

PUSHKAR is the name of a lake, forest, town, and a Tirath. It is picturesquely situated in a valley surrounded by a ring of rocky hills of the Aravali range, seven miles away towards the south-west from Ajmere, the headquarters of the province of Ajmere-Merwara. It consists of a series of three apparently separate lakes, *inter se* connected through subterranean streams. The highest one is called the Kanishtha, or Buddha, the middle one, which exists only in imagination, Madhya, and the lowest one Jaishtha (eldest). It is situated in a valley within an area of six miles, and 2,389 feet above sea-level.

Etymology. According to an account of Pushkar as given in the Padma Puran, it is the birth-place of Brahma, the

creator of the Hindu Trinity, who, in a Council of Gods held at Vajjarath, at Sumero, decided to create a temple on earth, and like other Gods of the Trinity to receive the offerings and be worshipped. The Council selected this place on account of its purity and fascinating beauty. The lake, the water of which is never dried, is enclosed by green trees in fragrant blooms and delicious fruits, ever green shrubbery presenting a unique combination of lake, forest and hill scenery, very much alike in its physical charms and purity and other features, the Sumero (Olympia), the abode of the Gods of the Trinity, and all the rest. Here Brahma performed a Yagna (sacrifice) whereby this lake became so holy that a sinner by taking a dip in it earns the delights of the

Paradise). Brahma, while visiting this place, had a lotus in hand which fell down, and the spot at which the flower fell gave rise to springs of water which assumed the form of a lake after the shape of a lotus lily. In Sanskrit, Pushkar means a lotus lily and hence the name Pushkar.

The lake and the lotus. The visitors do not find now-a-days any lily growing

that was for making money by the sale. Strange as it may appear, the lotus lilies disappeared from the lake after the decision of the case, to the great disappointment of the quarrelling Brahmans and the pilgrims visiting the Tirath. This is one of the mysteries of Pushkar.

The Gujars and the lake. The Gujars of Rajputana claim the lake as one of the places of their early settlements with their



" PUSHKAR—THE LOTUS LAKE OF RAJPUTANA "

The romance of Pushkar, its surrounding hills with temple of Savitri on the peak of one of them.

in it, nor a lotus lily can be traced. But investigation revealed the fact that the shallow parts of the lake abounded in lotus lilies, and the leaves provided food for the cows and the seeds for the pilgrims. The Brahmans, who claim to be the owners of the lake, felt tempted to make money by the sale of the lotus. This led to a split amongst them and ultimately to a ruinous and protracted litigation terminating in favour of the party

herds of cows, and in support of their claim, they offer the name Padma Puran which says that Brahma married a Gujar virgin, Gayatri, who acted as his consort (Ardhangi) in the Yagna ritual. They have been so very much sentimentally attached to this place that they carry their dead hundreds of miles to be cremated on the banks of this lake, and they own a special Ghat for the purpose. They do not call it Pushkar, but Gujar Nada (Gujar water pool). This

is another point worthy of note by the antiquarians and a point of considerable importance.

The lake and the sanyasis.—The herding Gojars, finding a permanent water supply in the lake and abundant grass in the surrounding hills and the valleys, seem to have permanently settled down at the place and retained its exclusive possession and control for a great length of time. It is said that the sanyasis wanted to use this place as a Tirath, but the Gujars would not let them do so without their consent. This led to a quarrel, and a fight between the army of sanyasis and that of savage Gujars. In 1157 A.D. a decisive battle was fought between the two opposing factions, when the sanyasis on the night of the Dewali made a determined attack, killed the Gujars and took possession of the lake. They gave control of the place to the ancestors of the present-day Brahman Pandas, and left their own representatives in charge of the five principal temples: the temple of Atmateshwara, Varah, Badrinath, Brahamaaji and Savitri, and the descendants of those representatives still hold the charge of these temples, and the descendants of the Brahmans still own and control the affairs of the lake.

Pushkar and the Jains, and the Buddhists.—With the rise of Jainism, and Buddhism, the lake seems to have attracted their attention in the arid sands of Marwar, and the cut-up dry country of Mewar. This lake, the water of which never dried up, was a place of immense importance, and like all other important places such as Benares, Muttra and Gaya, the Buddhists took possession of it during the days of their power, established Viharas and temples and founded great prosperous

cities, the ruins of which lie buried under sand rolled up from the Marwar deserts. These ruins of the cities' temples and fortifications of the Jains and the Buddhists need excavations by the archaeological department to lay bare the material evidences of their pristine greatness and glory.

Pushkar and its antiquity.—According to Hindu belief, Pushkar is as old as the creation and popularly it is believed to be one of the two eyes of Dharti (earth), the waters of which have never been known to have dried up, even when a drought lasted for years and years together. The other eye of Dharti is said to be Katash Raj—a perennial spring in the famous salt range of the north-western Punjab. It is considered to be as one of the most ancient places in India, and as a matter of fact, contemporaneous with the birth of the modern Hinduism itself. The subject has not been scientifically investigated and the exact date of its birth determined, and so it is impossible at present to say when it first came into existence. During rains, when the surface of the surrounding hills is washed away, people come across Punch-marked coins of a date anterior to the fourth century B.C., also Bactrian, Greek, and Gupta coins.

Ramayana and Pushkar. It is mentioned in this oldest epic that Viswamitra, a renowned Rishi, performed his tap and went through a course of self-mortification at this place. It is also mentioned that a celestial fairy, Menaka, came down to earth to have a dip in its sacred waters to wash off her impurities. The Mahabharata also mentions Pushkar, a place visited by the Pandavas, as it mentions Katash Raj as the lake (Vishv-Kund) turning into Amar-Kund for the sake of the Pandavas. Diwan Bahadur

Harbilas Sarda of Ajmere has done very useful work in this direction and collected the up-to-date available information in a book called "Ajmere: Historical and Descriptive" wherein he mentions the various coins found at Pushkar.

Pushkar and "Prithviraj Vijai". This important book which deals with the achievements and great deeds of famous Chohan king, Prithvi Raj, who fought against Mohd. Gauri, written in the 12th century A.D., dilates on the sanctity of Pushkar and mentions a famous temple of Ajagandha and Mahadeva, which does not exist now, and, like all other ancient temples erected on the banks of the sacred lake as monuments of Hindu piety, seems to have suffered at the hands of the Muslim idol breakers.

The sanctity of Pushkar.—The great sanctity of the lake is an argument in support of its great antiquity. It is visited by pilgrims from all parts of India and beyond, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Kashmir, Nepal, Deccan, Gujarat and Bengal. The offerings made by them are sufficient to maintain a colony of two thousand Brahmans. All the imperial houses of ruling princes in Rajputana and Malwa have built ghats along its bank and erected princely houses. There are a number of charitable houses, from which food is doled out to the poor and the mendicants. Lately, a rich Deccani millionaire Seth, has built a magnificent temple dedicated to Ranga Swami at a cost of 25 lakhs of rupees, which is being maintained at a monthly expenditure of thirteen hundred rupees. It is a fine specimen of architecture as illustrative of the skill which the Indian artist still possesses in the line of architecture and sculpture, and it is

worthy of a visit. There are other temples neither very modern nor very ancient, which attract the pilgrims, and the important of these are the one dedicated to Brahma and erected by Perikh, a Mahratta General about 1825, Atmateshwar, Savitri and Varah.

Pushkar as a Tirath.—This place is a favourite resort for those who want to conquer the self through tapa (austerity). A Bengali tapasvi, who had passed 10 years at Gangautri and only two months at Pushkar, affirmed the supreme importance of the place as most suitable for tapa, if a guha (cave) in the surrounding hills is chosen for abode, and that what he could not achieve in 10 years in the Uttarkhand was achieved at Pushkar in two months.

Such is the unique importance of Pushkar from a spiritual and religious point of view, and it is believed that it is a replica on earth of Sumero, the abode of Gods.

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SAIVA SIDDHANTA

BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)

(Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Madras University)

THE Saiva Siddhanta is one of the many religious schools in Hinduism. There are many books on the subject in Tamil and a few in Sanskrit. In a modern European language there is only one work on the subject, namely, 'Der Saiva Siddhanta' by Schomerus. It is in the fitness of things that under the auspices of the Department of Indian Philosophy in the Madras University, a research student* has undertaken a critical study and analysis of the system; and that the Department and the student deserve congratulations for being able to present a thorough exposition of the system in a way that meets the needs of a modern reader.

In the first chapter, the author deals with the literature bearing on the subject, noticing the textual and chronological relations of the various works. In the next chapter, the Saiva Siddhanta epistemology is elaborately dealt with. In the following six chapters, the problems of God, Man and the World and the release of man are considered, and in the ninth and last chapter there is a treatment of the other systems both allied to and remote from the Saiva Siddhanta.

It is very easy for the personal bias of the author to creep in, mostly inadvertently, sometimes even deliberately, into a work of this nature dealing with theology and religion. The author is a Christian by persuasion and it is creditable to note that the personal beliefs of the author have been kept absolutely in

the background and the whole work has been conceived and executed with a purely scholarly detachment, and the only goal of the work is to find out the truth and to present it clearly, which is the right goal in all University Research.

The author says that her effort is to evaluate the Saiva Siddhanta System "in the light of critical idealism" (Preface). Here there is considerable scope for differences of opinion regarding the legitimacy of adopting "critical idealism" as a measuring rod to evaluate a religious system like the Saiva Siddhanta. There can be no two opinions on the fact that in taking up this measuring rod, the author has not brought in any personal factors into the treatment of the subject. Thus her evaluation of the Saiva Siddhanta is strictly impersonal, and a reviewer has only to consider the legitimacy of adopting this measuring rod.

Every religion postulates three entities: GOD, MAN and the WORLD; and it postulates them as Absolute realities. In the terminology of religion, God is said to transcend man and the world to be independent of these, and man and the world are said to be dependent upon God. But strictly speaking, God is as much dependent upon man and the world as these two are on God, in so far as no religion can show any purpose in postulating a God unless there is man whom God guides and protects and the world which God controls. Some religions may accept the immanence of God, the creation of the world by God, and other doctrines. But no religion can and does ignore the reality of God, man and the world.

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SAIVA SIDDHANTA

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It is a certain need of man—the religious need—which urges him to postulate God and God's absolute reality. But there are other needs in man and other urges in him besides the religious need; and the other need also comes in when he begins to examine himself and the world around him. It is one of these other needs that urges man to take up idealism as the measuring rod in his examination of himself and the world around him. Thus both in pluralistic religion and monistic idealism, the subject of investigation is the same, namely, man himself and the world around him. Religion leads him on to one more reality, namely, God; idealism leads him to suspect the reality of these two.

Thus when two conflicting conclusions have been arrived at as a result of the investigation of the same problem and when a student tries to examine one of these conclusions, it will be utterly uncritical, and it may even be purposeless, if he does not carry on his examination in the light of the other conclusion. True, it will be equally legitimate to bring in the conclusions of religion for testing idealism. This is what is found in all ancient Sastraic works. When in works on religions and on theistic philosophies, the idealistic position of Sri Sankara is considered and criticised, the untenability of the idealistic position is shown only in the light of religious experiences. Idealism cannot be used as a measuring rod in testing itself, it can be used only in testing other positions; and the subject-matter of the book under review is the proper place where idealism can and has to be legitimately applied.

Having taken up the correct measuring rod and having begun to apply it in the right place, have the measurements been

properly taken? This is a question which a reviewer has to ask. This is the only correct test for evaluating the work under notice. It is found that the author has critically examined even very minute points in the Saiva Siddhanta and arrived at very safe conclusions.

On p. 88, after describing the Cit or Intelligence nature of God, she remarks: "It seems as if all that has been said of the Omniscience of God is undermined by the Siddhantin's further contention that 'sat' knows not 'asat'. The Siddhantin tries to meet the difficulty by saying that Siva cannot know 'asat' as an object, as pasu and pasa are not foreign to him." Then the author says: "Here the Siddhantin verges on Advaitism, for the world and the souls are only elements of the Absolute," and the author adds "and this position is inconsistent with the statements that there are three entities: pati, pasu and pasa, each having its own individuality". Even without resort to idealism as a measuring rod, there is a good deal of truth in this estimate of the absolute nature of God with his constituents and attributes, and of man and the world. There are various places where the author points out difficulties in accepting the position of Saiva Siddhanta. On p. 137, she says: "It has been noted how the qualities of anava are considered to interfere with the absolute nature of God. The Law of Karma again, in manifesting its attributes, renders God not an absolute monarch, but a constitutional king." In the subsequent passages she considers the limitations imposed upon God, and till the end of the chapter, she attempts to show how these difficulties can find a solution from the absolutist point of view.

I need not multiply examples. The whole book is well thought out and planned and the arguments are clearly and impartially reasoned out.

*"Saiva Siddhanta" by Miss Violet Paranjoti, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. Luzac & Co., London, 1938. 6sh. net or Rs. 4. Available of G. A. Natesan & Co.

CHANGING TIMES*

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

WE are passing through a time of rapid changes and that makes it difficult for us to realise exactly the magnitude of the transformation that is taking place before our very eyes. This microphone which helps to carry my words to you is in itself a symbol of the new age.

I am now thinking of what Madras was nearly half a century ago when I first came to the city to join the Matriculation class. If I compare the city now with what it was then, the contrast is vivid. After a lapse of nearly five decades one sees changes of sights and scenes almost unrecognisable. Indeed almost everything has changed except the long stretch of the sea coast and the great temple towers of Mylapore and Triplicane.

Think of our magnificent Marina with its blaze of electric lights that transform night into day and the unending procession of people that swarm the foreshore like the waves of the sea. It was not always so. I remember a time when people groped about under dim kerosine lamps that glittered like glow-worms in the distance. The old straggling jutkas and victorias have fast disappeared and given place to a procession of cars which vie with one another in splendour as well as in speed. I hope a humaner civilisation will soon dispense with the riksha and the country cart,—both horrible anachronisms in an age of rapid mechanisation.

Let us picture to ourselves the rapid expansion the city has undergone. The middle and richer classes have escaped congestion by migrating to the suburbs.

* A broadcast talk from the A. I. R., Madras.

And within the last twenty years, Madras has extended itself to Avadi on the one side and Mambalam on the other. Fine mansions and garden houses built on the most fastidious styles of architecture afford real pleasure to the eye. The inventions of our civilisation have annihilated distance. The electric trains, the telephone and the radio are knitting us together every day of our lives. Even in distant Tambaram, we do not feel we are away from the metropolis. That is the one commanding benefit of modern inventions.

It has been said that every third house in the city is either a hair dressing saloon or a coffee hotel. Possibly there is some exaggeration in this, but do you know how quietly yet effectively they have levelled up distinctions? Could education or legislation have done that work with equal rapidity?

Our picture houses have contributed not a little to the process of levelling. It is true that no mechanism, however perfect, can bring back the inspiration that comes of hearing the living voice. We cannot share the thrill that moved the men who heard the music of Maha Vaidyanatha Ayyar or witnessed the acting of Kalyanaraman. No one, therefore, with any tenderness for the past, and a feeling for true art, can view with equanimity the disappearance of our histrionic art with all its traditions. But I realise that no old world theatre could have coped with the demands of the immense multitude of sightseers who throng the picture-houses now. What art and talent and enterprise have been pooled to draw such crowded houses! I take it that these amenities have added considerably to our comforts and made life more interesting.

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Who could have thought years ago that so many of our women would congregate on the sands on the beach to hear songs and talks broadcast from a far away station? Who could have thought of the tremendous change in fashion that has taken place in the dress of our fair sex? Witness the smart tight fitting jacket replacing the long loose *saree* of old. Our lady graduates in arts and law and medicine are not exactly the shy young things of the nineties, moving gracefully with their eyes fixed on their toes. They walk with their heads erect and they discuss with their comrades in perfect ease all the problems of the day. They drive their cars along in perfect nonchalance. They play their part in the municipal councils and in the legislative assemblies and that with credit. They discuss too their disabilities, they plead for their rights and privileges and some of them long for their independence. I like the change that has come over the position of women in our social life. Yet I must confess that I occasionally think aloud and pray that the transformation that is now taking place in Hindu society may not lead to the disappearance of the grace, the charm and the beauty of a social order so dear to our civilisation. To the women of the present generation, I would like to say: remember our ideal, Sita and Savithri.

A welcome development of recent years is the growing interest in sports. Vast open spaces are filled with happy bands of sportsmen. Crowds come not only from the city but from distant towns and villages to witness cricket matches in rain or sun. Our daily papers are full of the reports of matches played by well known Teams not only in India, but all the world

over and there are many today, particularly among the young, who are anxious to read the sports column in preference to other sections in a newspaper. Here again I am tempted to observe that I have a feeling that the modern English sports are being overdone and that our own simple, cheap and healthy games are being neglected.

A sure index of a people's progress is to be found in their newspapers. Today they are legion. But I remember a time when a belated English Weekly answered the needs of scores of really educated people. Now there is hardly an educated home without its daily paper: English or Vernacular. And mark you, how varied and comprehensive are the contents of our daily papers—both British and Indian owned—catering to the tastes and needs of all classes—Sport, Art, Drama, Film, Foreign News and Home Politics, Finance, the Market Rates and the Weather. There are sections also for women and children.

Have you noticed the change that has come over the Anglo-Indian Press? They do not specialise any more in barrack room ballads and the doings of Memsahibs and retired Civilians at Home. There are plenty of things really Indian in our present day British-owned papers and their comments are marked alike by sympathy and understanding without a touch of that superiority complex which made their tone so insufferable in those days. I tell you our Anglo-Indian papers are trying to become *swadeshi* and as up to date and interesting as the British Press.

But I must admit that the Cinema, the Daily Press, and the political agitation of the past decade have deflected public interest from serious literature. Any publisher will

tell you that apart from text-books there has been steady deterioration in the circulation of classical literature. There is no doubt a demand for propagandist literature. But I do not find as in the old days a desire to acquaint oneself with all the literature that tells you the pros and cons of a public question and thus enable you to form a considered and independent judgment. To me, however, it is some satisfaction to note that there is a wide-spread desire among the people to acquaint themselves better with the contents of our sacred scriptures.

Thanks to the efforts of our reformers and humanitarians and the soul-stirring appeals of Mahatma Gandhi, great interest has been manifested in the improvement of the status of the Harijans and the condition of the workers and the poorer classes of our population. Employers are daily being compelled to realise that the large numbers of men and women whom they employ in their factories, workshops and offices are not mere machines but human beings with souls. Further they are made to realise that a great part of the wealth, the comforts and happiness they enjoy, they directly owe to the many workers who toil day and night. Public conscience has become alive to the needs and comforts of workers more than ever before. There is a real and genuine desire on the part of some employers, Indian and European, to improve the lot of their workers. I have been much impressed by the efforts of the Tatas at Jamshedpur and of the management of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras in providing housing and welfare facilities. In our own city, the Madras Corporation which often comes in for a great deal of undeserved criticism has set an admirable example in the direction of clearing the slums and providing suitable housing accommodation for the poor. I must not fail to mention the large number of

schools which it has started for the education of the poor in the city.

Everything is on the move. Politics is no exception. The most momentous changes have been taking place in the history of the world. Within the last quarter of a century, the map of Europe has been changed beyond recognition. And what of India? We no longer hear of the dumb pathetic contentment of the masses. I remember how in the early days we were content to ask for a few nominations to the Municipalities and District Boards, a few more additions to the elected seats in our local legislature and for the nomination of an Indian Member to the Executive Councils of the Governor and the Viceroy. The persistent efforts of the venerable veterans of the Indian National Congress, the tearing Home Rule campaign of Mrs. Besant and the non-violent non-co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi have effected a wonderful transformation in the politics of our country. This brings to my mind what Lord Morley said not many years ago: "for as long a time as my poor imagination can pierce through for so long a time our Government in India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and absolute element". The great statesman-philosopher could not conceive of the day when India would be fit for parliamentary or responsible government. Poor Morley, his imagination could take him no farther!

The unprecedented political agitation of the last 20 years, and the tremendous sacrifices to which our patriots subjected themselves, have brought us nearer the goal. Many a settled fact has since been unsettled. They who were once denounced as seditionists are now wielding the reins of government in the Provinces. In our own city there are no more able and energetic upholders of law and order than those who not long ago defied the bureaucracy and courted imprisonment. "C. R." and his team have brought us credit and so have their compeers in some of the other provinces. May their successful administration of the provinces lead soon to the capture of the Centre! May this great land of ours, ere long, occupy its proper place in the comity of nations!

Principles of British Foreign Policy

By DR. MAHMUD HUSAIN, Ph.D.

(Reader in Modern History, University of Dacca)

ONE who proposes to deal with the principles of the foreign policy of Great Britain finds oneself in a particularly difficult position. The main lines of the policy of other States are, as a rule, clearly recognisable. The foreign policy of France, for instance, has for a long time been determined by the fear and suspicion of Germany, and *vice versa*. Not so with Great Britain. She does not believe, so it seems, in permanent friendships and permanent enmities.

The main difficulty of a student of British policy is that one never knows where Britain stands at a given moment. Sometimes serious consequences follow due to this ambiguity. It is now recognized by all competent authorities that if in 1914 Great Britain had definitely told Germany that in an eventual conflict Britain would join France and Russia, Germany would not have adopted the attitude that she did. Or, conversely, had Britain informed France and Russia that she would remain neutral, they, especially Russia, would not have precipitated the crisis. But the trouble was that nobody knew what Great Britain would do, not even the British people themselves.

As in 1914 there is to-day an ambiguity, an uncertainty about British foreign policy. In spite of it, however, or perhaps because of it, it may be worth while trying to find out the principles that govern the relations of Britain with the rest of the world.

It is not certain whether the past is a reliable guide for the future, although Seeley tells us that history should not only gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his

forecast of the future. Anyhow, if we look at Britain's past, we notice that although Britain has shown great inconsistency in making and retaining political friendships and enmities, she has been quite consistent in the aims of her policy.

Great Britain's relations with other countries have been determined by her geographical position in Europe and her imperial interests in every corner of the globe. She cannot disinterest herself altogether in the affairs of Europe, for she herself is in Europe. But her foreign policy must needs be also influenced by consideration for the interests of the Empire of which she is the leader. If on the one hand she is a part of Europe, she is on the other the heart of a great empire. Consequently, there have been two predominant aims of British foreign policy.

To safeguard herself in Europe, she has tried to maintain the balance of power between the several Great Powers of the Continent. For more than four hundred years she has held fast to this policy. The principle became clearly discernible during the wars waged by Great Britain in the sixteenth century against Spain. Even in the age of religious wars, Protestant England co-operated with Catholic France to defeat the attempt of Spain at world-dominion. But when under Louis XIV France stepped into the position of Spain, Britain allied herself with the Habsburgs and fought against France. By the War of Spanish Succession, she prevented the union of the French and Spanish Crowns. England, however, was not prepared to allow another Power to acquire the position so long held by France; and thus when

confronted by the union of the Spanish and Austrian Crowns under a Habsburg, she severed herself from her allies and came to an agreement with her late enemy. The same policy was at work in the wars waged by Great Britain against Napoleon I and Nicholas I and William II. In every case her principal war aim was the same—to maintain a system of counterpoises and to prevent the rise of any omnipotent rival who might endanger the balance of Power among the Continental States. She had cleverly acted on a large number of occasions as a sort of indicator in the balance and at the crucial junctures she has thrown her weight into the scale in favour of the declining side.

As a corollary to this principle, Great Britain has made it her lasting concern to prevent Belgium from passing into the hands of a strong Continental Power. Obviously it was from here that the greatest danger could threaten Britain. This has been a decisive consideration in her wars against Philip II and Louis XIV and Revolutionary France and Imperial Germany. Britain has always intervened most strenuously in defence of the neutrality of Belgium.

Next to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, British policy may be said to have been influenced by the desire to secure immunity for her overseas possessions. It is the expansion of England that has made her what she is to-day. It is amusing to recall that at the Council of Constance in 1414, as Gibbon tells us, France disputed the title of England to a voice in the affairs of Europe, contending—and rightly—that England was one of the "lesser kingdoms". But with the expansion of England there came a change in her status. Britain owes her position as

a great Colonial Power to geographical situation and to her comparative freedom from the Continental entanglements which handicapped her rivals—Spain, Holland and France. Her coal and iron enabled her to take the fullest advantage of her position which the discovery of America offered her.

It is a picturesque fallacy to say, as Seeley did, that the English people conquered half the world in a fit of absence of mind. There has been not a single first class war during the last three centuries in which Britain, if victorious, has not made substantial additions to her colonial empire. Even defensive wars—and Great Britain, as a rule, fights only purely defensive wars—have handsomely contributed towards the growth of her overseas possessions. Britain has only too often shown a great distrust of countries which threaten her empire. She has been able to control her vast possessions through her supremacy over the seas, and she has a natural suspicion of the Power which wants to possess a big navy. She attaches great importance to her naval strength; for it has been ever since the time of Elizabeth the bulwark against invasion. It has offered protection to the British carrying trade and has been a "screen behind which colonial expansion could be conducted". Further owing to her world-wide overseas possessions, Great Britain has been specially interested in certain strategic and commercial routes. Any one who looks at the map of the world will at once notice that the spinal cord of the British Empire is the route—London-Gibraltar-Suez-Aden-Persian Gulf-Ceylon-Singapore. This line may be called the highway of the Empire. Two routes branch off from the main highway, one towards the

West leading to Canada and the other towards the East leading to Australia. The most important strategic points for Britain, therefore, should be Gibraltar, Port Said, and Singapore. Naturally the British navy cannot but be concentrated in these three places and from here it protects British interests in three waters—the Atlantic, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans.

Thus we may sum up the purposes of British foreign policy in two phrases—balance of power and security for the Empire. Of course, none of them is exclusive of the other. Indeed, as a rule, it has happened that the country which has tried to

dominate over Europe and disturb the balance of power has also pursued a policy which has appeared to Great Britain as a menace to some interest actual or potential of imperial security. Any State that has chosen to come in the path of Great Britain and has threatened her possessions has been turned aside from its course or even crushed by the Island Empire or by some mightier combination engineered by British diplomacy. With remarkable success during the past few centuries, Great Britain has maintained the balance of power, expanded her imperial domain and strengthened her vital lines of defence.

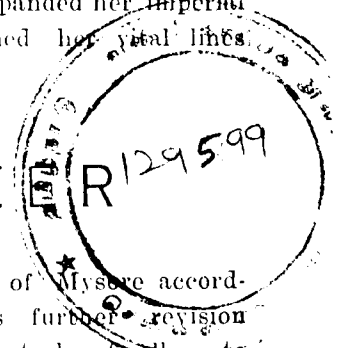
MYSORE GAZETTEER

EXACTLY 70 years ago, the idea of a gazetteer of Mysore in eight volumes, one for each district, was projected. But owing to different causes, only two volumes—those relating to Mysore and Kolar—were compiled. In 1871, the late Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., then Director of Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, was entrusted with the work of issuing in two volumes, the first dealing with the State as a whole and the other by districts. These two volumes won the high approbation of the late Sir W. W. Hunter, afterwards the editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Mr. Rice lived to see through the issue of a new and revised edition of this work of his in 1897. The revised edition made a great appeal and was long the standing reference work on Mysore. But the lapse of time—nearly 40 years—rendered that work far too old and antiquated to prove of practical

use. The Government of Mysore accordingly decided upon its further revision and entrusted that task finally to Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, who is responsible for the five volumes* in which it has been now issued. Mr. Hayavadana Rao has had experience of this particular kind of work, having been responsible for several of the volumes of the *Madras District Gazetteers* and for the Madras Volume in the new *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The Government of Mysore could not have hit upon a better choice for a new edition of their *Gazetteer*.

The arrangement of the volumes of the new edition is in keeping with the requirements of to-day. Progress during the past 40 years in Mysore has been so great—indeed in some respects even

* *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vols. I to V. By C. Hayavadana Rao. New and Revised edition. Price. Rs. 15 per set. Each Volume can only be had separately. Mysore Government Press, Bangalore.



phenomenal—that the recording of the events connected with it has necessitated a change in the entire plan of the work. The bulk of the work has been raised from two to seven volumes, giving an up-to-date map specially prepared for the work by the Government India Survey Department.

In order to indicate very briefly the contents and character of the volumes before us, we require much space. But it ought to be said that Volume I, which is devoted to the physical aspects, deals with the physical aspects, such as meteorology, botany, zoology, geology, language, religion, population, public health and vital statistics.

Each of these heads is presented in a separate chapter devoted to itself. Taking, for example, the case of Mysore, by way of example, we can state that the complete information included in the chapter is the information included in the chapter devoted to itself. Taking, for example, the case of Mysore, by way of example, we can state that the complete information included in the chapter is the information included in the chapter devoted to itself.

Under the last of these heads, *Hinduism*, we have an account of the several Brahman sects and the lives of their teachers, such as Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, and Advaitacharya including their different schools of thought.

All the chapters are based on first-hand and authoritative information. Then we have an account of the Lingayats, who form so large a population of the State and of Islam, whose followers, especially speaking, occupy an influential position in it. The Christian sects are forgotten and the history of the Christian Missions forms interesting reading.

The chapters on Ethnology and Caste, and on Public Health show that pains have been spared by the compiler to make the volume, in which

they are included, thoroughly reflect the progress achieved in recent research.

Similarly Volume II, which is in four different Parts and devoted to the history of the State since the earliest times, is a veritable mine of information. The history of the Cholas, Hoysalas, and Vijayanagar included cannot, perhaps, be superseded for many years to come. The history of the present ruling dynasty of Mysore has been entirely re-written, and what is most noticeable in this part of this Volume is that the memory of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III has been fully and ably retrieved with the aid of unimpeachable documents.

Volume III, which is devoted to *Economic* matters, is perhaps the one that will appeal most to traders and commercialists. It records the systematic progress made by the State in the industrial development it has consciously aimed at. Its chapters are worthy of the closest attention of those who desire to obtain any idea of the motives and impulses which have actuated successive administrators in Mysore. It is a just tribute to their work and the very high ideals that have inspired the present Great Ruler of Mysore, Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar, who is not only a philosopher among kings but also a king among philosophers.

Volume IV, devoted to *Administration*, is equally well laid out and contains a splendid sketch of the work done for the State by successive Rulers and administrators. We ought to mention the authoritative accounts of the administrations of Dewan Rangacharlu, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Sir Mirza M. Ismail (up to the date of publication) and other Dewans, whose work has added so much to the prestige of Indians as practical administrators.

The fifth and the last volume devoted to the accounts of the eight districts of Mysore included in it is of equal interest. These accounts are descriptive, historical, economic, and administrative.

Indigenous Banking and its Future

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

SOUTH India recently passed through a serious Banking crisis following upon the suspension of payment by one of the big banks operating in this area. The tension has now eased and normality restored. But it is not exactly a case of "All is well that ends well". The crisis exposed several weak links in the chain which necessitates a calm retrospect with a view to strengthening the position of indigenous banking concerns and making them the better able to meet a crisis should one arise in the future; for, so long as banking means lending depositors' money, this risk is always present. The points may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The views held by the Reserve Bank with regard to its responsibilities towards the Scheduled Banks in times of need.
2. The evident lack of powers for the Reserve Bank to help its member banks as revealed by their recent interpretation of certain portions of the chief section in the Reserve Bank Act which governs its relations with member banks.
3. The absence of suitable legislation in respect of commercial banks which leaves them free agents as to the maintenance of a certain proportion of fluid assets to their liabilities; the absence of powers of inspection or audit by either the Central Bank or in the Government over the commercial banks excepting for the few sections which were added to the Indian Companies' Act, 1936, regarding banking, which appear to be wholly inadequate in times like those through which these institutions have recently had to pass.
4. The total absence of effort by the Government and those interested in Banking to implement some of the important

recommendations of the Banking Enquiry Committee, notably in regard to the provision of public warehouses in important commercial and agricultural centres.

5. The need for re-examination of the relative advantages of usance bills over promissory notes in the light of the fact that the commercial community is disinclined to change over to the bill habit and if necessary to stimulate the bill habit in preference to the systems now obtaining.
6. The absence of legislation with regard to banks incorporated in a foreign state to protect the interests of the people in British India and to ensure a fair measure of control so far as their liabilities to British Indian citizens are concerned.

When public interest is properly focussed on the question of the future of indigenous banking, many other problems will also arise which will have to be solved, in addition to those referred to above. Many of the points which I have mentioned above are inter-dependent and in view of the importance of the first two of these points relating to the position of the Reserve Bank *vis-a-vis* the Scheduled Banks, it might, perhaps, be useful to just outline the position without going fully into the merits of the question. The Memorandum presented by the Scheduled Banks' Association, Madras, to the Reserve Bank authorities recently affirms "that the Reserve Bank was of very little assistance on the present occasion". There does appear to be considerable truth in the statement made by the Scheduled Banks. It is not possible in a short article like this to discuss the various aspects of this question fully and I shall

merely indicate a few general considerations. It was stated that the powers of the Reserve Bank to help must be sought within the four corners of the Reserve Bank of India Act, and this led to an examination of Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, and more particularly of sub-section 2 and sub-clause (d) of sub-section 4 of that Section. The first one raises the old issue of promissory note and usance bill and the second one the question whether documents of title to goods are a better security than possession of the goods themselves. Both these points arise because of long standing commercial habits of the people in India which, everybody admits, have to be altered, but no one has suggested the means for such rapid alteration. The difference between a promissory note and a usance bill is well understood and there is not much difference of opinion that as a commercial instrument the latter has definite advantages over the former. And yet it is the promissory note which is almost universally current in our country. The bill habit will take long to establish itself among our people. Secondly, advances on the security of warehouse-keeper's certificates as distinct from those on that of the goods themselves, is what is said to be contemplated by the Act when it refers to documents of title to goods. The establishment of a system of public warehousing has been advocated by the Banking Enquiry Committee. It has been repeatedly stressed in the bulletins from the Reserve Bank. But, at any rate, in this part of India, little or no effort appears to have been made to encourage the establishment of such warehouses.

In the result, the insistence of the Reserve Bank authorities, acting according

to their understanding of the Act, that no advances are possible except on usance bills and that the warehouse-keepers' certificate and no other instrument, not even the goods themselves, constitutes a satisfactory security resulted in the Scheduled Banks having had to go without any assistance from the Reserve Bank at a time of paramount need. It was pointed out that Sir George Schuster in the course of the debate on Clause 17 of the Reserve Bank Bill at the Indian Legislative Assembly had admitted "that the main purpose of that section of the Reserve Bank Act was that the Reserve Bank has to stand behind commercial banks and make their assets more elastic in times of need", but this did not weigh with the authorities who preferred to stick to the words of the section in the spirit of a cold and dry lawyer. The public are entitled to ask that if the sub-sections of Section 17 are really so wooden in their scope, the Reserve Bank should take it upon itself to move the Government of India to get it suitably amended in view of the fact that the law prevents the Reserve Bank from acting as it should at times of serious crisis when a more liberal provision would have enabled it to avert such crisis more effectively and quickly.

The question of amending and amplifying the law relating to Banks is extremely urgent and important, but there is no sign that the Reserve Bank authorities have appreciated its urgency or its importance. On the contrary it appears that they prefer to follow the British practice whereby banks are governed by the Companies' Act and the relations between the Central Bank and the other commercial banks are left for mutual

adjustment outside the ambit of the statute. It is a matter of opinion whether legislation regarding commercial banks is necessary for this country. But a comparative study of legislation regarding commercial banking reveals that in most progressive countries, some form of legislation to control commercial banks is usually undertaken. I hold the view, however, that a Banking Act is one of our needs and that the British system is hardly suitable to an undeveloped country like India. If this view is accepted, the question will arise as to the agency which should be entrusted with powers of control and supervision under a Banking Act. The agency varies in the practice of different countries. In some it is the Central bank, in others it is a department of Government acting under an Inspector-General of Banking, in still others there is a Banking commission or what is called "Statutory Board". As an example of the first instance may be mentioned the latest legislation regarding banking in the Argentine Republic made on the recommendations of Sir Otto Neimeyer. In Japan, the control is wholly governmental. In the totalitarian states, the control is through the Central Bank but again such apex Banks themselves are controlled by the state. Examples of Banking Commissions are found in Belgium and Switzerland where the commission is clothed with wide powers of inspection and control over commercial banks. Upon a consideration of the alternative systems, I am inclined to think that an amendment of the Reserve Bank Act which will give some kind of control to the Reserve Bank over the commercial banks, is, perhaps, most suitable for India.

The question of providing public warehousing and that of stimulating the bill habit, if it is found absolutely necessary, are such as to make Government intervention imperative. If the Government will not take the initiative in regard to establishment of public warehouses, I think that at least the merchants should see to it that a warehousing enterprise is encouraged by them by suitable guarantees of business and return, to make it safe and attractive to investors. As for stimulating the bill habit, one method of doing this certainly would be by removing the stamp duty on Bills or reducing it to nominal limits.

The question of control of foreign banking enterprises operating in British India has assumed much practical importance because there are several such banks and one of the biggest of them suspended payment recently, causing a financial calamity of the first magnitude. There is no use of Government attempting to regulate banking business of companies registered within its own jurisdiction while allowing other companies which are not subject to the same laws as companies registered within its jurisdiction, to function with greater freedom. The least that the State can do is to put foreign banks on the same statutory footing as local banks, and provide for sufficient guarantees to ensure that adequate resources are maintained by these banks in British India to meet their British Indian commitments.

These are some of the points which arise out of the recent crisis. They have to be tackled as soon as possible so that the credit structure of the country may continue to be stable. It is to be hoped that bankers, public men and legislators will examine these problems and find solutions which will restore confidence among the investing public as well as bring prosperity to trade and commerce; these, indeed, are the objects of any sound banking system.

Congress in Office

WITH the passing of July, six out of the seven Congress Ministries have completed a year of office and the anniversary of office acceptance by the Congress has been celebrated with becoming enthusiasm in the different provinces. It will be remembered the Madras Ministry was the first Congress Cabinet to be sworn in on 14th July last; the Central Provinces Ministry took office on the 15th, the Bihar Cabinet on the 16th, the Bombay Cabinet on the 17th, Orissa and the United Provinces Ministries on the 18th. From time to time we have in these pages recorded with appreciation the achievements of the Congress Governments in the Seven Provinces under their control. There is no doubt cause for considerable satisfaction that they have tackled, and in no small degree implemented, the programme chalked out in their election manifesto. But apart from the specific achievements of the Ministries as in the carrying out of the Debt Relief Bill or the Prohibition experiment or other special features of their administration in regard to rural reconstruction, there is decidedly a healthy change in the general outlook of the people who have become conscious of a new strength and self-respect born of responsibility bravely undertaken and competently discharged. As a European observer has put it: "Everywhere there is a strong plea for simplicity in government in an effort to adapt Indian administration to Indian needs and capacity to pay, and Indian political leaders have shown their willingness and capacity to govern." Office acceptance in the Provinces has thus been amply vindicated.

The Success of Prohibition in Salem

The results of nine months' working of the Prohibition experiment in Salem are now before the public in the form of a very interesting report issued by the Ministry of Public Information, Madras. "The success of the campaign," says Mr. Dixon, I.C.S., Collector of Salem, in his review of the working of the Act, "has exceeded the

expectations even of some of the most ardent supporters of the movement, and while no relaxation of preventive action or slackening of control can be permitted as yet, I see no reason to anticipate that permanent success will not reward the efforts of these official and non-official Prohibition workers, many of whom have laboured so hard to make the movement a success."

To change the habits of 7½ lakhs of people scattered in 1,827 villages was certainly a formidable task which the administration undertook with a courage worthy of the cause. It must be heartening to all concerned to read this record of fine achievement and a wholesome lead to workers in other areas.

Sir Akbar on Hindu-Muslim Problem

In his convocation address to the Dacca University, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari dealt at some length on the many problems touching University education in India. But the greater part of his address was devoted to the problem of the differences that exist between Hindus and Muslims. "I for one," he said,

refuse to believe that those differences are not capable of a lasting solution such as would, on the basis of a common nationalism and of national endeavour in the service of a common patrimony, lead to mutual respect and understanding.

Sir Akbar strongly urged that Indians should dissociate themselves from sectional or "communal" activities, "decommunalise" their histories and study the inner meaning of religion.

The Cawnpore Settlement

One of the biggest and the most disquieting of industrial disputes affecting 50,000 labourers in Cawnpore has been satisfactorily settled. The announcement has been received with a sigh of relief all over the country. For the strike had lasted 50 days, and the prospect of a prolonged struggle was certainly perturbing in a turbulent city like Cawnpore when such disorders had led to scenes of savage rioting in the past.

That such an extensive and protracted strike, fraught with alarming consequences, has been brought to a conclusion without grave disturbance to peace reflects credit on all the parties concerned in the settlement. The *Statesman* observes:

The part played by the Premier, Pandit Pant, as mediator during the concluding phase of the struggle was of great value and has further increased his authority in the Province and his reputation as one of India's most level-headed political leaders. To employers and workers the assumption of work means the cessation of financial losses which were becoming serious to both. The former's readiness to modify their original position to certain proposals made by the labour Inquiry Committee was the principal cause of the settlement and has been widely praised. The workers deserve commendation for the remarkable discipline which, on the advice of their leaders, the great majority displayed throughout the strike.

The compromise now effected seems to be reasonable and just to all parties concerned, and one wonders why the concessions had not been made earlier and the very strike averted. It is useless to speculate on what might have been done, but if the present settlement leads to a proper handling of future troubles, or even to the avoidance of such troubles in the future, the hardships and ordeal of the last few days would not have been borne in vain.

Speakers and Politics

Writing on this subject, Mahatma Gandhi has some refreshing observations in a recent issue of the *Harijan*. His line of argument is characteristically different, but he comes to the wholesome conclusion that by not taking part in party politics the Speaker will prove himself a true Congressman and assist very greatly in the advancement of Congress ideals. While he maintains that a Congressman who is a member of an Assembly, no matter what office he occupies there, is subject to the discipline of the Congress and has to carry out its instructions from time to time, he emphasises that a speaker "has to discharge the functions of a judge when he occupies the chair" and, therefore, he has to be "strictly impartial".

If a speaker outside the House ceases to be impartial and indulges in party politics, he cannot properly carry the weight he would if he observed impartiality and calmness everywhere. I claim that if a speaker cultivates the habit of uniform impartiality outside his own very limited sphere he will enhance the Congress prestige.

Travancore

We congratulate the Dewan of Travancore on the Budget for the year which discloses the highest income ever got by Travancore without recourse to any fresh taxation and in spite of large schemes of industrial projects. During the course of the Budget debate we find references to the political situation in Travancore by some members of the State Congress. It is difficult to believe that such a progressive and enlightened administrator like Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer would be guilty of anything unconstitutional or high-handed. One hears everywhere of a spirit of revolt and indiscipline against authority. After all the primary duty of any government is to govern; and we have no doubt that order and discipline will soon be restored and the atmosphere made favourable for the introduction of a scheme of reforms acceptable to the Government and the people alike.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Royal Visit to Paris

A welcome almost unparalleled in the annals of the French Capital for warmth and spontaneity was accorded to Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth when they arrived in Paris on July 19. Being the first official royal visit of the new reign, the occasion was marked with befitting magnificence.

At a banquet at Elysee to Their Majesties, M. Albert Lebrun, President of the French Republic, after expressing sincere joy that France was greeting the Sovereigns of a nation which was their friend, said:

The Franco-British *entente* was founded by your illustrious grandfather and gave under the glorious reign of George V a measure of its efficacy during the dark period of the World War. In the world's present state of moral unrest great obligations still lie on the two nations, both equally interested in human progress.

M. Lebrun added:

The maintenance of peace within the limits of respect for the international law permits neither hesitation regarding the task to be accomplished nor falling off in our daily effort.

His Majesty the King, speaking in French, said that he was deeply touched by the welcome and declared it to be impossible to recall a period in which the Anglo-French relations were more intimate. They inspired the same ideal and had the same attachment to democratic principles and the same belief in the benefits of individual liberty. His Majesty continued:

We are proud of this political faith which we share with other great nations, but we fully realize that it carries with it heavy responsibilities; and in a period in which we live, it demands from us all to a high degree noble qualities of courage, wisdom, and determination.

In his parting message, the King spoke of the welcome

as yet another proof of those ties of cordial friendship and mutual esteem which have so long bound our two countries together, with friendship based on common ideals and common sacrifices and directed solely to the maintenance of just and lasting peace.

Italy and the Spanish Rebels

A frank admission of Italy's participation in the Spanish rebellion is made by Mussolini in a preface to the third five-year series of Acts of the Fascist Grand Council published recently.

"We just had time," he writes, "to salute this victory—the conquest of Abyssinia—when from over the Mediterranean came an appeal.

"Since the Bolsheviks made the Spanish War their war, the battalions that had just returned from the conquest of Abyssinia were reorganised.

"We do not know whether this clash may to-morrow develop into one, embracing the whole of Europe and the world; what we know is that Fascism is not afraid of a combat which must decide the destinies of Continents."

After this admission, why the force of non-intervention?

Minorities in the Czech

Four separate Parliaments for Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia, with complete provincial autonomy but with State finance, foreign policy and defence reserved to the National Assembly, are reported to be the main points in the Government's Minorities Statute now completed.

In each of the four Diets, seats will be divided into electorates representing various nationalities. Thus Bohemia consists of Czechs and Germans; Moravia-Silesia of Czechs, Germans and Hungarians; Slovakia of Slovaks and Germans; and Ruthenia of Czechs, Poles and Germans.

Each Diet, acting as a body, will control general local matters, while each National section will have charge of questions particularly affecting their own Nationality.

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Japan and China

In recent weeks we do not hear much of the resounding victories of Japan in China. For one thing Chinese resistance seems to have stiffened; secondly, the unexpected floods in China have upset all calculations of the Japanese headquarters. Japan must be prepared to continue hostilities in China for at least 10 years, says her Minister for War. This statement, observes the *Statesman*, is certainly candid; whether it is wise is more doubtful. The Japanese public have hitherto been kept in ignorance of such reverses as their armies have sustained.

In the Shantung campaign this produced some curious discrepancies; the newspapers jubilantly reported the capture of towns whose fall had been celebrated in Japan weeks before, but whose loss to the Chinese during the intervening period had not been mentioned. The Press used the same discretion in reporting events in Shansi. The war opened with a series of resounding victories, the capture of Peking, Shanghai, Nanking and recently Suchow. Then came the floods and it was impossible to conceal that progress could not be as rapid as the public seemed to expect. But an open admission of the possibility of war lasting for 10 years will be rather a shock to the morale of the Japanese, and on public confidence will depend Japan's chances of success in the 10 years' war. Her financial position is as bad as that of all totalitarian States, but economics, as the Great War showed, is not an infallible science when it applies to belligerents. More serious is the fact that each month of war will increase the confidence of the Chinese and dishearten the invaders. Can the Japanese military caste continue to regiment the people for a period as long as that forecast by the Minister for War?

Germany and Austria

With reference to the German annexation of Austria, the following extracts from Herr Hitler's *Mein Kampf* will be read with interest. On the very first page of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler declares his conviction that Austria will have to become German, and immediately after he writes:

From my earliest youth, I was convinced that Austria's destruction was a necessary condition for the security of the German race Even

then I perceived the deductions from this realization; intense love for my German Austrian home and deep hatred against the Austrian State.

Further he says:

German-Austria will have to return to the great German Motherland, but not for economic reasons. No, no! Even if a reunion, looked at from that point of view, were a matter of indifference—nay, even if it were actually injurious—it would still have to come. Common blood should belong to a common Reich. The German people have no right to dabble in a colonial policy as long as they are unable to gather their own sons into a common state. Not till the confines of the Reich include every single German, and are certain of being able to nourish him, can there be a moral right for Germany to acquire territory abroad whilst her people are in need.

With the Anschluss (union) so suddenly created by threat of force, Hitler's ambition is realised in a remarkable way. In his speech at Linz, he claims to have discharged a mission designed for him by "Providence".

M. Litvinoff on Non-intervention

"In the more or less near future, Germany intends to proceed to the restoring of her pre-War frontiers and at the same time to capture from the ex-Allies very strong and vital positions which belonged to them before the World War," said M. Litvinoff, Soviet Foreign Minister, in a speech on International Affairs in Leningrad.

Hitler, he said, is encouraged in his game by the policy of non-resistance by the democracies.

The substance of the whole diplomacy of the Western Powers for the last five years has been the avoiding of any resistance to Germany's offensive, the fulfilment of her demands and even whims and the fear to arouse her discontent and disapproval even in the slightest degree.

Referring to the Non-intervention Committee and the Russian part in it, M. Litvinoff stated:

Russia joined the Committee on the assumption that it can ensure absolute non-intervention. But at present her role in the Committee consists in not allowing the intervention of the Committee itself in Spanish affairs on General Franco's side.

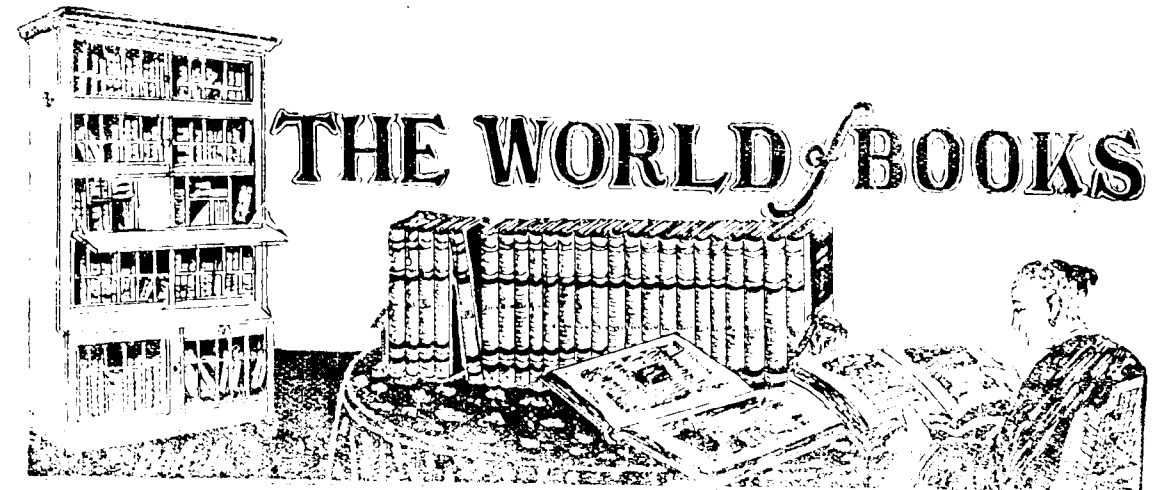
DIARY OF THE MONTH

- June 27. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan introduces the Punjab Press Bill in the Legislative Assembly.
- June 28. British War Office announces complete re-organisation of anti-air craft defences.
- June 29. The Central Advisory Board of Education meets at Simla to consider the Wardha Scheme.
- June 30. The Tillman Expedition abandons the attempt to reach Mount Everest.
- July 1. Sir George Stanley, ex-Governor of Madras, is dead.
- July 2. Irish Dail elects by 75 to 45 Mr. de Valera as Prime Minister of Eire.
- July 3. Mr. G. S. Khaparde is dead.
- July 4. The French occupy Paracel Islands near Indo-China.
- July 5. Cawnpore Mills' strike is called off.
- July 6. Russia and Britain sign the protocol of London Naval Treaty of 1936.
- July 7. H. M. the King confers the title of K. C. S. I. on the Maharajas of Bhavanagar and Jhalawar.
- July 8. Mr. S. C. Bose issues an important statement on Congress attitude to Federation.
- July 9. The Governor of Sind and the Ministry differ over the Sukkur Barrage assessment.
- July 10. H. E. the Viceroy reaches London.
- July 11. Mr. S. C. Bose meets Hon. Sir K. Nazimuddin in connection with the release of remaining detenus.
- July 12. Japanese bomb Wucheng.
- July 13. People's Political Council of China support unanimously the Government's military programme.
- July 14. His Majesty's Government holds a reception at the India Office in honour of Lord and Lady Linlithgow.
- July 15. The Sind Cabinet crisis is tided over by postponing the question of assessment of Sukkur barrage.
- July 16. New York gives a rousing reception to Airman Hughes who toured round the world in 3 days.
- July 17. Airmen Knockinaki and Briandinsky are awarded the title of Hero of Soviet Union and 25,000 roubles each.
- July 18. Sir S. Radhakrishnan unveils the portrait of the Premier of Madras at Gokhale Hall, Madras.
- July 19. Prof. Meghnada Saha joins Calcutta University as Palit Professor of Physics.
- July 20. The Editor of the *Hindusthan Standard* is acquitted.
- July 21. Dr. N. B. Khare, the C. P. Premier, resigns and forms the new Cabinet.
- July 22. Ahmedabad goes dry.
- July 23. Sir Nowroji Saklatwala is dead. — Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetti is dead.
- July 24. Dr. Khare resigns the Prime Ministership along with his colleagues.
- July 25. Congress Working Committee meets at Wardha.
- July 26. Germany and Turkey sign a treaty providing for exchange of goods.
- July 27. Congress Working Committee censures Dr. Khare.
- Mr. R. S. Shukla is elected leader of the C. P. Congress Assembly Party.



LATE MR. M. KOLANDEVELU

- July 28. Mr. M. Kolandavelu 'Mudaliar, of Messrs. Muller & Phipps, a prominent businessman and an unostentatious public worker of Madras, is dead.'
- July 29. Mr. R. S. Shukla forms the C. P. Ministry,



INDIA AND THE PACIFIC. By C. F. Andrews. Allen and Unwin. 3sh. 6d.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has made himself quite an authority on the problem of Indians overseas. His latest book deals with India in the Pacific and the problems Indian settlers and workers have to face in that region. His earlier report made jointly with Mr. W. W. Pearson drew the attention of Indian leaders to the plight of our countrymen abroad and was responsible for the abolition of the labour system in 1920.

Now he writes of the latest phase in the struggle for equality, racial and economic. He draws particular attention to the necessity for tackling without delay such questions as (a) the adjustment of the rights of Indian settlers *vis-a-vis* the original population in each colony; (b) the evil legacy left by the indenture system; and (c) the relationship of colonial-born Indians to the mother country.

Mr. Andrews makes a striking appeal for justice.

The later chapters deal with India's place in the Pacific and of the relations between Europe and Asia. He envisages a bright future for India and believes that in reconstruction of cordial relations between the East and the West lies the most enduring guarantee of a just and true world peace.

HEAD IN GREEN BRONZE AND OTHER STORIES. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 8s. 6d.

This new volume of short stories from Hugh Walpole, the great novelist, is a valuable addition to the world of popular short stories.

The volume under review is a variegated collection of 19 short stories with differing backgrounds. The stories are not very exciting though they are pleasant. The story "Exile", which is the third of the series, has hollywood the modern paradise as its background. There is throughout a touch of the love of nature and the scenery of the English-lake districts. The stories are not very realistic. They have strength but no humanity. The characters are not very simple. The development of each character is represented as a dramatic tension between two forces, namely, the wishes of the character and their environments. The humour in the short stories is not very striking to the reader, who is not aware of the English life. In this connection we do not find the bold romantic realist Walpole. The stories are cleverly told without the touch of sentimentality.

Adventure of the imaginative child, The happy optimist, The Honey-box Heaving Hearts, and The Exile are perfect short stories. The great merit of this collection is that has something for all tastes.

FURTHER UPWARD IN RURAL INDIA. By D. Spence Hatch. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Rs. 2-8.

Mr. Spence Hatch's brief but significant book "Further Upward in Rural India" is a sequel to his "Up from Poverty". It attempts to tackle the problem of rural India from a realistic standpoint. It is full of illuminating suggestions with regard to every aspect of rural uplift. It is a record of actual experience in practical and rural reconstruction evolving from the five kinds of needs of every villager's life—spiritual, mental, physical, social, and economic.

The author writes with sympathy and understanding. What is more he writes with authority. The fruitful experiments he has pursued in his endeavour to reconstruct rural areas are traced with singular skill and precision.

A LIGHT SET UPON THE HILL. By Walter Clemon Lanyon. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

Mr. Clemon has to his credit a dozen popular expositions of the various aspects of the Christian Gospel. He writes with the ease and persuasion of the ex-Dean of St. Paul, Dean Inge. In all his writings, he emphasises the need to harmonise the social as well as the individual duties enjoined by the Gospel. Christianity for him stands for social reconstruction as well as for individual salvation. It is a religion where the individual develops his complete personality through the channel of social service in the name of Christ. The book under review contains about 50 sermons. The best are: 'The Temple of the Living God', 'The Second Coming', 'Life' and 'The Beggars of Life'.

THE TREASURY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE.

By Ram Labhaya, B.A., and Jaishi Ram Coil, B.A., LL.B. Messrs. Ram Lal Suri and Sons, Lahore. (Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) Rs. 3-8.

The book covers a vast field of general knowledge, specially compiled for the benefit of students appearing for the competitive examinations held by the Central and Provincial Public Service Commissions. But judging from the nature of the contents, we have no doubt it will be found of equal interest to other readers.

We are told that over 400 works of reference, pamphlets, and periodicals have been laid under contribution in the preparation of this volume. Practically every question of public interest today is adequately covered with facts and figures, culled from varied sources of information. The wide scope of the volume, and the vast range of topics dealt with, would be of little use but for the authors' skilful presentation of the enormous material at their disposal. The selection and classification of information under appropriate sections leave nothing to be desired.

BALADITYA. By A. S. Panchapakesa Iyer, M.A., I.C.S. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 4.

In this brilliant volume the author transports the reader to those chivalrous times when the world was young, when women loved ardently and men fought bravely. The story is packed with hazardous incidents and love episodes. Through the long-drawn conflict between the Aryans and Huns, the love story of Baladitya, the king of Maghada, and Saraswati of Yasodarman and Charumati is cleverly intermingled. The Swayamvara of Princess Charumati and the great battle of Karur, wherein the Huns are utterly routed, testify to the author's powers of description.

SEX IN MARRIED LIFE. By G. R. Scott. T. Werner Laurie. 3sh. 6d.

Ignorance of the facts of sex and of the implications of marriage which accounts so largely for tragedy and misery in married life still, one fears, exists to a very great extent. Manuals in non-technical and frank language like the one under review are, therefore, desirable. They answer to a real need. Most of the problems arising out of sex in married life are discussed in this slim little volume with a refreshing frankness and a reassuring brevity. The book is heartily commended to all who are married and, in particular, to those who are about to be married.

DEVKI'S PROBLEM: A play in three Acts. By Pundit Bishan Narain. Ramakrishna & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Re. 1.

Changing times and conditions produce domestic and social upheavals inevitably and necessitate a revaluation of old values. Inter-caste marriage and widow marriage are two problems that affected the young lives of Sundari and Devki. Madan elopes with Sundari and defies the existing social order. Devki seeks to drown herself in Ganges, but is rescued by her brother Nanak, and Sundar Lal, a friend, offers her re-marriage. Swami Anand, a much travelled preacher and philosopher, expounds his ideas. The dialogue is well sustained throughout the drama and provides much food for thought.

BOOKS RECEIVED

FOOD-PLANNING FOR FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS. By Radha Kernal Mukerjee. Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London, W.C. 2.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CAD. By A. G. MacDonell. Macmillan & Co., London.

TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL. By B. Attam. Frederick Muller Ltd., 39, Great James Street, London.

BEATING THE CULBERTSONS. By Dr. Paul Stern. T. Werner Laurie, London.

APHORISMS OF YOGA. By Bhagwan Shree Pathanjali. Translated by Shree Purohit Swami. Faber and Faber, 24, Russell Square, London.

WARDHA DITAM (IN TAMIL). By P. K. Sundara-rajan, B.A., L.T. Manikodi Pustakasala, George Town, Madras.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF YOGA. By Swami Jnananda. S. H. Anantlal Panchavate. Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.

MODERN GIRLS' GUIDE TO HOME MAKING. By Mrs. Freda M. Bedi. "Modern Girl" Mohani Road, Lahore.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN TARIFF BOARD re. PAPER AND PAPER PULP. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

PETALS OF ROSES. By J. S. Bright. 33, Grand Trunk Road, Lahore.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF 8TH ORIENTAL CONFERENCE (1935). Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore.

SUGGESTIONS TO THE EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION COMMITTEE OF BIHAR. By Ram Lochan Saran. Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasaree.

THE MACHINERY OF SOCIALIST PLANNING. By G. D. H. Cole. The Hogarth Press, 52, Tavistock Square, London.

THE COMMON INDIAN PLANTS, THE OUTLINE OF RATIONALISM, AND SEXOLOGY OF THE HINDUS. By Chandra Chakravarty. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta.

A GUIDE TO BELUR. By Dr. M. H. Krishna. Government Press, Bangalore.

MILITARY SCIENCE. By G. M. Jadhav. 55, Girgaum Road, Bombay 4.

TRIENNIAL REVIEW OF IRRIGATION IN INDIA. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

THE GOVERNMENT OF COCHIN ACT AND RULES THEREUNDER. Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY FOR INDIAN STUDENTS. By Cyril S. Fox. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

INDIAN CURRENCY PROBLEMS IN THE LAST DECADE. (1926-1936.) By Prof. J. C. Sinha, University of Delhi.

SIVA-MAHIMNA STOTRAM. Text in Sanskrit. Devanagari with English translation by Swami Pavitrananda. Advaita Ashrama Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas.

HINDUS IN HYDERABAD. By Syed Mohd. Ahsan. Osmania Printing Works, Kingsway, Secunderabad.

READY RECKONER. By A. T. Dey and Prof. R. P. De. Published by the authors, 22, 5 B. Jhamapuker Lane, Calcutta.

Hyderabad

PAPER INDUSTRY IN HYDERABAD

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have recently sanctioned in favour of the Hyderabad Construction Co. Ltd. a scheme for the establishment of a Pulp and Paper Mill in the State. The mill, which will have a capacity of producing about 6 thousand tons of paper per annum, will be located at Sirpur where good quality of bamboo and coal are available within easy reach. This unique feature of finding coal and bamboo within a distance of 30 miles of one another places the Sirpur Mills in the most advantageous position as compared with any other mill in India.

It is estimated that the industry will realise a return of 10 to 12 per cent. per annum on its capital outlay.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Hanumanth Rao, Chairman of the Hyderabad State People's Convention, has addressed a letter to Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council. The following are the important extracts from the letter :

The conditions both within the State and the surrounding States are changing so rapidly that any delay made or grudging spirit shown in introducing constitutional reforms is bound to create misgivings and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people.

The Constitutional Reforms Committee was appointed by the Government in September 1937 with a direction to complete their work within six months. The time originally fixed was extended, in the first instance, by one month and then again by a further period of two months and a week, i.e., up to 1st July 1938. It is not now known to the public whether the Report of the Committee has been submitted to the Government or not, but so far as I know the Committee does not seem to have completed its labours and it is feared that a further period of extension may be given by the Government.

The letter urges His Exalted Highness not to give any more extension of time to the Committee and to expedite the formulation of final proposals and the inauguration of Responsible Government in the State.

Baroda

SIR GOVIND MADGAOKAR

The Baroda Government have sanctioned the appointment of Sir Govind Madgaokar, the retired Judge of the Bombay High Court, as the President of the Huzur Nyayasabha (the Supreme Court of Justice) in the State, on a salary of Rs. 2,500 per month. Sir Govind has joined his new duties on July 1. It is understood that he has also been entrusted with the work of preparing a scheme of the reorganisation of the Huzur Nyayasabha and the Sadar Adalat (Final Court of Appeals for Departmental cases) long since contemplated by the Government.

CATTLE AND POULTRY FARMING

Baroda is taking keen interest in the matter of improving cattle breeding and animal husbandry. It is evident from the fact that out of the 11 animals of the different kinds and breeds exhibited by the Baroda State at the recent Cattle Show in Delhi, 8 were selected by the judges for awards and cash prizes. The State has recently put into operation a new scheme to make sustained efforts to improve poultry. A Poultry officer was appointed last year and steps were taken to survey suitable areas for immediate development.

VILLAGE UPLIFT IN BARODA

The Suba of Okhamandal presided over a meeting, held at Dwarka, to devise means to speed up village uplift in that part of His Highness the Gaikwar's territories. He stressed the need for reviving cottage industries in rural areas, providing facilities for agricultural education, encouraging weaving and developing internal transport and water supply in villages.

Mysore

PROHIBITION IN MYSORE

The following declaration of the Government policy on Prohibition was made in the Mysore Legislative Council recently when demands for grants were voted :

"Through prohibition we lose not only the revenue we will otherwise have derived, but also we are forced to find funds for enforcing prohibition. However much one may agree with the desirability of introducing prohibition over the whole State, one has to face the question of 'cash'. Before we can introduce prohibition on a large scale, we have to find sources of revenue to balance the budget."

The Government, it was stated, were serious in their small experiment in prohibition in the Closepet and Channarayana taluqs and would decide on their future policy from the experience gained.

IRRIGATION IN MYSORE

In the matter of irrigation development, Mysore is much advanced. The extent of the irrigation works of Mysore may be gathered from the total annual revenue derived from irrigation alone, which is about Rs. 40,00,000 or 27 per cent. of the land revenue. The only concern of the Government now is to maintain in efficient condition all tanks, channels, wells, spring channels and improve their capacity wherever possible.

Rewa

CAPT. KHANWILKER

Captain D. S. Khanwilker, M.C., a prominent resident of Kolhapur, who had a distinguished career in the Great War and served in the British Army during the siege of Kut, has been appointed Chief of General Staff in Rewa.

Travancore

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. IN STATE

"So far as the question of responsible Government is concerned, constitutional and proper agitation devoted to the attainment of constitutional advance will never be regarded by any civilized Government as disloyal or subversive provided, of course, in an Indian State the fundamental principle of monarchy on which this Government rests are kept in view."

This statement was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, addressing the Srimulam Assembly (Lower House of the Travancore Legislature) during the discussion of the motion of Mr. T. M. Verghese and Mr. P. Nannu to censure Government for alleged acts of rowdism at State Congress meetings.

TRAVANCORE DISTURBANCES

The Travancore Government have issued a *communiqué* on the disturbances that have been taking place outside the Assembly Hall during the past few days and the lathi charge made by the police on a crowd that had gathered in the Trivandrum Science College grounds on Friday the 15th July. The Government desire that not only educational authorities but also the public should discourage students from getting mixed up in political agitation.

MR. C. O. MADHAVAN

Mr. C. O. Madhavan, who is the first Ezhava to act as Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore, has taken charge of his office. Mr. Madhavan has been Excise Commissioner for the past six years and prior to that he was successively District Munsiff, Division Assistant and Deviculam Commissioner.

Kashmir

KASHMIR POLICE

In order to improve the efficiency of the police force, His Highness' Government have sanctioned the establishment of a Police Training School at Srinagar. The Principal of the School is an officer of the rank of Senior Superintendent of Police, and he has an adequate and experienced staff to assist him. New entrants to the department will be given thorough training in law, drill and practical duties, and it is hoped later to arrange refresher courses for men already in service.

WARDHA SCHEME IN KASHMIR

Mr. K. G. Saiyda, Director of Education, Kashmir, who is the Chairman of the newly appointed Committee for reorganisation of education in the State in the light of the Wardha Scheme, has issued a questionnaire to the public inviting suggestions. Among the questions are: What are the crafts which, in view of the local conditions, could be usefully introduced in schools? What steps can the schools take to bring education into closer contact with the life of the masses?

Gwalior

THE GWALIOR REFORMS

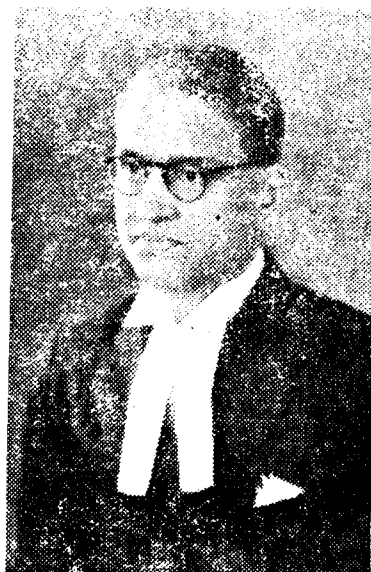
His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has instituted a committee to report at an early date what reforms are necessary to make the Majlis-i-Am (State Legislature) a true representative body and also to confer upon it more powers.

This Committee is composed of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Major Sardar C. S. Angre, Rao Bahadur L. B. Mulye and Major Rao Bahadur Bapu Rao Pawar with Mr. S. S. Gaur as secretary.

Cochin

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN COCHIN

The Government of Cochin have prohibited the taking by sea out of Cochin State of sugar in any of its commercial forms except the product finally sold as molasses, provided that nothing in this notification shall be deemed to apply to sugar manufactured outside India and exported to Burma, British India or any other State in India.



Mr. N. D. VARADACHARIAR

the Madras Advocate, who assisted in the drafting of the new Constitution Act of Cochin. He was presented with a Veerasankhala (gold chain) by the Maharaja of Cochin at the Special Darbar held on June 17.

Benares

PROGRESSIVE BENARES

The latest to join the progressive States who are ready to grant some measure of self-government to their subjects is the State of Benares. The Maharaja of Benares has ordered a committee to draft proposals for the constitution of a Legislative Council where the people will have a say in the administration of the State.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Overseas

PROBLEMS OF INDIANS ABROAD

Sir Syed Raza Ali, ex Agent-General for India in South Africa, recently gave a lecture in Simla, giving a graphic



SIR SYED RAZA ALI

description of the conditions of Indians living in South Africa. The question of South African Indians, he said, is part of the bigger problem of the position of Indians overseas. The entire problem can be divided into three parts:—

Status of Indians in the self-governing dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations;

Their status in the British Colonies; and

Their status in foreign possessions and territories.

South Africa represents one phase of the Indian problem, which falls within the first category described above. Another phase

is represented by the treatment of our people in Zanzibar and Kenya and falls under the second category. One sees the third phase of the Indian problem in foreign possessions, notably the Portuguese East African territories.

The difficulties with regard to Indians' position in countries other than India arise from the fact that Indians are denied in full the treatment to which the people of the Self-governing Dominions of those belonging to the British race are entitled. These differences inside the British Commonwealth of Nations encourage foreign countries to adopt a policy of discrimination against Indians. Our endeavour should obviously be to secure the removal of these differences in status between Indians and the people of the Self-governing Dominions.

Fiji

INDIAN TRADERS IN FIJI

Mr. C. F. Andrews has sent a note to the Press saying that the following telegram has been received from the Secretary of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Fiji:

The Fiji Government are refusing to renew the licences of all country retail stores which are built on Fijian land with the exception of those that are already registered by Government. If this is carried out, many Indians will be compelled to close down and face ruin. The Indian Chamber of Commerce solicits your urgent help. Please inform Andrews.

This telegram, says Mr. Andrews, appears to mean that Indians who have built retail stores in the country districts on land which has been leased to them by the Fijians, or else sub-let to them by Indians who hold Fijian leases, will now have to close down their whole trade unless they receive a registered certificate that they are licensed in that particular area to sell goods to the Fijians.

The matter should be taken up immediately by the Government of India and an effort should be made to prevent the new Ordinance being regarded as retrospective and thus interfering with existing vested rights.

South Africa

INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL

The efforts of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress to cancel legislation considered harsh and oppressive to the Indian community are described in the Secretariat report of the Transvaal Indian Congress for the period November 1934 May 1938.

The report records that the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act 1936 was passed despite strong protests in Indians in South Africa and India.

A Feetham Commission was constituted as a result of this Act and the South African Indian Congress resolved not to operate with the Commission. A Select Committee was appointed before which

Congress gave evidence. The report that Committee resulted in the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment of 1936, which in some measure reduced the disabilities of the Land Tenure of 1932 and the Feetham Commission's recommendations.

It is, however, considered that the Congress, as a matter of principle, should continue to press for the repeal of this legislation.

The Mixed Marriages Bill, the Asiatic Land Bill, and the Employment of White men Bill (1937) were introduced during the last session of Parliament when there were anti-Indian feelings in Parliament. Parliament appointed a Commission to consider them, says the report.

The Transvaal Asiatic Land Bill and Provincial Council Powers Bill were referred to a Select Committee before the South African Indian Congress

submitted evidence and proved that there was no justification for either of the Bills.

By reason of the existing delicate situation, the South African Congress called upon the Indian employers of female European labour, to whose employment exception was taken, to dispense with such employees.

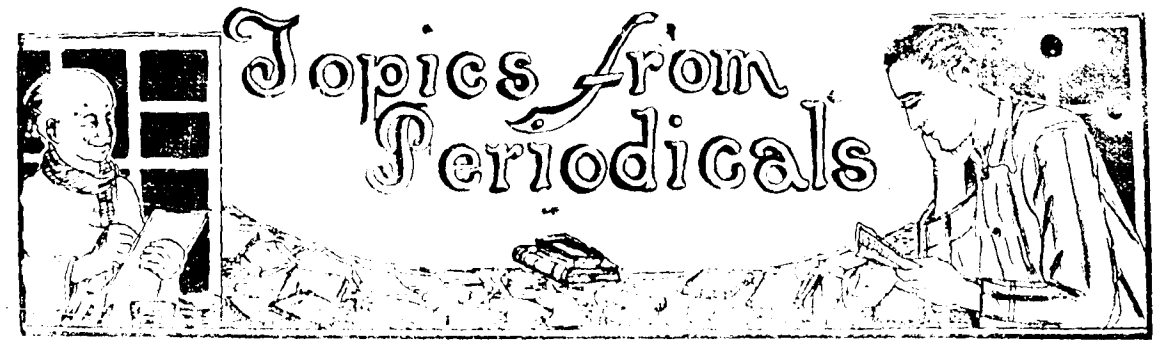
Indians employed in the catering industry were in constant fear of their dismissal as a result of operations of the Liquor Act of 1928. The Congress, we are told, made representations on their behalf and was successful in bringing about some relaxation in the rigid restrictions imposed on their employment.

FRANCHISE IN SOUTH AFRICA

It is considered likely, says the *Hindu* correspondent in Simla, that Mr. B. Rama Rau, Agent-General in South Africa, will explore the possibilities of a Round Table Conference in South Africa on the question of franchise for Indians.

Senator Brooks declared at a recent public meeting that the time was now ripe, with Bantu representation in Parliament, for beginning a discussion with the Government of India on the Franchise question.

Recently, on the occasion of a public welcome to the new Agent-General, the President of the Natal Indian Congress repudiated the rumour that the Congress favoured a non-European Front. The object, he maintained, was not to create a united front of non-Europeans against Europeans, but a united front of all sections of the South African Nation, including Europeans. A danger, however, existed on account of the trend of the Union Government's legislation discriminating in favour of Europeans.



THE CONGRESS IN OFFICE

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 has passed through various stages in its career of over half a century. Writing in the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Nagendranath Gupta observes:

The Congress spoke fearlessly of freedom, it accepted without hesitation the challenge thrown out by the Government, it submitted without complaint to lathi blows, but it never thought of accepting office under the present regime. And yet the unexpected has come to pass. The Congress is well astride the saddle of office and its seat is becoming firmer every day. The other day when the Ministers of Bihar and the United Provinces resigned, it seemed as if the brief reign of the Congress was over and another period of a bitter struggle was about to set in. Happily, however, the united good sense of the Viceroy and the Governors themselves prevented the precipitation of such a catastrophe and the Congress continues to remain in office.

By one of those ironies which cannot be explained, says Mr. Gupta, there is no Congress Ministry in Bengal. Bengal which has taken such a leading part in the building up of this great national institution.

The President of the first Congress was a Bengali and so is the present President, but the Congress is in a minority in that Province. Not only so, but the Cabinet there is a most unsatisfactory one and there is not one Minister who has the confidence of the people. It is quite on the cards that the Congress may come into power in Bengal, and Assam may follow. But the Punjab and Sind will stay out though, all things considered, the non-Congress Governments in those Provinces are satisfactory.

The Congress Governments have done good work and may do better. They have justified popular confidence. They have abated no jot of their independence and their goal remains unchanged. At any moment they will be prepared to exchange office for prison. What more do you want? Prohibition is assured and the people will become sober and wholesome. Let us criticise the Congress by all means, but let us not expect the impossible from it. Let us wait and watch certainly, but let us hope also—hope that the path to liberty is clear and in a few decades India will be free—as free as Britain.

REINCARNATION

The June number of the *Argan Path* contains many articles on the much debated subject of Reincarnation and Karma by various writers. Prof. Mahendranath Sircar, writing on "the process of reincarnation in Hindu philosophy and psychology", says:

The Hindus advance psychological experience in favour of reincarnation. The soul can be so detached that it can see the body separated from it. It can stand outside and see the subtle thread of connection through which it can pass into and out of the body. This fitness, acquired by training, is an opening in psychic consciousness. With this training the parts of our being can be so modulated that the soul can feel its freedom and see the path of its exit. This, indeed, is the beginning of a new knowledge called "Secret Wisdom."

The psychic experience can grow so luminous that it can revive memory of many past lives. Such adepts are called *Jatismaras*. Such advanced soul sometimes see the past lives of other souls too.

The psychic experience reflects the path of exit from, and entrance into, the body. There are different centres in our psychic being, outlets through which the soul can pass into higher or lower worlds according to its tendencies and *samskaras*. The soul reincarnates according to these tendencies, for they determine its concrete nature. The nature of exit determines its future birth, if the soul is not psychically gifted enough to take the path whence no soul returns. One who takes the path of the Sun (*Sarga-Marga*) does not return to earthly life.

Reincarnation affords the privilege of recreating destiny. It teaches us to accept the trials and tribulations of life with sustained faith and hope.

The moral momentum that one acquires by Karma serves him in his evolution. Karma is associated with progressive soul evolution and it is within human power to curb nature's crudities and ensure spiritual and moral elevation. Before the spiritual harmony can be reached where nature offers no obstacle, a firm conviction of the continuity of our creative existence and freedom to reshape nature is imperative. Evolution, strictly understood, is the reassertion of spirit over nature, and reincarnation affords us this privilege.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONGRESS

In the *Twentieth Century* for July, "I. D." discusses the problems facing the Congress. After referring to the virtual break-down of the Hindu-Muslim negotiations, he draws attention to the various other problems confronting the Congress governments in different provinces.

The Congress economic policy has led to serious disorders in industrial areas like Cawnpore; its agricultural policy has created a tremendous unrest in the country-side, particularly in the U. P., where the friction between the landlords and the kisans threatens to have serious repercussions on the future of the country. Its programme for the spread of Hindustani has antagonised some important elements in the South, and brought in its wake anti-Ministerial demonstrations. Its rural uplift programme is responsible for a minor scandal in U. P., while in C. P. "a document of the most devastating character" has caused violent heart-searchings in non-violent breasts.

The Ministers, says the writer, are finding it a tough job to implement their election promises. Little wonder that in such an embarrassing situation they sometimes feel that "to go out of office will mean wilderness while to remain in office will mean waiting, weary waiting, for complete independence". Their very strength has sometimes proved to be a weakness "while the Single party domination they have set up in the majority of the provinces has created a situation which promises no redemption".

The Congress must ere long make its choice on the issue of Federation, even as it did on the question of office acceptance.

No commitments or doubts were allowed to handicap its decision then; no more need there be now, since Congressmen have proved more than once that they are not averse to cosmic adjustments. If Britain is wise, she will explore the avenues of a friendly settlement by taking the advice of the *Manchester Guardian* and modifying the Act. But if Britain is thoughtless, the Congress can't afford to be tactless. The greater will be the need for its cool judgment and constructive decision. It is in the hands of the Congress, and of the Congress alone, to repeat at the Centre its victories in the Provinces, or at least to stand there as the bulwark against the reactionary forces.

SOUTH INDIA, ARABIA AND AFRICA

The *New Indian Antiquary*, a new monthly journal published in Bombay, contains a number of interesting articles on Indology. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University contributes an informing article on the relations between Southern India, Arabia and Africa to the first number. Prof. Sastri writes about the trade relations between South India and other countries long before the dawn of the Christian era.

There were two routes taken by the traffic between East and West: one, an older route from the head of the Persian Gulf along the Euphrates to the Syrian and Arabian coast; and a later, and in some respects more advantageous route, was that from the East coast of Egypt to the Nile. This latter commanded a stream better suited to navigation and involved a shorter land transport. "Not twenty ships in the year," observed a writer in the reign of Augustus, "ventured forth under the Ptolemies from the Arabian Gulf; now 120 merchantmen annually sail to India from the port of Myos Hormos alone." Then came the discovery of Hippalus, "the pilot, who by observing the location of the ports and the conditions of the sea, first discovered how to lay his course straight across the ocean". Arabia also took part in this trade, and in the houses of rank in India, as Mommsen said, Arabian wine was drunk alongside the Falernian from Italy and the Laodicean from Syria; and the lances and shoe-makers' awls which the natives of the coast of Malabar purchased from the foreign traders were manufactured at Muza.

The rise of the kingdom of Aksum on the ruins of the kingdom of Meroe in the first half of the first century A.D. and the consequent increase in the importance of Adulis, the chief port of Aksum, appear to have opened the way for the penetration of South Indian influences in this part of the East African coast. Soon after Nero's time, Aksum was the neighbour of the Roman Empire in the south in North Africa and had contact with Roman territory in Arabia across the straits. The relations between Aksum and the Roman Empire and the aim of Nero's policy in this direction have been the subject of an interesting discussion in recent years. It has been suggested that Nero aimed at safeguarding the commercial interests of the empire by securing the decaying Meroitic kingdom against the encroachment of the expanding Aksumite kingdom of Abyssinia, which threatened to monopolize the African ivory trade and obstruct the direct trade route to India. Others have held that this theory will hardly bear close scrutiny. However that may be, we may be sure that the rise of Aksum and its chief port Adulis carried one stage further a process that had already been at work for a

long time. From the earliest times, Egyptians had traded with East Africa, and in Hellenistic and Ptolemaic times, they developed, as we have noted before, direct sea communications with India in competition with those of the Seleucid land routes.

Prof. Sastri is of opinion that the high culture of various kingdoms in Abyssinia, Aksum and East Africa in those days was due to the spiritual elements of South Indian origin, which then spread over the whole of the civilised world. South Indian merchants contributed not a little to the cultural development of the ancient Arabian and African coastal kingdoms.

THE CONGRESS AND THE STATES

In the course of an article in the *Harizan*, Mahatma Gandhi writes in vindication of the Congress attitude to the States and appeals to the States' subjects to realise the full meaning and potency of *satyagraha* in their struggle for freedom. "Events seem to have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution of non-intervention in the affairs of the States." He writes:

The constitution, however unjust, arbitrary and illogical it may be, is such that, legally and politically, every State, small or big, is an independent entity in its relation to the other States and that part of India which is called British in contra-distinction from the States.

The similarity common to all is that they are under the iron grip of British rule. But geographically and ethnically the people of the States and the other parts of India are one and indivisible. We 330,000,000 men and women are blood relations who cannot be parted by any constitutional or military device.

By its resolution of non-interference, the Congress has put the States' people on their mettle. In other words, set in motion the natural forces, or the powers latent in the people themselves. In a few recent instances it has been found that the people, having discovered their strength, have used it without any aid from outside and won. The result also was that the assistance of Congressmen was invoked by the States' authorities in order to settle the differences between themselves and their people.

The conditions of success of *satyagraha* in the States are as rigid as in British India. The Congress cannot dictate

unreasonable terms. The people must have a real grievance and they must approach it with pure hands—"for the tool of *satyagraha* is *ahimsa*, i.e., self-suffering without inflicting suffering on the opponent for the vindication of a cause which must be absolutely just".

If only the people of the States can realize the full meaning and potency of *satyagraha* (non-violence), they will win their relative freedom before India as a whole comes into its own. Thus they can have full liberty of non-violent speech, writing and action without having to deal with the cumbersome British machinery. They can secure with comparative ease a more equitable, even if not an equal, distribution of the wealth produced in the States.

They can without much effort regulate the privy purse of their Princes and can have cheap and pure justice guaranteed. They can deal with the problem of poverty and village reconstruction with infinitely greater ease than in the unwieldy and bureaucracy-ridden British India. They can have real national education for the asking.

This will be their *swaraj*--no doubt far short of the independence that the Congress wants. But if the people of the majority of the major States rise to their full height, the days of independence will be hastened in a manner that no one has dreamt of.

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BUDDHISM IN ANCIENT BENGAL

Bengal was the last stronghold of Buddhism in India. It has been mentioned that Buddha once lived at Letaka, a town of the Sumbhas in western Bengal. Mr. P. L. Paul, writing in the *Journal of the Indian History*, observes:

A Nagarjunikonda inscription which is to be paleographically assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. states that Vanga was one of the countries that gladdened the hearts of the *Theravadin* teachers. That the *Sthavira* school flourished in eastern Bengal is also confirmed by Yuan Chwang, when in the description of Samatata the Chinese traveller observes that it had 30 Buddhist monasteries and above 2,000 Brethren, all adherents of the *Sthavira* school. The Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta, dated 508 A.D., records the grant of land to a congregation of Buddhist monks belonging to the *Mahayana* sect in the Tippera district.

From Yuan Chwang's accounts it appears that at the time of his visit the three principal religions, *i.e.*, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, had each a fairly large number of adherents in Bengal. . . . In Kanjangan (modern Rajmahal) there were six or seven monasteries and above 300 Brethren. In Pundravardhan there were 20 monasteries and above 3,000 Brethren and both the Great and Little Vehicles were followed. In Samatata there were more than 30 monasteries and above 2,000 Brethren, all of the *Sthavira* school. In Tamralipti there were above 10 monasteries and more than 1,000 Brethren. In Karnasuvarna there were more than 10 monasteries and above 2,000 Brethren who were all adherents of the *Samatiga* school. There were also three monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta, milk products were not taken as food. Besides there were two universities—one in Pundravardhana and another in Karnasuvarna. The former, *Pochippo Sangharana*, has been identified with *Bhasu Vihara* by Cunningham, four miles to the west of Mahasthana in the Bogra district. In it lived 700 priests who studied according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned men from eastern India dwelt there. In the Raktaviti University of Karnasuvarna congregated the most distinguished, learned and celebrated men of kingdom.

The cause of the increasing influence of Buddhism within 50 years was, perhaps, due to the ardent and vigorous support of the Khadga dynasty which ruled in Samatata within the period between A.D. 650 to A.D. 750.

All the known independent kings of Bengal before the middle of the seventh century were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Khadgas were devoted Buddhists, and we are fortunate to have a picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhists and of the part played by Rajabhata, the ruling king at the time of Seng-chi. The king himself was an *Upasaka* and all the 4,000 monks were maintained by him.

WOMAN IN HINDU RELIGION

That woman was not an impediment in the path of religion, and in fact her presence and co-operation were absolutely necessary in all religious rites and ceremonies, is the key-note of an article entitled "Woman's place in Hindu religion" by Dr. A. S. Altekar in the June issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata*.

In the Vedic age, women enjoyed all the religious rights and privileges which men possessed. They used to receive Vedic education. Many of them were even the authors of Vedic hymns. Women, therefore, could recite Vedic hymns as a matter of course. Some women, especially unmarried ones, are seen offering Vedic sacrifices all by themselves. In one place we find a maiden finding a shoot of the *Soma* shrub while returning from her bath and straightway offering it in sacrifice to Indra when she returned home. In another place we find a lady, named Visvavara, getting up early in the morning and starting the sacrifice all by herself. In the Vedic age, there were no images to be worshipped and temples to be visited. The Bhakti school advocating simple prayer to God by songs of devotion was yet to come into prominence, as also the Jnana school emphasising the contemplation either of Atman or of Brahman. So the offering of sacrifice was the only popular and well-established mode of worship. It could not, therefore, be interdicted to unmarried women or ladies whose husbands were away, especially in view of the Vedic initiation being then quite common among girls as well.

The religious disenfranchisement that resulted from the ineligibility now-a-days of women for religious functions produced a disastrous consequence upon the general status of women in society. The restoration of religious rights and privileges to women depends much upon education and the acquisition of economic rights and independence which they have lost. The writer concludes:—

It would be, however, in the interest of Hindu society if it remains constantly alive to the full implications of the Vedic viewpoint that the husband and the wife are equal and necessary partners in divine worship. The principle implies that men and women have equal rights and responsibilities in matters temporal as well. Since the spiritual disenfranchisement of women, men have become accustomed to regard women as their inferiors in all the spheres of life. This outlook must disappear. We must remember that women have done greater service to religion than men by preserving the old religious tradition, moral fervour and spiritual vein in Hindu society. These constitute priceless heritage and men ought to be grateful to women for preserving it.

SALARY RETRENCHMENT

Rai Saheb G. L. Chatterji writes on retrenchment of salaries of Indian service holders in the *Hindustan Review*. He says that the Ministers should lose no time in the interest of their long-suffering fellow-men as much as for their own reputation, "to stop the exploitation of the low-paid men and the pampering of the so-called gazetted service-holders". He writes:—

At present these salaries range between Rs. 20 and over Rs. 2,000 while the average income of Indians per caput is barely Rs. 10 a month. Considering the present-day demands upon the resources of the salaried gentry, and the real and fancied responsibilities borne by them in attempting to conform to rising standards of living that have little relation to the general financial condition or the avenues of employment of the wage-earning capacity of the people, it may at first sight seem impossible to fix anything like a maximum. At the same time there is little doubt that such a maximum can be laid down for all practical purposes, for the pardonable ambition of every Service man to live in comparative luxury can never be gratified by increasing the salaries and the allowances. The Congress maximum of Rs. 500, which can hardly be supposed to have been heartily acquiesced in by the majority of those upon whom it has been imposed in a somewhat arbitrary manner, may well seem to be rather low, but the figure is very near the mark, for it must be remembered that the spending power of a man cannot be equal to his earning power. Increased by a few hundred rupees, the figure can well be fixed as a general rule as the maximum salary that an Indian Service man can expect. More than anywhere else perhaps, thrift and economy is necessary in India. The ideal of plain living and high thinking is India's own, and worn out though it be, is a great ideal.

The saving effected by reducing the maximum salaries will be counterbalanced to some extent by the raising of the minimum salaries payable. The present minima are almost scandalous, and the sooner they are raised, the better for all concerned. It is, indeed, irrational and immoral that a man should be paid Rs. 20 or 40, and tied down to a maximum of hundred or two hundred rupees, while one possessing the same educational qualifications, belonging to the same social status, gifted with similar intelligence and aptitude, should enjoy considerably higher salaries and privileges.

Rao Saheb Chatterji pleads that accident or luck should not operate in the matter of salaries. The minimum ought in all conscience to be Rs. 60 to 80 preferably the latter in the majority of cases.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA IN AMERICA

"The Vedantic doctrine of the divinity of man which was emphasised and explained by the great Swami Vivekananda, the foremost disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, is giving a new outlook of life and will gradually change the relation of man to man," writes Swami Akhilananda, the founder and the leader of the Vedanta Society of Providence (U. S. A.) in the July number of the *Vedanta Kesari*. The Swamiji writes of the type of service that Indian ideals can do to America:

All persons, Eastern and Western, will treat their fellow-beings not as mere men but as veritable embodiments of the Divine Being. This emphasis has slowly been changing the conduct of the students of Vedanta and of others, directly and indirectly. Man can no longer do things for his own selfish ends but has to learn to serve his fellow-beings in the spirit of service and worship embodied in the gospel of Karma Yoga preached by Swami Vivekananda.

Activities motivated by selfish ends, profit and accumulation are creating serious social and economical disturbances. The mechanical and other scientific devices are helping mass-production, thereby creating big syndicates and other such organisations. Individuals are losing their initiative, integrity and often their sense of self-respect. Consequently there have been innumerable inter-people and destructive quarrels. These are inevitable evils due to a selfish interpretation of the law of survival of the fittest. Sri Ramakrishna's teaching, "Jiva is Shiva," namely, man is divine, and his emphasis on the spirit of service, would really ward off the evils of the modern clashes of interests. Man will then work, not for his selfish ends, but for the good and happiness of family and society. Social justice which is craved for to-day can be established only when a man realises that he is doing his duty in the spirit of service to his fellow-beings who are divine. This is the real basis of humanistic social justice.

The divinity of man and its logical conclusion of Karma Yoga, says the Swamiji, are the greatest contributions of the Ramakrishna movement to modern America, nay to the world.

MISSION OF OUR MASTER. Essays and discourses by the Eastern and Western disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the "*Indian Review*", Rs. 2-8.

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BALADEVA'S CONCEPTION OF HEAVEN

Baladeva, the theologian of the Chaitanya school of thought, is also a commentator of the *Brahma Sutras*. His conception of God and Heaven is presented in an article by Mr. P. Johannus in the July number of the *New Review*. The soul's formal participation in God or *Svarupa-nishpatti*, according to Baladeva, is explained in the following words:

As a poor man becomes rich when he takes refuge with a rich person and becomes his favourite, so the soul, essentially atomic, becomes infinite through the infinity of the Lord (*Sutra*, 4, 4, 20). He also expressly states that, since the soul is atomic and God all-pervading, the soul is not by nature equal to the Lord; the equality lies only in the object of enjoyment. In other words, although the soul is different from God, as a being of atomic size is different from an all-pervading being, or as a drop is different from the ocean, nevertheless the soul enjoys the happiness of God as God enjoys it.

It is true that the soul enjoys the happiness of God as God enjoys it, but not to the same extent. A finite being, although it may enjoy God as God enjoys Himself, can only do so in so far as its character allows, be this character supernatural or natural. When we say that the soul enjoys the infinity of happiness of God as God Himself does, we merely wish to stress the greatness of a formal participation in God. The soul is happy and divinely happy in so far as it reaches and is able to participate in God. This is a practical infinity, for there is no limit to any desire that may arise in the soul, nor to any exertion which it undertakes. It sees all it can wish to see and does all it wishes to do without ever meeting with any resistance; thus it is infinite in its own way but not infinite in the way of God.

Baladeva says that the beatific vision or remaining with God is eternal. The Lord never abandons His children, who are a fragment of His essence after having brought them to His home.

The more so since the promises of the Lord are ever true. His resolutions are never frustrated. He is an ocean of protecting kindness to all those who take shelter under Him, and He is the Lord of all. Such a being will never renounce His devotees who have abandoned everything. The soul also, on the other hand, whose quest was happiness and who had constantly been deluded by a shadow of it in the shape of wives, children, etc., and who had passed innumerable lives in the pursuit of these false pleasures, will not leave that infinity of true joy and wisdom, the best friend and master, when it has found Him through the grace of a good teacher.

WOMEN AND CO-OPERATION

"The creation of a new rural civilisation is in India the greatest need of our time, and it is because co-operation may provide the basis of this new social order in rural India that it becomes necessary to urge women to associate themselves with the co-operative movement," writes Mr. V. L. Mehta in the *Indian Home* for July. Although in India, women play a negligible part in the co-operative movement, in the world outside women's association with it is almost as old as the movement itself. Many international institutions view the problem of social reorganisation mainly from the standpoint of the individual as a consumer, which is probably the correct attitude to adopt in a civilization predominantly urban and industrial.

The needs of India with its seven lakhs of villages, and with a population that derives its sustenance very largely from the land, are bound to be different. That even in India there is scope for the consumers' movement goes without saying, but the fact cannot be overlooked that for the bulk of the population the aspect of economic life that is of vital importance is that relating to production not consumption. It is a recognized fact of our rural social life that except when they are occupied in domestic work or in the gathering of crops, the women in the country-side engaged themselves in some occupation or industry allied to agriculture. Under the inspiring lead of Mahatma Gandhi, the All-India Village Industries Association has taken in hand the task of promoting the extensive use of these rural products. Through co-operative organizations, women can assist both in stimulating this demand and in taking effective steps to see that it is met. This they can by forming or assisting co-operative organizations of customers which make it their prime duty to support and patronize cottage industries where production is carried on in the interests of the producers.

In conclusion, the writer adds:

The formation of women's guilds may follow once contact is established between groups of women consumers and producers. After organizing the demand, the next task will be to organize efficient production, especially among women in rural areas. It is only when this constant effective demand is organized at the one end and production co-operatively organized among women workers at the other, that the women and their productive workers in the country-side will be able to derive the full benefit of their labour.

PRAYER IN RELIGION

The July number of the *Argon Path* publishes a summary of a paper prepared by Prof. Alban G. Widgery, of the Duke University (U. S. A.) on the "significance of religious practices". Prof. Widgery regards prayer as the most important feature of religious practices. He considers prayer not as a contemplation but as supplication, and says:

"The first significant thing here is that mankind from early times should have adopted such a practice and have continued it into the highest stages of religion. Prayer implicates not merely needs on the side of the subject, but also the apprehension of a being upon whom the response is dependent. It is an attitude towards a spirit able to understand what is asked. The problem that has been raised with regard to prayer is whether it is, or indeed, can be answered. If it is answered, of course it necessarily follows that it can be. But whether prayer is answered cannot be definitely established, so that a philosophy of religion could definitely affirm that as a truth. For it cannot be shown in any case that what happens would not have happened without the prayer. Further, it may also be urged that if the prayer is for something which God intends, it will happen without the human prayer; while if it is for something in opposition to what He intends, He cannot be expected to grant what is asked. There is much in that contention, especially when the prayer is concerned with what involves the physical world. Nevertheless, where spiritual ends are sought, it may be replied that what God intends involves the attitude of prayer on the part of His creatures, and that without it

achievement is not possible. For if the degree of freedom of human minds is to be preserved, and if the subjective attitude is an important essential in religion, prayer may be necessarily implicated in attaining some spiritual results."

The writer admits the higher the stage in religious development, the less the emphasis on prayer as the way of obtaining results in the physical world and the more the insistence on the use of one's own intelligence and strength. That has not ruled out prayer for physical results, but has turned attention to the character of such prayer as a reverent acknowledgment that even physical welfare is ultimately dependent on God, that the range of human intelligence and power would be insignificant if it were not in relation with a physical world that is dependent on God. The higher the stage in religious development, the greater the emphasis on prayer as an aid to spiritual growth. For in prayer the devotee, as it were, "holds converse" with the deity and must inevitably endeavour to adopt an attitude of mind in accord with the sentiments of awe, reverence and praise that arise in his apprehension of God.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

WOMEN DURING THE RAMAYANA PERIOD. By Miss P. C. Dharma, M.A. [*Journal of Indian History*, April 1938.]

THE SYNTHETIC METHOD OF THE UPANISHADS. By Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan, M.A., PH.D. [*The Prabuddha Bharata*, July 1938.]

LIBRARIES IN BENGAL: Present and Future. By Nehar Ranjan Roy, M.A. [*The Calcutta Review*, June 1938.]

INDIA IN FISHER'S HISTORY OF EUROPE. By Ramanoor Lohia. [*The Modern Review*, July 1938.]

BENGALI POETRY OF TO-DAY. By Mohini Mohan Mukherjee. [*The Triveni*, July 1938.]

SCHOPENHAUER AND INDIA. By Heinrich Zimmer. [*The New Indian Antiquary*, April 1938.]

MINORITIES IN INDIA

"No other country can boast of so many minorities as India," she is a veritable museum of minorities," says Prof. L. R. Sethi writing in the June number of the *Punjab Review*.

The Government of India Act, 1935 recognizes as many as 10 different sections of the Indian Nation as "Minorities". The ten are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Depressed Classes, Indian Americans, Anglo-Indian, Europeans, etc. The classification has been based upon no uniform principle. It is as novel as it is interesting. The claims put forward by the minorities and recognised by the British Government are various and often contradictory in character. Some communities base their claims on the ground that they belong to the depressed and backward classes, while others form their demands on the grounds of their superior wealth, education and vested interests. Other communities again base their claims upon their loyalty and services during the Great War and upon their potential value for recruitment to the Army. There are also communities which base their claims upon the ground of their past political predominance and their martial superiority or their capacity to give trouble and disturb the peace. Even sex has been recognised, chivalrously be it admitted, by the British Government as a basis for being classified as a minority.

Another characteristic of the Indian problem is that there are no "national minorities". The European problem is fundamentally a problem of "national minorities".

In India, on the other hand, the minorities with one exception form part of a single nation. They are not aliens in any sense of the term, in spite of a few suggestions to the contrary by a few spokesmen of some of the minorities. The Muslims are the biggest minority. Their total strength in British India is 66.5 millions out of 256.8 millions—25.9 per cent. The Sikhs are neither a race nor a nationality nor a caste, but are primarily the followers of a religion. Their total strength in India is 4,306,000; of these 3 millions live in the British Provinces in the Punjab and over a million in the Indian States geographically associated with that Province.

The Indian minorities are not "national", but primarily social, religious and political, and as such if they existed in Europe, the League would not have recognised them.

No recognition is given by the League to minorities political (such as liberals or communists) social (like Brahmins, non-Brahmins or Depressed Classes) or economic (such as peasants or industrial labourers). There is another difference between the Indian minorities and the minorities recognised by the League. All the League Treaties require as stated before the minority to constitute "a considerable proportion of the population". A mere microscopic minority does not come within their purview. The limit of 20 per cent. is recognised as the irreducible minimum in these international stipulations.

The minority problem in India, at bottom, is a communal one, the problem of the Hindu and Muslim communities. The other communities are a recent force in Indian politics and have appeared because of the example set by the Muslim community. The writer concludes:

The Hindu-Muslim problem, however, is tragically real and intensely grave; stripped of all fine rhetoric, it is a brazen scramble for power; a grab for the loaves and fishes of offices. The Muslims being in minority in India as a whole fear the Hindu majority and are nervous of their existence as a separate entity. The Hindus, on the other hand, although in a great majority all over India are in a minority in the Punjab, Bengal, North-Western Frontier Province and Sind. In spite of their All-India majority they are afraid of the Muslims in these provinces.

As the problem fundamentally is a struggle for power, it is only confined to the middle classes. The masses have not been touched by it. It is primarily a problem of the cities. In the villages the Hindu-Muslim relations are very amicable. (90 per cent. of the Indian population is rural.) The illiterate villagers have neither the capacity nor the inclination to understand the implications of "separate electorates", "weightage," and "reservation of seats."

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

Questions of Importance

PANDIT NEHRU'S PARTING MESSAGE

In an interview to the Press in England before his departure to Paris, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

As one who ardently desires a world order based on peace and freedom, I have much to say to England and her people. The present



PANDIT NEHRU

Government of Britain is pursuing a policy disastrous alike to peace and freedom. That policy widens the gap between England and India, since we are entirely opposed to it and consider it as one of the major evils of the present-day world. There cannot be co-operation between us on this basis.

As a socialist, I have even more to say to British Labour which in the past wobbled dangerously on imperial issues and more particularly on India. Its record is bad; but in these days of peril none of us dare wobble or equivocate. Therefore, it is time that British Labour acted on the principles it has enunciated; and even expediency demands such action. Labour, which is anti-Fascist, must also equally be anti-imperialist.

It must stand for ending the Empire. It must clearly declare for the independence of India and for the right of the people of India to frame their own Constitution through a Constituent Assembly. It must be prepared to do everything in its power to bring this about.

We are not much concerned with the Federation, as we want the whole of the Government of India Act to go and want it to be replaced by a constitution of our own making.

It is gratifying that British Labour Leaders are thinking on these lines, and it is still more pleasing to find the rank and file of the labour movement responding enthusiastically to this call of freedom.

CONGRESS AND FEDERAL SCHEME

MR. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The threat to resign office, if necessary, in order to be free to carry on the agitation against the Federal scheme was made by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a comment on the statement of Sir Frederick Whyte at a recent meeting in London which was addressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Bose said:

When I was in London in January last I declared, both publicly and privately, that there was no analogy between Provincial Autonomy and the Federal scheme. Consequently, acceptance of office by the Congress in the provinces should not be construed as a stepping-stone to acceptance of the Federal scheme at the Centre. The tempo of the rank and file of the Congress is such that I cannot conceive how the Federal scheme can ever be accepted by that body, and in the absence of proof I cannot believe that any influential Congress leader has been secretly negotiating with the British Government on the Federal scheme.

If, however, the Federal scheme is adopted by a majority in the Congress by some chance, there will be nothing less than a civil war within that body. The anti-Federationists will certainly not take the defeat lying down as did the anti-ministerialists in the case of the provinces.

Speaking for myself, if such a contingency arises, it will probably be my duty to lay down the burden of office in order to be free to carry on a campaign against the Federal scheme.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI

"I want to make it clear that I am wholly against the resignation of Ministries as a means of fighting Federation," declared Mr. S. Satyamurti at Congress House, Madras. Mr. Satyamurti added:

If Federation comes, I want Congress Ministers to be in office, and in order that no Interim Ministry comes in, we must contest the elections to the Federal Legislature and capture all seats.

Whether we accept office or not is an open question which depends on future developments.

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN'S WARNING

It was a fine speech that Sir Radhakrishnan delivered the other day in unveiling the portrait of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Premier of Madras, which Mr. G. A. Natesan presented to the Gokhale Hall. Coming from England, he took the opportunity to express his reactions to the situation as it has developed in India since the advent of Congress Government in the Provinces. During his stay abroad, he has had occasions to discuss the Indian problem with British publicists and leaders of thought in England. He told them plainly that the problem in India is more psychological than political.

The shame of subjection is written there across the faces of young intelligent Indians and they could not get over the fact. There is no use of talking to Indians about an ungrateful India. There is no use talking to them of having built railways, telegraphs and irrigation works or having systematised law and made administration efficient. Italy will do that for Abyssinia and Japan in Manchukuo (*laughter*). Any one who wishes to run an efficient administration would have to use all the greatest modern appliances for his own purpose.

So long as the present relations continue, there will be a sense of unnaturalness and an unconscious spirit of condescension worse than contempt or hatred. What is the remedy? Sir Radhakrishnan said he never missed an opportunity of impressing on the British public the need for availing themselves of the present opportunity to satisfy Indian demand. "I put it to them," said Sir S. Radhakrishnan, that to-day in India there is at the head of the movement a leader and a saint, the like of whom was born not every year or generation but once in the course of several centuries (*cheers*) and he demands only Dominion Status—the substance of independence. It is just; it is expedient; it is inevitable, sooner or later. An European crisis will precipitate it. If you do not deal with the

matter when he lives, when he is leading the movement on absolutely non-violent lines and bring about a just and honourable settlement, I shudder to think what the consequences of the failure would be. I explained to them in detail that if Gandhiji failed, the people of India would feel, 'here was a leader who adopted the non-violent method, but was not able to get the barest justice from the British' and then non-violence would receive a set-back. Egypt, Ireland, South Africa—these make Indians feel that the British will never grant anything unless pushed into a corner, and unless it became absolutely inevitable. If Gandhiji fails, if non-violence receives a set-back, if world consciousness backs up the claim of this country, and if a major conflict is provoked between this country and Britain, I have no doubt that the conflict will be of a most unprecedented magnitude.

The Great Indian Mutiny or the Non-Co-operation Movement would be nothing, he added, compared to the movement which would break out if the just and reasonable demands of Indians were not granted.

THE PREMIER ON THE ANDHRA QUESTION

Speaking on the Andhra Province question at Cocanada, the Premier said that if they believed that anybody was against it they were committing a grievous injustice and error.

Your Province will come to you, but you need not cast aspersions on anybody in order to get your birthright. I appeal to you on behalf of the Tamil districts with whom you associate me, not to imagine that they wish to govern you. They never governed you and will never govern you. I want you to be sure of this because I know their minds and again speak on their behalf and you may take it as the last word on the subject.

I want you to remember that Andhras and Tamilians should remain as friends. If we allow our passion to hold our minds we lose our judgment. The Congress Government, which openly supported the Andhra Province question, cannot be hypocritical. You must believe that the present Government is doing all its best for a separate Andhra Province. Let nobody believe withholding it. I want you not to make the people believe that Tamil brothers are not fulfilling their duty well in this question. It is dangerous. It will cut at the root of all Congress movement. If the Andhra Province is to be a happy and prosperous Province, it must be one of a happy and prosperous India.

THE PORTRAIT OF THE PREMIER

There is peculiar appropriateness in Mr. G. A. Natesan's gift of a portrait of our Prime Minister, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, to adorn the Gokhale Hall. The late Gokhale, said Sir Radhakrishnan who unveiled the portrait,

was the first to visualise the need for a set of political workers who were political sanyasins and who, with detachment and devotion, worked for the welfare and freedom of the country. Among the greatest of all these sanyasins was undoubtedly Mahatma Gandhi. Among the rank and file of the Congressmen the bulk of the workers had suffered poverty and privation and endured trials leading a life of self-sacrifice. Among such people, Mr. C. R. stood in the front rank.

Mr. Natesan, in presenting the portrait, pointed out how "C. R." and his team have attempted with success the difficult task of transmuting into administrative reality some of the lofty ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. He eulogised C. R.'s utter selflessness, his simplicity, his singular devotion to duty, his great courage, his readiness to act and, above all, his capacity to maintain the best of social relations with his friends—his political opponents. Recounting the achievements of the last 12 months of Congress Ministry, he referred in particular to the Government's efforts at the maintenance of law and order, the reconciliation of capital and labour, the initiation of measures for the relief of agriculturists and the promotion of national solidarity. Of prohibition, he said that if at the end of their term the Congress could say "we have reduced drunkenness" even by one half, their acceptance of office would have been amply justified. Mr. Natesan bore eloquent testimony to C. R.'s skill as a born parliamentarian and said how the results of a year's rule have disproved the forebodings of the Prophets of Evil. He

wound up with the hope that Congress would continue in office to complete the good work they are doing so well.

Sir Radhakrishnan, who spoke at some length on the Congress ideology, referred in eloquent terms to the way in which Congress Ministries are implementing the programme chalked out by Gandhiji. He paid a handsome tribute to "C. R." as leader and administrator, and observed:

I have heard critics say that Mr C. R. is a dictator. I may tell you that it does not at all surprise me. I think that, in the present stage of our country, what we require is real guidance and real direction. If the dictator is democratic at heart, it does not matter if he poses himself as dictator.

Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar accepted the portrait on behalf of the authorities of the Gokhale Hall and thanked Mr. G. A. Natesan for presenting the portrait.

THE FEDERAL PLAN

According to the London Correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, certain modifications with regard to the Federal Scheme, as envisaged in the Government of India Act, have been decided upon with a view to meet the objections raised to the said Scheme by responsible Congress leaders. This seems to have been done on the advice of Lord Halifax, Lord Zetland, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Lothian, who had the advantage of direct conversations with leaders like Gandhiji, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. These modifications include:

- (1) The British Government will insist that some measure of democracy should be installed in the States instead of their mere representation in the Federal Legislature;
- (2) In the matter of Defence and Reserved subjects, the Viceroy will be guided by the advice of his Ministers, and
- (3) The British Government will agree to bear a share of the cost of defence in India.

THE WARDHA SCHEME

The Wardha Scheme of Education has been subjected to critical examination by various bodies. The main value of the Wardha Scheme is the new orientation it is intended to give to education by emphasising the importance of learning through manual activity as opposed to learning exclusively through books. This is how Dr. Zakir Hussain, author of the Wardha Scheme Report, explained the scheme to the Committee, which met at Simla early in July under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay. During the discussion, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, expressed the opinion that to introduce compulsion between the ages of 5 and 14, a recurring grant of Rs. 40 crores would be required and suggested that as the Provincial Governments would not be in a position to raise this amount, the Government of India might levy a special tax to meet the expenditure on primary education.

Abolition of the Matriculation examination at a future date and also of external examinations, provision for the teaching of Hindustani, a re-orientation of educational ideals by making the system thoroughly practical both in the primary as well as the secondary stages, with a view to bringing the schools into intimate touch with the life, needs and traditions of the people, and the enunciation of the principle of educating children through purposeful and creative activities leading on to productive work, are among the recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to report on vocational training in primary and secondary schools.

SIR SIVASWAMI IYER'S VIEWS

Delivering the inaugural address at the Bangalore Education Association on July 14, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer said that the Wardha Scheme is absolutely unworkable and will only be generally operated if the Congress Ministers impose their will on India in the form of dictatorships.

Critically analysing the scheme, Sir Sivaswami Iyer said that it was considered with all deference due to its originator, Gandhiji; it was found wanting in several vital respects. So far as it emphasised a living knowledge as opposed to bookishness, it contained nothing new. Sir Sivaswami Iyer also doubted whether it was always possible to correlate and co-ordinate all character-forming and mental developing studies to basic craft, which Gandhiji advocated. He also felt this plan demanded greater intellectual attainments than it was right to expect of teachers. There was also the danger of training a boy for some basic craft to which he was later found unsuited, leaving him neither inclined to earn a living in that way or competent to assume another avocation. Concluding, Sir Sivaswami Iyer said:

"The whole flaw in Mr. Gandhi's gospel lies in the fact that he blissfully assumes all men will be as altruistic and austere as himself."

EDUCATION OF ADULTS

The appointment of divisional and regional adult education committees, the active co-operation of industrial employers and adult education committees, extended use of the radio and the running of small village libraries are some of the recommendations made by the Adult Education Committee, which was appointed by the Government of Bombay in January last.

JAIL REFORMS IN U. P.

That women should have separate prisons and there should be no flogging are some of the proposals of the Jails Reforms Committee appointed by the U. P. Government. The Committee has recommended compulsory primary education for all prisoners below the age of 45 and the abolition of flogging as a jail punishment.

For the separate women's Jail there should be a staff of women trained in a special school which should be started soon. None should be taken in the jails service who has not been qualified in the proposed training school. Warders should have passed the vernacular examinations and the Warders' High School examination.

Prisoners convicted of offences which have a political motive should be styled political and on no account should those convicted of offences in connection with communism be included in this category. Prisoners convicted of other offences should receive graded treatment on the basis of their respective offences and not on account of social status.

The Committee has proposed the formation of an advisory committee consisting of officials and non-officials for advising the Jail Department.

SIR B. N. SRIVASTAVA

Sir Bisheshwar Nath Srivastava, Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, died at Bombay on July 17. Sir Bisheshwar Nath became the permanent Chief Judge in October 1937 and was knighted in January 1938. For some time he suffered from heart trouble and had a severe attack in April last. In May, he left for Europe on a health tour and returned to Bombay on July 14 when again he fell ill.

MR. V. J. PATEL'S BEQUEST

Messrs. Mitra and Mitra, Solicitors of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in the course of a Press statement issued by way of a rejoinder to the recent statement made by the Solicitors for the Executors of the late Mr. V. J. Patel's will, say: "We have all along been contending that the will of the late Mr. V. J. Patel and the bequest made therein to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose are unambiguous and are certain and definite in their terms and are capable of only one interpretation, and we are fortified in the opinion by the best legal opinion available. In terms of the said will, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is the sole trustee of the residue of the estate of the late Mr. V. J. Patel and the same should forthwith be handed over to him and he should have absolute and unfettered discretion in the matter of the scheme, which he may frame in respect of the said residue for carrying out the objects and purposes mentioned in the said will."

SALARIED LAWYERS

The closing of the Law College to future entrants, limitation of the number of advocates enrolled, a fixed salary for advocates, such are the ingredients of the Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopalachariar's dream as explained to Nellore lawyers. He said:

"I am not at all certain whether I shall be surprised if one day all of you are scandalised when the gates of the Law College are closed, and it is ordered that only a limited number of advocates should be enrolled and that they should receive a fixed salary. You may be happy at this idea. This is my dream and I may, some mad morning, derive the sanction and approval of my colleagues and the support of non-lawyers also for this scheme."

MOTOR INSURANCE

Chapter VIII of the Indian Motor Vehicles Bill provides for the insurance of motor vehicles against third party risks. Writing on this subject, Mr. R. Redenti, Vice-Chairman of the Automobile Insurance Committee, says:—

"It might be possible if it followed and did not precede the thorough and impartial study of a whole series of problems, ranging from the basic question of prevention of accidents to the no less essential question of the nature and the legal basis of the liability of the motorist, and only if it followed and did not precede a series of comparative inquiries demonstrating that it is the only possible solution; in so far as practical, economic and affording a definite and radical solution for all problems in connexion with compensation for accidents, the latter being the consequence of the increasing intensity and mechanization of road traffic. If, on the contrary, the investigation of the question from the legal and economic angle, in the light of the experience gained and of its practical and concrete application, were to show that this solution does not fulfil the above conditions, or if compulsory insurance were to be proved more expensive than optional insurance, a partial and unreliable solution and, therefore, an instrument incapable of providing in itself for the achievement of the object of compensation on a harmoniously balanced basis, the attempt to enforce it should most certainly be abandoned. When possible and even necessary to attain a desired result by other means, the application of drastic remedies is not recommended, either in the interest of business or from the point of view of law."

INDIAN FIRE INSURANCE

According to Government statistics, the Indian fire insurance premium reported in 1929 was 155 lakhs. The latest figures published for the year 1935 show the fire premium as 142 lakhs.

The drop in income is accounted for by price reductions, the holding of smaller stocks and curtailment of industrial operations. Similar conditions exist in other countries, but unlike India fire companies in many other fields have succeeded to some extent in offsetting the adverse effects of the world-wide depression by developing new income. Fire insurance is almost a necessity. The need for it is recognized everywhere by property owners, industrialists, merchants and business men in general. Experience indicates that lapses are common through carelessness and very often because the urge to renew is missing and the assured decides to take a chance for a little while. The person who has not carried fire insurance in the past is not likely to consider the subject unless he is come in contact with, and given the idea.

BURMA INSURANCE BILL

The Minister for Commerce and Industry proposes to introduce at the forthcoming Session of the House of Representatives a Bill entitled Burma Life Assurance Companies (Amendment) Bill, 1938.

The Amendment is intended to provide for the deduction of commission by the Reserve Bank of India for drawing and remitting the interest on securities of the Government of India deposited by life assurance companies with the Bank under Section 4, Sub-Section (1) of the Life Assurance Companies Act. A similar provision exists in the new India Assurance Act.

INDO-BRITISH TRADE

"It is regrettable that the break-down of negotiations regarding the textile question at Simla has been followed by persistent agitation on the part of Lancashire interests to put political pressure through deputations to the Board of Trade as well as by interpellations and speeches in Parliament," said Mr. G. L. Mehta, Vice-President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, in a statement to the Press.

Mr. Mehta stated: "The agitation is being carried on from day to day in which not only is an impression being created that the Indian textile interests were unreasonable but assurances are asked for having a privileged position for themselves in the Indo-British trade relationship. On the other hand the Government of India are maintaining a complete silence regarding the reasons for the break-down and have not considered it advisable even to publish the memorandum submitted by the non-official advisers in order to enable the public and the mercantile community to be in possession of the full facts relating to the Simla deadlock. There is no doubt that the case of the Indian textile industry is thus being allowed to go by default and the views of the non-official advisers are open to mis-interpretation."

"The Government should publish immediately the non-official advisers' memorandum and should see to it that no final decision is reached and no agreement arrived at in London without the knowledge and consent of the non-official advisers and without it being ratified by the Central Legislative Assembly."

INDIA'S SMALL EXPORTS

Exports from India caused the new fiscal year to begin badly, merchandise exports in April being valued at only Rs. 1,266 lakhs, which compares with Rs. 1,479 lakhs in the previous month and with Rs. 1,756 lakhs in April last year and is the lowest figure recorded since 1935. Imports were also a good deal smaller than in the two earlier months, but even so, April showed an adverse balance of trade in merchandise of Rs. 77 lakhs as compared with a favourable balance of Rs. 187 lakhs in April 1937. The position is illustrated in the following table:

(In lakhs of rupees: One lakh=£7,500)

	April, 1938.	March, 1938.	April, 1937.
<i>Merchandise—</i>			
Exports ..	1,266	1,479	1,756
Imports ..	1,343	1,536	1,569
Excess of exports ..	—	—	137
Excess of imports ..	77	57	—
<i>Treasure—</i>			
Gold, net exports ..	118	73	162
Silver, net imports ..	15	7	14
Total net export ..	103	66	148
Total visible balance of trade ..	35	19	338

It will be noted, observes the *Manchester Guardian*, that but for the larger net export of treasure, the total visible balance of trade for April would have been less favourable than that in March.

INDIAN COTTON

Reviewing the Indian cotton industry, the *Economist* in a leading article considers that the prospects of an agreement under which Indian tariffs on British imports could be lowered against increasing British purchases of Indian raw cotton can hardly be rated high. The journal adds:

"The Indian textile interests are not anxious to see a reversal of the declining trend of Indian imports of cotton piece-goods; and in the long run, the Indian Government cannot be oblivious of this attitude."

PREVENTION OF POLYGAMY

Mrs. Radhabai Subbaroyan (wife of the Hon. Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Education Minister, Madras) the first elected lady member of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, has given notice of a Bill to prevent polygamy. The Bill is calculated to restrain a man from marrying a second wife when the first is living.

The spread of education, she points out, has introduced a new form of polygamy. Educated women of respectable classes are marrying men, who are already married and whose wives are living. The educated woman arrives on the scene with all the blandishments of her charms and the accomplishments of modern social life and secures an easy victory in drawing away the husband from his first wife, who, in most cases, was married when she was very young and became a mother before she was adolescent and did not have the opportunity of cultivating the charms of mature young womanhood.

The misery and sufferings of the neglected wives cry out for legislation, which will give them some relief and also prevent the swelling of their numbers.

HINDU WOMEN AND DIVORCE

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, who sponsored the Hindu Women's Right to Inheritance Act in the Central Legislative Assembly, has given notice of another Bill of a far-reaching character, affecting Hindu women's right to divorce.

The Bill seeks to allow Hindu women to get divorce in certain cases, for example, when the husband is suffering from an incurable disease, is insane, or congenitally impotent, etc.

The Bill will be introduced at the next Session of the Central Assembly.

MRS. MAJUMDAR

Mrs. Majumdar, M.A., Professor of Mathematics in the Victoria Institute, Calcutta, is the first woman scientist to be awarded the Premchand Raichand studentship, which is the highest academic distinction in the gift of the Calcutta University. She is the wife of Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the Bose Research Institute.

Mrs. Majumdar was invited to attend the Astrophysics Conference organised by Prof. M. N. Saha, held at Allahabad last year under the presidentship of Sir Arthur Eddington, where she read a paper on "Eddington's Theory of Capacity Co-efficient in Stars".

INDIAN GIRL'S FUTURE

"The impact of Western ideas on the Indian mind, which has become slavish on account of long foreign domination, has very dangerous tendencies and any one who wants to tackle this problem will have to steer clear of those dangerous tendencies if he wants our country's womanhood to develop on sound lines in consonance with Indian civilisation, environment and temperament," says Mr. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister of Bombay, in a message to the *Modern Girl*, a newly started magazine.

MUSLIM WOMEN AND DIVORCE

That Muslim women should have the right of *khala* (divorce) and that an enactment be framed for the purpose was among the demands made at a largely attended meeting of Muslim women at Lucknow on July 3.

The resolution on the subject, moved by Princess Yusuf Jahan Begum of Rampur, was unanimously adopted.

LITERARY

BANKIM'S CENTENARY

A hundred years have passed since the birth of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee on June 27, 1838, in an obscure village near



BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

Calcutta. But a grateful posterity has kept his memory green and the centenary celebrations in Bengal and elsewhere have provided the occasion for a review of his work and achievements. Bankim was a many-sided genius: he was novelist, critic and reformer, but he was, above all, the inspirer of a great national awakening and his memory will be cherished as the forerunner of a movement that has had a marked influence on the literature and life of Bengal and, indeed, of the whole of India. As an artist, pure and simple, he may, and does fall short of the achievements of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee or Rabindranath Tagore. But

he is one of modern India's cultural path-finders; next to Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he is the one man who with his eyes serene "saw the light in an hour of confusion when the West was challenging the East, science was supplanting religion, and the new was stampeding all that was old."

PERSONAL

THE LATE MR. KHAPARDE

Khaparde, the grand old man of Berar, is dead at the great age of 84. In him has passed away a picturesque link with the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the stalwarts of the old Home Rule movement. He was an unflinching democrat, and, like Tilak, was inspired by the culture, history and traditions of Maharashtra. He took a prominent part in the Home Rule agitation and was a member of the League's deputation to England in 1919. A spirited and humorous speaker, he always attracted crowded houses to hear him. After the death of his chief, he did not appear much on the political stage. Somehow he seemed to be out of harmony with the new ideology of Mahatma Gandhi.

THE LATE SIR M. KRISHNAN NAIR

It is with deep regret we record the death of Sir M. Krishnan Nair in Palghat at the great age of 72. When he laid down his office as Law Member of the



LATE SIR M. KRISHNAN NAIR

Madras Government, "he brought to a close a parliamentary career longer than that of any of his contemporaries in the Madras Legislature".

DR. T. S. TIRUMURTI

We congratulate Rao Bahadur Dr. T. S. Tirumurti, Professor of Pathology, Medical College, Madras, on his appointment as Principal of the Stanley Medical College, Royapuram.



DR. T. S. TIRUMURTI

Dr. Tirumurti, was for a long time Professor of Pathology at the Medical College, Madras, and has visited England. He has acted as Principal of the Vizagapatam Medical College on four occasions and as Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

He is a popular member of the Medical Department and is greatly respected both by members of the department and by the non-official members of the Medical profession.

THE DRUGS BILL

Mr. B. D. Amin, Managing Director of the Alembic Chemical Works, Ltd., has addressed to the Government of India a communication urging that indigenous drugs should be brought under the operation of the Drugs Bill now being considered by a Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

TEA IN HOSPITALS

Speaking at a reception at the Royal Empire Society's Hall sponsored by the Empire Tea Market Expansion Bureau, Major Sir Thomas Cary Evans, Medical Superintendent, Hammersmith Hospital, observed: "Nowadays the best quality tea is within reach of all pockets. In 30 years' experience, I have never yet had occasion to forbid a patient the drinking of tea."

NUTRITION

In 1937, a training class in nutrition for health officers was held in Coonoor, this being attended by 6 officers from Provinces in British India and by one from Burma. In February and March 1938, a second training course was given, which was attended by 15 medical officers. The majority of these were from Indian States including the following: Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Dhar, Bhopal, Jind, Mysore, Travancore, Pudukottah, Kolhapur and Hyderabad. In addition, officers from Sind, Delhi Province and Orissa attended.

The course was designed to fit the officers to carry out practical nutrition work in the various States and Provinces.

The training of health officers in nutrition work should lead to fruitful results. By this means, knowledge of nutrition is spread throughout the country and the application of the results of scientific research is furthered. It rests with the Governments concerned to encourage the development of nutrition work with consequent improvement in the health of the people.

HYGIENIC CLOTHING

You have, perhaps, noticed that if you get hot at work or at play, the perspiration seems to settle round your waist, where the leather belt is. When your chest and shoulders are dry, the belt region is clammy and damp. That shows that tight clothes are bad.

If your skin is not ventilated, the dampness settles and gives you a chill.

Let your clothes be as loose as possible. Heavy clothes cause bad temper. They prevent the air from circulating round the body, and air, and more air, is what the skin needs.

TEA AS BEVERAGE

Mr. R. P. Wilkinson, reviewing the tea industry in his 1938 "Tea and Coffee Share Manual", remarks:

Tea is a good article; it is an ideal beverage for those who are overweight; it refreshes the body and stimulates the brain, but leaves no reaction such as do strong waters. There is no reason why consumption of tea should not be increased largely if its virtues are brought prominently before a world public.

BANKS AND DEPOSITORS

"No bank, however strong financially, can stand the strain of continued and persistent rush of depositors," says the *Bombay Sentinel*, "and a time must come when it will have to close its doors." In such crises it is the business of the Reserve Bank to step in and tell the public that they need have no fear for their money and place its resources at the disposal of the victims.

With our past experience in such matters, the public will support any attempt that may be made by Government to strengthen the Indian banking system by safeguarding the interests of depositors and by the general supervision through the Reserve Bank over such institutions. We are reminded in this instance of Section 4 of the American Federal Reserve Act which makes it possible for each Federal Reserve Bank to keep itself fully informed of the general character and amount of the loan and investments of its member banks with a view to ascertaining whether undue use is being made of bank credit for the speculative carrying on, or trading in, securities, real estate or commodities, or for any other purpose inconsistent with the maintenance of sound credit conditions; and, in determining whether to grant or refuse advances, rediscounts or other credit accommodations, the Federal Reserve Bank shall give consideration to such information. In India, a provision of this nature is urgently necessary to safeguard the banking system which is in its infancy and requires to be fully supervised by the authorities concerned.

MADRAS LAND MORTGAGE BANK

The operation of the provisions of the Debt Relief Act has had a great demand on the resources of the Madras Land Mortgage Bank which, it is stated, has disbursed during the period of three months since the Act came into force a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs as loans. With a view to meeting the increasing demand, the Bank authorities have approached the Government for permission to issue debentures to the extent of one crore of rupees.

CENTRAL EXCHANGE BANK OF INDIA

Negotiations have been concluded for the transfer of the business of the Central Exchange Bank of India, which is the London subsidiary of the Central Bank of India, to the chief foreign branch of the Barclays' Bank.

SIR FRANK ON RAILWAY WORKERS

In the course of the debate in the last Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, Sir Frank Noyce, Indian Government delegate, said:



SIR FRANK NOYCE

"I would point out that it was open to the Government of India under the Convention to limit the 60-hour week to a small number of categories of workers and to apply it simultaneously to all railways. If they had done that, the result would have been that the pace of progress would have been that of the slowest railway.

The charge has been made that out of the 54 railways in India, the 60-hour week had been applied to only seven. It would appear that progress has been very slow, but if you consider the number of workers on those railways, the position is exactly the reverse. There are four State railways on which the 60-hour week has been applied and three company-managed railways. I cannot give the exact figures, but I have no doubt whatever that the total number of railway workers to whom the 60-hour week has now been applied is at least 75 to 80 per cent. of the total number of workers on the railways in India.

It is the intention of the Government of India that the 60-hour week should be extended to all the other railways as quickly as possible."

VILLAGE DRAMA

Students of Art in India are familiar with the name of Tandra Devi and her love for the theatre. In her latest brochure (*Village Theatres*: Tandra Devi. Introduction by Nandalal Bose, Tandra Devi Publications, Tandrashram, Srinagar, Kashmir, As. 10) she makes a passionate plea for the revival of the dying art of puppet or marionette shows. We can expect the doll theatre to reach the height the Cinema has attained in our day if it is properly organised on sound basis. Its death cannot be wholly attributed to the ravages of an alien civilisation, though it contributed a major share. "I believe," says Tandra Devi, "that the National awakening should bring forth a National theatre and I hold that the National theatre is the puppet theatre which is at present the 'Harijan of the Arts'". There has recently been an endeavour in Bengal to mobilise some of the educated unemployed as entertainers of the people. It would be of immense help if the passionate effort of this eminent artist is translated into action and induce some patrons of arts to revive village theatres which would be of great cultural services to the community and also provide an outlet for unemployed men and women to earn a humble living in a worthy manner.

MR. R. CHAKRAVARTY

At India House, Sir William Llewellyn has opened an exhibition of paintings, drawings and prints by Mr. Ramendranath Chakravarty, a pupil and disciple of Rabindranath Tagore and head assistant teacher at the Government School of Art in Calcutta. In sponsoring the exhibition, the India Society is continuing its policy of showing to English people how contemporary Indian artists are tackling the problem of expressing contemporary Indian life. Mr. Chakravarty is versatile not only in his use of media but also in his choice of subjects. Traditionally Oriental in his use of line and flat colour, he is by no means traditional in his sympathetic way of depicting scenes from every-day life in India. Boys and girls at play, gipsies in their encampments, and domestic scenes are just as much his subjects as the more usual religious or mythological themes.

NEW NON-STOP AIR RECORD

The longest non-stop flight by an organized air unit was completed on July 8, by the Royal Air Force when four Vickers Wellesley air-craft, fitted with Bristol Pegasus engines, landed at Ismailia in Egypt.

They had covered 4,300 miles, thus exceeding by 1,000 miles, the previous long distance record flight for an organized unit held by the Italian Air Force—the Dakar to Rio de Janeiro flight last January.

The R. A. F. formation, which left Cranwell at 4-15 A.M., were 32 hours in the air. The aircraft kept an average height of 10,000 feet and flew non-stop on a great circular route to a point between Koweit and Bahrein, where according to plans they turned westward to their destination Ismailia.

The flight was commanded by Squadron Leader, R. Kellest.

Wing-Commander O. R. Gayford, who directed the organization flight, was the pilot of the Fairey Napier monoplane, which in 1933 established the world's non-stop record flight from Cranwell to Walvis Bay.

1940 OLYMPICS

The Ministry of Public Welfare has decided that the 1940 olympics should not be held in Japan. The Cabinet will consider the recommendation and approval to the decision is certain.

The Ministry of Welfare controls all sports in Japan.

The announcement was very disappointing, but it was approved by the public as unavoidable as a war-time measure.

The fact that the Games and the Tokio Exhibition have been cancelled shows that the Japanese expect hostilities in China to continue at least well into 1939.

THE WILLINGDON TROPHY

The decision not to give the Willingdon Challenge Trophy this year was reached at a meeting of General Committee of the Aero Club of India and Burma, held at Simla during the 2nd week of July.

UNREALITIES IN SCIENCE

"All scientific theories must in their very nature be mere speculations. Man can only make approximate guesses necessarily wrong at first and certainly incomplete; and as further experience exposes his mistakes, he must give them up preferring other speculations. Such process must go on continually as the reality of Nature would ever elude his grasp," said Sir Shah Sulaiman in the course of a popular lecture on "Unrealities in Science" at Simla on June 28.

Sir Shah said:

"That our scientific theories must of necessity be uncertain would become patent when one realises 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."

R C. V. RAMAN AS PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS

It is understood that Sir C. V. Raman has signed a new contract to serve as professor of Physics in the Indian Institute



SIR C. V. RAMAN

Science for a period of 10 years, as stipulated by the Governing Council of the Institute at its last meeting.

FILM EXCHANGE

An International Federation of Film Archives has been established by Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. The purpose of the new organization is to facilitate the international exchange of historical, educational and artistic films between such bodies as the British National Film Library, the German Reichsfilmarchiv, the Cinematique Francaise, and the American Museum of Modern Art.

The agreement, which has brought the new organization into being, was signed in Paris by representatives of the various countries interested in the movement. The organization will not be concerned with commercial films; in fact, membership of it will not be open to any institution or body which could make use of its films for any commercial purpose. Through this agreement, the British National Film Library, for example, will be able to obtain from its colleagues in other countries copies of films of accepted value and in the same way other countries will be able to call on Britain for examples of English work. This is the first time that an exchange of films has been put on an official basis.

KIPLING AND THE SCREEN

Mr. Alexander Korda, who last year brought to the screen the story of "Toomai of the Elephants" from the "Jungle Book," has now purchased the film rights of the Mowgli stories.

Sabu, the young Hindu boy actor, whom Mr. Robert Flaherty discovered in Mysore and chose for the part of Toomai, will be Mowgli in the next Kipling film. It is the intention of the makers to allow the animals which played so important a part in the upbringing of Mowgli in the jungle to talk as they did in the book. Great care will be taken in giving them suitable "voices", for sleepy old Baloo, Bagheera, the black panther, Shere Khan, the villainous tiger, Kaa, the python, and the chattering Bandarlog, the monkey-people, all have distinctive characteristics and opinions which must be retained. In Kipling, the film would appear to have found a writer whose stories readily lend themselves to adaptation.

TESTS FOR LONDON BUS DRIVERS

So high is the standard of eye-sight and physical fitness required of London's bus drivers that 78 out of every 100 men who apply for that job with the London Passenger Transport Board are rejected. This was disclosed by Mr. T. E. Thomas, General Manager, the Road Transport Section of the Board, to the House of Lords Select Committee on Road Accidents.

After selection, Mr. Thomas added, the men underwent intensive training to promote efficiency and to ensure maximum safety.

When a driver was shown to be prone to accidents, Mr. Thomas said, he came under special guidance and, if necessary, was sent back to the training school. Examiners travelled on buses and kept the drivers under observation.

The driver was unaware of the examiner's presence. He travelled as an ordinary passenger and noted any defects in driving. At the end of the journey he revealed his identity, told the driver that he had been watched and drew his attention to any defects.

MOTOR INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Addressing a large gathering of motor drivers in Madras on 10th July, Mr. V. V. Giri said:

"Motor industry has got great possibilities in our country. We are spending crores of rupees in getting either new cars or implements for them from outside. As a Minister for Industries, I will like to have all these crores in my own country rather than sending them outside the country. . . .

"Motor industry is a key industry," proceeded Mr. Giri, "and all the Industries Ministers of the Congress Governments are in touch with the subject at this moment. It is likely that the Congress Working Committee will have a committee of experts and these experts may discuss this and other key industries most probably with many of the Ministers for industry."

According to experts, said the Minister, a medium-sized car could be got for Rs. 1,500 if manufactured in India instead of Rs. 3,500 as at present.

EMPIRE AIR MAIL SCHEME

A plea to evolve a scheme to build up a national civil aviation industry according to the requirements of the country is made by the Secretary of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Punjab, in a communication to the Secretary to the Government of India, Communications Department, on the new arrangements made by the Government with the Imperial Airways as a part of the Empire Air Mail scheme.

Regretting that no reference was ever made to the commercial community or the public in general in that connexion, the Secretary draws the Government's attention to the fact that when the arrangements were made in 1934, the commercial community was given to understand that when the period of the present agreement with the Imperial Airways expired in 1939, the Government of the day would be at perfect liberty to reconsider the whole position and to make such arrangements as appeared to them possible and feasible.

The Secretary recalls the assurance given by the then Finance Member to the Government of India to the Standing Finance Committee at their meeting on March 14, 1929, in which he was reported to have stated that he had come to the conclusion that no less than 75 per cent. of the voting rights would give Government the control they desired over the affairs of the company. No efforts were made by the Government to reconsider the affair in the light of the comments and opinions expressed in the legislature and by public bodies.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

A series of lectures on air raid precautions will be delivered at Bombay during the monsoon months under the auspices of the St. John Ambulance Association. The lectures are primarily intended for those representatives of various establishments, works, etc., who, after qualifying and passing the prescribed examination, will themselves act as instructors in their own institutions. But the lectures will also be open to others so far as there is room. The course which includes practical demonstrations will cover a period of one month.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

Addressing the 24th Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, Lala Shri Ram of Delhi, Indian Employers' delegate, said that industrialization in the East has come to stay and that India and the East generally can no longer be treated by other countries as a closed market for goods that we can produce ourselves.



LALA SHRI RAM

Mr. Shri Ram explained that the cardinal problem for India was how to attack its wide-spread poverty, which is being accentuated by a steadily heavy increase in the population.

"It is only by industrialization and increased production," he declared, "that this can be achieved, nor need the older industrialised countries of the West consider this tendency a menace to their own position. A richer India, with its corollary of a higher standard of living, will still continue to be a growing market for the things which the older countries produce."

"Even now it should not be forgotten that, though there has been a falling off in the demand for the classes of foreign commodities formerly imported, their place has been taken by goods of later-date invention and manufacture. It is, therefore, our hope that the older manufacturing countries will not only view with sympathy our efforts at industrialisation but will actually help us."

"LAND TAXATION IN INDIA"

This is a reprint of a series of ten articles contributed recently by the author to the leading papers of the country. After surveying the history of the problems and examining the new constitution, the author of this book (Land Taxation in India: A historical and juridical study. By Maniklal H. Vakil, M.A., LL.B., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., Advocate, Bombay) gives valuable advice to the new legislatures as to how to proceed to bring about radical reforms in the Land System. In his view "it is both important and urgent that legislation to restore the Peasant's right and to curtail the rights of the intervening landlords to not more than 10 per cent. of the State's share, be undertaken without further delay." The author has prepared a Draft Bill of Peasant's rights granting to the peasant unequivocally the entire ownership of the land. The Bill also provides against uneconomic fragmentation of holdings and provides for the standard rate of 25 per cent. of the net annual value of land as recommended by the Todhunter Committee, leaving the local authorities to levy additional taxation up to a maximum percentage of the land-tax.

The book is bound to be of great help to the members of the new Provincial Legislatures, who will have to face the problem of land revenue and agrarian reform and to devise radical solutions immediately.

INSECTS AND AGRICULTURE

At an English Experimental Station, where scientists are engaged on research with the object of saving agriculture from the havoc wrought by insect pest, it is necessary to maintain a constant supply of undamaged bodies for examination. One woman scientist obtains her specimens in a novel way.

Moths, flies, and other insects flying at night over a certain field are attracted by seductive aroma of a mixture of beer and molasses which has been placed in a spiral glass tube. They swoop to investigate but immediately they touch the liquid they are electrocuted. This method of killing does not damage the bodies.

WAGE INCREASE

The Bombay Millowners' Association has passed a resolution to the effect that it would fail in its duty to the industry, to the Government and the country, if it did not invite attention to the fact that the interim recommendations of the Textile Labour Inquiry Committee would impose a very heavy burden on the cotton textile industry of Bombay Presidency.

The Association's opinion is that the interim recommendations in connexion with wage increases are unjustified based as they have been on assumptions and theories, and hypothetical and problematical estimates.

Nevertheless, in view of the Government's resolution, the Association recommends that the wage increase specified in the interim report should be accepted for the time being by members of the Association in the Bombay Presidency, and should be given effect to from the date specified in the resolution.

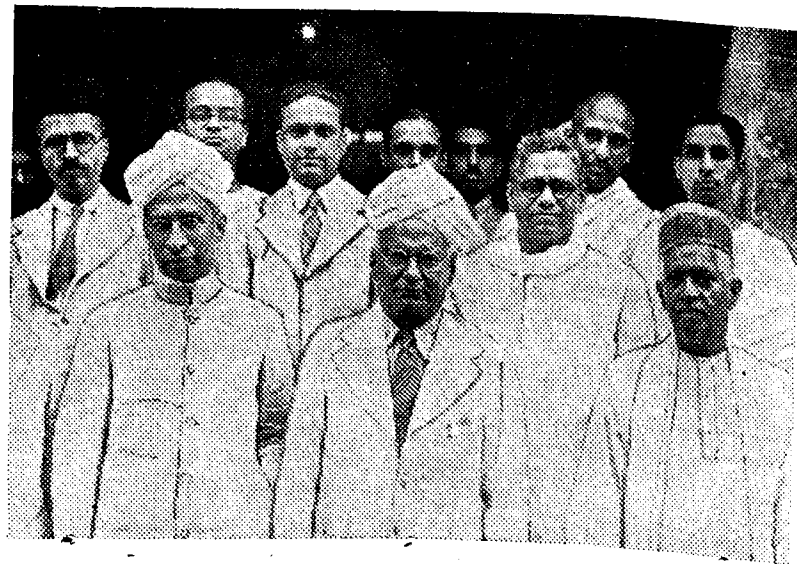
GENERAL

SIR K. P. PUTTANNA CHETTY

It is with deep regret we record the death of Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, former member of the Maharaja's Council, at Bangalore, at the great age of 82. In him Mysore has lost an eminent administrator and philanthropist.

After retirement in 1912, Sir Puttanna Chetty took a prominent part in the public life of the State, having been connected with many organisations. He was President of several trusts and charities, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Mysore, President of the Central Co-operative Bank, Bangalore, Fellow of the Mysore University and member of the Mysore Legislative Council for 25 years.

In recognition of his services to the State, the titles of Dewan Bahadur and Rajasabhabhushana (a Mysore title) were conferred on him in 1911. He was created a C. I. E. in 1917 and Knighted in 1925.



Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan unveiled the portrait of "C. R." presented by Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, Sheriff of Madras, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on Monday July 18.

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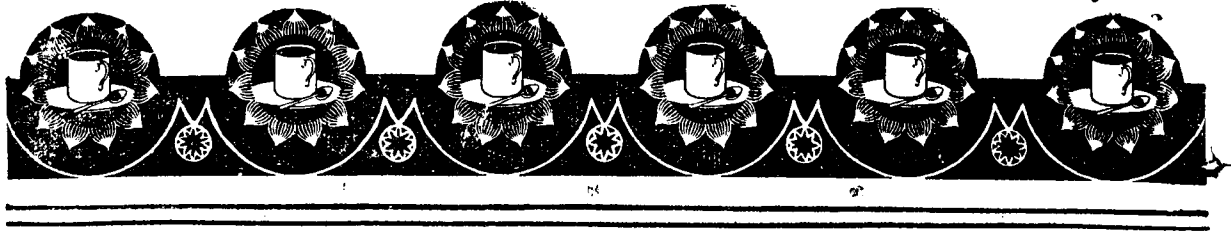
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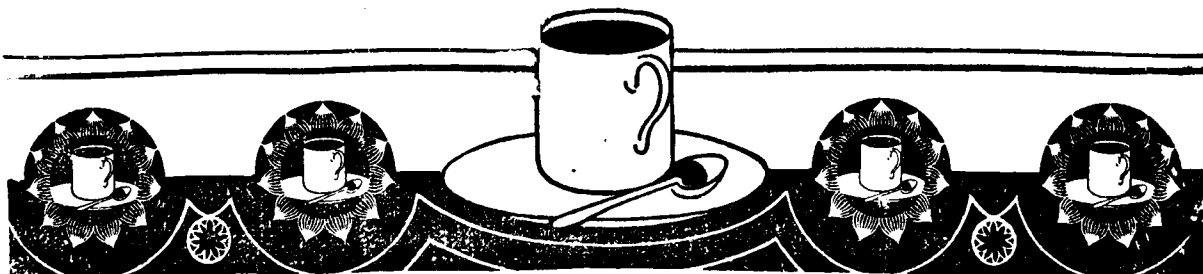


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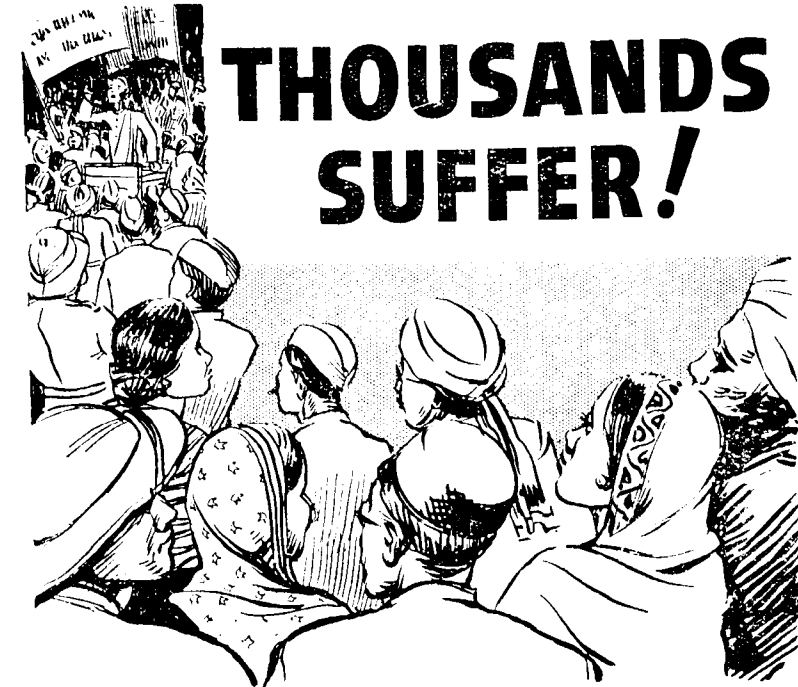
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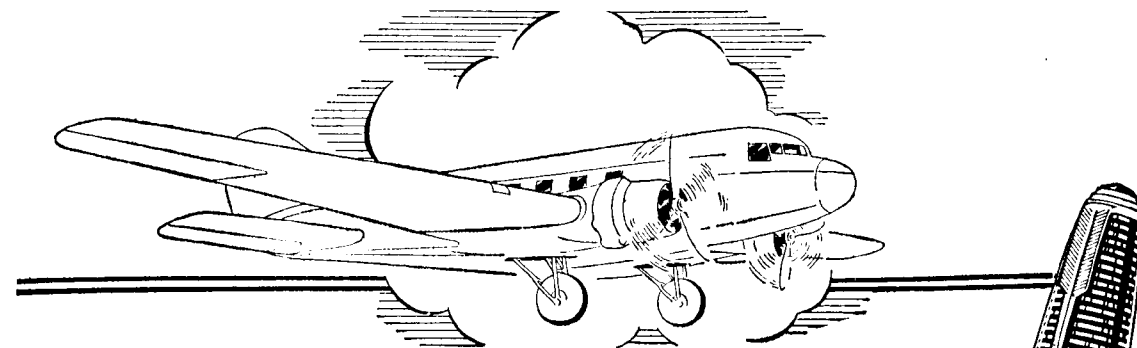
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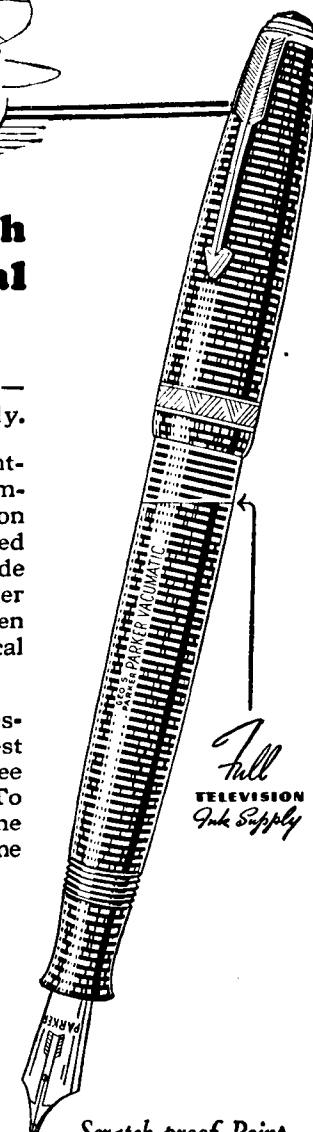
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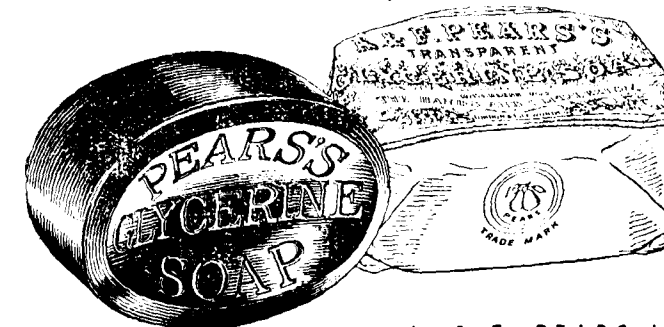
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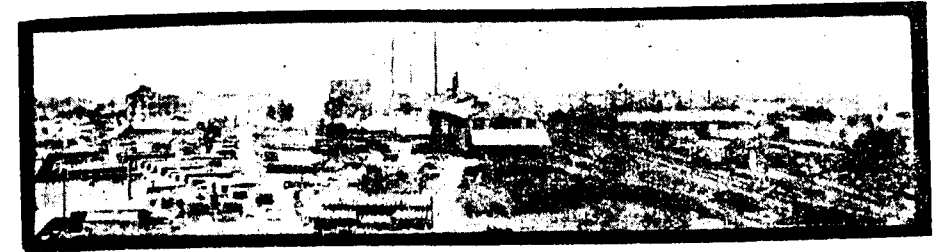
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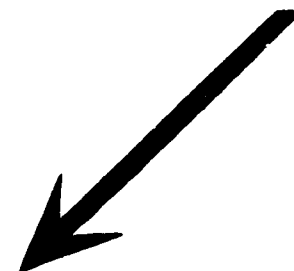
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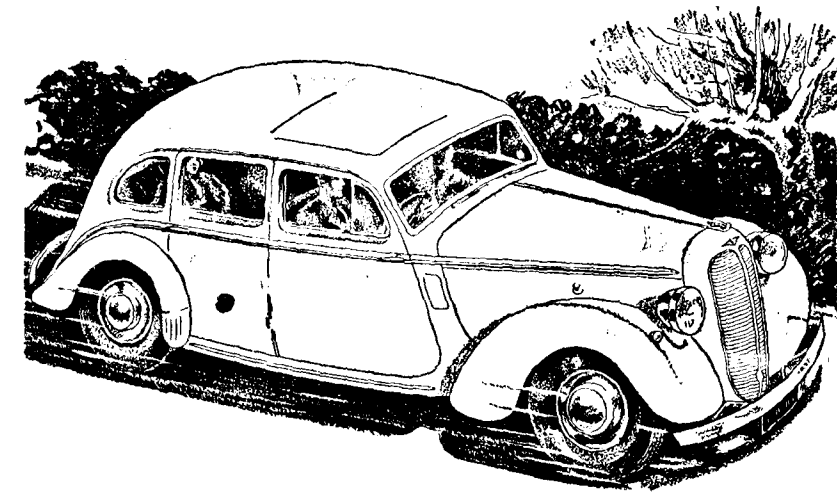
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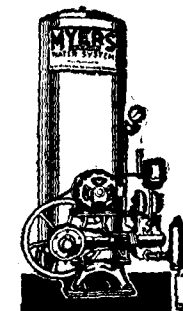
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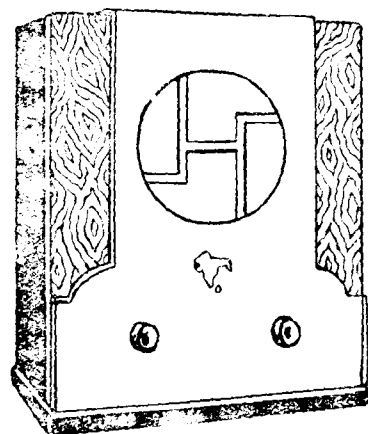
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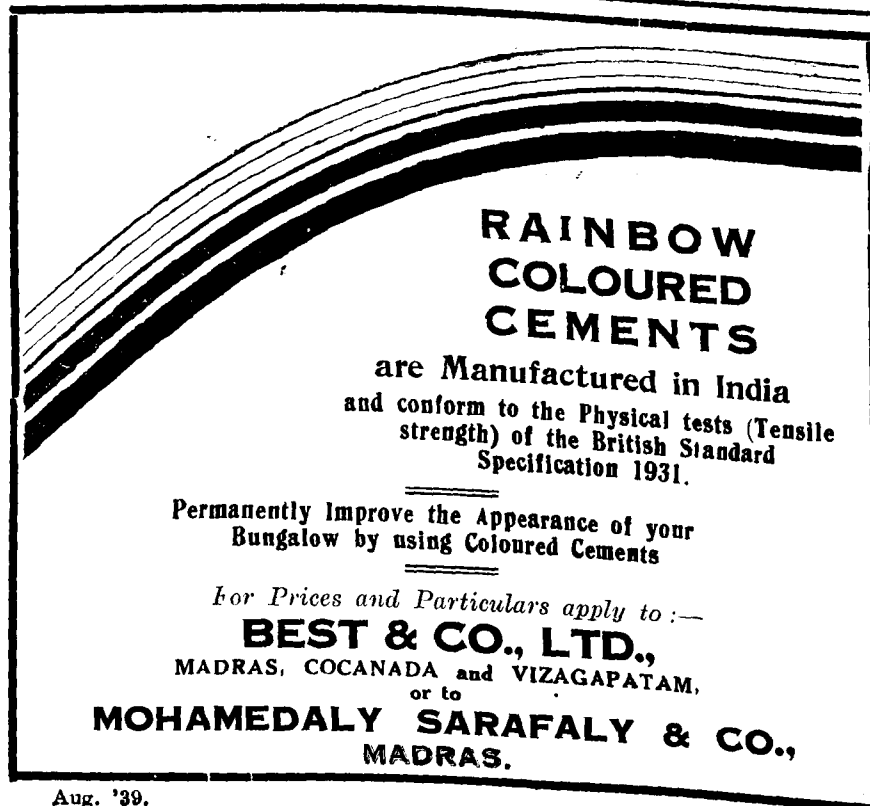
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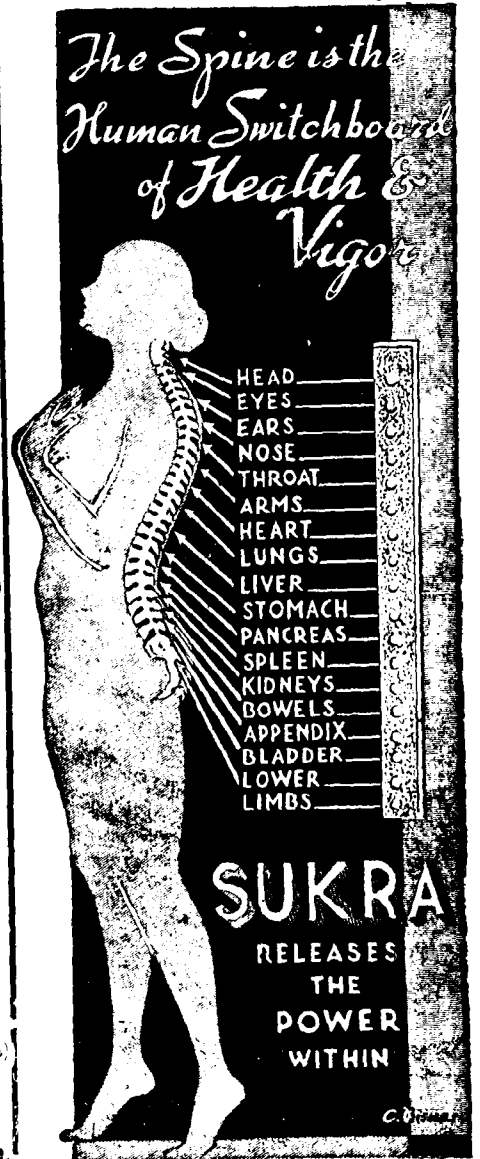
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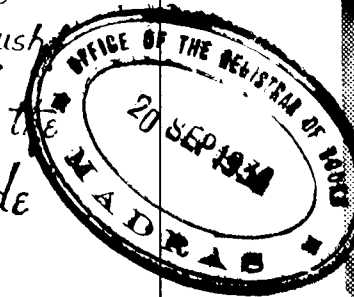
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The Army in India and Indian Defence

BY DR. BOOL CHAND, Ph.D. (Lond.), M.A.

(Hindu College, University of Delhi)

PURPOSE OF THE INDIAN ARMY

AT present, there are only two purposes for which the army in India is being maintained, and both these purposes are either directly or indirectly imperialistic in their design. Firstly, the army in India is required for the maintenance of British rule in India, which purpose, even if British opinion refuses to recognise it as wholly imperial, is at least as imperial in its interest as Indian. Secondly, the Indian army is maintained as a main factor in the defence of the Empire and the maintenance of the balance of power in Asia, which purpose is clearly wholly imperial. The imperial character of the Indian army was recognised even by the Fisher Committee.

“We cannot consider the administration of the army in India,” they said, “otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. . . . Novel political machinery created by the Peace Treaty has enhanced the importance of the army of India relatively to the military forces in other parts of the Empire, and more particularly to those of the British Isles.”

Such imperial considerations underlying the administration of the Indian army would logically necessitate the cost of the upkeep of Indian army being largely borne by the Imperial exchequer, for from the point of view of Indian defence the upkeep of such a large and expensive standing army as India maintains today is wholly unnecessary and wasteful. To-day,

India spends a far larger percentage of her national income upon army than any other country in the world; indeed, her military expenditure in peace times exceeds the civil expenditure by about 3 crores; while during the last century no major war has ever taken place either within or without the borders of the country. But the Imperial Government does not bear even a part, far less a proportionate part, of the cost of the Indian army. Undoubtedly there is an agreement which stipulates that on occasions when any part of the Indian army is used for imperial purposes outside the frontiers of India, its expense shall be defrayed by that part of the Empire making such a use; but even such an agreement cannot justify India's being asked to permanently maintain an enormous standing army thus wholly unrelated to her own national requirements. The use of this army outside the borders of India might be for just a couple of months after every few years, so that India's role under such an agreement is merely to continue to make this stupendous expense, far in excess of her ability, for the maintenance of a vast army, to provide an assurance to the rest of the Empire that they have a ready instrument in India to ‘supply fodder’ to their enemies’ guns whenever

they should have need to make use of it.

No intelligent section of the Indian people can accept such a fundamental principle, with all its economically ruinous implications. So long as the Imperial Government is not prepared to bear the 'proportionate' cost of the maintenance of Indian armies, the army in India must be exclusively organised as an army for Indian defence, irrespective of any imperial considerations, and as such it must be based upon a policy that would conduce to the fulfilment of that objective; for the present policy underlying the control and administration of Indian army is not only quite inadequate for but is actually antagonistic to its fulfilment.

PRESENT MILITARY POLICY

The present military policy in India is based upon a deep-rooted distrust of the people of the country. Such distrust was the inevitable result of government by a foreign power over a vast country inhabited by many millions of people, alien in their race, creeds and language. The Mutiny of 1857 quite naturally helped to strengthen it. But even although the Mutiny was followed by a century of almost perfect peace and harmony, the policy of distrust was not substantially changed. Now, as ever, the people of the country are compulsorily disarmed, whole populations are excluded from the army, and reliance is in the last resort placed upon British officers and British troops. All this is clear evidence of the inability of any ruling imperialist power to identify itself with the abiding interests and nationalistic sentiments of the subject people.

As a fundamental principle of Indian military policy, it is provided that British troops in India should be maintained at

a strength which should bear a definite ratio to the Indian troops. This ratio was fixed by the Peel Commission in 1858-9 at 1 to 2 in the Bengal army and 1 to 3 in Madras and Bombay armies, although subsequently it has been changed to a general ratio of 1 to 2.5 for the whole regular army. Such ratio is intended as a safeguard against the possibility of disaffection of Indian troops in the army against British Government and British rule in India.

There is provision for other safeguards also. Firstly, various expedients are employed in order to check the growth of a spirit of solidarity among Indian troops. Class companies are formed, and so far as possible regiments are confined to the provinces in which they are raised, for experience showed that military discipline and service in different parts of the country tended to obliterate religious and caste distinctions and to promote ties of fellowship. Secondly, Indian troops and officers are excluded from the artillery and all other branches of the army which require scientific and technical training. Until recently, even the fire-arms with which the Indian troops were equipped were of a much less efficient pattern than those provided to the British troops in the Indian army. Thirdly, great care is taken, by means, so far as possible, of promoting Indian officers from the ranks instead of directly recruiting them, and by a systematic propaganda about Indians' incapacity for leadership, to prevent the growth of initiative in the Indian troops and to safeguard against the emergence of leaders from the Indian officers. The Indian is assiduously made to believe that he is inferior to the European, so that the Indian soldier and the Indian

officer may be 'hypnotised into the soul-deadening conviction of his own ineradicable inferiority and the invincible superiority of the European'.

Such policy, obviously anti-nationalistic in its implications, cannot, in the very nature of things, be allowed to continue as the basis for the organisation of an Indian army meant exclusively and primarily for Indian defence. If India's military defence is to be placed really on a national basis, there can be no place in its organisation either for the insidious propaganda about Indians' incapacity for leadership or even for the exclusion from it of the whole population of the country by a process of disarmament and confinement of military profession to a limited section of the people. No plan of national defence can be really successful which does not seek to take the whole population of the country into the confidence of the Government and make them feel that ultimately the responsibility for defence lies upon themselves. A more or less mercenary type of a standing army, officered by the British, might be useful for the maintenance of British rule in India, but as a scheme for national defence it is fundamentally faulty and financially needlessly wasteful.

No pouring out of money like water on mere standing battalions can ever give India the military strength and preparedness which other civilised countries possess, while the whole population is disarmed and the process of demartialisation continues apace. . . . The whole arrangement is an unnatural one; one may go further and say that it is an impossible one, and if ever unfortunately a day of real stress and danger comes, Government will find it so.*

We ought to point out that the policy of placing sole reliance for purposes of defence upon a standing army, far less an alien

* G. K. Gokhale. *ref.* his speeches [Natesan, Madras] 2nd edition, p. 489.

standing army which is bound to run back to defend its own home as soon as that is in danger, has been discarded everywhere to-day, particularly in view of the modern conditions of warfare by means of aeroplanes and poisonous gas attacks. The modern system of aerial bombardment makes the civil population of the country as amenable to attack and therefore as responsible for active defence as the military forces. The only system by which the defence of a country in modern times can be effectively secured is, therefore, the system of a compulsory national military service, which incidentally combines the advantage of securing a lower unit cost of military defence along with a much larger proportion, better equal to the modern exigencies of national defence, of well-trained reserves than under a system of mercenary standing army.

FOREIGN CONTROL OF INDIAN ARMY

But a system of compulsory and national military service takes for granted that the control of military policy and military administration should be completely and effectually in the hands of a responsible national government. Such a condition is very far from realisation to-day. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the whole subject of defence has been reserved to be personally administered and controlled by the Governor-General, with the help and advice of counsellors appointed by and responsible to himself and in complete freedom of the voice or wishes of responsible Indian Ministers. And in the matter of the determination of military policy, not even the Governor-General to-day is the supreme factor; under the present constitutional arrangements, the administration of the army in India is considered primarily 'as a part of the

total armed forces of the Empire', so that the determination of Indian military policy is effectively entrusted to the Imperial General Staff.

It was in 1861, after the suppression of the Mutiny and the consequent assumption of the Government of India directly by the Crown, that the military administration of India first passed under the control of the War Office in England. The Army Amalgamation Scheme was recommended by the Peel Commission, and its dominant features were (1) the amalgamation into a single force of the Queen's troops and the Company's army, which were partly recruited in England and partly raised in India, and (2) the handing over to the War Office in England of the supply and control of the recruits for British units of this amalgamated Indian army. This recommendation, we must mention, raised a flood of criticism at the time, and was actually put into operation against the wishes of the Viceroy and his Council; but once in operation, it became 'the fatal step which withdrew the management of the army from the Government of India and vested it with an extraneous body, wholly indifferent to the financial interests or economy of India'. In the course of time the plan proved so profitable to the British Government that even in 1919, when India was manifestly started on the road to responsible government, the arrangements of Indian military organisation were not brought into line with India's gradual approach to Dominion Status.

Although definitely requested to frame its recommendations so as not to be inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion Status, the Esher Committee refused to 'consider the administration of the army in India

otherwise than as a part of the total armed forces of the Empire and testified to 'the continued reluctance of India Office to relinquish into the hands of the Government of India greater freedom in the administration of the army, even in cases where this could be done without compromising the administration of the army at home or contravening the sound principles of uniformity in military policy. What, therefore, the Esher Committee recommended was to combine 'the control by the Government of India of Indian military affairs' with the 'giving to Government of India a voice in the questions of Imperial defence' and reciprocally 'the allowing the Imperial General Staff through its Chief to exercise a considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India'. To secure this exercise of 'considered' influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the military policy of the Government of India, the Esher Committee suggested that

the Commander-in-Chief in India shall be appointed with the concurrence of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and that the Commander-in-Chief shall be the sole military adviser of the Government of India. If this system can be established, the chain of military responsibility for questions of an Imperial character will be complete. On the one hand, the Commander-in-Chief will look to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff for supreme direction in all questions of Imperial military policy in which India is concerned; and on the other hand, the Governor-General will look to the Commander-in-Chief for military advice upon questions in which India only is concerned and also upon questions of a wide military character with confidence that the Commander-in-Chief will be in a position to express upon the latter the considered views of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

In effect, therefore, these recommendations of the Esher Committee were intended to secure the retention of the control of British War Office over India's defence policy, both as regards its general principles and as regards the instruments

through which those general principles were to be executed.

But the control of Indian defence policy and Indian military administration by the War Office is most objectionable. Apart from the purely theoretic grounds, which require that any self-governing country must fully control its own defence, the administration of Indian army by the War Office during the last three generations has been wholly unsympathetic, even hostile, to the true interests of India. It has not in any way cheapened the cost of Indian army or rendered it more efficient or strong; all that it has achieved is to relieve the British estimates of a considerable portion of expenditure which should have been legitimately borne by them.

INDIAN MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The evidence of this achievement, or rather mal-achievement, of the War Office is only too glaring.

Millions of money have been spent in increasing the army in India, on armaments, and on fortifications, not to provide for the security of India against domestic enemies or prevent the incursions of the warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of all these great and costly measures reaches far beyond India's limits and the policy that dictates them is an Imperial policy;* yet the burden of their cost has been mercilessly imposed upon India's slender financial resources.

We could also point out other specific ways in which India's finances have been burdened with wholly unjustifiable items of expenditure in Britain's interest.

In the United Kingdom, in peace time, units are maintained at an establishment smaller than that required for war. The deficiencies on mobilisation required to complete units to their war establishment are made good by means of reservists.†

But in India 'the peace establishments' actually exceed the war establishments.‡ The reason is that 'units of the British

* Lord Salisbury, in his evidence before the Select Committee of Parliament on East India Finance, 1896.

army are detailed for a tour of foreign service, of which the major part is as a rule spent in India;† and while in India their expenditure is borne by the Indian exchequer. Its payment, in the beginning, used to be made on the basis of a capitation rate of £10 per soldier, but later on the system was abandoned in favour of actual expenses, which again was superseded by a new capitation rate. In fixing this rate, all changes in the organisation and equipment of the British army, e.g., the short service system introduced by Lord Cardwell, are taken into consideration as if they were automatically effective in India, irrespective of their suitability or otherwise to Indian conditions, as well as all increases of pay etc. of British troops in the United Kingdom, irrespective again of India's financial inability to bear these charges. Naturally, therefore, this capitation rate gradually but constantly tended to rise, from £11 8s. in 1908 to £25 in 1923-4.

Indeed, it is not merely the system of short service tours for British troops in India that imposes an unjustifiable expenditure upon India: the whole arrangement which secures the amalgamation of British troops in India with the rest of the British army, under the control of the War Office, costs India very dear. Thanks to this arrangement, the Government of India has had to pay more for its European forces than if they had been recruited in the country itself. Every change in military finance that has been introduced in England, either in view of England's rivalries in Europe or in commensuration with England's standard of living and wealth, has had to be introduced in India also, here without

† Army in India and its Evolution. (Government of India, 1924).

any basic justification at all. Even so, the emoluments of British officers in India have been fixed higher than those of British officers in England. Speaking of the increased cost of army in India in the post-War period, the *Army in India and its Evolution* (a Government of India publication, 1924) said that

the annual cost of an officer holding the King's Commission has risen from about Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 11,000 in the case of British services, and from about Rs. 9,000 to Rs. 14,000 in the case of Indian services; . . . the emoluments of the Indian service officer have to be so fixed as to give him an advantage over the British service officer, in recognition of the fact that he undertakes continuous Indian service.

Thus, the whole present policy underlying military administration in India is defective and disagreeable to Indian public opinion in the same degree as it is unsuitable for adoption as the basis of an Indian military force meant exclusively for Indian defence. It imposes, firstly, in British or Imperial interest, an unfair and highly disproportionate* financial burden upon India—a burden which India can ill-afford to bear. It involves,

* A suggestion is, sometimes, made that India derives from the existence of British navy a corresponding advantage to what Britain derives from the existence of an Indian army. Such a suggestion is quite invalid.

Although there is a small naval force, the Royal Indian Navy, maintained for the maritime defence of India; yet broadly speaking it is true that the main burden of Indian naval defence devolves upon Great Britain. In consideration of the protection which she receives from the Imperial navy, India has since 1869 paid an annual contribution to British Admiralty, which in 1896 was fixed at £100,000. Even so, it does not perhaps ostensibly cover a 'proportionate' share of the cost of Indian naval defence. But Britain is not defending India in India's own interest, and does not in fact maintain any part of her naval force specifically and primarily for the purposes of Indian defence. All the navy that she maintains is needed for her own defence and existence. She depends, for her very existence, upon foreign trade and commerce, and therefore needs the security which the maintenance of a large navy can give in this regard. It is not out of a sense of charity or philanthropy, but purely out of her interests

secondly, a war and even more than war establishment of a mercenary standing army in peace time, thus failing to take advantage of a short service and reserve system with its capacity to yield a maximum of combatant strength at the minimum of cost. It maintains, thirdly, at India's own cost an alien force of occupation, which for purposes of national defence is fundamentally unreliable, for 'it is not beyond possibility that identical circumstances which demand mobilisation in India might require instant mobilisation at home', in which case such a force is bound to run back to defend its own home and leave the country that pays for its establishment quite in the lurch.

DIRECTION OF REFORM

What, then, is the direction in which the policy must be changed in order that it may achieve the objective of an Indian army meant purely and exclusively for Indian defence. Such a direction is clearly manifest from the very analysis of defects of the present policy and organisation.

It will be clear that no mere changes in detailed administration or the administrative machinery of Indian army will be

for commercial gain, that Britain professes to be responsible for India's naval defence. There is, thus, no validity in the suggestion that British obligations to Indian army are off-set by Indian obligations to British navy. The two things are not on a level; for it is impossible to conceive that at any time that India might in the future need the help of British navy. Great Britain would be willing to render it exclusively for the benefit of a free India.

It is, indeed, true that the possibility of India ever needing such help seems very meagre, bounded as India is by vast stretches of ocean on three of her frontiers; but that does not mean that India should not try to raise a navy of her own. In fact, we suggest that the Government of India should immediately institute a real Indian navy and Indian air-force, raising the capital necessary for the building of ships as an unproductive debt and providing for a definite amount in the budget annually for recurring charges.

really effective, unless there is a complete orientation of the whole Indian military policy and reorganisation of the whole Indian army. The present system aims at the continued emasculation of the Indian people and puts sole reliance upon a mercenary standing army. The necessity of a small standing army, readily available to weather the first shocks in the event of a foreign invasion, is indeed inescapable, and no sensible nationalist will seek to deny it; but the present numbers of the army in India are perhaps a little too large, and in any case are not supported by the necessary backing of reserves. We have already pointed out that, at all events under modern conditions of warfare, it is quite idle to seek to organise the defences of a country, particularly of a large country like India, on the basis of a mere standing army. In India, therefore, there should be organised besides a small but well-equipped regular army, a double system of reserves. Firstly, there ought to be formed, after the British model, a large and distinct force of reservists out of the time-expired men of the regular army and other units recruited from the so-called martial races, which could be mobilised at short notice for military operations. Secondly, there should be created the still larger reserve of the whole population of the country, of military age, i.e., between 18 and 40, by means of a system of compulsory military service for two years in the colours. The advantages of a system of compulsory military service would be great. Besides the provision of a really formidable military force for national defence and at a very economic rate, a scheme of compulsory military service in the case of India would have another advantage of enormous

value. 'The army acts as the most finished school of hygiene,' so that a period of two years' military service would inevitably help to impart to the people the habits of discipline and regular life.

Side by side with the organisation of a scheme of compulsory military service, the whole Indian army should be steadily and completely Indianised. This means essentially that the present principle of maintaining a fixed proportionate strength of British to Indian troops in the Indian army should be immediately abandoned. The abandonment of this principle is actually necessary on other grounds: its operation absurdly limits the total strength of the Indian army. Under the present system, the total Indian army cannot be larger in its numbers than a certain multiple of the men that Britain can spare for service in India. As Professor K. T. Shah has estimated,* Britain would have at present on the basis of universal military service a total military strength of about 4 millions. But she cannot afford to be a conscriptionist, so that normally it is impossible that she should ever be able to spare at a time more than about a million men for service in India. This means that within the operation of the present principle India cannot have, even though threatened by a serious foreign invasion, an army of more than about 3 or 4 million men, while her total capacity, of military age, is at least 30 to 35 millions. Thus, a large proportion of India's capacity must, under the present system, either lie quite useless even in a national emergency, or if this proportion is abandoned in the event of such an emergency, be most

* See sixty years of Indian Finance [Bombay, 1928].

ineffectively employed in the absence of any previous military training. Again, the present British section of the Indian army imposes the heaviest burden upon the Indian budget and causes the gravest financial anxiety to the Government of India. All this argues in favour of the immediate abolition of the existing principle of proportionate strength of British and Indian troops in the Indian army. It also argues that the present British element in the Indian army should be progressively reduced, so that in about 10 years' time there should be no British troops serving in India at India's cost and there should be no burden of 'home charges' except on account of stores which are not easily producible in India.*

These changes in the organisation of Indian army must be necessarily reinforced by as clear a statement as possible of the fundamental purposes underlying the maintenance of Indian army. It must be unambiguously defined that the army in India is primarily and specifically meant for the defence of India against any possible aggressions from outside. Such a definition would exclude the participation of Indian army in any non-Indian quarrels or in countries beyond

* At present all stores and ammunition are bought for Indian army from Great Britain. This costs the country a tremendous amount of money every year and goes to augment the amount of home charges, with the result that by inevitably keeping up the amounts of annual payments abroad, it keeps down the standard of social services at home. Again, it prevents the development at home of the arms-manufacture industry, which in modern times is fast becoming a 'key' industry and which would inevitably utilise the enormous Indian resources, natural as well as human, that lie at present quite idle and unutilised.

It is, therefore, highly desirable that the Government of India should immediately establish a large arsenal and workshop and start the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and military stores, so far as possible, at home.

the frontiers of India. It would prevent, therefore, the employment of Indian troops outside Indian frontiers without a specific vote of the Indian legislature, or for Imperial purposes without a sound and equitable arrangement with Great Britain, comprising the defrayal by Great Britain of a proportionate cost of the upkeep of Indian army.

All this presupposes a truly Indian control of Indian defence. The formal reservation of the subject of Indian defence to the Governor-General would not have really mattered if the Governor-General, by reason of being the custodian of this reservation, did not and could not permit the direction and administration of Indian military policy either by or in the interests of any authority extraneous to India herself. But under the present constitutional arrangements, such conditions do not avail. The reforms in the army that we have outlined above are indeed the minimum necessary to secure a real Indian army adequate for Indian defences, but they are sufficiently thorough-going to be fundamentally distasteful to the British Government, which, blinded by its traditionally operative self-interest in the matter, cannot possibly take a broad and sympathetic view of Indian aspirations. Such a state of affairs effectively precludes the possibility of the growth of suitable conventions within the framework of the present constitutional machinery, which vests supreme authority in all matters connected with defence and military policy of India in the Governor-General and the Secretary of State and which provides adequate and even more than adequate means for making that authority effective. If, therefore, these reforms are to be really effective and are not to be still-born, it is in our view quite essential that (i) the entire army budget should be brought directly under the purview of and should be annually passed by the Indian legislature, and (ii) the whole subject of Indian defence should be specifically, by the terms of the constitution itself, placed under the control of a civilian Indian Minister responsible to the Indian legislature.

ARE THE PRINCES AT FAULT ?

BY MR. POTHIAN JOSEPH

(Editor, Indian Express)

SHORT of a mandatory pronouncement by His Majesty's Government that the direct objective of Indian States should be Responsible Government, it is difficult to suggest a method by which political movements in Indian States could be regularized and amicably brought into line with progress in British India. Political consciousness happens to be most advanced in South Indian States, but it has produced a scene of uncertain tendencies curbed by the use of authority which is described by leaders in the States as repressive and reactionary. Cochin has resorted to a phantom-manceuvre of diarchy by the choice of a Minister of Development responsible to the legislature side by side with the Dewan or Chief Executive Officer who functions at the pleasure of the Ruler. The Mysore Government has recognised Responsible Government as a discussable ideal in an order dated 17th May where the work of the Reforms Enquiry Committee is outlined in the following words :

"They confirm explicitly, as they have previously made clear and as is implied in the Committee's terms of reference that it is open to the Committee to discuss and recommend any plan of Constitutional Reform, including a plan of Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharajah."

In Travancore, Responsible Government was declared incompatible with the treaty obligations of the Maharajah, a dictum countered by a statement full of knobs and crevices, from Lord Winterton that the British Government never stood in

the way of political reforms (an apocryphal claim) and that in a full-powered State, the Political Agent was confined to the duty of tendering advice when the Ruler solicited it, a proposition, again, of mythical warrant. That it is not a straight answer is clear from the dialectical reservations in the statement and also the suggestion that the British Resident could be treated as *non est* as long as it does not occur to a Ruler to seek pregnant advice from that quarter, but the whole thesis has been made obscure by a later statement by the Travancore Government that while the question of Responsible Government is open to discussion in all civilised countries, in an Indian State the argument for it should be conditioned by the "principle of monarchy". Is it the principle of monarchy as known to the Stuarts or is it the rule of a constitutional monarch who is the titular head of a State and governs according to the advice of ministers acceptable to the people? The idea itself is not given a welcome domicile with passports from the British Government. In the Travancore Legislative Assembly, it was further asserted, in elucidation, that the Government was responsible to His Highness and His Highness himself was responsible solely to Sri Padmanabha. To the hard-boiled democrat this looks like a legal fiction. The status of King George has its accepted limitations though he reigns in the Land of St. George. We have thus a congeries of ill-adjusted claims which if driven to the point of logic without saving common sense, must throw up to the surface many elements

of disorder and suffering in Indian States. Every student of constitutional law must ask if it really is in the hands of Indian Princes to confer responsible government when large and nebulous deductions from their own sovereignty disable them from transmitting the substance of power necessary to give reality to responsible government exercised through representative institutions. Lord Winterton's sly statement does not contain any positive injunction, and to draw upon it would be about as useful as trying to smoke a wet cigar with six holes. Responsibility rests upon the British Government for forcing that headache.

"To all my Feudatories and subjects throughout India, I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, dignities, and rights," so said King Edward in his Coronation Message, but the term "feudatory" is to-day not in order. In the new ferment of self-respect in India, there is a froth of words in which expressions once in vogue have been dignified with the use of a substituted vocabulary. Thus the word "vernacular" (slave-tongue) is banned; "Mr." has become "Sri"; Eurasian has turned "Anglo-Indian"; the native Christian is "Indian Christian"; the member of the depressed classes finds himself called "Harijan", all being changes which have not altered the stature or feature of a single legal right. In the campaign of Indian Princes to fortify their rights, the struggle for discarding irksome terminology resulted in the shedding of words like "feudatory"; eminent lawyers stressed in documents what post-prandial orators expounded at Princes' banquets—"Their Highnesses' Sovereignty". Fortunes have passed hands in the forensic prattle about "Their

Highnesses' Sovereignty". But verbiage, however sublime and flattering, did not invest them with any additional powers unknown to the Suzerain Government who because of many entanglements in sovereignty have not left to Indian Princes the full title and perquisites of self-government that would enable them, all by themselves, to pass on to their subjects the powers of real Responsible Government. The notion that the Princes are free agents is not borne out by experience. A stream cannot rise to a course higher than its origin, and all the difficulties of a Ruler cannot in this context be solved by the dope-words "under the agis of His Highness" if only because His Highness (of any State) cannot by an individual act of renunciation, like the Prince of Kapilavastu, give away what he is suspected of owning for his house when he himself, perhaps, does not in reality hold all that he is supposed to possess. In British Indian controversy, Responsible Government, Dominion Status and Swaraj are argued to be interchangeable terms, but Responsible Government in Lathistan (an imaginary State) cannot be the equivalent of Dominion Status, let alone be the prelude Swaraj or Complete Independence.

His Majesty's Government have given each Indian Prince twenty years' time within which to decide on joining Federation through an instrument of accession. Federation or no Federation, twenty years form too long a period of stagnation in backward States; as for others, can we afford an interlude wasteful polemics rendered worse by repression, especially in the more progressive constituents of Greater India? Meanwhile, the British Government are in theory, and indeed in fact, bound to recognise the plenary rights

of Princes, and easily profess inability to intervene when untoward developments actually occur through obduracy on the part of upholders of an ancient regime sitting upon the safety-valve, since the law of it unfortunately stands summarized thus: "In a major or full-powered State, the Suzerain undertakes to protect the Prince and his successors against foreign and domestic enemies while the Princes engage to govern peaceably in his realms of which he is declared absolute ruler." The Paramount Power is in an invidious, not to say treacherous, position if it does not now predicate a summary objective in the rule of Indian States, while in British India they talk so much of Responsible Government and introduce the elements of autonomy in all spheres of administration. Does any one want that the immunity clause "under the agis of His Highness" should slowly fade away in favour of "under the agis of His Majesty", a safeguard that cannot incriminate an agitation? These States are not located in Kurdistan, they are part and parcel of India affected by the common spirit of progress, and their people will not bear the odium and disabilities of a lesser citizenship. Those inclined to look for the Machiavellian hand of imperialism in British devices have no difficulty in spotting the motives that might underlie a fostered system where a principle of governance utterly obsolete and disparate from the general scope of national advance, is allowed to form septic blots on the constitutional map of India. The British Government have no right to feign the part of disinterested spectators when they are not free from responsibility for the deadlock.

"Paramountcy," says the Butler Committee, "must fulfil its obligations defining

and adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." Such being the responsibility, the time has come for the Paramount Power to give a mandatory pronouncement to the effect that Responsible Government is the direct goal of the system of governance in Indian States and thus undo the mischief of uncertain practice and obscurantist doctrine now threatening the course of peace and goodwill which it would be wisdom for Indian Rulers themselves to preserve and promote by the enlightened acceptance of the ideal. Once the objective is announced, they could proceed to implement their side of the obligation and establish that it is not they who have been the villains of the peace.

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Sept. '38.

BRADLEY AND BERGSON

BY DR. T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

MR. RAM MURTI LOOMBA selects for his comparative study two of the first-rate philosophers of modern times, Bradley and Bergson.* It is ordinarily believed that these two leaders of thought hold contrasted standpoints, that Bradley is an absolute idealist emphasising upon rational coherence as the criterion of Reality and that Bergson is a mystic taking intuitive identification of the knower with the known as the only means of true knowledge. Mr. Loomba maintains that this is a false view by showing that "there is a method of approach and a vision of reality common to the metaphysics of Bradley and Bergson". In the first place, both the systems are characterised by what the writer calls 'anti-science-ism'. The writings of Bergson and of Bradley bear evidence to their distrust of science. The second common trait which the author finds in the two thinkers is 'anti-intellectualism'. Bradley regards the intellect as incapable of apprehending the Absolute. Bergson concludes that the intellect is characterised by a natural inability to comprehend life. Thirdly, immediate experience or intuition is regarded by both the philosophers as the means to absolute knowledge. And finally, Bradley and Bergson have an essentially identical *weltanschauung*. They offer monistic systems. Reality, for both the philosophers, is a one-in-many. Bradley calls it the Absolute Experience; Bergson names it Life or *Elan Vital*. On the basis of this close correspondence as between Bradley's view and Bergson's, Mr. Loomba decides that they form two stages in the idealistic movement of the

present which is characterised chiefly by anti-intellectualism.

In assessing the relative work of the two philosophies, the writer says that Bergson's system has led the march over Bradley's. The main reason for this judgment is that in Bradley the opposition between intellect and immediate experience is not absolute. While Bergson regards intellect as an absolute negation of intuition, "for Bradley intellect does not mark such a sharp contrast with immediate experience. It is rather a step to the latter, than its absolute negation". One may be inclined to ask: Is not Bradley's position more tenable and philosophically justifiable than Bergson's? There seems to be truth in Bradley's view that thought is a necessary step to the attainment of Absolute Immediate Experience. Intuition is supra-logical and not a-logical. Intellect transcended is not intellect avoided.

Mr. Loomba writes clearly and with constant reference to the works of the two philosophers. The book is suggestive and interesting throughout.

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INDIANS IN MALAYA

By Mr. T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIAR, M.L.C.

DURING my recent tour I visited Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. I visited the Indian Association in Singapore and the Central Indian Association in Kuala Lumpur and met prominent members of the Associations who represented to me the present state of the Indians in Malaya and especially the condition of the labourers. I also paid a visit to a rubber estate. From all that I have heard and saw, it seems to me a very great pity that we have not made any arrangements for keeping in continuous contact with our nationals in Malaya. In Malaya, the population is mostly made up of immigrants from China, Dutch East Indies, India and Ceylon. I understand that a fourth of the population in Singapore are Indians and that may be taken roughly as the proportion for the whole of Malaya. The Chinese preponderate and they form more than a third of the population. The Malays are partly natives of the soil and partly immigrants from the Dutch Indies. The Malays are all Mahomedans, and so every Mahomedan is treated as a Malay and a native of the soil. There is a movement to increase this population of Malays and to give them the rights of natives of the country as against the Indians. They are already given, I understand, preference in admission to schools and services. There is also a proposal to restrain the transfer of lands to any but Malays. The result of these is to make the position of the Indian worse and worse even though the Indian might have settled in Malaya for a generation or more. It seems to me that we ought to keep a watchful eye on

what is going on in Malaya, so that we may not later have all the difficulties there that we experience in East Africa and South Africa. But it ought to be said that in Malaya the regulations are made not to favour the European settler, but the Malay. I was told that the Malay is defined in some records as the Mahomedan subject of a native chief.

There are no elections to the municipal or local bodies or to the Legislatures at present. All the members of all the bodies are nominated. The Legislature of the Federated Malay States used to have an Indian on it to represent Indian interests. The last appointment made was of a Jaffna Tamil and not an Indian in spite of the protests made by the Indian communities. The Jaffna Tamils generally belong to middle-classes and are serving in Malaya as officers both in lower and upper ranks of service. They have very little in common with the Indians who are mostly labourers. In view of the expected developments, elections are bound to be introduced for all the bodies. Then the question of citizenship and right of vote will arise. Unless the rights of the Indians who have been in Malaya for three years or more are recognised, the Indians will form a very small minority and their interests will suffer. It is necessary that this aspect of the matter should be kept in mind and we should work from now onwards that the Indians in Malaya do not suffer.

The position of the labourers in Malaya has been receiving attention recently and the Government of India have, for the time being, restricted assisted emigration. As the Government itself has stated, there

* BRADLEY AND BERGSON: A comparative study. By Ram Murti Loomba, M.A. The Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow. Rs. 2-8.

is a very large body of labourers going to Malaya independently. It is said that various inducements are offered to these men in India by the agents of the planters. There is a large body of Indian labour also going and seeking employment in the municipal and other works. Indian labourers are unorganised and they are not in a position to look after themselves. They have been treated in the past very badly. On account of the representations made by the Government of India and their Agents, the conditions of living have improved to a certain extent. I found in the estate I visited some new blocks of houses which were a very great improvement over the old hovels. It is said that provision is being made for medical help and education of the children of the labourers. Unless these things are watched properly the improvement will slacken. The Malay Government has got a labour department to look after Indian labour. I met three of the Deputy Controllers of Labour. They are trying to improve the condition. But as they are the servants of the Malayan Government in which the planters seem to have a big voice, they cannot be expected to be as independent as one wants.

The question of the wages to be paid to the labourers has been a matter of active controversy for some years. After the slump began, there was a reduction in the wages paid. On complaints received, the Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar was sent to make enquiries. The planters increased the wages to a certain extent in view of that enquiry and the wages stood at 50 cents for males and 40 cents for female coolies in the estates. Recently this was reduced to 45 and 40 cents respectively. I saw a report

in the papers that with effect from the 1st of August, the planters propose to reduce the wages still further to 40 and 36 cents. There does not seem to be any real justification for reducing the wages now except that on account of the war a large number of Chinese have come to Malaya. I was told that last year the Chinese immigration came to about a lakh and eighty thousands. Probably the planters want to take advantage of this Chinese labour and reduce the wages. I am told by the Indian Associations that the British planters cannot get on without Indian labour and that if we are firm we are bound to succeed in fixing a fairly decent minimum wage for Indian labour in Malaya. But before this can be done, we will have to organise and regulate the supply of Indian labour to Malaya. This need is pressed by all the local people, and the Agent of the Indian Government is also convinced of it. The Agents have been doing very good work in helping our nationals in Malaya both with reference to political rights and with reference to labour conditions. The present Agent who is a native of Mysore and an I. C. S. Officer of over 10 years' standing, has been doing very good work and he commands the complete confidence of the Indians there.

The Government of India have power at present to regulate assisted labour. Unassisted or voluntary emigration is not regulated by them. There is already a slump of Indian labour in the market in Malaya. The voluntary emigration of Indian labour will add to the slump. It is necessary that the Government of India should take power to regulate not only assisted emigration, but also the unassisted or voluntary emigration. It is only then

that the Indian Government will be in a position to exact and enforce any conditions with reference to the wages and living conditions of labour in Malaya. It will not be enough if there is a regulation of supply of labour to Malaya; the labour that is there already and the labour that will be going there will have to be organised properly and the Indian Government and the people here will have to be in constant touch with the labour in Malaya. It is only then that the minimum standard of living can be secured for our men in Malaya, and they will be prevented from deteriorating as mere birds of passage to do the meanest work that others won't do for the cheapest wages which other labourers in the areas consider too low to maintain their standard of living.

By far the larger number of people going to Malaya are from South India.

Tanjore, North and South Arcot and Salem supply the bulk of the labourers. The natives of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore also form a considerable number, especially in small business and State service. So I consider it is necessary that we in Madras should take steps to create a standing organisation to be in constant touch with the affairs in Malaya and help the Indians there in all possible ways to get political equality on the same terms as the natives of the soil and to look after the interests of labour both in the estates and elsewhere. I consider it will also be necessary that from time to time one or two prominent gentlemen should be sent from here to gather information, to strengthen the hands of the Indians there and to give them that moral support which they are much in need of.

OOTY'S TREASURE

BY GUENDOLEN ARMSTEAD

—: o :—

The gorse is out in Ooty,
Rolling down the hills,
Vying with the bracken
In meadow-footed rills.
Golden-headed bushes
Creeping round the trees,
Pricking through the whispers
Athwart the evening breeze.

A second Sussex downland,
Another Yorkshire moor,
Where weary eyes may feast on
A further golden store.
You may not kiss in England
Unless its flowers bloom fair:
But gorse is out in Ooty
Almost all the year!

HOW TO USE THE GITA

BY MR. D. BHATTACHARYYA, B.A.

THE Gita is a Yoga Sastra and as such it is of more importance to us in our daily lives than any other of our holy scriptures, in fact it will not be far from truth to say that it is THE BOOK to guide us in our every-day life. Below we propose to mention a few points in which this book may be used:—

1. When you become hopeless and feel yourself downcast read 2; 3.
2. When you are wanting in energy and your mind is unwilling to work at the death of your nearest and dearest ones read 2; 27-28.
3. When you are determined to do a certain thing read 2; 37-38; 3; 30.
4. When you want to keep yourself away from doing a certain thing for not being able to enjoy the fruit thereof read 2; 47.
5. When you want to know the cause of your destruction read 2; 62-63.
6. When you are at a loss as to what to do and what not to do read 3; 21.
7. When you are looking for peace read 4; 39.
8. When you want to know what will become of this earth in the long run read 9; 9.
9. When you are in doubts about your own religion read 3; 35.
10. When you want to know the slightest difference between God and man read 4; 5.
11. When you want to know how God exhibits his power read 4; 7-8.
12. When you are in doubt as to whether or not God will listen to your prayers or when you are at a loss as to how to worship Him read 4; 11; 6; 30.

13. When you have doubts about the existence of God read 7; 7-12; 9; 16-19; 21; 10; 2; 20-39.

14. When you have doubts as to whether or not God will accept your offering read 9; 26.

15. When you want to know what God asks of you read 9; 27; 34; 18; 65-66.

16. When you want to know the message of God to the creatures below on earth read 9; 29-33.

17. When you want to know who is dearer to God read 12; 14-20.

18. When you want to know the relation between you and God read 14; 4; 14; 69.

19. When you want to know the utility of studying the Gita read 18; 78.

20. When you want to pray to God read 11; 18; 38-40; 43-44.

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THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

[In the following excerpts the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council of H. E. Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, draw attention to the most vexed problem of Communalism in India. Sir Akbar, in his Convocation address to the Dacca University, deplores the existence of serious communal conflicts and differences in India and appeals to the graduates as cultured men holding the future in their hands to carry the message of inter-communal harmony to the masses. Sir Mirza, in his Convocation address to the University of Madras, pleads for a spirit of tolerance and friendliness among the communities and bids us take a warning from the history of post-War Europe.—Ed. I. R.]

i. The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari

"THERE is one problem, which alike in its gravity and in its national importance, claims our primary attention. I mean the problem of the differences

not capable of a lasting solution, such as would, on the basis of a common nationalism and of national endeavour in the service of a common patrimony, lead to mutual respect and understanding. We are, perhaps, too religious-minded a people to follow the more radical path of secularisation which countries like Turkey have adopted. Religion enters every detail of our daily life, but it does not follow necessarily that, in so entering, it should serve to take away from us the qualities of sympathy and toleration, which the teachings of every religion inculcate.

That distinguished philosopher of our time, Mr. Bertrand Russell, has pointed out that the strongest of our collective passions are group-hatred and group-rivalry, and whatever the cause or causes which lead to such hatred and rivalry between the two Indian communities, whether political, economic or cultural, the fact that such hatred and rivalry are based upon religion makes them the least appreciable and perhaps the most tragic of all. Yet here, in this University and in Universities like it, which have all the blessings of the atmosphere which surrounds a house of learning, we can learn and show to ourselves and to others the value of toleration and sympathy, and the baneful effects of hatred and jealousy. I know that you in Dacca



THE RT. HON. SIR AKBAR HYDARI

that appear to exist between the two principal communities of India. I, for one, refuse to believe that those differences are

have done much to learn these lessons and to exemplify them. This is but natural, for you have not only fostered Muslim education; you have advanced further in that you have also provided points of understanding between Hindus and Muslims. In an age when the bitterness of rivalry has led even erstwhile protagonists of nationalism and unity—I speak of men of both communities—to profess disillusionment and all the modern weapons of publicity and propaganda are being diverted from their true end and are being employed for creating and expressing the unedifying passion of hatred, a spirit such as yours is widely needed, if we are to be true to our motherland and to ourselves.

This country, which has given us birth, has not sprung from any one race, creed or culture, and the pages of its history are writ large with the contributions, not of any one community but of all the different communities, which it has nursed and who have given collectively of their best to make of it a beautiful land. We have received from our past a heritage of magnificence and splendour, and you have only to look at the grandeur and refinement symbolised in the sculpture of Ellora and the frescoes of Ajanta, or in the beauty and grace enshrined in the Taj Mahal, to derive lasting inspiration from the very fact of their co-existence. In our life and customs, speech and thought, we in fact accommodate the different cultures that gave birth to these monuments.

Yet, is it not a tragedy that those very factors, which should inspire unity and assist the growth of a national consciousness, are to-day being used to emphasise separation? Urdu or Hindustani, for example, which by its very origin

symbolises the effort of Hindus and Muslims to understand each other through the medium of a common tongue is being to-day characterised as the language of a particular community and hair-splitting discussions are being attempted on the rival claims of different dialects. To the vocabularies of our language and of these dialects, unfamiliar words are being added from distant languages in order to emphasise the differences rather than the similarities. Our common festivals, too, which are occasions when the joys and sorrows of one community are shared by the others, are fast becoming occasions for communal clashes, while movements are on foot even to boycott these meeting-grounds of the two communities, where their two cultures mix and fuse.

You, however, in the community life which is so admirable a feature of your University, have opportunities, shared, also, by too few other Indian students, of appreciating the strength of the ties which bind us all together as one people. Just as a wider outlook and a national consciousness will rid us of the trammels of obstructive parochialism or sectional claims, one way in which we can all assist, in creating a wide national front by way of outlook and effort, is to dissociate ourselves from sectional or 'communal' activities; let us undertake, for example, never to belong to any institution that represents such purely sectional or communal endeavour. Another way lies—if I may use the term—in 'decommunalising' our histories. Descartes had said of the needs of France during the Restoration: 'Royalise the nation and nationalise Royalty'. Similarly, let us 'decommunalise' our histories which urgently require such treatment.

ii. Sir Mirza Ismail

In communities which are large and whose composition has been influenced by many historical factors, particularly in communities which have been subject to invasion, there are bound to be small

and has not proved altogether incapable of solution. In Central Europe, Teuton and Slav have fought with each other in the past and now live side by side although, it must be admitted, not always in amity. To-day in Czechoslovakia we see what tremendous issues may hang on this difficult matter of minority rights.

We in India should take a warning from the history of post-War States such as Czechoslovakia which, like India, is a state of nationalities, not a national state. In some respects our own position here is better. Only in recent years has the Hindu-Muslim problem, perhaps the most difficult of minority problems, been forced into unpleasant prominence. For years the two communities have lived together in friendship and peace. Why should they not do so now?

What we, perhaps, most need both as individuals and as a people, is tolerance, tolerance for the views and acts of others. The roots of communalism lie deep in human nature. Therefore it is that we in India should be specially careful. If only we could discipline ourselves to adopt, not in words only but also in deeds, a sympathetic and friendly attitude, especially towards the religious beliefs and practices of others, how happy our country would be and how happy we should be ourselves!

Believe me it needs no great effort to do that. It is only a question of making up one's mind. I appeal to you to try to do it. You will be giving, I assure you, great pleasure to yourselves, and what is more, to others, and the greatest of all pleasures is to give pleasure to others.



SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

groups which retain their own individual characteristics. The relationship between the larger group and the smaller one is bound to be difficult. The larger unit cannot afford to ignore the smaller because that would destroy all real unity. Nor can the larger unit seek to mould the smaller into a common pattern of culture and deny it political rights; for that would merely lead to disintegration.

To deny to the minorities their right to a full share in the commonwealth and full scope to follow their own religious faith and develop their own culture would be distinctly indefensible. What is most disquieting in the present situation is the sense of separateness of the minorities and the impatient attitude of the large groups towards the smaller.

The problem of minorities has had to be faced in other parts of the world

FRANCISCO FRANCO

BY PROF. P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

ONE of the most dynamic personalities in the Europe of to-day is Captain-General Francisco Franco. There are those who would consider him merely a rebel pushed on by Mussolini and Hitler. Others, on the other hand, consider him the saviour of Spain, and a champion against Communism and irreligion. But all will have to admit his great military genius, singleness of purpose, and his wonderful gifts for gaining the affections of those he comes in contact with. His life has all along been devoted to the successful service of his country, according to his lights, and to-day he is the beloved idol of insurgent Spain.

Born forty-five years ago in a family of adventurous mariners at El Ferrol, Francisco Franco chose to serve his country through the army. After his early studies he joined the Military Academy at Toledo, and graduated from there in 1910 with the rank of second lieutenant. During all the years he was at the Academy, he was distinguished by an eagerness to discharge the duties, no matter how rigorous [which the discipline of the place required. But the spirit of adventure was also surging within him, so that he was never behind others in the youthful pranks of a cadet's life.

The young lieutenant was eager for service and glory; and he naturally turned to Morocco where Spanish arms were then faring none too well. The native tribes were carrying on a vigorous uprising. There had been a skirmish near the River Kurt and some Spanish soldiers were killed. This was followed by a punitive expedition which ended in disaster and war became general. Men and officers were in great demand. It was then that

Damaso Berenguer conceived the idea of forming the Native Regulars of Melilla—a body of men consisting of Moors commanded by Spanish officers. Franco was one of the first who volunteered to serve under Berenguer; and thus his long association with Moors and Africa began.

Fighting in Africa was arduous, and full of surprises and dangers. Franco, with youthful enthusiasm, was always in the thick of the fight. At the battles of Yadumen and Izarduy, his feats of courage and skill astonished the officers. He seemed to have a charmed life. Men and officers standing by his side fell shot dead. His biographer, Joaquin Arraras, says: "He had bullet-riddled caps and cloaks, various horses he was riding had been wounded, and at Alhucemas the explosion of a shell buried him. But all these warnings neither terrified him nor separated him from the danger zone to which he was again to return with his unshakable calmness."

Franco's great triumphs were obtained as a Commander of the famous Foreign Legion. This Legion consisted of adventurers who refused to recognise fear, and who asked for the most dangerous posts. They were the shock troops in every engagement, always in the vanguard and at the most dangerous places. When this Legion was formed by Lt.-Colonel Astray in 1920, Franco was the first Commander chosen by Astray. The Legion was responsible for the success of many engagements, as the battles of Beni Aros and of Sebt, and the re-conquest of Melilla and Segangen. In every one of these difficult enterprises, Franco not only displayed his undaunted courage but also showed himself a great strategist, who knew immediately

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the weak spots of the enemy. It was, therefore, he was unanimously chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Legion when he was only thirty years of age.

Soon after this appointment, he left for the Peninsula to celebrate his marriage. This was the fulfilment of a long deferred desire, often postponed on account of the exigencies of military service. He had met Carmen Polo when she was only fifteen, and he twenty. But the promise then made in life's morning tide was "preserved through distance, through long absence, through the vicissitudes of the life of a soldier and through the opposition of some of the relatives of the bride". Even now their hearts had to bear the tug between the jealous claims of love and duty: and a month after the wedding Franco was again in Africa to serve his country.

By 1925, Franco effected a few operations that brought the rebellion to an end. The great engagement at Koba Darsa has been called the "manoeuvre of an artist" so skillfully and so surprisingly he overcame the enemies. The Government then decided that some of the Spanish outposts should be given up. The withdrawal was attended with the greatest danger as the encircling tribes were bent on annihilating the garrisons when they were once out of the strongholds. But Franco's shrewdness and courage enabled him to effect these withdrawals without loss. His genius, however, was displayed in all its strength and versatility at Alhucemas. This was the focus point of the rebellion, and the rebels could not be controlled until that place was occupied. No attempt had yet been successful, and it was considered impossible to land there. But Franco, with his usual thoroughness studied the

terrain and the whole situation, and then drew up a plan. This he executed with such rapidity and intrepidity during that the impossible was realized. With that the strength of the rebellion was broken. The landing at Alhucemas was such a distinguished feat that the French Government decorated him with the badge of Military and Naval Merit, and his own Government raised him to the rank of General at the unusual age of thirty-two.

With the breaking up of the rebellion in Africa, Franco was free to go back to Spain. Primo de Rivera, the Dictator, appreciated Franco's character and ability, and so appointed him Director of the General Military Academy of Spain. In his new office, Franco revealed the fact that he was no mere soldier. He was able to raise the Academy to some of the glory which it once enjoyed throughout Europe. But after the death of Rivera, Governments changed and the fortunes of Franco also underwent constant changes. The Socialist Ministry had no trust in him, and he was sent away as Commander of the Balearic Islands. The next Ministry, however, had him back at Madrid as Division General of the army, and it was then he helped to scotch the Communist revolution of October 1934. Again in 1936 February the elections brought the Communists to power, and this time Franco was got away to the Canaries as Military Commander there. But his active mind was vigorously at work. There were many in the army and elsewhere who were dead against the Communist Government. A vigorous propaganda was carried on, and all those who opposed Communism joined up. The result was the uprising which began on the 18th of July 1936, and still continues without any sign of

abating until one side or the other wins outright.

The life of General Franco reveals many characteristics that are associated with greatness. He has always had excellent luck in battle, a beneficent fate seeming to safeguard his life. But his gifts are even more notable. He has followed the military life with a singleness of purpose that assures success. His intuition in military engagements is surprising, and when engaged, he can do without food and sleep

for long stretches of time. His recreation is the study of maps and charts and despatches. He never spares himself, and has always been most hardworking. According to his biographer, he enters the office at eight o'clock. He eats at three or four according to the urgency of the work. At five, he resumes the work, which sometimes lasts till three or four in the morning, with a short interruption for dinner.

THE C. P. MINISTERIAL CRISIS

THE dramatic beginning of the Ministerial crisis in C. P. has had an equally dramatic end. The fall of the Khare Ministry and the installation of his three colleagues who refused to resign with the Prime Minister have been followed by a series of statements and counter-statements from the principal parties concerned. Apart from the personal factors in the controversy, much has been said on the constitutional issues involved. The Patel-Khare correspondence throws some light on the episode, while Mahatma Gandhi himself put forth a vigorous defence of the action of the Working Committee. A section of the Press has condemned the Working Committee resolution as vindictive, while others endorse its verdict in penalising Dr. Khare for indiscipline.

It will be remembered that Dr. Khare submitted his resignation to the Governor on the 20th July, a couple of days before the meeting of the Working Committee. He admitted the right of the Congress Executive to advise him and, in fact, sought its advice on more

than one occasion. But he declined to sign the draft prepared by the Committee. In his letter to the President, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, he pointed out:

I am sorry I cannot see my way to accept the draft which I am asked to fair out and submit.

I am not prepared to admit that I was guilty of any indiscipline. I am not prepared to admit that the Congress has lost its prestige through my action. The draft contains some baseless insinuations about fitness to hold positions of trust and responsibility in Congress.

I am sorry I cannot endorse them.

I must state in addition that I am fundamentally opposed to the view that Ministers should not be primarily responsible to the Prime Minister and further that they should be severally responsible to the High Command. I hold the view that these ideas are a complete negation of democratic Government.

Similarly I am opposed to the further view that the Working Committee or Parliamentary Sub-Committee should dictate to the Congress Parliamentary Party the choice of its leader.

I hold the opinion that a Parliamentary Party must be free to choose its own leader and this choice should be free and unhindered. It must also be open to the leader to exercise his independent judgment in selecting his colleagues.

He went on to say that he was acting according to "the notions and conventions of democratic parliamentary institutions accepted all over the world".

Mahatma Gandhi in a rejoinder said there was nothing "humiliating" in the draft Dr. Khare was asked to sign and he challenged the Doctor to publish it. Dr. Khare said he would do it at the proper time: and the time was not yet.

Meanwhile the Working Committee in its lengthy resolution censured the action of Dr. Khare in resigning without informing the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, forcing the Governor to dismiss three Ministers, who refused to resign with him, and forming a new Cabinet without the sanction of the Congress Executive. The Committee also criticised the action of the Governor, Sir Francis Wylie, in accepting the resignation of Dr. Khare and asking him to form a fresh Ministry, and accused him of "indecent haste".

In a subsequent statement, dated 27th July, soon after this verdict of the Congress, Dr. Khare said:

Judged by the voting on a resolution brought for adjourning the party meeting held in the presence of the Members of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, I feel sure that I would have been elected as Leader once again of the Party but for the ban stated to be implied in the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. I shall continue to be a disciplined soldier of the Congress and if there is any such thing as God, and I believe there is, a time will soon come when I shall be restored to a much brighter position. I congratulate Mr. Shukla on his election as Leader and trust his Cabinet will enhance the honour and prestige of the Congress and ensure efficiency of the administration in the real interests of the people of this Province as a whole.

Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, replying to Dr. Khare's letter, gave an account of the proceedings of the meeting when Mahatma Gandhi asked Dr. Khare to sign a draft statement.

I regret very much the tone and contents of the letter which Dr. Khare addressed me the next day. If one compares that with the statement which he himself drafted at Shegaon the night before, one can see that he was swayed by the advice of his friends. In spite of that I still feel that all is not lost. Dr. Khare has served the

Congress and public devotedly for a long period of time. And members of the Working Committee who had to perform the unpleasant task of condemning him, still wish him well. Nothing would please them more than see him acting like a disciplinarian and continuing to serve the Congress and public as a member of that great national organisation.

In a speech delivered subsequently in Bombay, Dr. Khare admitted his "error of judgment" in tendering his resignation and those of his two colleagues. Dr. Khare stated that he admitted the error of judgment because of "firm sentiments, long association with the Congress and feelings of loyalty".

He did not admit that it was a gross crime on his part to have tendered his resignation. He felt that the recent C. P. affairs had stifled the principles of democracy for which the late Lokmanya Tilak stood and fought.

Early in the first week of August, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee issued a lengthy statement giving the history of the C. P. episode leading to the drastic action taken against Dr. Khare.

The Working Committee would have failed in its duty if it had refused to take notice of such a conduct and done anything less than it did.

The Committee charged Dr. Khare with having tried and succeeded in securing the removal of his inconvenient colleagues with the help of the Governor, keeping the Congress authorities all the time in the dark.

Dr. Khare in his reply said that the Congress discipline had not been maintained by the Congress High Command

inasmuch as the Parliamentary Sub-Committee got in touch with one of the dismissed Ministers over his head, and thus encouraged some of the Ministers to disregard the elected Party Leader, who had been given the power to select his own colleagues on the Cabinet.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel in his rejoinder pointed out

that the assertions of Dr. Khare that the C. P. Premiership was thrust on him, that he selected his colleagues in the Cabinet without reference to the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee, and that the Pachmarhi compromise was forced on him were all untrue.

Mahatma Gandhi's contribution to the controversy was in the form of a signed article in the *Harijan*. "The Working Committee resolution," he said

is a friendly warning to the British Government and if they wish to avoid an open rupture with the Congress, the powers-that-be should not allow a repetition of what happened at Nagpur on the night of 20th July.

Gandhiji further pointed out that the indecent haste displayed by the Governor of C. P. over the recent Ministerial crisis in a violation of the unwritten compact between the British Government and the Congress over the acceptance of office by the latter.

The Mahatma further said that the right course for Dr. Khare would have been to appeal to A. I. C. C. instead of rushing to Governor for the redress of his grievances. Gandhiji justified the resolution of the Working Committee in enforcing discipline thus:

The Congress, conceived as a fighting machine, has to centralise control and guide every department and every Congressman, however highly placed, and expects unquestioned obedience. The fight cannot be fought on any other terms.

Dr. Khare was not only guilty of gross indiscipline in flouting the warnings of the Parliamentary Board, but he betrayed incompetence as a leader by allowing himself to be fooled by the Governor, or by not knowing that by his precipitate action he was compromising the Congress.

To those critics who have characterised the Congress as Fascist, Gandhiji's reply is:

They forget that Fascism is the naked sword. Under it, Dr. Khare should lose his head. The Congress is the very antithesis of Fascism . . . Its sanctions are all moral.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, has issued a statement in answer to the critics of the Working Committee, who charge it with having acted in an undemocratic manner:

The functions of democracy have always been recognised to be briefly, to legislate, to appoint the highest executive periodically to review the broad and important act of the Executive and when necessary to remove the Executive by a vote of no-confidence or censure.

The Working Committee, therefore, according to him has not done anything out of the way. Indeed, it has always

acted in the same manner and its authority has always been recognised by all concerned. On previous occasions of such interference the cry of "democracy in danger" was never raised:

So we hold that whatever interference was exercised in C. P. was neither extra-constitutional nor against any known principles of democracy. The Working Committee has full constitutional right to interfere on occasions and this right has ever been recognised in practice. The A. I. C. C., the President and the General Secretary have been exercising this right day in and day out without their authority being ever questioned. The Parliamentary wing of the Congress organisation has always recognised the right of guidance and if need be of interference by the Central Executive as the representative of All India democracy. All the candidates to the legislatures on behalf of the Congress have in the last resort to be selected by the Working Committee through its Committee—the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, whose choice may be interfered with at any time by the Working Committee

All throughout, Dr. Khare rightly accepted the guidance and control of the Working Committee. None of these many acts, done through him, though he could not have been a happy agent, constituted in his eyes any breach of democratic principles and procedure. No voice was raised. The rest of what the Working Committee did, that is, their resolution about Dr. Khare's conduct was the natural corollary of the position he had accepted and worked up to.

Meanwhile there have been some pro-Khare demonstrations in Nagpur and elsewhere. One such party waited on Mahatma Gandhi on Monday the 22nd August—the day of Mahatmaji's silence.

Replying to the demonstrators, Gandhiji pointed out (in writing):

No ban was imposed on Dr. Khare for contesting the election of the Leader of the Central Provinces Legislative Assembly Congress Party, nor did Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (Congress President) threaten any member while exercising his right to vote, nor did I deprive Dr. Khare of his right to contest the election. The Working Committee's resolution against Dr. Khare was recommendatory and not mandatory.

Answering questions, he wrote:

After introspection, I found that no wrong or injustice had been done to Dr. Khare. You have no material for comparison. The All-India Congress Committee is the final appellate authority which everybody can approach. The Working Committee or leaders found guilty deserve punishment. I advise you to prepare your case in favour of Dr. Khare to be placed before the A. I. C. C.

Animal Preservation among the Indo-Aryans

BY MR. ATINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

THE Aryan settlers who advanced in India by clearance of forests and found a fauna rich for purposes of dairy produce, meat, articles of use and sacrificial rites were keenly alive to the need of its preservation against destruction and annihilation. This principle received a dynamic strength from the theological doctrine of ahimsa or inviolability of all forms of life which was popularised but certainly not invented by Buddha and Jina. Its nucleus is traced in the Vedic teachings and the earliest Smritis. Manu wants the ascetic to walk always carefully scanning the ground "even with pain to his body" and prescribes atonement for animals killed without intention (VI. 68-69). The "three long fasts" which were observed by Buddhists with great eclat in the days of Yuan Chwang's visit and during which no slaughter of animals was allowed because Indra was believed to be carrying on a searching inspection of popular conduct, show that these were originally popular rather than a Buddhist institution.* Indian folk-lore abounds with such idealised stories of animal-love as those of the prince who flung his body from a mountain peak to relieve a starving tigress with her cubs, of King Sibi who gave his pound of flesh to a hawk to save a fugitive pigeon and of Prince Jimuta-Vahana who offered himself to be devoured by Garuda for a naga's sake,—all of which formed a common heritage for canonical books of orthodox and heretical schools. The same moral is deftly inserted in the prelude of the Ramayana, where the sight of a stricken bird and a wailing mate moved the heart of an illiterate

sage and vented in a spontaneous metrical effusion which heralded the great epic.

Ancient Sanskrit literature—the early epics with their naive simplicity and later Kavyas in their ornate style—portray the working of this doctrine in the asramas or sylvan retreats and academies of venerable saints where birds and beasts were protected from injury and remained in perfect harmony with men. In the Adiparva of Mahabharata (sambhavadiparva) occurs the legend of Dushyanta who steps into Kanwa's hermitage in an orgy of animal slaughter and is at once transported from an atmosphere of fury and panic to one of calm and concord where monkeys, bears, elephants, tigers and snakes live unharmed with holy ascetics and kinnaras. Such descriptions in the epic 'akhyanas' approximate to actual life and are remarkably free from poetical fancy and artistry, which is displayed in later sophisticated literature* written under court influence or for the edification of a refined and hyper-sensitive public. Two scenes may be quoted from these classics.

Act I of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* opens with a hunting affray. "Slay not, O mighty prince," says a hermit with upraised hands against the arrow mounted on Dushyanta's sling:

Slay not a poor fawn which has found a place of refuge—an arrow in its frail frame would be like fire in a bale of cotton.

The redoubtable prince bows to the laws of the asrama. Says he to his charioteer:

See under yon trees with hallowed grains which have been sprinkled on the ground, while the

* Cf. Some tigers waited in attendance (upon the recluse Diva-karamitra) who had given up eating flesh under the calming influence of Buddhist teaching.—Bana's *Harshacharitam*.

* See Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 304-305.

ender female parrots were feeding their fledglings in their pendent nests. . . . Look at the young awans which, having acquired confidence in man, and accustomed themselves to the sound of his voice, frisk at pleasure without varying their course.

Act IV, the parting scene of Sakuntala, delineates to perfection the idyllic life of the asrama and the silken cords that bound the hermit girl with her animal kindred into an intimate family.

An excerpt from the description of Divakaramitra's forest Sanctuary in Bana's Harshacharitam runs as follows:—

Young hares basked in smooth rocks; lizards rolled about securely in the roots of the shephalika water-plants; the antelopes were free from fear, the ichneumon played in peace, the soft-throated kokilas devoured the opening buds, the deer lay ruminating in the mango-groves, troops of nilandajas rested at their ease, and the female gayals as they suckled their kids were watched by the motionless wolves, the drum-like flapping of the elephants' ears grew languid in the pleasant sleep . . . the ruru deer listened gleefully to the music of the neighbouring kinnaras, the hyenas were delighted, the snouts of the young boars were stained with the juice of the Pitadru trees. . . .

That the poets revelled in such depictions however artificial, indicates that the idea of peace and amity among all living beings had, apart from any speculative tenet, an aesthetic and sentimental appeal among the people for whom they catered. This and the effect of animal food on human constitution led to a general aversion for meat diet among those Brahmanas who led a religious life. Instances are rare in ancient literature of pious Brahmanas taking flesh except on ceremonial functions or after worship of the manes.* Mann emphatically proscribes it unless taken in conformity with the law, i.e., after Vedic rites and sacrifices. Taking of meat unhalloved by the mantras was, according

* This is illustrated in the tale of Ilval and Vatapi in the Ramayana who could not bait the Brahmanas with ordinary flesh.

Bhratarāṃ saṃskṛtāṃ kṛtvā tatāstam meṣhara-pīṇānītaṃ dvījaṃ bhojayamāṣa śraddhadr̥ṣṭeṇa karmāṇa.—Aranyakanda, 11.57.

to tradition, worthy of the Rakshasas. "As many hairs as the slain beast has, so often indeed will he who killed it without a lawful reason suffer a violent death in future births" (V. 38). Under no circumstances should a virtuous twice-born cause an injury to any creature which is not sanctioned by the Vedas (43). Eternal unhappiness dogs those who injure innoxious beings for pleasure (15). "Any injury to sentient beings is detrimental to heavenly bliss" (48). "Having considered the disgusting origin of flesh and the cruelty of fettering and slaying corporal beings, let him entirely abstain from eating flesh" (49). Nothing is more sinful than to fatten one's bulk with the flesh of other beings (52).† But the slaying of animals, according to Vedic prescription, is "no injury at all" (44) and leads both the slayer and victim to higher existence on rebirth (42).‡

But the doctrine or sentiment of ahimsa could not control animal carnage,—among the Brahmanas for sacrifice, among the ruling classes for sport, and among the lay public of all grades for food and articles of luxury and use—such as skin, feather, bone, horn, hoof, etc.‡ The law-givers legislated for the guidance of the Brahmanas alone. Manu even permits a Brahmana to adopt the calling of a butcher (mamśa-vikrayin) in exceptional circumstances (III, 151 sq). In the Vinaya, Buddha himself

* Cf. Mbh. XIII, 115, 14, 36, 116, 117.

† See also Vishnu LI, 59-78. Yajñavalkya I, 80-181. Vasistha. IV, 7.

‡ There are meagre evidences of certain checks against the destruction of animals for such purposes. The social stigma attached to the nesada or professional hunter and purveyor in flesh in the Jataka stories may have been a partial solvent of an animal problem. Megasthenes' observation of hunters "who alone are allowed to hunt" (Strabo xv, 1.41) reflects a conscious interference of State in game preservation unless of course it refers only to laws in reserve forests.

allows fish and flesh to his disciples on the three conditions of not having seen, not having heard and not having had suspicion. Restrictive measures were taken by strong monarchs under Buddhist influence such as Asoka and Harsha. But these were directed only against unnecessary cruelty and wanton slaughter, and they did not dare to interfere in consumption of animal food nor did they attach in their injunction any special sanctity on animal life.

The Greek quotation of Megasthenes that the Brahmanas "eat flesh but not that of animals employed in labour"—whatever truth it may contain—reflects at any rate a sound economic sense which in some quarters regulated animal diet. The ordinances of Asoka himself were not purely altruistic. He is solicitous for the food, comfort and medical treatment of cattle as of men (R.E. II, P.E. VII) and he boasts of having conferred various benefits on bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic creatures even "to the boon of life" (a panadakhinaya P.E. II). But in his famous abstinence ordinance where the following animals are declared inviolable:—Suka (parrot), Salika (maina), aluna (?), Chakravaka (ruddy geese), hamsa (wild geese), Namdimukha (?), gelata (?), Jatuka (bat), ambakapillika (queen ants), dali (terrapin), anathika-machha (boneless fish), vedaveyaka (?), gamgapuputaka (?), Samkuja machha (skate-fish), Kaphata-sayaka (porcupine), pamna-sasa (squirrel?), Simala (?), Samdaka (wild bull), akapinda (iguana?), palasata (rhinoceros), seta-kapota (white dove), gama-kapota (domestic dove),—he adds the significant clause "which are neither useful nor edible" (P. E. V). That the spirit of the

* Strabo XV, 1, 59.

edict is no less economic than altruistic is further proved by the forest law—"forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy living animals". Other prohibitions are against pregnant or milch goats, ewes and sows with their young ones below six months and against the preserves in fishing ponds and elephant-parks on the three chatur-mashis, on the Tishya full-moon during three days, viz., the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the first tithi and invariably on every fast day. Feeding of live animals with live animals, castrating of cocks, castration of bulls, goats, rams, boars and other livestock on certain days, and branding of horses and bullocks on the same days are forbidden. The key-note of these regulations is the checking of cruel practices and preservation of the different species, and if the emperor's heart ever yearned for total abstinence, all he could do was to set his own example by stopping meat diet in his kitchen.

Kautilya, the alleged author of the Arthashastra, is fully conscious of the risk of unscrupulous drainage of animal resources of the country and he lays down practical rules for their protection. Animal produce engages his attention as much as other forest produce (II, xvii). "In view of procuring all kinds of forest produce, one or several forests shall be specially reserved." His list of inviolable birds echoes Asoka's edict and betrays equal care for the protection of the wild fauna against extinction (II, xxvi). With this view again he gives directions for the comfort, health and safety of livestock. Elaborate rules of dietary are framed for guidance of superintendents of cattle, horses and elephants with reference to their age, maternity, nature of work or

use derived from them. The details of stable construction are worked out with vigilant eye to the comfort and sanitation of the beasts. A host of attendants and paraphernalia are assigned to the horse and elephant stables—trainers, feeders, cooks, watchers, grooms, vets, drivers, binders, sweepers and so on (II xxix-xxxii).

In the rules on wild life and livestock, the chief concern of the author of the Arthashastra is the preservation of the four-footed, finny and feathered races. The abhayaranya or reserved forests are set apart for that purpose and none are allowed to "entrap, kill or molest" deer, bison, birds and beasts protected thereunder.

"One-sixth of live animals such as birds and beasts shall be let off in forests under State protection." Discrimination is made moreover in fines against the killing of innocuous creatures that do not prey upon others. Animals are to be slaughtered for flesh only in the abattoir (parisunam) on pain of fine (II, xxvi). The superintendents of cows and of pasture-lands are to look to the safety of cattle; herdsmen are strictly warned to guard them against diseases, thieves and wild beasts, and hunters aided by hounds are appointed to keep off tigers, etc. and reconnoitre grazing forests (II, xxix, xxiv). Young elephants (bikka), elephants that would breed (mugdha), tuskless elephants, diseased elephants and elephants' suckling cubs (dhenuka) comprise the immunity list formed no doubt to ensure perpetuation of the prized stock (II, xxxi).*

Avoidance of needless cruelty and victimisation is sought with assiduous care.

* Greek writers testify to the practice prevailing among Indians of letting off young and old elephants and those of weak constitution in the forest from their haul.—Strabbo I, 41, 43; Arrian xiv.

Cruel pastimes among herdsmen such as bull-fighting stand out-lawed. Fines are enjoined for neglecting nasal perforation in proper time for stringing draught beasts to the yoke. Milking of cattle is allowed twice a day during the rains and the autumns, but in the dry winter and summer seasons only once on pain of the cowherd losing his thumb (II, xxix). Breeding bulls, bulls let out in the name of the village deity (grama-devavrsah) and cows within ten days of calving are exempt from penalisation for trespass. Trespassing beasts from reserve forests "shall be brought to the notice of the forest officers and . . . driven out without being hurt or killed". Ropes and whips only are to be used in case of stray cattle and any injury to them incurs the penalty for assault (III, x). Livestock is protected along with other properties of a householder against damage done in quarrel.

For causing pain with sticks, etc., to minor quadrupeds, 1 or 2 panas shall be levied; and for causing blood to the same, the fine shall be doubled. In the case of large quadrupeds not only double the above fines, but also an adequate compensation necessary to cure the beasts shall be levied (III, xix).

The importance of protection of the trade in animals is fully realised. In assessing the toll dues on merchandise, bipeds and quadrupeds are placed in the scale of maximum preference along with other commodities the duties on which are charged between 15th and 125th of value (II, xxii). The Gopa or village accountant is entrusted not only to keep a register of citizens but also of bipeds and quadrupeds in each village. The spies are likewise deputed to ascertain the total number of men and beasts (janghagra II, xxxv).

It is interesting to note that nowhere in the Arthashastra, nor in any ancient Indian writing is any attempt made

at proscription on the score of sacredness or impurity attached to particular beasts. The inviolability of cow as a divine animal is not an ancient institution and probably originated in later days when Hindu society was being reconstructed on hide-bound dogmas and practices. In its rules on cow-slaughter, the Arthashastra wants the immunity of only calves, milch cows and crossing bulls (II, xxvi). The use of cattle flesh was known to it and in classifying cattle it enumerates those "fit only for supply of flesh" (II, xxix). Among Asoka's list of inviolables "which are neither useful nor edible" occur the samdaka—the phrase is a pointer to the rendering 'bulls set at liberty and run wild'.* In Vedic, Buddhist and classical literature there is no dearth of allusions to cow-killing or the taking of cow's flesh. In the Satapatha Brahmana, Yajnavalkya is fond of tender beef (III, 1, 2, 21). According to Panini goghna means a guest because a cow is killed for him III, 4, 73). Apastamba permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes and at nuptial celebrations (I, 3, 9).† Manu affirms that cattle, birds and animals destroyed for sacrifice receive higher existences on rebirth (v. 40). The Buddhist Suttas refer to beef-butchers‡ and in the Dasabrahmana

* Cf. the following lines in Aelian's Hist. Anim. xvi. 20.

" . . . even sheep, they say, run wild theret as well as dogs and goats and oxen, which roam about at their own pleasure being independent and free from the dominion of the herdsmen. That their number is beyond calculation is stated not only by writers on India but also by the learned men of the country. . . .

† Cf. Manu V, 41; Vasistha IV, 6; Samkhayana II, 16, 1.

‡ Dighanikaya—Nowmann's tran., Vol. II, p. 448, in. 5.

Jataka the profession of a goghataka is found widely followed by straying Brahmanas (iv, 361 ff). In the Meghaduta of Kalidasa reference is made to the legend of King Rantideva who, according to the Mahabharata, sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmanvati. In the beginning of Act IV of Bhavabhuti's Uttararama-charita a heifer is slain by Valmiki in honour of Vasistha's visit to his asrama.*

Were it at all necessary to deify animals to ensure their protection, the warrior class and the Arthashastrakaras would have chosen the horse and the elephant whose service and utility were more appreciated than those of cattle. Elephants are to be reserved in special forests and special superintendents entrusted with their charge. One must pay with life for the killing of an elephant but bringing in the pair of tusks of an elephant dead from natural causes entails reward (II, ii). Grooms and drivers are threatened with fine at the slightest breach of rules inculcated for the comfort of elephants.

Leaving as much as is equal to twice the circumference of the tusk near its root, the tusks shall be cut off once in 2½ years in the case of elephants born in countries irrigated by rivers (nadija) and once in five years in the case of mountain elephants (II, xxxii).

* See also Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 143, Jataka II, 50. The epithet aghnya occurs in Rigveda with reference to cattle, but practice is all to the contrary.

Similarly no stricture on grounds of impurity seems to have existed. Swine and fowl often figure in animal husbandry and in pastoral life of the lay and clerical folk even in sacred books. Asoka's exemption of pregnant and mother sows (see above) indicates that the use of bacon and ham was general. In Mahaparinibbana Sutta Buddha is offered a dish of pork by Chunda, the artificer's son. See Rhys Davids' Buddhist Suttas, p. 72; Questions of Milinda, Vol. I, p. 243 and note.

In the Ramayana also reference is available to pig and fowl as appetising food (Ajodhyakanda, Canto 91, Vs. 67, 70). Only as late as in Yuan Chwang, pigs and oxen are classed among non-edibles. See also Jataka I, 197; Kaut. Arth. v. ii,

The reason for this jealous attention is given as :

It is on elephants that the destruction of an enemy's army depends (VII, xi).

Horses shall be washed, bedaubed with sandal powder and garlanded twice a day. On new moon days sacrifice to Bhutas, and on full moon days the chanting of auspicious hymns shall be performed. Not only on the 9th day of the month asvayuja but also both at the commencement and close of journeys (yatra) as well as in the time of disease shall a priest wave lights invoking blessings on the horses (II, xxx).

During the period of Chaturmashya (July to October) and at the time when the two seasons meet, waving of light shall be performed thrice. Also on new moon and full moon days, commanders shall perform sacrifices to Bhutas for the safety of elephants (II, xxxii).

These silly rites performed to ward off evil spirits were nevertheless meant to safeguard the interests of State, to protect the sinews of war against all sorts of danger and not to appease animal divinities held in superstitious fear or veneration. They were indispensable in war and sport

and among the people they were chief means of conveyance. The cow's milk, the sheep's wool, the elephant's tusk are all subject to protection laws against the cupidity of improvident owners. This sense of utility of animals, of animal labour and animal produce predominated among the Arthasastrakaras. This alone may account for the culture of zoology and the improvement of veterinary science to which Asoka and Kautilya are not the only witnesses. Aelian deals in detail. Indian modes of treating elephant diseases (XXII, 7) and indigenous folk-lore and literature serve examples of materia medica and practical cure achieved by their ministration. The theoretical background of animal preservation in ancient India was the theological doctrine of ahimsa and the economic doctrine of protection.

THE STORY OF KING RUDRA SINGH

BY MR. NAGENDRANATH GOGOI

IN anxious and uncertain times like ours, when it is difficult to find pleasure in humanity and the course of human affairs, it is particularly consoling to think of the serene greatness of a Rudra Singh. He ascended the throne of the Ahom kingdom in the year 1696 and combined in his character all the noble qualities of his parents. His father was the noble king Gadadhor Singh and his mother was queen Joymati, who died a martyr to faith and devotion to her husband.

During the reign of king Rudra Singh, the country flourished in all directions and, truly speaking, the Ahom kingdom was in the summit of its glory and greatness. He followed in the path set up by his father and brought peace and happiness amongst his subjects. Many

roads and bridges were constructed, tanks excavated, temples erected and palatial buildings raised. The country bloomed and shone in all its grandeur. King Gadadhor, bereft of his beloved wife Joymati, could do nothing to commemorate her greatness and it was left to his son Rudra Singh who, out of immense love and devotion to his mother, excavated the great lake Joysagar and erected a temple in her name on its bank. Two other temples were also erected and offered to the priests.

Amongst other fortified buildings, the Palace of Rangpur, a fourteen-storied brick building, was raised during his rule and its remains at present at a distance of two miles south to the Sibsagar Town show all the magnificence of the past glory of

the nation. A broad-minded king as he was, he brought famous artists and artisans from Bengal and Behar in addition to his own expert engineers and in contact with these foreign people, his own artists learnt a good deal of things : drawing, printing and tailoring works were fostered among the mass people.

A man of international spirit, of independent and honest opinion, unburdened by class or national prejudices, desirous of nothing but the good of humanity, he wanted to build up the nation in a masterly fashion to compete with all other monarchs of India. He sent out messengers to all parts of India as far as Sindh and Oudh to gather information both political and social. He took strong steps to promote Primary Education among the people, built many schools, and besides his own teachers he invited scholars from outside Assam for the development of culture in his country. Within his heart he fostered the idea of establishing a modern Pragjyotishpur—a centre of ancient culture and learning. Besides, he established an extensive trade with Tibet.

No account, however, of the reign of Rudra Singh would be complete without some notice, firstly, of his enterprise and, secondly, of his religious zeal. For the latter half of the last century the Ahom kingdom was in constant fight with the Mughal Empire and this great power being defeated, the succeeding rulers of Assam thought of no new foe and all of them were busy in establishing the kingdom on a sound basis. During the rule of Rudra Singh, however, the Mughal power itself was diminishing and Rudra Singh was busy only with constructive problems. Even in such times of peace, there arose an occasion of bloodshed : the

Kachari king, Tamradhwaj, seeing Rudra Singh busy with no military expedition, began silently to master forces to recover his former independence and suddenly revolted. Seeing this, Rudra Singh sent the Borbaruah at the head of an army towards Maibong, the capital of the Kachari kingdom and Tamradhwaj anticipating his defeat, fled to the Jaintia Hills, and asked help of Ram Singh, the king of Jaintia Hills, who agreed to his proposed request. The Ahom army marched forth through the forests under great difficulties and captured Tamradhwaj who was brought a captive to the Ahom court at Rangpur. He was made to pay homage to the Ahom king and released as an ally. He, however, caught strong fever and in spite of Rudra Singh's sending physicians to serve him, he died within a year and thus the Kachari kingdom was annexed to the Ahom dominions. Rudra Singh ordered the Jaintia Hills also to be annexed to the Ahom kingdom since it was also conquered in the same expedition, but the Jaintia king Ram Singh having denied this order, another expedition had to be sent and likewise Ram Singh was also made to pay homage to the Ahom king, the Jaintia Hills being similarly annexed within the boundary of the Ahom kingdom, which was growing bigger and bigger during the rule of this magnanimous king.

Let us now turn to the religious side of his administration. As has already been mentioned, he invited learned pandits from outside Assam to his court and every day an open meeting of the scholars was held and various topics were discussed. He preached Vaishnavism in Assam and gave out lands for the same purpose and the Satras of the cult were

put on a very sound basis. He wanted to be an orthodox Hindu and, truly speaking, it was during his reign that the Hindu cult in Assam had its strong footing. A man of true religious zeal, he sent out messengers to pick up learned scholars from outside and would receive the good from every source possible. He invited a pandit Krishnaram Nayabagish of Santipur, a priest of the Sakta cult and wanted to be his disciple. The pandit attracted by the glory of the Kamakshya temple soon agreed to come, but after his arrival the king was reluctant to receive him as the pandit was of a black, awkward and stalwart figure. The pandit being deeply aggrieved, returned. Soon after, great disorder, accompanied by earthquake, famine, and diseases made its appearance in the Ahom kingdom. Through an unhappy coincidence, the pandits and other great people attributed this disorder to the insult of the pandit and pressed the king to bring him back. The king after much consideration agreed and the pandit was once more introduced into the religious background of the nation. The king at first ordered his own pandits to accept his priesthood and afterwards he himself wanted to become his disciple by conquering Bengal and making the banks of the Ganges a part of his dominions and then he thought the real zeal for religion would be fulfilled.

In right earnest, he began to master forces for his great military expedition. He sent his Admirals to different parts of the country to pick up soldiers and he himself proceeded towards Gauhati and halted at North Gauhati camp until the soldiers were collected, the boats arranged, ammunitions heaped up and the rations stored up. As has already been mentioned,

the Mughal power was diminishing at that time and the other dependant monarchs of India could bear the tyranny of the Mughal Badshah no longer and all of them wanted to re-establish their former independence. The Ahom kingdom had already won for it the reputation of a strong power by defeating the Mughals at Sarai-ghat and when the Hindu monarchs knew that Rudra Singh was proceeding to conquer Bengal, they were very glad and sent out private messengers to Rudra Singh stating that they were tired of the Mughal rule and would help him in his great expedition and in a body they would all try to establish Hindu Rule once more in India. Having received such supports from unexpected corners, Rudra Singh began to make swift arrangements for the expedition.

While he was at Gaubati, he had to undergo lots of troubles and hardships in gathering forces and suddenly fell ill. In his sick-bed, nobody was allowed to serve him and the pandit Krishnaram Nayabagish undertook the responsibility of treating and serving the king. Under his care, the king instead of being cured, began to show signs of stronger fever day by day. While at sick-bed, he accepted the priesthood of the pandit Krishnaram, gave him the administration of the Kamakshya temple and ordered his son Siva Singh also to accept the priesthood of this pandit. There was great anxiety in the kingdom and in spite of the prayers of his subjects for his recovery, the king closed his eyes for the last time in the year 1714, leaving his strong desire of the conquest of Bengal unfulfilled and his mourning subjects behind. Some chroniclers say that the pandit poisoned the king to take revenge of his former insult and others say that the king had strong faith in him and liked to die under his care; but opinions differ.

THE NEW PHYSICS

BY SIR C. V. RAMAN

AN Irishman, if there be one amongst my listeners, might feel inclined to ask me the question: How old is this New Physics about which you are talking to us? My answer would be: Exactly forty-three years old and still going strong. The world heard the new baby crying when it was born I am referring to the enormous excitement created by the announcement of a German Physicist, Rontgen, that he had discovered a new kind of radiation with amazing properties, which we now call by his name, or alternatively as X-rays.

This experimental discovery by Rontgen had far-reaching effects. It opened the eyes of men of science to the fact that the courageous and patient investigator could hope to discover new phenomena in Nature undreamt of in the natural philosophy of the nineteenth century. Rontgen's discovery, in fact, was the beginning of the New Physics. The stimulus to novel types of experimentation which it gave resulted in a whole new crop of discoveries, many of which in their intrinsic interest and importance are not surpassed even by Rontgen's own magnificent finding. During the past four decades, the spate of new phenomena has flowed into physics with undiminished vigour, so much so that it is becoming increasingly difficult even for a man of science, excepting of course, the discoverer himself, to feel thrilled by a new physical phenomenon.

I will not fatigue you by a recital of the names of even the most outstanding investigators who have built up the physics of to-day. Their names and their discoveries are known to every student of physics. They are claimed as nationals by one or another of many different countries. Yet in the truest sense, they belong to the whole world and to the International Brotherhood of Science. I will permit myself to mention only two of the greatest pioneers. Amongst the priceless memories that a man of science like myself treasures life-long is that of personal contact with such leaders of science as the late Lord Rutherford and the late Madame Curie;

their contributions to the building of the New Physics have been most impressive, and their influence on their generation and on the progress of science almost incredibly great.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS

I would not be fair either to my listeners or to my subject if I conveyed the impression that the New Physics has been built up entirely by the work of experimenters. This is far from being the case. Indeed, the amazing progress of the New Physics has been due to no small extent to the courageous leadership and constant guidance given to experimenters by the theoretical physicists or natural philosophers who in their turn build on the foundations firmly laid by experimental discovery. I do not believe there is a single listener to my talk who has not heard of Einstein and his relativistic philosophy which forms an integral part of the framework of thought in the New Physics. Not all my listeners, however, might have heard of Professor Niels Bohr of Copenhagen. . . . But, in the view of many, including myself, he is the greatest natural philosopher of the day.

The work of Niels Bohr in building up a theory of atomic structure which has inspired a host of experimenters in their work is one of the greatest triumphs of the human mind. . . .

A NEW BASIS

You may well ask: What has the new Physics achieved? One has only to look back to the physics of my college days at Madras thirty years ago and to look at the physics of to-day to appreciate the difference. The old physics was successful chiefly in giving what might be called a macroscopic or large-scale description of natural phenomena, that is to say, a statement of observed facts regarding the properties of matter, heat, light, sound, electricity and magnetism. On the other hand, its attempts to interpret the observed facts in terms of atomistic and molecular concepts was definitely a failure except in a severely restricted field. The reason for this failure was that the old physics had practically no foundation on which to build. This foundation has been supplied by the discovery of the ultimate sub-atomic

* A talk broadcast from the Madras Station.

units constituting matter and the laws of their interaction. The detailed explanation of all physical phenomena and of the physical properties of matter has in consequence become a practical proposition. A very great measure of success has been achieved in this respect in every one of the recognised divisions of the older physics. Whole new territories of phenomena, not contemplated by the older physics, have also been opened up and brought under the rule of the New Physics.

CHEMICAL PHYSICS

Not content with these triumphs, the New Physics has entered the field of Chemistry and has sought to find an explanation in terms of sub-atomic processes for the well-ascertained facts of Chemistry regarding the reactions of atoms with each other to form molecules. Such a task could scarcely be considered superfluous. For, one of the essential facts of chemistry is that the strength of chemical combination and the energy required for or released by such combination is very different in different cases, and it is only in physical theories that it is possible to find any real understanding of these facts and, indeed, also of the real nature of chemical combination. The success of the new science known as Chemical Physics has transcended all expectations. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to hope that before many years pass, theoretical chemistry will come to be regarded as a branch of mathematics.

What has been the secret of all these amazing successes? Simply stated, it is the elimination of the Newtonian mechanical laws from the field of atomic and molecular physics and their substitution by other and new laws governing sub-atomic processes. It would take me too long to go deeply into the theoretical aspects of the New Physics. It must suffice here to say that they involve revolutionary change in our outlook regarding natural phenomena and their explanation. The present generation has not yet had time to fully understand and absorb the new theoretical outlook; but the latter has abundantly justified itself by its success in handling problems of the most varied nature. To the next generation, the new modes of thinking now required in our science will doubtless become quite habitual.

THE NEWER ALCHEMY

I must not neglect to make at least a brief mention of the most recent spectacular triumphs of the new physics, namely, the creation of new chemical elements by artificial transmutation of known elements. Lord Rutherford's last little book on the Newer Alchemy gives a very clear and fascinating account of this newest physics. The remarkable advances described therein were not due to any accidental discovery but were the natural result of the intensive study of the atom and of its structure which is characteristic of the New Physics. The chemical identity of an element is determined by the nucleus of the atom, that is by the very small and dense core of the atom. By bombarding the atom by other swift atomic projectiles, transformations may be induced. In many cases the new elements produced are radio-active, in other words, they give off electric particles and spontaneously transform into other elements in the manner of the naturally radio-active elements.

For the production of the swift atomic projectiles, used in these new syntheses of the chemical elements, amazing new types of apparatus have been developed in which figure gigantic electro-magnets or electro-static generators or electric transformers. By means of special ingenious devices these are used to speed up the atomic projectiles to very high velocities corresponding to several millions of volts. On the occasion of my visit to the Paris International Conference of Science last year and in my subsequent tour I was privileged to see several of these installations in operation. In their boldness and novelty of conception, and in the purposes to which these are used, these contrivances fittingly represent the spirit of the New Physics.

The vast body of new knowledge which the New Physics has created naturally represents a greatly increased power to use the forces of Nature for good and for evil. In a hundred different ways, Physics has during this period of advance influenced human life and activity. But I would not have you forget that the greatest leaders of our science have always been those whose aim has been the promotion of knowledge for its own sake.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Problem of Federation

SPEECHES and discussions on India's future have been abundant in recent weeks and though official pronouncements have been non-committal, there can be no doubt that Federation is engaging the attention of responsible statesmen in England. At such a time the *Manchester Guardian*, true to its traditions of Liberalism, has come out with a helpful contribution in the shape of an appeal to the British Government urging a change of attitude on the question of Indian Federation. In substance the Indian problem, says the *Guardian*,

consists in assessing the strength of Indian nationalism, deciding what steps are necessary to appease the nationalist demands and calculating the results of failure to meet these demands.

And then it goes on to make an illuminating comment:

If it has been possible for the Members of Parliament to foresee the skill with which the Provincial Ministries have functioned, they might have drafted Federation differently. It need not necessarily involve at present asking Parliament to redraft the Act; much can be done by way of establishing customs and precedents, but Indian leaders, above all the Congress leaders, must be seriously consulted. Lord Zetland held out hopes of nothing more than that their comments could be listened to. That is not enough. The British authorities should realise that strategically Indian nationalism is already on terms at least of equality with Britain and that it would be folly not to plan India's future on the basis of that equality.

The Army Agreement

Seldom has the Central Assembly witnessed a more significant debate than the one that Mr. Satyamurti initiated as a protest against the Government of India's acquiescence in the new decision to increase the pay and allowances of British troops in India. Mr. Satyamurti's powerful indictment of White Hall's arbitrary action was strongly supported by the House. The Muslim Leaguers were one with the Congress in this matter and the Europeans

were neutral. The result was the defeat of the Government by a margin of 38 votes.

The details of the new agreement between White Hall and Simla have not been made public. But India stands to lose about a crore and a half, or roughly the amount that five years ago she obtained as England's contribution to defence expenditure. But in fairness it must be added that the censure was really directed against the Secretary of State, for every one recognised that both the Hon. Sir James Grigg and H. E. Sir Robert Cassels had put up a strenuous fight on behalf of India but had lost all along the line.

The Temple-Entry Bill

It will be remembered that in the last Session of the Legislative Assembly, the Premier stated that a Bill was being prepared and would be introduced in the Assembly in November to provide for Temple-Entry in Malabar district. The text of the Bill is now published. We welcome its early publication as it gives ample time for all interests concerned to study its provisions and express their considered opinion on it.

It is a permissive legislation designed "to remove the disabilities of certain classes of Hindus in regard to entry into temple in the district of Malabar".

It cannot be said that the Bill has been suddenly sprung upon the people. For ever since the Travancore Proclamation the position of the temples in the adjoining British area has been engaging public attention. In their Statement of Object and Reasons Government observe that in view of the growing volume of demand for the right of temple-entry for all Hindus, there is justification in resisting this demand, and in view of the close affinity between the peoples of Travancore where the temples have been thrown open to Hindus and the people of Malabar, such a reform can be first brought in that district more easily.

The Bose-Jinnah Correspondence

The correspondence between Mr. Subash Chandra Bose and Mr. Jinnah takes us no farther than the Gandhi-Jinnah-Nehru correspondence. Once again Mr. Jinnah is more concerned to stress the "representative" character of the League than to come to grips with the vexed question of Hindu-Muslim Settlement.

The Congress had refused to agree to the League's claim as the representative organisation of Muslims on the grounds that there are Muslim organisations functioning independently of the Muslim League, some of them staunch supporters of the League, and individual Congressmen with no inconsiderable influence in the country; and the Frontier Province was overwhelmingly Muslim and solidly with the Congress.

While repudiating the League's formula that the Congress is a Hindu organisation, the Congress is prepared to negotiate without insisting on the League's recognition of its claims to represent all India. Mr. Bose has made this clear in his letter to Mr. Jinnah in which he lucidly expounds the Congress policy. He points out that, while the Congress cannot give up the claim that it is a non-communal organisation, "the Working Committee asks for no recognition (of this claim) from the League Council"; all that it asks is that the League should come to an understanding with the Congress "in order that we might achieve national solidarity and whole-heartedly work for our realising our common destiny". One would think that this is a fair basis for negotiation but Mr. Jinnah's obsession that the prestige of the League is at stake has cut the ground from underneath the feet and revealed the futility of any negotiations at this stage.

Ceylon Reforms

The Donoughmore Constitution which has been on trial for seven years in Ceylon has broken down. Obviously the London County Council system so useful in Municipal Government cannot be applied to the working of a political constitution of the size of the Ceylon Legislature. Cabinet Government in any Constitution demands that all the Ministers together should be able to look to a clear majority in the House. Under the present Constitution each Minister is apparently responsible to a separate group of legislators and no Minister is responsible to the whole House. That has led to more confusion than most other features of a scheme which has no parallel in the Empire's constitutions.

It is, therefore, satisfactory to learn that Sir Andrew Caldecott, Ceylon's Governor, has sent a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, embodying material alterations in the Island's Constitution.

Indications are that the committee system of Government, a novel feature of the constitution introduced by the Donoughmore Commissioners, will lose its present character.

Ministers may not in future be elected by the Executive Committee but the selection and nomination of Ministers may be left to the Governor acting on the advice of a leader or Chief Minister whom he will first invite to head the Government.

We learn that several members of the State Council and responsible leaders of the Ceylon National Congress and other Labour leaders will be in London about the time the Governor's Despatch is examined by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Colonial Secretary. Perhaps, Mr. MacDonald will have the benefit of consultation with them so as to devise such changes in the Constitution as to make it acceptable to the people.

Dr. Ambedkar on Federation

While the Congress Party are divided in their view as to how they should combat the coming Federation—either by accepting it and later trying to remove its imperfections or by totally rejecting the scheme itself—Dr. Ambedkar is firmly convinced that its inherent defects cannot be got rid of until the scheme itself is scrapped. Then he goes on to define the attitude of uncompromising opposition of his own Party—the Independent Labour Party—of which he is leader.

The Independent Labour Party will never be a party to bartering away the country's freedom to grow to full nationhood for the sake of a mess of pottage, by however a big name it may be called. In the process of evolution, federation may be inevitable, but certainly it is not the federation which is envisaged in the new constitution.

The federal constitution is wrong in its conception and wrong in its basis. The introduction of the federal scheme in the Government of India Act deserves, in the opinion of the Independent Labour Party, to be resisted by every possible means. The federal part of the new constitution must be shunned as a deadly poison. Should the Congress decide by a majority to fight the new constitution, it shall have the full support of the Independent Labour Party.

In case, however, the majority in the Congress be swayed by the reactionary element and Mr. Subash Chandra Bose decides to stick to his guns, the Independent Labour Party will join hands with his party. Our party will co-operate with the party or the combination of parties undertaking to fight the federal part of the new constitution in every possible way.

The Bengal Ministry

Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Cabinet have survived the onslaught of the Opposition. The no confidence motion against the Bengal Ministry failed by a narrow majority. But the result is one on which the Ministry may not congratulate itself. For it is apparent that but for the Europeans who voted *en bloc* for the present Ministry, Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Cabinet would have been turned out. As a writer in the *Statesman* points out:

For a Ministry to be dependent on the European *bloc* for its very existence is a sad commentary on the working of Provincial autonomy in Bengal.

Sir Mirza's Convocation Address

It was no mere academic address that Sir Mirza Ismail delivered at the Convocation of the Madras University. Sir Mirza took the opportunity to express himself unequivocally on some of the pressing problems of the day in India. He pleaded for closer contact between the University and life around and suggested the establishment of University Settlements on the model of those found in the poorer districts of London. The object is to bring undergraduates into intimate touch with the people and incidentally give a sense of reality to the teaching of important branches of study such as economics, sociology, politics and statistics. While he stressed on the part that Universities should play in solving the problem of unemployment, he added that that does not mean that the entire responsibility is theirs

In a country like ours, which is as one sided in its occupational pattern as in its educational system, there is a great need for the Government to plan the development of trade and industry and to find fresh avenues of employment for the rising generation.

Dealing with suggestions, which he regarded as unwise, to restrict admission to the Universities and even high schools, Sir Mirza said:

The country is by no means oversupplied with educated persons and education in any stage has not reached saturation point, if indeed such a point can ever be reached in a community. But there is urgent need of a planned distribution of numbers in successive stages between different courses, some of which will lead to a degree in arts and science and the rest directly to one specific occupation or another.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

The Russo-Japanese Agreement

FRONTIER incidents have been a perennial source of danger, and the Soviet-Japanese fighting on the Manchukuo and Korea frontiers threatened to develop into a war of some magnitude. Nay more. A local affair, if allowed to grow unchecked, might lead to a mighty war of nations. For Russo-Japanese feelings have not been altogether amiable, particularly after the Anti-Comintern Pact. The facts of the recent incident may be briefly told in the words of the *Statesman*:

On July 11, a detachment of 40 Soviet frontier guards occupied the hill of Changkufeng and began to fortify it; the Japanese declared that the hill was Manchukuo territory and dominated the important Korean port of Rashin. As one commentator said if the hill had much strategic importance it was difficult to see why its ownership had not been settled before. In any case the Soviet declared that Changkufeng was their territory quoting the Treaty of Hunchun (1869) between Russia and China and the map signed by the plenipotentiaries. Tokyo retorted that no one had seen this map, which was in the Soviet archives, a retort whose effect was rather spoilt by statements of English experts that the hill was well known to be the Russian territory.

Whoever may be responsible for starting the incident it is clear, says the same writer, that the Japanese instituted the first attack on a large scale. They had reinforced their frontier garrison and withdrawn a considerable number of men even from the fighting line in China to be ready at hand for any emergency on the Frontier. This was not unobserved by the Soviet Command.

By August 3, the Soviet frontier guard, a special force, had been relieved by regular troops of the Red Army of the Far East, and an energetic attempt was made to regain Changkufeng and Shatsaoping, from which the guards had been easily ejected by the Japanese troops.

Almost at once the Japs proposed a truce and the establishment of a neutral zone pending the appointment of a boundary commission. But Japanese troops continued to flow in uninterruptedly and

there was every evidence of preparations for large scale operations. So the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs regarded the plea for truce as mere playing for time and M. Litvinov was somewhat short with the Japanese Command and demanded "complete withdrawal from Soviet territory before he could consent to negotiate".

A dead-lock followed. But Japanese statesmen realised the strength behind the tone of the Soviet refusal. They have enough trouble in China to court for further trouble in the Frontier. They wisely acquiesced and thus averted a war the consequences of which no man can foresee.

According to the terms of the armistice, the fighting on the Manchukuo frontier was to cease at noon on Thursday the 11th August, the troops remaining in the positions occupied by them on the midnight of August 10. A commission consisting of two representatives of the Soviet and two representatives of Japan and Manchukuo will carry out the demarcation of the frontier.

Lord Runciman's Mission

Lord Runciman has undertaken a very delicate and difficult task in attempting to mediate between the Sudeten Germans and the Czech Government. He has gone to Prague at a time when the tension between Germany and Czechoslovakia is greatest. His mission, namely, the promotion of a settlement of the Sudeten German question and with that a *rapprochement* between Prague and Berlin, is recognised as being at once delicate and difficult. It is, of course, not obligatory on the part either of the Germans or the Czechs to accept his report. But Lord Runciman goes out with the best credentials, and the best wishes of all lovers of peace go with him. His tact and judgment in this difficult task will go a great way in settling a question of outstanding importance in present-day Europe—a question, too, that is not without its lessons for India where the problem of the Minorities is no less acute.

SEPTEMBER 1938]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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The Spanish War

Two big battles have been progressing with some vehemence in Spain. On the Estremadura front the insurgents are pressing forward after the capture of Cabeza del Buey, the centre of a huge area producing olive oil, cattle and cereals and containing rich mercury deposits, and are now battling on the borders of Ciudad Real, one of the eight Provinces of Spain in which they have not set foot.

South of the Ebro River the operations, after three weeks' bitter warfare, resemble a continuous pitched battle with the insurgents exercising steady pressure against waves of Republican counter-attacks.

The toughest engagement on this front is being waged in the hills south-east of Gandesa which, with sand-bagged streets and shell-pitted houses, has defied the Republicans' most desperate attempts at capture.

The Totalitarian State

"A totalitarian state," writes Dr. Gilbert Murray in his latest publication, 'Liberty and Civilisation', "is a permanent dictatorship, a state in which the war neurosis is permanently established. The Government of such a state is afraid of all thought, of all knowledge, of all that distracts the mind from the main pre-occupation—War. The whole range of knowledge must be censored, garbled and suppressed. . . . It is probably this permanent all-embracing denial of freedom more than the accompanying acts of brutality, which constitutes the deepest and most enduring wrong inflicted by these dictatorships on human spirit."

England and Egypt

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, writing in a recent number of *World Review*, observes that if the British Empire is saved and survives the impending struggle, she "will be saved only with the help of those very elements which have appeared most anxious to disrupt it in the past". Proceeding, he observes:

"Its salvation will depend upon the extent to which it has passed on its ideas of personal freedom and democracy to its subject people or to those other peoples such as the Chinese and the Egyptians which it has sought by war or diplomacy to bring into virtual subjection. Not so many years ago the British Government exiled the veteran leader of Egyptian nationalism, Zaglul Pasha although Egypt was nominally an independent State. Now this acute nationalism is becoming rather a safeguard than a threat to the British Empire, for the Wafd Party is less likely than any other in Egypt to make an agreement with Italian Fascism."

How has this transformation been brought out? By the concession of real power of self-Government to Egyptians.

Dr. Atul on Non-Intervention

Dr. Atul, who is leading the Congress Ambulance Unit to China, on his return from Europe, gave his impressions of the Spanish War to a Press interviewer in Bombay. He declared:

If the Republican Government ultimately loses the war in Spain, the Non-Intervention Committee will be responsible for it. If there had been no Non-Intervention Committee, the Republicans would have won the war long ago.

He spoke highly of the morale of the Republican Army and their determination to see this thing through.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

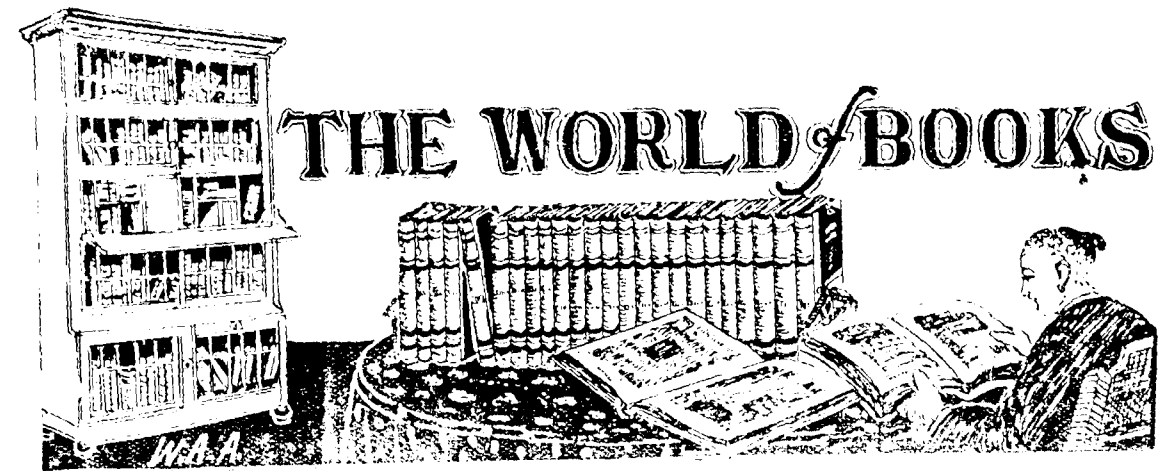
July 30. Mr. R. S. Shukla and his colleagues are sworn in as Ministers, in C.P.
 July 31. Soviet-Jap fighting in the Soviet-Manchukuo border is reported.
 Aug. 1. Mr. J. H. Carrett, I.C.S., assumes charge as Sind's Acting Governor.
 Aug. 2. Dr. Atal, leader of the Congress Ambulance Unit, arrives in Bombay.
 Aug. 3. France and Greater Germany enter into an Economic Agreement.
 Aug. 4. Prague apologises to Germany for Czech planes crossing the Frontier.
 Aug. 5. Japan makes proposals for truce with the Soviet.
 Aug. 6. Rebels in Spain succeed in occupying the right bank of the Ebro River.
 Aug. 7. The Select Committee Report on the Motor Vehicle Bill is published.
 Aug. 8. The Summer Session of the Legislative Assembly meets in Simla.
 Aug. 9. Japanese bomb Canton.
 Aug. 10. Assembly discusses the adjournment motion on the new defence charges.



H. E. G. T. BOAG

Aug. 11. Mr. G. T. Boag takes charge of the Acting Governorship of Orissa at Cuttack.

Aug. 12. Two no-confidence motions against the Bengal Ministry are defeated.
 Aug. 13. Soviet-Japanese hostilities cease.
 Aug. 14. The Liner "Queen Mary" establishes a new Atlantic record.
 Aug. 15. Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie moves the Criminal Law Bill in the Central Assembly.
 Aug. 16. Lord Lothian, arriving at Karachi, advises India to accept Federation.
 Aug. 17. The Bose-Jinnah correspondence is released.
 Aug. 18. Lord Runciman meets Herr Henlein, Leader of the Sudeten Party.
 Aug. 19. The Japanese capture Puchow, an important military base.
 Aug. 20. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit leaves for England by air.
 Aug. 21. Train tragedy near Ayyalur S. I. R. results in heavy casualties.
 Aug. 22. The Japanese military headquarters are shifted to Nanking.
 Aug. 23. Hungary and the Little Entente sign a non-aggression pact.
 Aug. 24. Central Assembly passes the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.
 Aug. 25. Gen. Smuts declares in S. A. Assembly that S. Africa would stand by Great Britain in the event of a war.
 Aug. 26. Sind Congress Committee attempts an agreement with the Ministry.
 Aug. 27. Bombay Students' Conference ends in a fiasco.
 Aug. 28. Mr. G. T. Boag, Governor of Orissa, arrives at Cuttack for opening the Session of the Legislative Assembly.
 Aug. 29. Dr. Satyapal resigns the presidency of the Punjab Congress Committee.
 Aug. 30. Rai Bahadur H. B. Barua is elected President of the Assam Council.
 Aug. 31. Madras Government publishes the text of the Malabar Temple Entry Bill.



THOSE WERE THE DAYS. By Osbert Sitwell. Macmillan. 8sh. 6d.

This rich and warm, vital and mature work of Mr. Sitwell is a relief from much that is thrown at the public today. Written with unusual restraint in simple and precise prose, it is an intensely exciting and readable book full of interesting facts; and places, more definitely than ever before, Mr. Sitwell among those who have used the novel to re-construct their vision of a society in transition—the society in which they themselves lived and observed.

The background of the novel is the post-War middle class of England and the story begins in that watering place on the Yorkshire coast which the author has already celebrated. The main trend is held by a married couple Joanna and Jocelyn Mompesson. Their progress is, at intervals, very closely and interestingly studied from Joanna Free-Martin's girlhood, school days, and marriage entered simply to escape bondage to a tyrannous aunt, and right through all their transformations, adaptations, subterfuges, humiliations and triumphs till the present day. Besides these two principal actors, marvellous old ladies (like Miss Gertrude and Miss Vera Marmaduke) abound, parrot like in their splendour and their malice. They bark,

shriek, and cackle at the degeneracy of the younger generation—that generation which Mr. Sitwell proceeds to show us—caught in the fantasies of the war and the subsequent fantasies of the post-war, with all their mad harlequinade of literacy and artistic London.

One finds in different places, approximations to the good humoured satire of Trollope, particularly where the interfering and ubiquitous Free-Martins are concerned, to the lyrical evocations of Mrs. Woolf, and Marcel Proust, to the intellectual acidity of Mr. Huxley, to the angry, rather farcical caricature of Mr. W. Lewis, but the strongest impression left after reading through this work conceived in all artistic seriousness, is that the noveliest in Mr. Sitwell is at his best when not approximating.

HINDU SCRIPTURES. Edited by Dr. Nicol Macnicol. Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

A collection of representative writings from the main Hindu scriptures. They include English translations of 30 hymns from the Rig Vedas, 5 of the significant Upanishads and Dr. Barnett's well known rendering of the Gita. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his Foreword justly observes that a publication likely to provide an insight into the inspiration and development of one of the oldest of the living religions should be welcomed by all intelligent and impartial readers.

KANTHAPURA. By Raja Row. Allen and Unwin. Rs. 5-10. G. A. Natesan & Co.

This is an old woman's tale of the Civil Disobedience movement in India led by Gandhiji, in its reactions on the history of little Kanthapura and its devoted and patriotic servant Moorthy. There is a great deal of vitality in the story and vivacity in the telling. But it leaves behind an acute sense of discomfort and dissatisfaction. There are many irritating imperfections afflicting the book, some of them resulting from the author's deficient constructive power and some from the author's clumsy handling of the English language. The occasional leisureliness of the movement of the story is wearisome. But it is an excellent first novel which shows that the author does not lack a lively imagination or the capacity to give a convincing impression of real life. The present reviewer looks forward very keenly to the author's next novel.

ELEMENTS OF CIVICS. By Prof. H. S. Chatterji. H. Chatterji & Co., Calcutta.

This is a useful manual for college students dealing with general political and civic concepts and institutions and at the same time giving a fairly full account of the Indian administration: Central, Provincial and Local, and giving as appendices accounts of the growth of the Indian Press, of the freedom movement in the country, the principal constitutional documents and the J. P. C. report. The second part of the book deals with the elements of Economics and with the chief economic problems with which we are faced. The style and analytical treatment are commendable.

NIGGER LOVER. By Doris Garland Anderson. Published by L. N. Fowler & Co. Ltd., London. 7s. 6d. net.

This is an illuminating story of a personal experiment told in vital and vigorous language. The authoress, an English lady with a considerable social standing, met Garland Anderson, the son of a negro slave who had risen from being a bell-boy on a train to a renowned playwright and felt attracted to him in a powerful way. Their association began at the Mayfair tea-talks, developed through publication of books and a lecturing tour as Lecturer and Secretary in America, and culminated in a most happy and perfect marriage. The authoress has immense faith in her husband and believes in his message to Humanity—the greatest thing one can do for World Peace is to refuse to entertain any prejudice or hatred of any person, group or race. She holds that the colour problem all over the world is to be solved not by legislation but by a greater spiritual awakening on all sides.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. 2 Vols. Text in Sanskrit Devanagari. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Son, Madras. Rs. 8.

Lovers of Sanskrit literature should really feel very grateful to this firm for the great service they have been rendering by the publication of many of the Hindu scriptures. Following their handsome editions of their Ramayana and the Mahabharata, they have now brought out in two volumes the Srimad Bhagavata. The present publication in Devanagari Sanskrit is based on a number of manuscripts and is replete with different readings. We trust this venture will meet with financial success.

THE SIKH STUDIES. By Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Published by the National Publications, 1, Mission Road, Lahore.

The author here presents a kaleidoscopic view of the Sikh religion and thought: their life and activities, their aspirations and achievements. Born amidst a clash of ideas and cultures and civilisations, this virile and eclectic religion has a message of universal love and peace and self-sacrificial service to the modern world. Guru Nanak was pre-eminently a prophet of peace and unity. He was succeeded by Gurus of outstanding ability who have exercised a profound influence on people, specially in Northern India. The story of Guru Nanak's death, the conflicting claims of Hindus and Moslems to his body, the miraculous transformation of the body into flowers sweet and acceptable to all is symbolic of Sikhism. Love of God is living in God and service of mankind. The first section of the book deals with the religious precepts; the second, with social and political institutions; the third section contains short stories and poems illustrative of Sikh ideas.

SPIRITUAL TALKS. By the first Disciples of Sri Ramakrishna. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Re. 1-12.

An inspiring volume of discourses addressed to a select group of disciples and admirers. Couched in simple and direct language "they touch upon and illuminate many aspects of practical religion". The rare spiritual counsels collected in this book are of those given by Sri Ramakrishna's first disciples, the Holy Mother, and the Swamis Brahmananda Premananda, Turyananda, Shivananda and Saradananda. The book will be greatly appreciated by spiritual aspirants.

THE DIVINE LIFE: Its practice and realisation. By Swami Yatiswarananda.

Sri Ramakrishna Matt, Mylapore, Madras. The author has well succeeded in his laudable attempt "to give a clear conception of the theory as well as the practice of spiritual life to seekers both in the East and the West". The great need for ethical culture has been stressed by means of choice selections from the different Sanskrit scriptures.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. Vol. 5, Nagpur Affairs 1781-1820. Edited by V. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B. Government Central Press, Bombay.

THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES. Vol. I. By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Second Edition. N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co., 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

IN ENGLAND. By S. G. Dunn. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

WHEN THEY CAME BACK. By Roy Devereux. Cassell and Company Ltd., London.

NEHRU-JINNAH CORRESPONDENCE. A. I. C. C., Allahabad.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY. By Rammanhar Lohia. Published by A. I. C. C., Allahabad.

HINDUISM AND THE MODERN WORLD. By K. M. Panikkar. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

VICTORIA AND THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA. By Honoria Munoz. O. P. University of Santo Tomas Press, P. O. Box 147, Manila, P. I. (Philippine Islands.)

THE JOYFUL DELANEYS. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan & Co., London.

TWILIGHT IN INDIA. By M. V. V. K. Rangachari. (Pamphlet, 34 pages) Ranga & Co., Cocanada.

SPECIMENS OF SANSKRIT DRAMATIC POEMS. By V. Srinamulu, M.A., L.T., Narasaraopet.

SONGS FROM THE HEIGHTS. By Sanjile Chaudhuri, M.A. Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London.

INDIAN PROBLEMS IN MALAYA. By K. A. Neelakandha Aiyer. "The Indian" Office, Kuala Lumpur, F. M. S.

CO-ORDINATE SOLID GEOMETRY. By Robert J. T. Bell, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. Macmillan & Co., London.

Hyderabad

STATE BANK FOR HYDERABAD

An attempt is being made by influential business people in Hyderabad to establish a State Bank as early as possible, especially in view of the failure of certain banks recently on account of which Hyderabad too had suffered serious loss.

The idea of starting a Hyderabad State Bank has been under consideration for a long time and the Government last year invited Mr. Fitzpatrick of the Imperial Bank, London, to inquire into the local conditions and make recommendations. Mr. Fitzpatrick submitted his report which is under the consideration of Government.

A number of businessmen in Hyderabad, who feel the need for a well-organised State Bank in the city, have prepared a memorandum which will be presented to the President of the Executive Council.

PUBLIC WORKS REORGANISATION

H. E. H. the Nizam has in a *firman* issued last month extended the term of office of the Hon. Raja Rajayen Shamraj Rajwant Bahadur as Member for Public Works in the Executive Council by two years. During his membership, the Raja Sahab has reorganised the Public Works Department by decentralising the administration.

A scheme for a further reorganisation of the Government is now pending before the Government and the Raja's extension is an indication that Government are likely to proceed with the scheme.

NEW RESIDENT FOR HYDERABAD

Mr. C. H. Gidney of the Indian Political Service at present on leave has been selected for appointment as Resident at Hyderabad *vice* Sir Duncan Mackenzie granted leave from October next.

Mysore

A GREAT RULER

Unveiling the portrait of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore at the Municipal Choultry in Salem, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, said:

His Highness is well known and acknowledged as a most progressive and successful ruler. Many and great have been the improvements introduced into the State since His Highness ascended the Mysore Throne, 36 years ago. Chief among the visible improvements may be mentioned the beautification of the Cities of Mysore and Bangalore by measures of city planning and fine buildings, broad streets, picturesque avenues, and attractive parks, all of which are brilliantly lit at night. Another great development is the rapid establishment of manufacturing industries which are so necessary for the economic prosperity of the State. In these two respects particularly, the present Dewan of Mysore has given His Highness great assistance by his driving power and personal supervision and control. It was in His Highness's reign that the Cauvery river was dammed and a huge reservoir formed for purposes of irrigation and for establishing and increasing the electric lighting and power supplied to the great mining industry at the Kolar Gold Fields as well as to a considerable number of towns and villages in many parts of the State. Foundation has been laid for a grid system of electric power supply, which will eventually carry power over the entire State even to the remotest village for industries, lighting and pumping for irrigation. The new canal along the left bank of the Cauvery known as the Irwin Canal will, when extended to its full capacity, serve a very large tract of the country with irrigation facilities. It has already enabled Government to start the second largest sugar industry in India. The Krishnarajasagara Reservoir and Canal promise to give birth to many other similar agricultural and manufacturing industries.

Mysore University is doing invaluable work in higher education for the people, both of the State and of South India. The development of rural areas has not escaped the reforming hand of His Highness's Government.

These, you will agree, gentlemen, are great achievements. In many respects His Highness the Maharaja has been a model ruler. He holds lofty ideals of public duty and maintains a high standard of discipline in his entourage. His Highness is a fine sportsman and in social intercourse shows great geniality and charm. In the practice of private virtues, His Highness is without question an ideal ruler.

Baroda

WIRELESS IN BARODA

The rapidly increasing popularity of wireless broadcasting in Baroda is evident from the fact that 419 licenses for radio receiving sets were granted during 1936-37 as against 217 during the previous year. Of the new licenses 206 were for Baroda City and 213 for district towns. The fees realised totalled Rs. 4,500 as against Rs. 2,462 during the previous year. Broadcasting will be still more popular when an up-to-date broadcasting station is constructed for the State itself, for which a sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs has been sanctioned by His Highness's Government.

THE BANK OF BARODA

The net profit of the Bank of Baroda Ltd. for the half year ended 30th June 1938, subject to audit, including the sum of Rs. 68,505-9-2 brought forward amounts to Rs. 3,00,553-4-10. The Directors have resolved to declare an ad interim dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum free of income tax on the paid up capital which will absorb Rs. 1,50,000 and to carry forward the balance of Rs. 1,50,553-4-10 to the next account.

Jhalawar

UNTOUCHABILITY IN JHALAWAR

The ruler of Jhalawar is among those rulers who are out to eradicate untouchability. On the last Janmashtami day, His Highness took untouchables with him for Darshan in the State temples and declared that those temples were open to all Hindus. His Highness also expressed on another occasion his determination not to visit or to have any religious functions of his performed in temples from which a section of the Hindu society was kept out.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE FINANCES

Speaking at the conclusion of the general discussion of the budget, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, the Dewan, emphasised that the policy of the Government was not to hoard money for mere hoarding but to invest their funds in good interest-bearing reserves and reproductive schemes.

The experience of Mysore electric schemes and the Pykara hydro-electric scheme had shown it was wise policy to invest on such reproductive schemes of development. He was confident Travancore's experience of the Pallivasal hydro-electric scheme would be even more satisfactory and from the first year of its operation, they hoped to make a fairly good revenue from it. The Government similarly expected a good revenue from the ceramic factory, while the State transport scheme had proved itself one from which a return as high as 15 per cent. could be expected. In matters which were natural monopolies such as timber, electric power, etc., the policy of the Government was to run them as nationalised schemes.

TRAVANCORE BUDGET

Provision of Rs. 12,000 in the Travancore budget for the forthcoming Malabar year for starting prospecting work in respect of mica, graphite and limestone was agreed to by the Standing Finance Committee of the Travancore Legislature, which met on July 7.

The Committee also approved of the provision of Rs. 7,000 for a fish-curing yard at Varkala.

FINE ART AND IVORY WORKS

To promote the interests of the ivory-carving industry in Travancore, an association called the Travancore Fine Art and Ivory Works Association was inaugurated recently at the Mohini Fine Arts House, Trivandrum. Mr. T. Chidambaram Ayyar presided over the function.

Mr. N. Velu Achari was elected President of the Association, Mr. M. K. Kuttan, Secretary and Mr. N. Parameswaran, Treasurer.

Cochin**THE COCHIN BUDGET**

Opening the Budget Session of the Reformed Cochin Legislative Council, Sir R. K. Shanmugham, the Dewan, explained the principal features of the budget. The revenue for the year is estimated at Rs. 101'87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 101'47 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 3'40 lakhs. For 1113 (1937-38), a revenue of Rs. 100'58 lakhs and an expenditure of Rs. 98'77 lakhs were anticipated, but the revised estimates show a deficit of Rs. 2'71 lakhs. There was a shortage of Rs. 6'53 lakhs under Customs on account of the almost total disappearance of the import of foreign sugar into the port of Cochin. A super-tax on incomes is proposed in the budget for 1938-39. Provision is made for increased expenditure on rural development, medical relief and education, while economies have been effected in various other departments. Referring to industrial development in the State, the Dewan said: "I am not a believer in the State's subsidising any industry. While Government would be prepared to help in the initial stages with advice, grant of facilities and grant of credits at cheap rates, an industrial concern must depend mainly in all its stages on itself."

Gondal**WELLS FOR HARIJANS**

His Highness the Maharaja of Gondal has decided that the gold against which he was weighed during his Golden Jubilee Celebrations, of the value of nearly 2 lakhs should be utilised for the construction of new wells. Definite sums have been allocated to various districts and provision has been made for wells for Harijans.

Indore**INDORE: A CUSTOMS MARKET**

The Holkar Government has tightened the Customs regulations in respect of sugar. A locality in Indore town named Siyaganj is the biggest Customs free market in Central India. No duty of any kind is charged on goods imported to this market, so that the dealers develop All-India business by exporting goods on a wholesale basis to other parts of India, making Indore as the main distributing centre of Central India. About 70,000 maunds of sugar are exported from Indore to other parts of the country.

Lately, organised hands of smugglers have grown up who smuggle sugar from this market to non-free areas of Indore town. Special police are appointed to prevent this smuggling but without success.

A new arrangement has now been made by which only licensed dealers will be allowed to import sugar into Siyaganj Customs free. This sugar will be deposited in a licensed warehouse and from there it will be sold either to those who show a duty-paid pass for the quantity demanded, or it will be re-exported to other parts of the country.

Kolhapur**PANCHAYATS IN KOLHAPUR**

As a result of the representation made on behalf of the Ilakha Panchayats, the Prime Minister is understood to have stated that in the course of the next four or five years, the Panchayat will be freed from its payments to the Kolhapur Durbar. The Prime Minister has also agreed to cancel the payment by the Panchayat of Rs. 1,50,000 being the amount of the salaries of the sanadi sepoy serving in village schools.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa**INDIAN FRANCHISE.**

A Round Table Conference in South Africa on the question of franchise for Indians is one of the important proposals which the new Agent-General, Mr. Rama Rau, is taking up. Support to the proposal has also come from Senator E. H. Brooks who at a public meeting declared: "Time was now ripe, with Bantu representation in Parliament, to begin discussion with the Government for the Indian franchise."

In this connection a statement has also been made by the President of the Natal Indian Congress repudiating the rumour that the Natal Indian Congress was in favour of a non-European front. The object was not a united front of non-Europeans against Europeans, but a united front of all sections of South African nation including Europeans based on goodwill. The supporters of the movement have, however, stated that at present the trend of the Union Government legislation discriminating between Europeans and non-Europeans contained the danger of non-European sections combining to protect their common interests.

INDIAN LABOUR IN SUGAR ESTATES

A strong criticism of housing conditions of Indians on certain sugar estates in South Africa is contained in the report of the Sub-Committee of the National Executive of the South African Trade and Labour Congress, which is a purely European body. The Report says

that it has been proved that housing conditions on certain sugar estates are deplorable. The rooms occupied are shockingly overcrowded with no windows, but large holes in roofs and walls. Most of the structures are made of corrugate iron sheets, which are mostly corroded. Sanitary conditions are appalling. In one estate, no water tubes are laid and people had to obtain their water-supply from wells for cooking, cleaning, etc. The whole position is too filthy and deplorable to be described in writing.

Referring to the conditions of work, the Report says,

juveniles commence work from the ages of 12, starting with five shillings a month. Attendance at schools, which are housed in shacks, is irregular, because no compulsion is used. On the estate, out of 300 children of school-going age only 100 attended the school intermittently. The average wage of an adult is two pounds a month.

The Sub-Committee which considered the Report, says:

Acting on the Report, your Sub-Committee deplores the fact that such tragic conditions should exist in one of the Union's largest industry and recommends that the Government should be requested to appoint a Commission to enquire into the general health conditions prevailing on sugar estates. Secondly, the Wages Board should be asked to investigate the wages and working conditions of employees in sugar estates with a view to wage determination being made. Thirdly, child labour should be abolished and, lastly, sugar-cane employees should be allowed to organise themselves into trade unions.

Fiji**INDIANS IN FIJI**

The Rev. C. F. Andrews, in an interview at Bangalore, dwelt upon the Indian overseas problems. Speaking of the condition of Indian labourers in Fiji, Rev. Andrews said that

the main problem is the land-lease system now in vogue. When the Fijians became, as it were, the wards of Queen Victoria, they were made perpetual owners of the soil, not as individuals but under a collective tribal system. But when Indians were indentured to the European-owned sugar estates, one of the conditions of indenture was that at the conclusion of their term of service they would have rights in Fiji no whit inferior to those of any other race.

That was definitely a condition of their going out. When, therefore, Indians who were drafted to Fiji began to be free of their indentures, they obtained land on short leases from the Fijians, paying rent to tribal chiefs. Indenture was also abolished in 1920 and already a great number of leases are nearing expiry. The consequence is that the Indian farmer who had originally taken scrub land and has since developed it into prosperous sugar-cane land, is rightly asking why he should now lose the value of work done in the best twenty years of his life.

The solution, I think, lies in renewing the leases to those who have proved themselves to be good and reliable farmers. It is certainly inequitable that they should be dispossessed in favour of Fijians, who have never done a hand's turn to improve the land and have been content to collect their rents in good season or bad.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Refugees from Burma are coming down to Madras in batches of hundred. Most of them are in a state of destitution. Many of them, we are told, saw their kith and kin butchered in cold blood by the rowdy elements in Rangoon and escaped with what little of their belongings they could save from pillage and arson. Most of the victims are Indian Muslims. In the interior of Burma, Indians seem to have fared no better. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, voiced the feeling of millions in this country when he said:

We cherish feelings of friendship, cordiality and esteem for Burma and her culture and civilisation, with which we have so much in common. We also feel that Burma must have her freedom just as India must. But we expect our Burman friends to do justice to the Indian minority.

In this connection, the Madras Legislative Assembly has unanimously passed a resolution, sponsored by Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, recommending to the Government to represent to the Burma Government to take adequate steps to restore peace and tranquillity and safeguard the lives of Indians in Burma.

Malaya

INDIANS IN MALAYA

It is learnt that for the second year six candidates have been selected by the Malayan Committee for the two scholarships tenable in India at the Annamalai University for Indians in Malaya. The scholarships were sponsored by the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar during his visit to Malaya to inquire into labour conditions there. Two candidates will be chosen and sent here from the six selected by the Malayan Government.

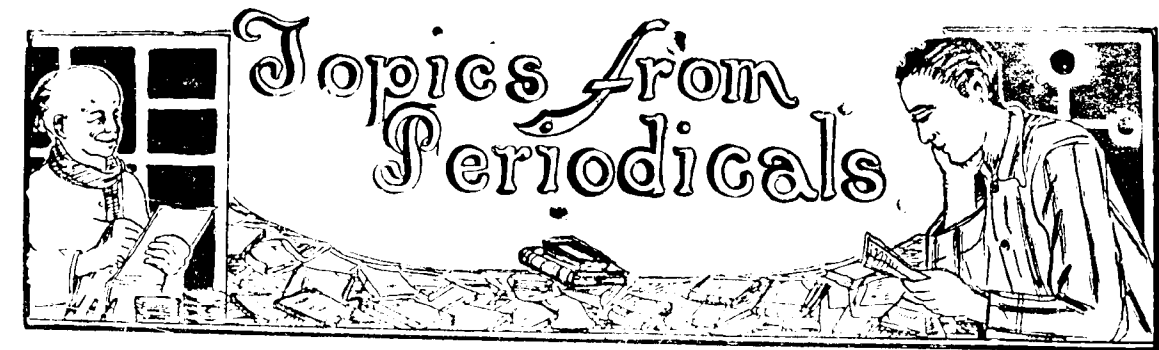
East and Central Africa

RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

"The 'South African Indian Congress,'" says Mr. C. F. Andrews in a statement issued to the Press, "has very rightly called the attention of the Indian public to the Royal Commission which is now engaged in an investigation of all problems connected with Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Among the questions which will be decided, two will vitally affect Indian interests. These are: (1) whether these three colonial areas shall be united together in future and form one dominion similar to that of South Africa; and (2) whether the Indians will be entirely excluded from them as immigrants.

At the present time there is already in existence a very severe restriction on Indian immigration. Only a very few are allowed to enter. The total number of Indians in these large areas of Africa hardly comes to over 3,500 persons in all. But while this restriction has been accepted in the past and Indians in larger numbers have never wished hitherto to enter these areas, we cannot be certain about the future. We must not on any account let our case go by default in the same way that it has already been abandoned in the colder region of South Africa. The Europeans in these colonies are very few in number as contrasted with the African population, and for Africa's sake as well as for India's sake we must protest against this vast portion of tropical and semi-tropical Africa being put under the sole dominion of the Europeans. For if it once becomes a dominion, a small number of Europeans will then have the power given to them of prohibiting immigration and also of taking away all franchise rights from any who are not Europeans.

While the Royal Commission is making its enquiries, it is vitally important that the Indian case for an open door should be put before it. This should be done by the Government of India and also by the most prominent public bodies, especially those in Bombay. The area from which Indians may be entirely excluded, if no steps are taken to the contrary, is over one million square miles.



PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRIALISATION

The *Modern Review* for August contains a striking article from the pen of Dr. Meghnath Saha. The main contention of his article is that, if a human community fails to take advantage of the newest technique for industrial production, it has no chance of maintaining its independence or individuality in the struggle with communities armed with superior technique. If we analyse the wide-spread public sentiment for better living, what do we find?

Everybody of course wants his food supply to be insured, but this is the least part of his demands. He wants to be better clothed and better housed; wants to get a better education for himself and his family more rest from work, freedom from drudgery and greater enjoyment of life. Analysing this sentiment, we find that if these needs are to be satisfied, the quantity of industrial products has to be increased ten to twenty times its present level; all these works have to be organised, and a large proportion of the village population is to be diverted from the task of food-raising to industrial work. In fact, the only way to improve the villages is by drafting more villagers into cities, and by creating a larger number of cities based on industrial work.

The above gives the argument for large scale industrialisation in a nutshell. But, asks the writer, what is exactly meant by large scale industrialisation and how to achieve it?

The technique used by the most advanced countries of the world at the present time is so complex that it is very wrong to classify it as the continuation of the primitive Iron Age culture. It constitutes entirely a new phase in culture, distinguished not only by a new system of industrial production, but also by a new philosophy of human life. This new age has been variously called the neo-technique age in contradistinction to the paleo-technique age which has passed off and the change is sometimes termed as the Third Revolution (Gordon Childe) of which the Industrial Revolution of the last century was only the precursor. But it is better to call the present one as the age of science, because human activity in the present

age springs from the conviction, that "by the application of science we can attain a much better standard of living and in general to a much better world. The idea of progress which is the driving force in the modern age was absent even a century ago, when religious pedantry in every country was painting a dismal future, e.g., a collapse of the world or some catastrophe which would engulf human society. To have a comprehensive idea of the New Age, we should look at the kind of life pursued in a country like U. S. A., England or Germany and the present system of industrial production in these countries.

Dr. Meghnath Saha personally believes that neither measures of rural uplift, nor introduction and encouragement of cottage industries, nor abolition of zamindars or money lenders will make any substantial improvement in the lot of the rural population of India.

Everybody knows that India is an agricultural country. According to the Census Report of 1931, 66 per cent. of the Indian population is engaged in agriculture, i.e., are peasants, i.e., they have to spend their life in raising food. Of the remaining 34 per cent., only 11 per cent. are city dwellers, i.e., engaged in industries and other professions. The remaining 23 per cent. are either village artisans, merchants, landlords, or belong to other professions mainly dependent on a rural economy.

Every one will admit that the distribution of the population according to professions reveals a very unhealthy state of affairs.

In conclusion, the learned writer observes that the task before India is to organise her industrial life according to the neo-technical method of production.

Unlike certain other countries, India taken as a whole (not in parts) is one of the three countries (others being Russia and the U. S. A.) which possess all the resources in power, minerals and agricultural land which can enable her to pass to the neo-technical method of industrial production. Unless this is done, India can never solve her problems of poverty and unemployment and can never be assured of a bright future. But all human actions spring from conviction, and if we continue to look back with wistful eyes to the supposed charms of older methods of living, we can never decide upon the line of action which alone can lead to the fulfilment of our national desire.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Refugees from Burma are coming down to Madras in batches of hundred. Most of them are in a state of destitution. Many of them, we are told, saw their kith and kin butchered in cold blood by the rowdy elements in Rangoon and escaped with what little of their belongings they could save from pillage and arson. Most of the victims are Indian Muslims. In the interior of Burma, Indians seem to have fared no better. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, voiced the feeling of millions in this country when he said:

We cherish feelings of friendship, cordiality and esteem for Burma and her culture and civilisation, with which we have so much in common. We also feel that Burma must have her freedom just as India must. But we expect our Burman friends to do justice to the Indian minority.

In this connection, the Madras Legislative Assembly has unanimously passed a resolution, sponsored by Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, recommending to the Government to represent to the Burma Government to take adequate steps to restore peace and tranquillity and safeguard the lives of Indians in Burma.

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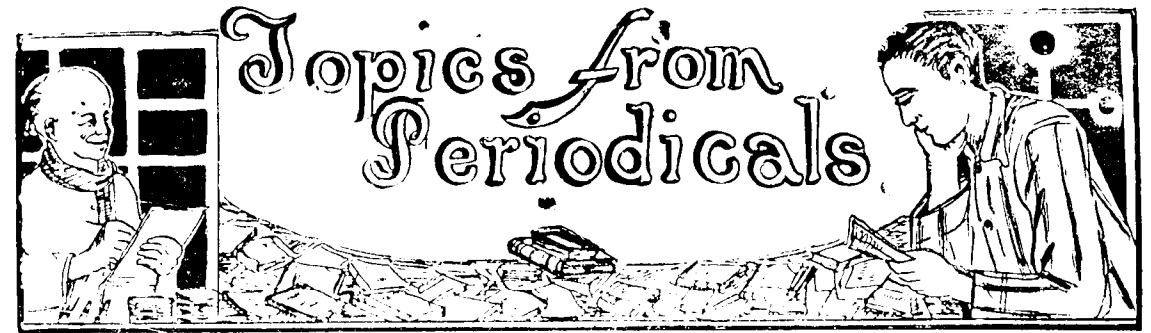
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FEDERATION

Prof. M. Rathnaswamy, writing in the *New Review* for August, says that there is no norm or type or standard of federation. Federations in the past as in the present have differed from one another in many respects. Freeman, the historian of ancient federalism, recognises only two distinct features in all federations: "Each of the members of the union must be independent in those matters which concern each member only, and all must be subject to a common power in those matters which concern them all and as a whole." That is to say

a federation is a permanent political union, the constituent members of which retain all the powers of government except those that they surrender to a common central authority for the achievement of certain common purposes. A federation is thus differentiated from an empire, a confederation, and an alliance.

Armed with this touchstone if we examine the federations known to history, what do we find?

Only the U. S. A. and the Swiss Confederation (so called, but really a federation) have had a long and respectable history. The Achaean League lasted about 150 years from 280 B.C. as an independent State. The Holy Roman Empire as a federation did not last beyond the Middle Ages. While the Swiss cantonal confederation has had a hoary history from 1291 A.D., as a federation its history is hardly a hundred years old. The United Provinces of the Netherlands lasted only about 200 years, from 1579 to 1795. The U. S. A. is happily still with us. The newer federations within the British Empire and in South America are, the oldest of them (Canada), less than a century old.

Nor is their constitutional experience much more helpful towards the formulation of a type or norm of federation. The character and relationships of the institutions of government have varied from federation to federation. And these same federations have had unicameral legislatures while most modern federations have bicameral legislatures.

In Switzerland and the late lamented federal State of Austria, the popular referendum played

a larger part than in the federal systems of Canada, or Australia, or even the U. S. A. The Senate, or Upper Chamber, of federations is composed in different ways: in some, like the U. S. A., the representation of the Constituent States is equal; in others, like Canada, it is according to population.

In some federations, like the U. S. A., Brazil, Argentina, the executive power is granted to a single person; in Switzerland it is collegial; in Canada and Australia it is ministerial and responsible to the legislature.

The allocation of subjects of administration between the federal State and the constituent or provincial governments exhibits a bewildering variety—apart from the distinction between the irreducible minimum of federal subjects which is common to all.

Thus there are as many federations as there are federations.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE

"To all those who care to speculate on the future of Anglo-French *entente*, the fact must be hammered home that France and Britain cannot drift apart under any circumstances. Their security is one and indivisible," says Mr. Sachi Sil in the July number of the *Hindustan Review*. The writer adds:

What I want to impress on everybody including the Fascist dictators is that to count upon Anglo-French breach is to miss the truth about Anglo-French relations.

Some great figures in British public life issued a statement recently in which they demanded *inter alia*: "The British Government should give the French Government an assurance of their support if the French are called to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia against any act of unprovoked aggression."

Mr. Sil supports this view and quoting from the "Living Age" avers that Anglo-French breach is impossible.

Britain's security is so intimately bound up with that of France that she must support her old ally in any emergency, even if the latter should go to war to aid Czechoslovakia or Russia.

It is no use staging historic talks to cement there in full glory. Britain can be reduced to the position of being in the tow of France, if only France would like it. And of course the situation will be much the better for all that.

FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION

In the course of an interesting article on higher education in India in the annual issue of *Triveni*, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri asks why there is so much disappointment in the country with higher education and its results and how much of it is due merely to sentiment or misunderstanding?

There are defects in the present position of higher education, and some of them are serious. A tacit rule of politeness, or whatever it is, seems to forbid their being mentioned aloud or discussed seriously. Many students are admitted to University courses who are or have been obviously unable to profit by them. This is due partly to the needs of colleges depending on fee income and partly to the competition among the increasing number of Universities lowering the standards of admission and examinations of all grades. The newer Universities are mere replicas of the older ones and have so far done little to vary or enrich the methods and opportunities of higher study open to their alumni. Sometimes even objects statutorily declared have been laid aside; for instance, the Andhra University Act expressly provided for the promotion of the study of Telugu and its use as medium of instruction and examination, and this provision has remained a dead letter for a dozen years now.

Proceeding, the writer says that it is a wrong surmise that higher education is the cause of unemployment as if it is only the educated that are unemployed in India. There will be avenues of useful employment for their talents only if we organise the existing resources better. It is no good blaming higher education for sins not its own.

On the financing of higher education, the Professor says:

Time was when all education in the country depended on voluntary endowments and these endowments were kept up in a continuous flow in days when the people had faith in the merits of Vidya-dana. Even now schools of the old type are seen flourishing here and there entirely on such donations. And it cannot be said that on such donations. And it cannot be said that private charity has altogether ignored the claims of modern education, for we can cite several examples of notable munificence. But if higher education and culture is an essential mark of

civilised existence and the condition of progress in the arts and amenities of life, it should be the duty of the State to continue to finance it, as it has been doing so far. It is indeed a surprising paradox that the place of higher education in national life should be called in question at a time when the country is striving to build up an independent and self-contained national life. Higher education might have been a luxury during the time when we were content to let everything be done for us, doing nothing ourselves but being the passive recipients of the benefits of modern civilisation. There is Java where still the people exist for their rulers and there are no institutions or problems of higher education. India and Java had a common history till about the fifteenth century A.D.; and to-day India differs from Java in her preservation of ancient culture and in her readiness to conquer new worlds of thought and action. This is in no small measure due to the higher cultural contacts that India has been able, in the midst of many difficulties and discouragements, to maintain and develop in the hundred odd years of British rule. Should India, in her march towards the goal of political independence, let down her ideals of higher education below what they have been so far? For, let there be no mistake about it, any sudden withdrawal of the State from the sphere of higher education would spell instantaneous ruin to the University system of the country. And when it disappears, it may not be the only victim of the change.

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C. H. DIVANJEE,

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Nov. '38.

MUST IT BE WAR WITH JAPAN?

The European political situation prevents effective intervention in Far-Eastern affairs by the European Powers and will certainly cause an effective undermining of European rights in China. The U. S. A., according to a writer in the *Political Science Quarterly*, being the only country in a position to put effective pressure on Japan, is faced with a momentous decision whether its policy should be oriented towards an eventual war with Japan or towards a gradual retreat from the basic tenets of her past policy. The U. S. A. has accepted the position of spearhead in the resistance to Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria and North China. In 1932, Secretary Stimson declared that the U. S. A. could not recognise the legality of any situation violating the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty of 1921. But the international system envisaged by the treaties is now defunct; and the U. S. A. cannot set itself up as the enforcing agency for multi-lateral treaties which contain no penal clauses. The primary right for which the U. S. A. has always contended in China is equal access to Chinese markets; and the material stake is an economic one; while the concomitant elements of prestige are of uncertain valuation. No conceivable damage which Japan could do to the Far-Eastern commerce of the U. S. A. in the calculable future could equal the economic cost of a war with Japan. The reward of a war will be only a minor share in the exploitation of a slowly expanding market, made very uncertain by wide civil disorders in China. The economic aspect of the conflict is much confused with other elements and especially with the element of prestige. There is always

the question whether the fruits of prestige are worth fighting for. For the U. S. A. the answer is in the negative in rather strictly economic terms. For Great Britain the problem is more complex—her economic stake being much larger and the loss of prestige in any point having an unsettling political effect in all her Asiatic Provinces. Now no Western nation but the United States can fight in the Far East. The various forms of anti-Japanism in the U. S. A. are not strong enough to produce a pronounced drift towards war, though diplomatic pressure might be exercised and Chinese efforts might be assisted as against Japan.

GANDHIJI ON HIGHER EDUCATION

"University training becomes self-supporting when it is utilised by the State. It is criminal to pay for a training which benefits neither the nation nor the individual. In my opinion, there is no such thing as individual benefit which cannot be proved to be also national benefit," writes Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan*, clarifying his view on the subject in response to numerous criticisms. He adds:

I have not pictured a poverty-stricken India containing ignorant millions. I have pictured to myself an India continually progressing along the lines best suited to her genius. I do not, however, picture it as a third class or even a first class copy of the dying civilisation of the West.

If my dream is fulfilled, and every one of the 700,000 villages becomes a well-living republic in which there are no illiterates, in which no one is idle for want of work, in which every one is usefully occupied and has nourishing food, well-ventilated dwellings, and sufficient khadi for covering the body, and in which all the villagers know and observe the laws of hygiene and sanitation, such a State must have varied and increasing needs, which it must supply unless it would stagnate.

I can, therefore, well imagine the State financing all the education and much more that I could add. And if the State has such requirements, surely it will have corresponding liabilities.

What, however, according to my view, the State will not have, is an army of B.A.'s and M.A.'s with their brains sapped with too much cramming and minds almost paralysed by the impossible attempt to speak and write English like Englishmen. The majority of these have no work, no employment, and when they have the latter, it is usually clerkships at which most of the knowledge gained during their twelve years of high school and college life is of no use whatsoever to them.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi says that since most of his critics are agreed that the existing higher education is not connected with realities, it cannot be of benefit to the State. When it is directly based on realities and is wholly given through the mother tongue, I shall, perhaps, have nothing to say against it.

To be based on realities is to be based on National, that is, State, requirements, and the State will pay for it. Even when that happy time comes, we shall find that many institutions will be conducted by voluntary contributions. They may or may not benefit the State. Much of what passes for education to-day in India belongs to that category and would, therefore, not be paid for from the general revenue if I had my way.

But the argument of his critics on the two main points, the medium and the realities, cannot lull him to rest. The existing system has been criticised and tolerated all these many years. Now that the opportunity for reform has come, Congressmen, he says, ought to become impatient.

If the medium is changed at once, and not gradually, in an incredibly short time we shall find text-books and teachers coming into being to supply the want.

And, if we mean business, in a year's time we shall find that we need never have been a party to the tragic waste of the nation's time and energy in trying to learn the essentials of culture through a foreign medium. The condition of success is undoubtedly that provincial languages are introduced at once in Government offices and are introduced at once in Government offices and Courts, if the Provincial Governments have power or influence over the Courts. If we believe in the necessity of the reform, we can achieve it in no time.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Principal P. Seshadri, in an article to the *Indian Journal of Education*, says that it is necessary in the best interests of mankind to instil the sense of international understanding in the young people all over the world.

One of the great tenets of my own religion is that God is one, though He may be called by many different names. Our scriptures have proclaimed repeatedly that just as many roads lead to a great city, many faiths lead to the same God. As the same sun is reflected in many waters, the same God can be discovered in many religions. Like the string running through the many pearls of a necklace, the same God is in all the religions of the world. This is a lesson which must never be forgotten in the class-room.

Travelling in America, I happened to be in a Parlour Car, talking to a Negro attendant on a Sunday morning. He had just said his prayers, and was reading the Bible with a devotion which many of his betters could emulate. I was apparently so nice to him, that he asked me if I was a Christian. I told him that I was not a Christian, but a Hindu, but the boy said with a happy smile, "but you look like a Christian". I should be similarly able to say when I look at a good "Christian, you look like a Hindu", for so long as the qualities prized by mankind are there, it matters very little what religion they profess.

A common mistake which people often make is to imagine that there is some kind of necessary conflict between nationalism and internationalism.

Rightly understood, however, it is not so, as true patriotism is only a step in the direction of universal brotherhood. As Rudyard Kipling has said, God gave all men all earth to love though "he ordained for each one spot should prove beloved over all". It may be that you and I are very fond of the places and the sights of the places to which we belong, but that does not necessarily mean that we should be incapable of appreciating beauty in other parts of the world. If I am proud of the Taj Mahal at Agra, I can also be fond of the Parthenon at Athens. If I admire the Himalayas of my own land, I need not be lacking in appreciation of the grandeur of the Rockies on the American continent. If I appreciate the grace and charm of the women of my own country, I can also be an admirer of beauty even elsewhere in the world.

In fine, he points out that

it is a mistake not to love one another, because we happen to be different in colour or feature, to live on either side of a boundary which is sometimes not even a river or a mountain, but an entirely imaginary line.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

Dr. Sudhindra Bose contributes an article on the "American Constitution" to the August number of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. "The marvel of the American Constitution," he says, "is that it can change so little, yet so much." A limited republican form of Government, founded 150 years ago, has been transformed in successive peaceful stages into a great representative democracy.

In consideration of the relative rigidity of the American Constitution, its survival for a century and a half of national expansion and industrial revolution is phenomenal. Not only has it served the political needs of a rapidly changing nation, with less than a score of amendments, but it has also been copied closely in most of the South American countries. Certainly the authors of this immortal document deserve to be honoured for their good judgment and their foresight. They had the wisdom of broad horizon and of profound statesmanship.

Explaining how the same constitution has persisted for a century and half with slight changes according to the needs of the times, Dr. Sudhindra Bose says:

The framers of the Constitution created what has since come to be known as the "system of checks and balances". They distributed the power conferred on the federal government among three distinct departments: executive, legislative and judicial. They gave the executive department to the keeping of the President elected indirectly by the people every four years; the legislative to a House of Representatives elected by the people every two years; and to a Senate, the members of which were elected by State (Provincial) legislatures for six years; the judiciary to judges appointed by the President for life and removable only by the difficult process of impeachment. The President checked the legislature by the veto which was given to him over its laws; the legislature checked the President by its control over budget appropriations and by the share given to the Senate in making treaties and appointments. The courts checked both the other departments by their ability to treat as null and void any action contrary to law or the Constitution.

The result of this arrangement of checks and balances was the desired one of stability. The people under it could have their own way, but only after a lapse of time sufficiently long to affect all these numerous interlocking authorities. It undoubtedly violated the principle of popular rule. Yet, says Professor John M. Matthews of the University of Illinois, "it is clear that it was absolutely necessary at that time to have a stable central government. If it had not been established, there would probably be no United States to-day."

HINDU WOMEN AND DIVORCE

The August number of the *Bombay Law Journal* has a timely article on "Hindu women and divorce" by Mr. N. N. Pandya. It is a criticism of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill which provides that notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary, a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to claim a divorce from her husband under any one of four sets of circumstance, viz., (1) if the husband acquires impotency any time after the marriage, which is incurable, or (2) if her husband changes his religion, or (3) if her husband marries a woman whilst the first marriage is in force; or (4) if her husband has deserted her for a continuous period of three years.

Mr. Pandya says that several important grounds of divorce are omitted in the proposed Bill, *e.g.*,

- (1) The husband renouncing the world and becoming a Sanyasi or Yogi or taking Diksha, etc.
- (2) Continuous ill-treatment of the wife.
- (3) Continuous neglect of the wife (now-a-days cases do occur where a husband not liking his wife, allows her to live with him, but fails to co-habit with her).
- (4) The husband being a confirmed drunkard.
- (5) The husband being guilty of adultery.
- (6) The husband having at the time of marriage another wife living, and keeping that fact from the knowledge of the wife seeking a divorce.

These grounds should be added in the Bill, and as regards the ground of impotency, it should be limited upto to a certain age of the husband.

Mr. Pandya adds that women who have obtained divorces should be given maintenance by their husbands.

Under the circumstances, in order to afford complete relief the Bill should include a clause authorising the Court to grant to a married woman, along with divorce, a fixed amount by way of maintenance to be adequately secured and paid by the husband periodically with liberty to both the parties to apply to have the amount altered due to change in circumstances; such payment should continue till the death or remarriage of the wife.

GIFTS OF THE EAST

"The West often forgets how many heritages of the East it has accepted during many ages in the time of Marco Polo, Piano Carpini and others. The West in the past has acquired many gifts from the East. Most religions, philosophies and other most precious treasures of Spirit and Culture originated in the East in Asia," observes Prof. Nicholas Roerich in the *Inner Culture* for July.

for July.

Even in agriculture the East gave useful advice to the West. Maize is from Asia. The sugar-cane, rice, indigo, saffron, tea and a whole series of fruit trees and vegetables have their home in the East. Many pilgrims carried in their travelling bags various Eastern seeds and spread them throughout their home countries. The apricot was called the pear of Damascus. The eschalot (shallot) is from Ascalon. Artichokes, spinach, estragon are all from the Arabs. The wines of Cyprus, Ghaza, Ascalon, the raisins of Greece and Palestine are all the gifts of the East. Arabian horses, *karabaghs*, *kurashakhs*, donkeys, mules, and finally the hunting ghepard so beautifully depicted on the canvasses of Gozzoli—all these are from the vastness of Asia. Even windmills originated in Asia.

The industry of the East has since long tempted Europe. The sugar of Antiochia and Tripoli; the cotton from Beyrut, Aleppo, Akra; the silk from Tyre, Tortosa, Teveriada; the muslin cloth from Mosul; moire, taffetta, chiffon from the Arabs; the carpets from Iran; the Eastern compositions of color; leather from Cordova; the celebrated Spanish-Moorish *faience*.

In the terminology of sea-faring, bussol, admiral, arsenal, mosoon, folucca, corvette, challanda, tartana, all come from the East.

On battle-fields Eastern armies were mighty enemies. More than once the West during encounter with the East learned new military strategies, discipline, watchfulness and alertness. Powerful orders of knights were inaugurated after coming in contact with the East. Western warriors imitated excellent Eastern armor. Swords of Damask have the reputation up to now of being of highest quality.

Often the Eastern nations were pictured by prejudiced chroniclers as intolerant, cruel, and treacherous. Yet at the same time we have irrefutable historical data about their tolerance, humaneness, honour, and charity. We admire the valour and daringness of Genghis Khan and of many warriors of the East. The Saracens

were called by some historians ignorant barbarians; yet in their culture in science and art, one can see how they sometimes excelled the West. Contact with Eastern nations was one of the main impulses of the Middle Ages. It called forth in several domains a kind of awakening which was a precursor of the Renaissance.

In fine, the writer points out:

Gratitude is the quality of great ones of *Arhats*. Following the great ordainment, let us be grateful for all great gifts in all their multifariousness and significance.

ISLAM AND COW-KILLING

“No Muslim can prove by the Quranic text or by traditional Hadis that cow-slaughter and beef-eating are compulsory in Islam, nor can he show that doing away with them is sinful,” writes Mr. S. Nazir Ahmad in the latest issue of *National Wealth*. Mr. Ahmad says “that the cow is a God-sent gift to human beings”. The cow

commanded greatness in the eyes of our final prophet Mohamad who in unequivocal language directed mankind to respect cow, as she is the queen of all beasts. "In the flesh of the cow is sickness, in her milk is medicine, and her *ghee* is cure." This saying clearly means that beef is an unwholesome food. To the same effect is the information by Ali the Caliph, the son-in-law of the Prophet. Ghaus Azam who is much respected by the Sunni sect never touched beef. The Sophists never use it.

The writer quotes instances of Muslim rulers who forbade the slaughter of cows.

The earliest Muslim king who stopped cow-killing in Iraq was Abdul Malik of Syria. In India, Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shahajahan, Aurangzeb, Mohammad Shah, and Shah Alam, the sovereigns of the Moghul dynasty, checked slaughter of the cow species for the sake of sympathy with their Hindu subjects as well as for the improvement of agriculture. Later the ex-Amir Amanullah Khan of Kabul, the ruler of Hyderabad, the Nawabs of Radhanpur, Dujana, and Banganapalli checked cow-killing. From what I have written above, it is more than sufficient to say that the theological position of the cow is great in the eyes of Islam, and that the slaughter of cows is detrimental to the interest of India from economic and other points of view.

RENUNCIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

Sister Devamata, writing in the *Message of the East*, observes that renunciation lies at the root of all achievement. It concentrates our forces and charges us with moral energy. Without the co-operation of every power and faculty, says the writer, nothing great can be achieved.

The practice of renunciation is universal. It is not possible to acquire without giving up. To receive we must have empty hands. The mere act of renouncing, however, does not possess any unique merit; it is the end for which we renounce that measures its value. If the end is sordid and selfish, the renunciation will be degrading rather than uplifting and will deserve condemnation, not admiration. If, on the contrary, the end is noble and free of self-seeking, the renunciation cannot fail to elevate and prove rich in fruition. The man who renounces for worldly ends will achieve only small and fleeting results, however mighty they may seem to be. He who renounces for the sake of a lofty ideal attains permanent spiritual riches which cannot be counted.

True renunciation is always productive. It gives strength to overcome the dread enemies of all constructive effort, self-pity, self-importance, and self-love. Sister Devamata points out:

If we have not the courage to renounce we shall not have the power to achieve. We need not alter our condition or environment, we need not wear a habit, tonsure our head or cover it with a veil, but we can practise self-discipline which is the basis of all renunciation. We can curb our desires and appetites, cultivate simplicity, be more discerning in our reading and amusement, less trivial in our conversation, more steadfast in our aims. We can revive the discarded virtues, temperance, justice, tranquillity, gentleness, dignity, generosity, and fortitude. Above all, we can consecrate ourselves and to nobler living, to loftier aspiration and to the renunciation that means complete self-abandonment.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

INDIAN WRITERS OF ENGLISH PROSE. By Prof. D. C. Sharma. [Calcutta Review, July 1938.]

RAVIVARMAN KULASEKHARA. By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. [New Indian Antiquary, June 1938.]

INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY. By D. P. Khaitan. [The Modern Review, August 1938.]

THE CASE FOR KARNATAKA. By V. B. Kulkarni. [The Triveni, August 1938.]

THE HINDU VIEW OF CHRIST. By Swami Nikhilananda. [The Message of the East, Vol. XXVII, No. 2.]

TOLERANCE IN ISLAM

"The notion that Islam is intolerant has grown partly out of interested motive, partly out of ignorance. The word Islam means Peace, and the Koran abounds with passages breathing a beautiful spirit of peace, goodwill and love," says Principal T. L. Vaswani, writing in July-August number of the *Punjab Review*. He says:

Islamic civilisation has subordinated money to the immaterial values of life. It has not, like modern Europe, worshipped mammon as its God; it has not shared Europe's commercial faith; it has not, like several Christian nations, clamoured for coal and oil and the economic exploitation of Eastern countries. "The love of the world," said the Prophet, "is the root of all evil." What a sad commentary are these words on the civilisation of modern Europe! Capitalism, imperialism, commercialism, grabbing, exploitation—the root of it all is 'love of the world'. Modern Europe has yet to place love of man above love of the world, and there can be no democracy without love of man as man. This democracy is the very essence of the message of Islam Alla-ho-Akbar! God alone is great! What a faith, what an inspiration has this ringing cry! How often did not Mohamed declare that he, too, was a man, a man like others, a mortal, a servant of Allah the Merciful? All are equal in the sight of Allah; all need His mercy; such is the Muslim's conviction; and Islamic architecture and poetry and philosophy and civilisation express this truth in a variety of ways. This faith makes Islam a Brotherhood, a Fellowship of many races and tribes.

Principal Vaswani quotes from the Muslim scriptures and says that a non-Muslim "who loves Muslims and respects their faith must be counted as a Muslim by all true believers everywhere. He is on the way with us, bound on the same journey; and to hold aloof from him or flout him would be a sin".

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF MOHAMED. Life by Ahmed Shafi. Teachings by Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan. Price As. 12. To Subs. of "I.R." As. 10. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

LORD LOTHIAN ON FEDERATION

Interviewed on the subject of Federation, Lord Lothian said to a Press correspondent at Karachi:

I am well aware both of the defects of the present constitution which, like all constitutions, is a compromise between differing opinions and interests, and of the natural desire of India to develop institutions which express her own genius and suit her own needs.

But I have seen no reason to change my opinion that the right time to amend it is after the Indian Federal leaders have had some actual responsibility for All-India Government, when they can formulate their proposals from the standpoint of experience and not from theory alone.

What would be the prospect of freedom of economic progress of India if it were to lose its unity, or of China if it were to be broken up into separate fragments by Japan? The issue which, above all others, concerns peace and progress in India, is that in a difficult transition to full self-Government, it should not lose its organic unity under a single Government.

I believe that the present constitution can be steadily amended and developed to meet the consensus of Indian opinion as to what are its cultural and constitutional needs. But the evils which, some fear, will follow from taking the existing Government of India Act as the basis for evolutionary changes, are as nothing to those which would follow a break-down of Indian unity itself.

That is why I am still convinced that it is in the interests of India to bring the Federal part of the constitution, despite its defects, into operation, and then set to work to revise it in the light of experience rather than imperil the unity of India by reopening the whole constitutional issue—especially as, so far, there seems to be no general agreement as to the alternative—before any advance beyond provincial autonomy is made.

BABU RAJENDRA'S WARNING

Babu Rajendra Prasad, in a letter addressed to the Members of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee, says.

So many of us have sacrificed our all, suffered so much and cheerfully submitted to so many privations, but our internal differences, on account of which we are losing sight of truth and non-violence, are taking away the ground from under our feet. We cannot have Swaraj by these means. Even if we win it, it would not be any good.

THE MAHATMA ON PICKETING

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in *Harijan*, condemns the following as clear instances of violence and indiscipline:—

Preventing workers from going to their work by standing in front of them;

Congressmen taking possession of the offices of a Congress Committee recognised by the Provincial Congress Committee;

Breaking up meetings by shouting and otherwise creating disturbances; and

Reviling capitalists as a class and inciting people to loot them.

There can be no doubt that the British system favours capitalism. The Congress, which aims at securing full justice for the furnishing millions, cannot favour capitalism. But the Congress, so long as it retains non-violence as its basic policy, cannot resort to usurpation, much less allow any class of persons to be insulted or humiliated in any way whatsoever or allow any Congressman or body of Congressmen to take the law into their own hands.

Let it not be said of the great organisation that it used truth and non-violence as a cloak to cover untruth and violence.

THE ARMY BILL

After heated debate, the Central Legislative Assembly adopted the Defence Secretary's motion that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which penalises speeches and propaganda against recruitment to the Army, be taken into consideration, by 65 votes to 55. Attacking the Government on the Bill, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, charged them with depriving the citizen of the elementary right of persuasion. Mr. Jinnah and his party voted for the Government and the result was a foregone conclusion.

At the third reading, Mr. Satyamurthi pointed out that several important Muslim bodies supported the Congress Party's attitude to the Bill. He also said: "I find the leader of the Muslim League Party has given all his arguments in my favour and all his votes in favour of Government." The Bill, as amended, was passed by 68 to 55 votes.

SIR MANMATHA NATH ON INDIA'S MESSAGE

The Hon. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Law Member to the Government of India, in the course of an illuminating address



SIR MANMATHA NATH MUKHERJEE

on 'India's Contribution to World Culture' delivered last month at Simla, observed:

India will once again give the world a new message which will serve as a guiding light amidst the darkness that is at the present moment pervading the world—a darkness which is leading the world to a dismal abyss to which the world is drifting, blindly following egotistic and arrogant policies and depending on the quick-sands of brute force and forgetting the elementary lessons of humanity and culture.

Referring to the triumphant career which new India has embarked upon in the sphere of national and international culture, Sir Manmatha Nath asserted:

Under the impact of the powerful culture and civilisation of the West, moribund India has risen, risen once again to contribute her mite to the mighty river of world culture. Thanks to her immortal spirit, to her creative soul, India has just begun a new age of renaissance and entered upon a new epoch in her history—an epoch which is destined to inaugurate a new chapter in her cultural life. This new epoch has had its beginning in Ram Mohan Roy, the first prophet and pioneer and the first universal man of modern India. The age thus begun produced in time Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda. Reinforced in strength by the teachings of these great men, India has again risen to her glorious position as the exponent of the doctrine of universal love and brotherhood of man, of which Mahatma Gandhi is holding the torch at the present moment. Upon spheres which were regarded as

the monopoly of the West, India has boldly encroached and encroached with remarkable success. The brilliant galaxy of philosophers, poets, litterateurs, scientists, mathematicians, jurists, politicians, research workers and orators has brought a new life to Indian culture and has heralded a new era with a new outlook.

Proceeding, Sir Manmatha said:

In spite of her political subjection for the last few centuries and her abject helplessness and awful devastation in times of invasion from outside, India's contribution to world's culture has been unique, unprecedented and without comparison. For more than three thousand years her contribution has unceasingly flown to enrich other nations of the world. For the last few hundred years, it is true there has been a lull; but it is expected that India's culture will one day improve and revolutionize the culture of the dominating nations and help to bring it on a higher, nobler and more rational and humane basis, so that the untold miseries, the meaningless sufferings, the monstrous iniquities that the world is groaning under might be a thing of the past. The vantage-ground of political sway and sovereignty of a people gives its culture an immense artificial advantage over the culture of the subject nations. And the subject nation is often more or less demoralised to the extent of feeling a readiness to adopt the culture of the nations that dominate over it and to adapt itself to that culture. So far, however, as India is concerned, she has all along clung to her old moorings and has not allowed herself to be absorbed entirely into the nations that have from time to time ruled over her. Forces have almost unceasingly been at work to deny, belittle or ignore her cultural attainments in order that she may forget her own culture, but to her credit it must be said that she has resisted those forces with remarkable strength.

Touching the attempts made to deny India her cultural attainments, the Speaker said:

One is tempted to ask,—is there anywhere in the world's recorded literature such a sublime, such an illuminating portraiture of the Soul, of its deathless character and its transcendent qualities as we find in the second canto of the Bhagavad Gita? It is one of the inevitable tragedies of the domination of the West over the East that the popular histories and standard literatures brought out by enterprising publishers contain very little of the glorious contribution of India to world culture. But things are changing fast and better minds of all countries are now appreciating India. The Anglicization of the East has stopped and the process of Indianization of the West has begun. The former process was obvious and apparent, the latter is subtle, silent. It has been said that the West took up a self-imposed mission not only to conquer and dominate India, but also to civilise India. She has succeeded in awakening and uniting India. But as for civilising India, India is awakening to its own civilisation. There is already abundant evidence of that permeation of Western thought by Indian philosophy which Schopenhauer so clearly foresaw.

MADRAS PREMIER'S DEFENCE

"Both the Houses of the Madras Legislature, after full consideration, decided in favour of introducing Hindustani, and if we shirk our duty to translate that verdict, we do not deserve our place in the Government," declared the Hon. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari, the Madras Premier, addressing a gathering at Tilak Ghat, Madras, organised in support of the Madras Government's decision to introduce Hindi in Secondary Schools.

The Premier said that the agitation would have stopped 15 days ago had not some people begun discussing the feasibility or otherwise of using the Criminal Law Amendment Act to put down this anti-Hindi agitation.

Having accepted provincial autonomy and governance of the province with all its limitations, the Premier affirmed that they had every liberty to make use of all the weapons in their power. The anti-Hindi agitation was the work of an interested party who wanted to make political capital out of it. It was not an objection to Hindi, nor was it in support of Tamil. It was an effort to overthrow the Congress, and the *satyagraha* that was practised by the anti-Hindi agitators was a mock or an imitation *satyagraha* which would never bear fruit because there was neither life nor truth in it.

Sjt. Rajagopalachari, justifying the use of certain Sections of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, said that

his Government was second to none in their condemnation of the Act, but in the absence of a ready-made alternative *swadeshi* Act to check unlawful activities of a handful of disgruntled agitators, the Government, if it was to rule and function properly, were bound to use such Sections of the Act, which they would ordinarily use even when the present Criminal Law Amendment Act ceased to exist.

The Premier pointed out how Government had given early latitude to the anti-Hindi agitators to carry on their agitation in a peaceful and lawful manner and how Government had not used the "highly objectionable" Sections of the Act for detention of persons without bringing

them to trial. The Government had stepped in only when an offence had been committed and had brought the offenders before a court of law and sought their conviction after a proper trial.

Subsequently on the 17th August when Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, M.L.A., asked for leave for the introduction of the Bill to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Premier observed:

We propose to repeal all laws that have been passed without the sanction of the people and substitute them by such laws as the people would have in order that the government could be carried on their behalf. Till then it is not open to a member, who is not concerned with our continuance or existence as Government, to ask us to throw away the laws that are there and look about for the means of carrying on the Government somehow. We cannot be a party to committing suicide.

The motion was lost.

SPEAKER'S FUNCTION

In an article entitled "Twisting or Interpreting"? Mahatma Gandhi writes in the *Harizon*:

A Speaker who knowingly gives an interpretation contrary to the plain meaning of a text, renders himself unfit for the high office and discredits the Congress cause. He must, at all cost, preserve the Congress credit for honesty and integrity. What, however, I have meant is that where a Section is manifestly capable of two meanings or more, he is bound to give that which favours the national cause. And when a Section bears only one meaning which is manifestly restrictive of the people's liberty, he must unhesitatingly give the meaning. I have no doubt that such impartiality on the part of a Speaker will enhance his reputation and to that extent increase the moral prestige of the Congress. Having discarded violence, the strength of the Congress depends wholly upon the moral fibre and fearlessness of individual Congressmen.

CHRISTIANS AND PROHIBITION

A resolution welcoming the introduction of prohibition by the Madras Government and appreciating its attempt to eradicate the drink evil in the Madras Province and appealing to all Indian Christians to help in making the effort a success was passed at a meeting of the Madras Representative Christian Council, which concluded its three-day session at Madura on August 14.

MR. SYAM PRASAD MOOKERJEE

Mr. Syam Prasad Mookerjee, whose term of office as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University expired last month, was the



MR. SYAM PRASAD MOOKERJEE

recipient of handsome tributes at a meeting of the University Senate. Every one of the speakers bore testimony to his remarkable capacity and tireless devotion to University work. Sir Nkratan Sircar spoke of his achievements in the departments of science and arts, education of women and the general welfare of schools. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan referred to the change in the spirit of administration of the University for which the Vice-Chancellor was responsible. While Mr. Justice Biswas said that the record Mr. Mookerjee was leaving behind would remain one of the greatest and most cherished possessions of the University. Indeed, one could say that in his four years' work for the University "every department of the University has felt his inspiration and driving power"; and Mr. Syam Prasad has upheld the great tradition bequeathed by his illustrious father Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

Addressing the students of the College of Engineering, Madras, Mr. G. A. Natesan observed that of late students appeared to be influenced by a spirit of indiscipline and defiance of authority. He admitted that the spirit originated during the partition of Bengal and spread to other provinces. The root-cause was that the student while at College forgot that he was a student. He tried to usurp the functions of a citizen and was anxious to meddle with active politics.

The students of the Engineering College, he went on to add, had a special mission in the future. Reconstruction of homes, hospitals, schools, roads and sanitation and the basic industries would have to be undertaken. In this Engineering students had a special task. He added: "With Mahatma Gandhi as the guiding spirit, with the Ministers in Congress Provinces on a pittance of Rs. 500 a month and with efforts to reduce expenditure being made everywhere, it looks as if work itself will be its own reward."

ON LEARNING HINDI

With reference to the Hindi-Tamil controversy in Madras, the following observations of the entertaining paragraphist who writes "Over a cup of Tea" in the *Indian Express*, Madras, may be read with interest: Is it wasteful to know or study Hindi, he asks.

A fair smattering of Hindi is not beyond the capacity of the young, and a language is best picked up when the pupil is young. Reduce it to a basic vocabulary of 1,500 working words, learn enough by the process of simplified grammar; for every young man who knows some Hindi is going to be at an advantage in the struggle for life in India, and we are in Madras well on the edge with overcrowding. Catch them young, teach them quick, and wait for the thanks that are bound to be heard a few years hence; for it does not portend waste, it is an investment.

SIR M. VENKATASUBBA RAO

Eloquent tributes were paid to the services rendered by Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao, both



SIR M. VENKATASUBBA RAO

to the Bench and to the Society when his portrait was unveiled by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on August 3.

Mr. K. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Secretary of the Advocates' Association, said that it was noteworthy that Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao not only maintained an independent outlook but gave a lead in social affairs. Especially his attitude towards the strict adherence to the Sarda Act was most praiseworthy. He was also a stout defender and a good champion of the legal profession.

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, in unveiling the portrait, said that from the august chamber of the High Court where the glare of publicity could never penetrate, it

had been the unique feature of Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao's career to focus public attention and evoke admiration by his silent and unostentatious work. It was not so much to his really eminent judgments or to his work as a judge that Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao was able to command so much of popular esteem. It was because of the dedication of his life to social work that he rose to the highest position in life. His qualities far transcended those of a judge or a lawyer. His sterling character and correct vision of things marked him out as a man of distinction.

Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao's life is an example of the triumph of character. It has amply proved that even in a country so dominated by politics as India is, a man of sterling character performing silent and good work will, nevertheless, force himself on the attention of the public and force admiration and eulogy from them.

MARRIAGE LAW REFORM

The suggestion that all Provincial Governments should take up the question of enacting a comprehensive Bill for reforming Hindu marriage law was made by some members of the All-India Women's Association.

Dr. Deshmukh said that such a proposal could only be brought forward by the Government. A private member had to be satisfied with piecemeal legislation. In an interview, he observed that it was possible for the seven Congress Governments to introduce such legislation with success. He added that he had already written to Mahatma Gandhi in this connection and that he had put forward the suggestion that the Congress Working Committee should undertake to suggest the necessary legislation in the Provinces.

WEALTHY PEOPLE AND INSURANCE

It is an approved fact that life assurance is beneficial to all poor people who cannot save any money. But it has also much to offer to a rich man as well. The Insurance Correspondent of a contemporary makes the following observations:—

In the first place, the important feature for a wealthy man to consider is that in the event of his suddenly being taken from his family, his life policy would be of the greatest assistance to his family by being available to pay outstanding debts and to meet any temporary shortage of ready money, thus obviating the necessity for a hurried sale of securities perhaps on an unfavourable market. If he has no life assurance his dependants may have to sell bonds, shares or stocks, irrespective of the prices obtainable and be unable to wait until market conditions improve. No wealthy man would like the thought of his estate depreciating immediately after he is called away. A life assurance policy will enable him to avoid such an event happening. If viewed only from the point of investment, an endowment assurance should interest the wealthy man who is called upon to pay a high rate of income-tax. The effect of receiving a rebate following the payment of assurance premium coupled with the fact that the proceeds of the policy on maturity are entirely free of tax, makes an endowment assurance a most attractive proposition. The man of wealth will appreciate that, while in ordinary investment even when money is paid into a savings bank and allowed to accumulate as a means of providing for some future need, income-tax must be paid on the interest accumulations. No income-tax whatever is paid by the life policyholder on the accumulation of interest under his policy or on any portion of the sum assured at maturity.

INSTITUTE FOR INSURANCE AGENTS

The proposed Institute for insurance agents and salesmen is to be opened shortly at Allahabad. The promoters believe that with the increase of business firms and mills in various parts of India, and so many insurance companies coming into existence, there is a great demand of good insurance agents and salesmen. The organisers of the Institute are trying to have the same recognised by the Government.

CHOOSING AN INSURANCE CO.

With life insurance, says the *Statesman*, the following points, which were recently emphasized in a report submitted by an outstanding life insurance executive, are of the utmost importance and should receive very careful consideration, *viz.*, (a) the stability of the company; (b) the premium and bonus rates; and (c) the policy conditions generally. When insurance cover other than life is required, a person cannot do better than to accept the following good advice: "A business man should satisfy himself as to the character of the management and the quality of the assets (including a consideration of their convertibility into cash quickly and without undue sacrifice) of each company whose policy is submitted: he should make sure that it is transacting a volume of business neither too large nor too small in proportion to its net resources, *i.e.*, first its surplus and, second, its paid-in-capital, and he should make sure that its loss and expense ratios are normal: for a prosperous company is likely to be more just in its settlements than one which maintains only a struggling hold upon existence."

LIFE INSURANCE PER HEAD

The following statement of *per capita* life insurance effected in several countries may be read with interest:—

NAME OF COUNTRY	LIFE INSURANCE PER HEAD
	Rs.
America	2,000
Canada	1,300
New Zealand	900
Great Britain	600
Austria	600
Norway	450
Sweden	420
Netherlands	390
Denmark	330
India	1½

INDO-BRITISH TRADE TALKS

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, the Commerce Member, laid on the table of the House a statement detailing the expenditure incurred in connection with the Indo-British trade negotiations including the salaries of officials placed on special duty for these negotiations which totalled Rs. 2,57,187. Of this an amount of Rs. 2,08,491 has been spent in England and Rs. 48,693 in India.

The talks of the unofficial advisers for the Indo-British trade negotiations who assembled at Simla have again broken down. According to the Simla correspondent of *Indian Finance*, there appears to be little prospect of bridging the gap between Lancashire's demands and the offer made in June last by the Indian representatives headed by Sir Purushottamdas. He goes on to say: "I do not think that even Lancashire has finally accepted the compromise proposals made by Sir M. Zafrulla; for, it appears that the Government of India is still awaiting a definite reply from the Board of Trade. The meeting of the unofficial advisers was evidently called by the Commerce Member to canvass their support for what he has been able to do. According to Simla reports, only Sir Edward Benthall and Sardar Datar Singh are in favour of an agreement on the lines suggested by the Commerce Member. At one time it was feared that the Raja of Parlakimedi and Nawab Liakat Ali, the two other Indian members, may not see eye to eye with Sir Purushottamdas and others, but I have heard that they are more inclined to side the latter. If the talks of the unofficial advisers continue on the present lines, there is no likelihood of an unanimous report from them."

WORLD FIGHT FOR INDIAN MARKETS

Leading export countries of the world are fighting for India's markets, according to a survey of the import trade of India for the year ending March 1937.

The survey shows that America and Germany are gaining on the United Kingdom with increased car and motor-cycle sales in India, but Britain is holding her own and meeting foreign competition with a prosperous cycle trade.

During the year under review, the total value of imports for India increased by Rs. 48 crores to Rs. 173'15 crores, while the total exports were reduced by Rs. 13'16 lakhs to Rs. 198'20 crores. The combined exports and re-exports decreased by Rs. 13'16 crores.

The Trade Commissioner states that the reduction in India's export trade was mainly accounted for by a fall of Rs. 15'10 crores (₹11,550,000) in the shipment of raw cotton due to reduced takings by Japan on account of the Far-Eastern crisis, and of other foreign countries on account of unfavourable price parity with American growths. It is explained that the separation of Burma had material effects.

The heavy advance in imports was partly due to short-lived activity early in the year through fear of increased prices and of war in Europe coupled with a rise in the prices of imports. The activity in the import trade in the first six months resulted in the market becoming heavily stocked in most manufactured goods with the result that there has recently been a marked decline attributable partly to lack of orders and partly to fall in prices. The movement is expected to continue during the current year and the outlook in the import trade is gloomy.

WOMAN'S ROLE IN FUTURE

Mr. K. M. Munshi, Bombay Home Minister, in the course of his Convocation address to the Women graduates of the Indian Women's University, Poona, said:

"A free India is a matter of a generation or two. It will be yours then to play the part of free women in a free country, inspiring and guiding the rising generation, aiding and strengthening the efforts of men, hand in hand with men in creating the glorious India of the future. You will be the pioneers of a new movement and a new age. Indian womanhood is fast growing its old conditions; illiteracy is going; the inequalities of social and domestic life are fast disappearing. It has acquired in all the fields of life a place of dignity and equality. Some careers are open and many more will be open to you in the future. And if you carry the message of your University to whatever sphere of life in which your lot may be cast, you will become centres of culture and inspiration. Modern womanhood craves freedom, economic independence and individual careers, and, I think, rightly. But in the gladness of new found strength, it may lay stress upon self-restraint on which alone successful marriage and domestic life and lifelong comradeship with man is based. I am now disposed to believe in the equality of women with men, but I know the fundamentals of life too well not to forget that careers are but empty shells without that harmony of life which arises from a surrender of selfish instincts of man and woman to each other."

LADY VENKATASUBBA RAO

The Madras City Council has elected Lady Venkatasubba Rao as Alderwoman in the place of Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi resigned.

MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, on medical advice has left for Europe for treatment. She is expected back in a couple of months. She has decided to draw no salary for the period of her absence. During her absence, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Revenue and Jails, will be in additional charge of the Local Self-Government and Municipal Departments, and Hafiz Mahomed Ibrahim, Minister for Communications, will be in charge of the Medical and Public Health Departments.

C. R. ON INDIAN WOMEN

Addressing the women of Cuddalore, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Prime Minister of Madras, said it was not true that Indian women were backward. He reiterated his view expressed to a women's deputation at Guntur that women in this country were better placed than their sisters in the West. It might be, he said, that most of them might not have had a scholastic education, but on that score they could not say their status and position in society was bad. They had a great tradition of honour and heroism behind them.

EDUCATION OF INDIAN GIRLS

"If I could, I would close the schools for boys and admit girls therein," declared Mr. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister of Bombay, addressing the members of the Jyoti Sangha Institution for training women at Ahmedabad last month. He added that unless women became powerful, men would not become powerful. Rajputs were brave because Rajput women were braver.

THE MYSORE PANDITS' CONFERENCE

Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari, first Member of the Mysore Executive Council, opened the Mysore Pandits' Conference at Mysore



DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI

last month. Dr. R. Shama Sastri presided. In a message to the Conference, Sir Mirza Ismail said:

"It promises well for the future of the learned body of Pandits in our State that they have come to realise the utility of annual conferences of this kind."

KIPLING SCHOLARSHIP

A Press Note issued by the Government of India states that the scholarship for 1938, offered by the Council of the Rudyard Kipling Memorial Fund for a boy from India and Burma for study at the Imperial Service College, Windsor, has been awarded to Krishna Kumar Khanna, son of Dr. K. C. Khanna, Inspector of Schools, Multan, Punjab.

KALI KRISHNA SEN

We regret to record the death in Calcutta of Kali Krishna Sen, Editor of *Advance*. He was one of the seniormost of Bengal journalists and he was a powerful writer. He began his career of journalism under Surendranath Banerjea and in the *Bengalee* and did a great service at the time of the anti-partition agitation and Swadeshi upheaval.

RAJA P. N. TAGORE

Sorrow is felt all over Bengal at the passing of Raja P. N. Tagore. In a quiet way this scion of an illustrious family, says a contemporary, filled a conspicuous place, not only in bodies representing landlords' interests but also in Bengal's public life. Under his guidance the British Indian Association of Calcutta often took the lead in organizing opinion.

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSE

On the occasion of the 66th birthday of Sri Aurobindo Ghose, quite a large number of devotees and admirers paid their respects to and received blessings from Sri Aurobindo at the Ashram at Pondicherry, where his birthday was celebrated on August 15.

This year about 1,200 people had *darsan* of Sri Aurobindo, including the Ashram



SRI AUROBINDO GHOSE

inmates, local devotees and visitors from the Continent. A large number of Englishmen and Frenchmen, a few Germans, prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress and high officials from the different States of India received the silent blessings of Sri Aurobindo.

VIZAG MEDICAL COLLEGE

"The Indian Medical Council, an outside and tyrannical body, is imposing certain standards of building and equipment and, instead of helping us to fight the demand, you ask us to fulfil it *in toto*," observed Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Premier, addressing the students of the Vizag Medical College recently.

The Premier felt strongly about a placard hung on the stairs of the college stating that the Vizag Medical College question was a test of his sincerity and assured that the Government would see that the students of the Vizag College were not relegated to an inferior position for no fault of theirs. "If you are going to suffer, it is because of the general poverty of the nation," he added.

The Premier drew the students' attention to a note from the Health Minister pointing out that all the reasonable conditions imposed by the Indian Medical Council for recognising the Andhra Medical degrees had been fulfilled, and emphasised: "I am not going to be intimidated by the I. M. C. I am a fighter and you leave the fight with the Council to the Government."

CURE FOR INFLUENZA

The discovery of a serum which cures influenza and common cold within 24 hours is now announced by Professor Vladimir Barikin, head of the Moscow Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology.

The discovery follows a year of experiments and tests and is regarded as the year's most startling contribution to modern science. The serum has been exhaustively tested and every case recovered within 24 hours without an exception.

DR. KRISHNA MENON

Dr. Krishna Menon, Assistant Surgeon, King's Institute, Guindy, has been awarded a Fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation for higher studies in Bacteriology in the United States of America and in England. Dr. Krishna Menon has been attached to the serum and vaccine preparation department of the King's Institute for the past three years.

SLEEP IN COMFORT

You should try to bear in mind the fact that a great many modern doctors are of opinion that the fear of insomnia and its attendant nightly horrors is far more harmful than the insomnia itself.

If you sleep badly, the first thing to do is to make your sleeping arrangements conducive to sleep as far as possible.

The mattress of your bed should be designed scientifically to give your body the maximum amount of rest. The undersheet should be perfectly smooth and well tucked in. The weight of your pillow should be guided solely by your own ideas of what is comfortable, though a very high pillow is less restful to the body than one of medium height.

There are certain pillows filled with herbs which are said to have a soporific effect and in some instances they have certainly been of benefit.

PROHIBITION AND TEA

Commending the activities of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board to popularize tea in the prohibition areas, the *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta writes in the course of an editorial paragraph: "The habit of drinking tea has come to stay in the country and the enthusiasm with which the Tea Market Expansion Board are renewing their campaign of advertisements suggests a robust hope that the habit is going to extend. Let the future slogan of the Marketing Board in India be: 'Drink less toddy but more tea.'"

MUSIC AND HEALTH

Learn to play a musical instrument; it is good for your health. Just when you are going to worry yourself into an attack of influenza, take up your violin or your concertina and forget all else. Learn to play an instrument. You must either cultivate the garden or play the cornet. Better still, do both. What a charming dream! A band marching down a street bright with flowers. We must drive away dull care.

CEYLON'S CURRENCY SYSTEM

A correspondent to the *Statesman* says that proposals for a revision of Ceylon's currency system are receiving the attention of the Island's Government. At present the currency is linked with India—the Indian rupee is the legal tender—and it involves a sum of Rs. 14,000,000 in solid rupees being kept in store in Government vaults to back the note circulation.

As the Indian rupee itself is linked with sterling in the equivalent of 1s. 6d., it has been felt for some time that Ceylon runs the danger of being caught in a sudden decision of the Indian Government to alter the present ratio.

"There is no reason to suppose that such a change is in prospect," declared Mr. H. J. Huxham, the Financial Secretary, in a statement, "but the fact remains that if India should devalue her rupee, she would do so by reference to considerations affecting India and at a time to suit herself considerations which may not equally apply to Ceylon."

It is gathered, however, that any changes contemplated will not vary by any considerable degree the present exchange position.

It is intended that subject to a minimum demand and payment of a small commission, the right to receive Indian rupees in exchange for the Ceylon rupee should remain and should be unqualified.

PROVINCIAL LOANS FUND

One of the implications of the provincial autonomy of the 1935 India Act is the disappearance of the Provincial Loans Fund from the Central Government's balance sheet, and this is referred to in a recent notification in the *Government of India Gazette*. The Fund was closed down at the end of the financial year for 1936-37 and the balance of the Fund on 1st April last was about Rs. 50,000. During the year under report, no advance was made by the Government of India to the fund or by the fund to the Provincial Governments.

Repayments by the Provincial Governments to the fund amounted in round figures to Rs. 49'29 crores and it drew on its capital to the extent of Rs. 5 lakhs to meet the deficit in income account.

S. I. R. ACCIDENT

One of the most disastrous railway accidents in recent years in South India occurred on the night of August 20-21 at 12-25 a.m. when the engine and four carriages of No. 11 Shenkottah Passenger Train, which left Trichinopoly Junction (South Indian Railway) at 9-45 p.m., capsized down the embankment at mile 255-16, between Ayyalur and Vadamadura. Thirty-five persons including the First Fireman of the engine were killed and about 100 passengers injured.

As we go to Press, a joint Magisterial enquiry is being conducted into the disaster. A number of witnesses have so far been examined including railway officials with regard to the causes of the accident and the steps taken to give relief to the injured.

Meanwhile we extend our deep sympathy to the relations of the victims of the tragedy.

THE BIHTA INQUIRY

The Railway Board and its administration came in for repeated criticism at the hands of the Opposition and the European group, when the Central Assembly discussed Mr. A. G. Clow's resolution to take into consideration Sir John Thom's report on the Bihta railway accident.

Two amendments were moved by Mr. Santanam and Sir A. H. Ghaznavi—the former was rejected and the latter, which was accepted, recommended that action be taken by Government to give effect to Sir John Thom's recommendation that purchase and the continued purchase of XB engines should be the subject of a thorough enquiry and that full investigation be made into individual responsibility of officers for the accident.

CASTE ON RAILWAYS

"If I were to become the Minister for Railways in India, or if the Congress Government were to take up the real Government of India in their hands, the first duty to be done would be to remove caste distinctions observed in the Railways," remarked Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Industries, Madras, when he opened the Railway Passengers' Conference at Devakottai recently.

MANGUDI CHIDAMBARA BHAGAVATHAR

We deeply regret to record the death of Vidwan Mangudi Chidambara Bhagavathar,



MANGUDI CHIDAMBARA BHAGAVATHAR

a well known exponent of the art of Kalakshepam (discourse with music) in South India, at the age of 58.

One of the most popular Harikatha performers, he combined in himself good knowledge of the theory of music and the persuasive art of exposition. He was a familiar figure to every one in South India.

A versatile scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil, the late Mangudi Bhagavathar, as he was popularly known, gave life to a dying art and with his death it loses a great champion. He presided over the last South Indian Music Conference and pleaded for many much-needed reforms in the Carnatic music. His knowledge of music, Carnatic and Hindustani, was profound.

WHAT IS ART

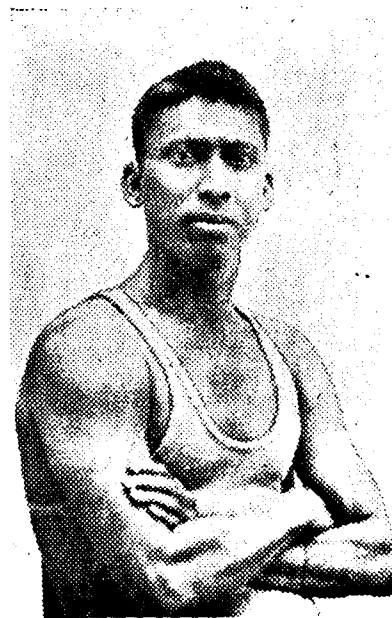
The first extension lecture under the auspices of the Fine Arts Section of the Travancore University was delivered by Dr. J. H. Cousins on the subject: "What is Art."

THE OLYMPIC GAMES

In ancient Greece, the Olympic Games was the greatest of the athletic festivals, others being the Pythian and Nemean Games which took place every four years, and dates were expressed in terms of these Olympiads. They were finally stopped by the Emperor Theodosius in A.D. 389.

The Olympic Games were revived at Athens in 1896 on the initiative of Baron Pierre de Coubertin.

Subsequent games have been held at Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), London (1908), Stockholm (1912), Antwerp (1920), Paris (1924), Amsterdam (1928), Los Angeles (1932) and Berlin (1936).



MR. P. K. GHOSH

the champion swimmer, who has left for Europe for crossing the English Channel.

ENGLAND vs. AUSTRALIA

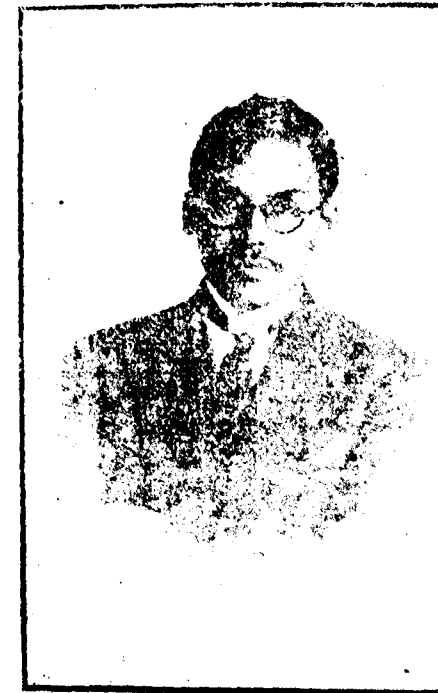
England won the Fifth Test match at Oval by an innings and 579 runs.

Australia were all out for 201 runs in the 1st innings and following on were skittled out for a total of 123 runs.

KRISHNAN EFFECT

A striking recognition of the importance of the work done by Dr. Krishnan is contained in the latest issue of the proceedings of Royal Society of London in which a distinguished physicist working in Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, has published a memoir by Prof. R. H. Fowler, F.R.S., of the Cambridge University.

The paper deals with what the author styles as "Krishnan Effect"—a phenomenon discovered and announced by Dr. Krishnan of Bangalore and described in a series of papers published by the Indian Academy of Sciences. The memoir completely confirms Dr. Krishnan's experimental results and theoretical ideas and points out that it has a fundamental significance in relation to a number of other problems in Physics and Chemistry.



DR. MEGHNAD SAHA

Dr. Meghnad Saha has been appointed the Sukhraj Raj Reader (Natural Science), in the Patna University, his subject being Upper Atmosphere.

INDIAN FILMS IN MALAYA

A public company with a capital of 500,000 dollars and with ambitious schemes to encourage the Indian film industry is shortly to be floated in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, according to a recent report. The capital may be raised to 1,000,000 dollars if found necessary.

The Board of Directors will comprise some prominent members of the local Chettiar community with a local Indian leader as the Chairman. The objects of the new concern are stated to include the maintaining cinema halls in all the principal towns in Malaya for screening Indian pictures, acquiring releasing rights of pictures as and when they are produced by leading film companies in India and constructing and owning theatres in various places in Malaya.

HOLLYWOOD AS EXILE'S REFUGE

Hollywood, land of opportunity for men of reckless and resourceful nature, has become a Mecca for soldiers of fortune.

They come from foreign wars and foreign legions, from old monarchies and the wreckage of revolutions, from long Odysseys and strange adventures. Hollywood finds men of their talents and temperaments useful.

Many of them become stunt men. Others capitalize upon their experiences by getting jobs as technical advisers on war, sea or aviation films. Still others turn to the more artistic sides of the movie business and become actors, directors or scenarists.

THE BEST INDIAN FILM

The Motion Picture Society of India have selected the film "Unexpected" for the forthcoming International Exhibition to be held at Venice as the best produced picture in India during the year.

It will be recalled that the last Indian film shown at the Exhibition, namely, "Tukaram", was a notable success.

THREAT TO U. S. A's FILMS

Hollywood's supremacy in the international motion picture field is threatened by rising nationalism abroad by quotas, discrimination, subsidy and tariff barriers, says the annual report of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington.

CAR WITHOUT GEAR

The first gearless and clutchless car in the world which, it is claimed, may revolutionise future transport was demonstrated at Cambridge on August 22, to members of the Engineering Section of the British Association by Professor F. C. Lea.

The car is a result of some years of secret work in London by the Italian engineer, Commendator Piero Salerni, who told *Reuter* that the device was adapted primarily for internal combustion engines but could be used for vehicles propelled by steam turbine such as ocean liners. His invention would not be allowed to become a monopoly but would be placed at the disposal of the whole transport industry of all countries.

Professor Lea said that the scope of the invention should include both the petrol and heavy oil type of internal combustion engines. The car has already been driven 65,000 miles.

ORGANISING MOTOR TRANSPORT

A resolution to constitute an All-India Motor Transport Union with the object of organising motor transport throughout British India and further to carry on persistent agitation to move the Central Legislature to amend and enact the Indian Motor Vehicles Bill in so far as it meets the legitimate and just demands of the Motor Transport Union was passed by the second Special Session of the All-India Motor Union Federal Conference, held at Lahore on August 6 under the chairmanship of Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, M.L.A.

STATE AID FOR MOTOR FACTORIES

Enquiries made in official quarters regarding the scheme for starting a State-aided motor factory in India show that the Bombay Government has postponed consideration of this question pending the appointment of an expert committee by the Congress Working Committee. It is stated that this expert committee is meant solely to advise provincial governments on matters of industrial development of the provinces. The Committee will have first before it Sir Viswecrayya's scheme for starting a State-aided motor manufacturing factory to produce cheap motor cars.

AIR-YACHT

London and New York may one day be linked by a 120-passenger airliner with several dozen state-rooms, a dining saloon, promenades and a cocktail lounge, says a *Statesman's* correspondent.

The proposal to build this huge flying yacht has been made by the Seversky Aircraft Corporation in response to an invitation by Pan American Airways to aircraft manufacturers to submit plans of aero-planes of at least 100-passenger capacity. The craft would be built of stainless steel and given a cruising speed of 250 m.p.h. at an altitude of four miles. Besides state-rooms and a cocktail lounge, passengers would be able to stroll along promenades inside the liner, and the dining saloon would seat 50 passengers at once.

It would weigh over 130 tons six times heavier than airliners now flying the Pacific and have a wing-spread of 250 feet. Equipped with eight engines developing a total of 18,100 horse power, the machine could easily fly non-stop between the United States and Europe, said Major Alexander P. De Seversky, designer of the monster, in an interview in New York.

DEATH RAYS ON GERMAN PLANES

The latest type of German Heinkel aeroplanes are now being fitted with death ray apparatus, according to a Rome message.

This apparatus, it is stated, enables the planes by means of ultra short wave emissions to stop the engines of opposing planes and bring them crashing to the ground. They themselves are run on heavy-oil engines and remain immune to the effects of the rays.

BRITISH GLIDING RECORD

By remaining in the air for 22 hours, 13 minutes, 35 seconds, a new world record for two-seater gliders was made over the Dunstable Downs by Flight Lieutenant W. B. Murray and Mr. J. S. Sproule in the second week of July.

AIR-RAID LESSONS BY TELEVISION

Lessons in air-raid precautions are to be given by television in England.

These broadcasts will show how to use the gas-masks and how an ordinary room can be made gas and splinter-proof.

INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY BOARD

The Government of Bombay have created an Industrial Advisory Board for the province with Sir Chunilal V. Mehta as Chairman, and fifteen members who include prominent industrialists, merchants, and the director of industries, Bombay.

The functions of this Board will be to advise the Government on

(1) all new schemes and proposals relating to industrial development in the province;

(2) all matters of policy affecting various sections of the department of industries;

(3) all matters of public interest in connection with the department of industries and such other matters on which the Government may desire to have the opinion of the Board.

MR. J. R. D. TATA OF TATA'S

Mr. J. R. D. Tata has been appointed Chairman of Messrs. Tata and Sons, Limited, in succession to the Sir Nowroji Saklatvala.

Mr. Tata has been in sole charge of the Aviation Department of Messrs. Tata and Sons, Limited, and is also on the Board of Directors of the various Tata concerns. He is a qualified air pilot.

Mr. Tata joined the firm in 1922 and became a Director in 1926. He has been actively associated with the management of Messrs. Tata Iron and Steel Co., Limited, the Indian Hotels Co., Limited, the Tata Oil Mills and the Investment Corporation of India, Limited.

INDIAN-MADE BOTTLES

The Government of Madras, it is understood, have passed an order recommending the use of glass bottles of Indian manufacture in Government, local fund and municipal medical institutions provided they are more or less equal in all respects to those manufactured elsewhere.

The Government point out that it has been brought to their notice that the glass industry in India has of late considerably improved and that glass bottles manufactured in India are in no way inferior in quality to foreign manufactures.

IRRIGATION IN GWALIOR

The opening of the Parbati Irrigation Project in the northern part of the Gwalior State has offered the cultivators the opportunity of turning barren and arid lands into smiling fields and thereby improving their economic resources. This project has cost a sum of Rs. 1,25,00,000 and has taken many years in planning and constructing it.

The Parbati Irrigation Project consists of two reservoirs on the Parbati River and a main canal 13 miles long with distributaries over 270 miles in length capable of irrigating about 1,50,000 bighas (80,000 acres) of land. The two reservoirs are Kaketo and Harsi, the latter being the biggest reservoir in the Central India with a catchment area of 326 square miles.

THE PREMIER AND THE PLANTERS

Declaring open the annual meeting of the United Planters' Association at Coonoor recently, the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Premier of Madras, assured the planters that the Government would not introduce any labour legislation without considering its effect on the industry. He blamed Westerners themselves for introducing into India objectionable ideas about strikes and advised planters to adapt themselves to the *dharma* of the country and do everything possible to make their labourers contented and happy.

WEIGHT-LIFTING PLANTS

A Professor of Experimental Biology at the University of Illinois has proved that a training in weight-lifting increases the strength of plants.

He tied minute weights to the stalk-ends of mimosa plants considered extremely sensitive. After a short period they recovered and straightened out as before. He also found that plants that had to do the weight-lifting were after a month taller and bigger than other plants.

REVENUE REMISSION IN SIND

A Press Note by the Revenue Department of the Sind Province announces that the Government have granted land revenue remission on the non-Barrage area amounting to Rs. 2,40,000—the rate of remissions varying between 12½ and 25 per cent. on rabi crops.

MR. V. V. GIRI'S APPEAL TO WORKERS

An appeal to workers and employers to regard themselves as partners in an industry was made by Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister



HON. MR. V. V. GIRI

for Labour, Madras, addressing a big gathering of textile workers at Tirupur. He deprecated strikes and lock-outs.

Mr. Giri said that the Congress Ministry had determined to improve the condition of labourers, but they could not expect anything from the Government if they resorted to strikes on flimsy grounds. The duty of workers was to work faithfully and honestly for the profit of industry.

The workers had the right to organize Unions on proper lines to represent their grievances in an orderly manner.

Mutual co-operation and trust between employers and workers would bring about the industrial regeneration of India.

Turning to the subject of prohibition, Mr. Giri said that though similar experiments might not have succeeded in other parts of the world, it was bound to succeed in India due to the peculiar conditions existing in the country.

He invited opinions from Trade Unions as to the closing of liquor shops in industrial areas for two days after the workers receive their wages. The Minister thought that a good deal of money was spent by workers on drink.

EVEREST UN-CONQUERED

The *Times*, commenting on the Everest expedition abandonment, says that no one who reads Mr. Tilman's despatch, or studies the stories of earlier expeditions can doubt that sooner or later men will conquer the summit. Mr. Tilman who advocates a yearly succession of expeditions, believes that a favourable season is bound to occur, and it is to be hoped that the conquerors of the mountain would include at least some of the group who were so cruelly robbed of their chances this time.

MR. SASTRI ON THE SCOUT MOVEMENT

"The unification of the Scout movement can only come when the national movement has taken shape as one solid,



RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

unbroken organization," declared the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding over a public meeting at Chidambaram on August 6.

Referring to the present condition of the Scout movement in India, Mr. Sastri said that it was in keeping with other things. There was no use concealing the fact, he continued, that whether it was the Scout movement, the co-operative movement or student organization, the poison of communalism had to be contended.

PENSION FOR M. P.'S

A Bill to provide pensions for ex-M. P.'s and their widows is to be introduced in the Parliament by the Government.

The pension will be £3 a week for an ex-member and 30 sh. a week for his widow. The only qualification will be eight years' membership of the House.

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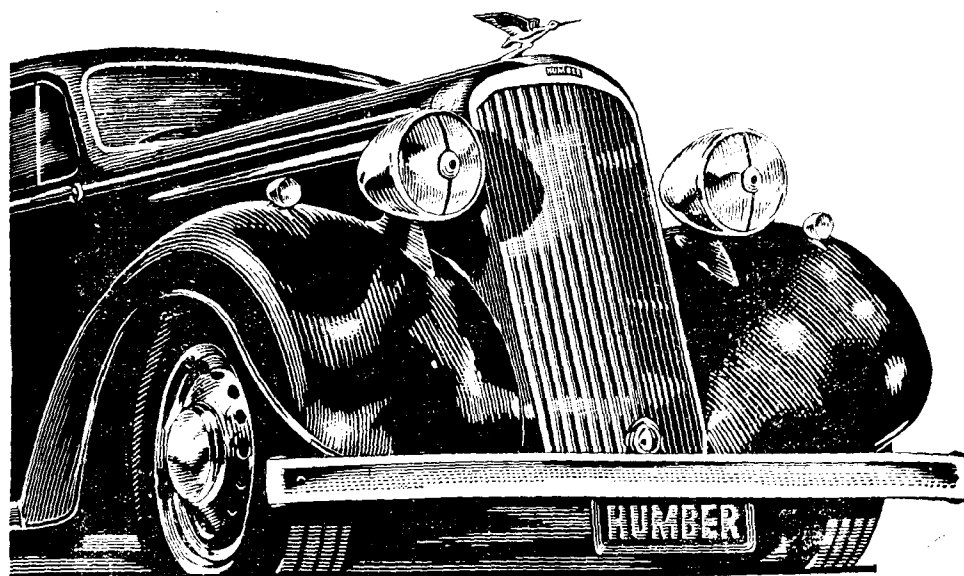
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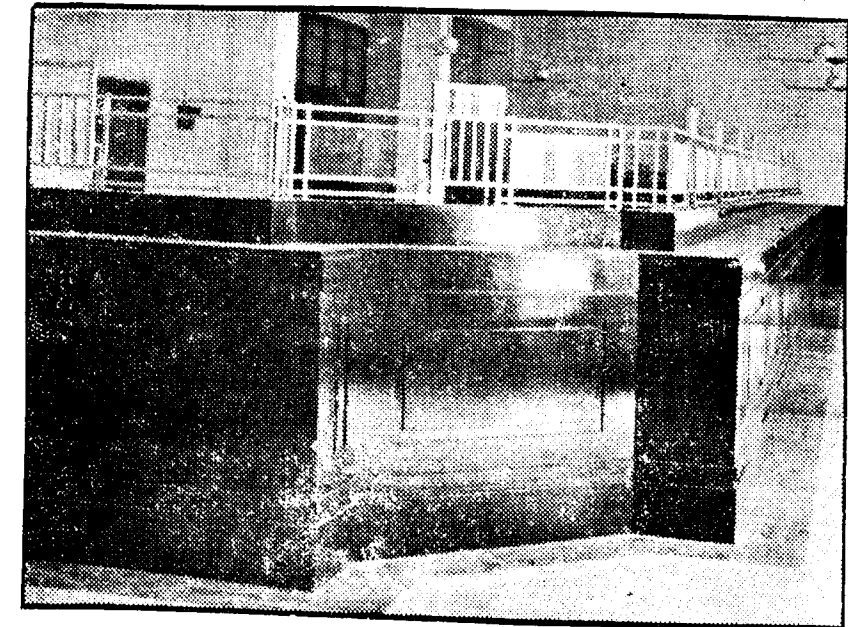
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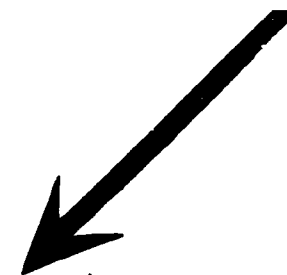
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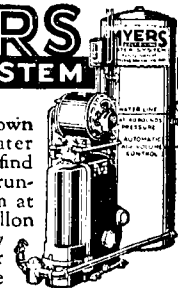
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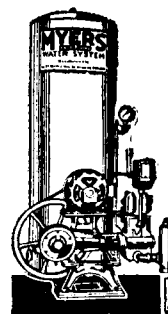
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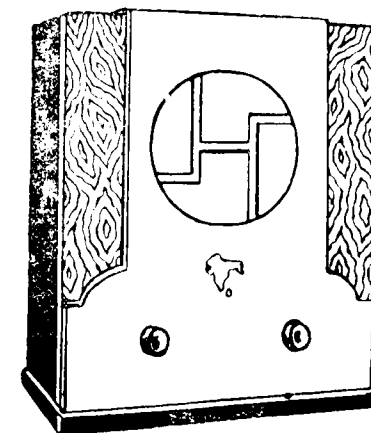


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