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Topics of the Week

Prohibition in Bombay

MR. N. M. JOSHI, Vice-President, Servants of India Society, sent the following message wishing success to the policy of prohibition which the Government of Bombay have decided to enforce in Bombay City from the 1st of August:

"I sincerely wish success to the experiment of total prohibition which the Bombay Government have decided to begin from the 1st August in the City of Bombay and its suburbs. There are undoubted difficulties in the way of making prohibition effective and successful. In my view it will not cost Government much more than they are providing for, but the Government, once having launched upon the policy, ought to be ready to bear the additional cost, if it is necessary, to prevent illicit distillation and smuggling. It is even more difficult to remove the causes which make people resort to drink by way of a stimulant to a tired body and a method of drowning one's misery and anxieties due to poverty or some other adverse circumstance.

"While wishing complete success to the policy adopted by the Government in prohibiting intoxicants, I suggest that the Government of Bombay will lose no time in improving housing and in providing open spaces and healthy open-air recreation. They must prevent long hours of work in factories, which is one of the main causes of the physical exhaustion of the working classes, and also must take steps to increase wages to enable them to obtain proper nourishment and to remove the causes of anxiety from which the working class suffers, due to want of security as regards employment and due to unprotected sickness and old age. Establishment of a system of

compulsory education and a widespread effort for the removal of illiteracy are equally urgent.

"The real success of prohibition depends upon its being accompanied, or being followed immediately, by these other reforms which, in the opinion of some people, deserve precedence. I hope the Government of Bombay will not delay these measures which are urgently needed not only on their own merits but without which even the success of the policy of prohibition will be jeopardised. There may be differences of views regarding the priority of order in which the Bombay Government should undertake urgent social reforms, and we may press for the adoption of our individual views. But when once the decision is taken by the Government and a measure of reform is given a start by them we must give them our wholehearted support and do our best to make the reform a success. I have great pleasure in expressing my feeling of great admiration to the Hon'ble Dr. D. D. Gilder for having shown courage and zeal in undertaking this great measure of reform, and I wish him all the success which he deserves."

* * *

South Africa

IN a statement issued on the 29th July Mahatma Gandhi said that he knew that the Government of India and the British Government had made representations to the South African Government with respect to the Indian question. He had put himself in touch with that Government. As a result of which, he felt that there was some hope of an honourable settlement. He accordingly advised Dr. Dadoo, the leader of the Passive Resistance Committee in South Africa, to postpone the inauguration of satyagraha which was fixed for the 1st August. On the same day, Dr. Dadoo issued a statement from Johannesburg in which he said he accepted the advice of the Mahatma and postponed the campaign. The news will be received with relief both in India and South Africa. It is greatly to be hoped that an honourable settlement will soon be reached and that the status of Indians in South Africa will be placed permanently on an honourable footing. If, unfortunately, an honourable settlement becomes impossible, and Dr. Dadoo and his colleagues in South Africa embark on passive resistance, the Mahatma has promised that the whole of India will back them. It is as well that he made that point clear, for South Africa must realise that in dealing with the handful of Indians in that country she is dealing with India as a whole.

* * *

Ceylon

IT is a matter of deep disappointment that the mission of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Ceylon

was not the success it deserved to be. The great and magnificent reception that was accorded to him by all classes of people in that country raised hopes that a settlement by agreement of the immediate as well as ultimate problems would be reached. The Pandit gave assurances that India had no desire to exploit Ceylon and emphasised the common ties between the two peoples and, in particular, their common interest to win freedom from the same British imperialism.

On his return to India the Pandit himself cautioned India against entertaining any large hopes regarding the solution of the immediate problem of the repatriation of certain Indian employees of the Ceylon Government. All that he expected was a mitigation to some extent of the hardships involved in the Ceylon Government's scheme for repatriation.

While making a concession or two, the Ceylon Government have in the event stuck to their scheme and have repatriated about 800 Indians on the 1st August. The Government of India have promptly reacted to this step and prohibited the emigration of unskilled labour from India to Ceylon from the 1st August.

The action of the Government of India will be welcomed in this country for more reasons than one. It may or may not lead to a modification of the anti-Indian attitude of the Ceylon Government; it may be even welcomed by the Singalese politicians. The British planters may feel the pinch and put pressure, as they know how, on the Ceylon Government to take a more reasonable attitude. But apart from that objective, the stoppage of unskilled Indian emigration to Ceylon is justified. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested the prohibition of Indian emigration altogether to countries where they are likely to be discriminated against.

* * *

The Sikandar Scheme

SIR SIKANDAR HAYAT KHAN, the Premier of the Punjab, has propounded a scheme of federation as an alternative to the federation contemplated in the Government of India Act of 1935. The most striking feature of this scheme is the division of India into seven regional zones, each zone consisting of the British Indian provinces and the Indian States geographically included in it. Each zone is to have a legislature, the members of which will together form the federal legislature of India as a whole. From the outlines so far published, the basis for the grouping of all the provinces and States into seven zones is not clear. None of his zones is a unit for any cause or purpose, either historical, economic, linguistic or political. The political units, particularly the innumerable petty Indian States are to remain intact and guaranteed against amalgamation. The advantages of interpolating another set of zonal legislatures between those of the units and the all-Indian federation are not clear.

* * *

THE present organization of the administrative and political units has justification in history. A reorganization of the units must have some better and more scientific basis. Each unit must have something to unite it; and each unit must be an economic unit. The preservation of nearly 600 Indian States, only a handful of which have the economic resources of the least economic of British Indian province, is undesirable. Even some of

the British Indian Provinces are not at present economic units. Any reorganisation must, therefore, postulate the extinction of the uneconomic units, whether provinces or States. Thereafter, the only sensible basis of a unit is linguistic unity. India will have to be divided into linguistic units, subject to the condition that each unit is an economic one.

* * *

Agricultural Income-Tax in Assam

THE Agricultural Income-tax Bill of Assam will be discussed in a joint session of the Assembly and Council on 3rd and 4th August. This became necessary owing to the upper chamber having rejected, on 9th May, the motion for consideration of the Bill as passed by the lower chamber. The opposition to the Bill naturally came from tea planters and from landlords generally. The chief objection of the European planters is on the ground that the Bill fails to avoid double taxation in that it does not provide for dominion income-tax relief. The Government's answer to this objection may be given in the words of the Finance Minister, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed:

It is unjust, it is improper, and it is unfair to bring an allegation against us that we do not intend to give any consideration to the question of double taxation. While we recognise that a man should not be made to pay the tax twice, we also assert that we should not be compelled and troubled to give such relief which can and should be obtained elsewhere. Is it proper or fair for these gentlemen to come and ask us to give them the relief in this country or to go to their own country and ask for the relief from the payment of such an income-tax which is assessed on an income not derived in England but in Assam? In this connection I have repeatedly told them that if they require our co-operation and our assistance, we are prepared to make representations in this behalf to the Government of England. But it is very unjust for these gentlemen to come and catch us by our throat and compel us to give them this relief which they can easily get from their own people in their own country on the principle that no man should be made to pay twice.

* * *

To the objection that the dominion income-tax relief provided in section 49 of the Central Government's Income-tax Act was the result of an agreement between that Government and the Government of the United Kingdom, and that, the agreement having a binding force for the Provincial Governments also, an Assam Act refusing such relief would be null and void, Mr. Ahmed replied:

There was no (such) agreement. What actually happened was that the dominion income-tax relief having been referred to a sub-committee which was set up in England, certain recommendations were made by the sub-committee to the Government of England. These recommendations by no means can be said to be binding on the Government of India. If that had been so, the other dominions could and would not have backed out of the so-called agreement and understanding. During the past (few) years not only one but several dominions have been raising their voices against this unjust treatment on the ground that, having made sufficient sacrifices, they were no longer prepared to make more sacrifices, and that if any relief is to be given to the tax-payer it should be given in England and not in the dominions. On these very grounds the question of dominion income-tax relief was turned down by the Irish Free State

and one or two other States in Australia. If these States are free to act in this way, I do not see how we can be forced not to look after our interest.

* * *

It is to be hoped that the Bill will be passed at the joint sitting, and Assam enabled to raise thereby "between 25 and 30 lakhs of rupees," which is the Finance Minister's estimate of the proceeds. In the Assembly the third reading was passed by 57 to 28 votes and in the Council it was thrown out at the consideration stage by 11 to 9 votes. Unless therefore there is any truth in the rumours about disruption in the Congress party itself on this question, it may be confidently expected that the Bill will be passed into law. From this point of view it was perhaps fortunate that the Council rejected the Bill outright instead of emasculating it by inserting impossible amendments therein. As it is, the Council has merely deprived itself of the power of moving any amendments at the joint sitting. For section 74 (3) of the Government of India Act provides as follows:

If at a joint sitting of the two Chambers summoned in accordance with the provision of this section the Bill, with such amendments, if any, as are agreed to in joint sitting, is passed by a majority of the total number of members present and voting, it shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have been passed by both Chambers:

Provided that at a joint sitting, unless the Bill have been passed by the Legislative Council with amendments and returned to the Legislative Assembly, no amendment shall be proposed to the Bill other than such amendments, if any, as are made necessary by the delay in the passage of the Bill.

* * *

AS it is within the discretion of the Governor to refer a Bill thrown out by the Council to a joint sitting of the Assembly and the Council and as the Governor has convened a joint sitting on this Bill in his discretion, it may be supposed that he will not withhold his assent from it, if passed.

* * *

Political in Bengal

THE hunger-strike of the political prisoners in the Dum Dum Jail is causing grave anxiety all over the country and vigorous efforts are being made to get them released before it is too late. It will be recalled that last year Mahatma Gandhi secured an assurance from the political prisoners in Bengal, who had been convicted of violence and who were serving their sentences, that they had forsworn violence, and, on the strength of the assurance, pleaded with the Government of Bengal to release the prisoners before the 13th of April 1939. The Bengal Government declined to do so and announced that they would refer the cases of the prisoners to a committee for review and release the prisoners in the light of the committee's recommendations as they were submitted to the Government. The Mahatma emphasised the date for the release; the Government emphasised the procedure.

* * *

THE nominees of the Congress Opposition in the Bengal legislature cooperated with the committee for some time and then they resigned on the ground that the approach of the majority of the members to the question was very different from theirs and that releases were being delayed. In the meanwhile, the prisoners themselves became desperate and precipitated a crisis by going

on a hunger-strike. The Government declined to be coerced by this step.

* * *

AS we have said more than once before, the Bengal Government would have done well to have signalled the assumption of power by a popularly elected government by the release of all political prisoners, even of those who were convicted of violence in pursuit of political purposes. The assurance of non-violence which the Mahatma secured from the prisoners should have removed any hesitation that the Government might have felt in releasing people convicted of violence. It is hard to understand how a committee could, by going through the previous records of a political prisoner, make up its mind as to his future conduct after release. In any event, it is not clear why the Committee could not and did not review all the cases long before the date suggested by the Mahatma. The inescapable inference is that considerations of prestige stood in the way of the Government acceding to the request of the Mahatma. The Bengal Government is a non-Congress Government and the Mahatma is identified with the Congress. Further, most, if not all the remaining, prisoners are Hindu, and the Bengal Government is largely Muslim.

* * *

THE pressure of public opinion roused by the hunger-strike seems to have created a new situation. It would appear that the Bengal Cabinet was willing to accommodate, but that the European bloc in the Bengal legislature, and the Governor, too, have taken up an uncompromising line. The Bengal Cabinet is dependent on the support of the European bloc to retain office and cannot afford to defy it, even if it decided to defy the Governor. The Congress Opposition have assured the Bengal Cabinet of full support if it decided to defy the European bloc as well as the Governor. It urged the Cabinet to declare openly that it favoured the immediate release of the political prisoners and disclose to the public that the opposition to this policy came from the European bloc and the Governor. The public ought to be told what the policy of the Cabinet is and whether it is being thwarted by the Europeans. Until that is done, it is impossible to fix the responsibility for the dangerous delay in releasing the prisoners. Until the contrary is proved, it must be presumed that there is no difference in policy between the Muslim Cabinet and the British element, including the Governor.

* * *

IT has been suggested that the question should be made an all-India one and that Congress Ministries in other provinces should threaten resignations unless the Bengal prisoners were released. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru discounted the idea. He said that if it was made clear that the popular Cabinet in Bengal was willing to release but that the Governor was in the way, then all popular Ministries would have justification to protest against the exercise of the Governor's veto. But if the popular Ministry in Bengal was not overruled by the British Governor, the protest should be against the Bengal Cabinet and not against the British Government. It was for the electorate, to which the Bengal Cabinet was responsible, to call it to order and not the Ministries responsible to other electorates in other provinces. Pressure from other Ministries would amount to a request to the British Governor responsible to the British Parliament to overrule a Ministry responsible to the electorate

in Bengal. We could not in the same breath ask the Governor not to exercise his veto and also to exercise it. If the Bengal electorate supports the Bengal Cabinet in this matter, there is nothing that other Governments can do. The fact that the Bengal constitution is not really democratic because of its communal electorates and weightages, particularly to Europeans, does no doubt weaken this constitutional argument, but the remedy for it is to reform the constitution itself, and not seek to re-establish the authority of the British Governor in the place of the Bengal electorate, notwithstanding its defective character.

* * *

IN the meanwhile, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, under the chairmanship of Babu Subash Chandra Bose, has decided to persuade by all constitutional means the Bengal Cabinet to release the prisoners and offered to support it should

it declare itself in favour of release and find the Governor or the European bloc in the legislature against it. But if the Bengal Cabinet itself was against the release, he has threatened it with mass satyagraha, and has appealed for 10,000 volunteers and Rs. 10,000 within a week. The consequences of such action will be viewed with apprehension. They are bound to exacerbate communal acerbity and the none-too-friendly relations between the Congress and the Muslim League. It is a great pity that the Bengal Government brought the situation to this pass. A very grave responsibility for much mischief rests on the European members in the Bengal legislature and on the British Governor if they stand in the way of the popular will. It is hoped that some honourable solution will be found immediately to save the lives of the political prisoners and avert other regrettable consequences.

THE AMENDED DEBT BILL OF BOMBAY

ONE great improvement introduced in the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Bill by the Select Committee consists in requiring a Debt Adjustment Board, while fixing the annual instalments to be paid by a debtor, to leave to him a minimum income for the support of himself and his family. Allowance is also to be made for his obligations to the resource society upon which he may depend for financing his current needs after his old debts are in process of liquidation. The annual instalments payable by a debtor are never to exceed his annual paying capacity, and "the annual paying capacity" is defined as "the portion of his annual income after deducting such sums as may be considered necessary for the maintenance of the debtor and his dependants, and the sum due by the debtor to pay the debts due to Government, to local authorities, to resource societies" and to persons who will take the place of resource societies. The principal deficiency that was left in the measure, as it was introduced, is thus going to be supplied. It is this provision that will afford most relief to the indebted peasantry and is, therefore, much to be welcomed. Without it the Bill would have been of little use. On the other hand, the maximum limit of 25 put on annual instalments is to be removed. The amended Bill contemplates the debtor continuing to pay instalments for an indefinite period. This is extremely unsatisfactory. Any debt that a man cannot repay even within 25 years must be regarded as a debt that is beyond his ability to pay, and such a debtor must be declared an insolvent. It is worth while again bringing to the notice of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister that the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act, 1935, provides for this. In Bengal, when a Debt Settlement Board finds that the debts of a debtor are such that they cannot by an amicable settlement be reduced to an amount which he will be able to repay within 20 years, the Board is given

power to declare him to be insolvent and to "reduce his debts to such amounts as it considers that he can pay within a period not exceeding 20 years," and, as to the provision to be made for the debtor's support, it is laid down that "the sum to be paid in each year shall be fixed by the Board at an amount which, in its estimation, is likely, in a year of normal harvest, to leave to the insolvent as provision towards his maintenance one-half of the surplus which remains from the value of the produce of his land after paying to the landlord the current rent due for such land." It is strange that a Bill purporting to be a measure for compulsory adjustment of debts should fail to provide what a measure for voluntary settlement of debts has already done in a sister province.

Indeed, under the Bill, Debt Adjustment Boards have no power at all to declare any debtor to be an insolvent. Clause 64 (1) appears to give such power, but it is illusory. For the clause will come into effect, as has been stated in these columns before, only when the paying capacity of a debtor is less than the debts scaled down, and the debts are to be scaled down to the value of the paying capacity. This clause is thus meaningless and will never be operative. No relief will accrue to an insolvent debtor at the time when the Board makes its award. It is only when the award is transmitted to the Court for execution and when the Court finds that two consecutive or any three instalments could not be recovered by the sale of the moveable property of the debtor, that it can adjudicate the debtor to be an insolvent. If such Court is satisfied that a debtor intentionally and without any reasonable cause has made default in the payment of any of the instalments, the Court may order the recovery of the debts due under the award by the sale of the immoveable property of the debtor. Such a provision would be reasonable

if the instalments to be paid were limited to a period of years, but this limit being removed, the provision becomes harsh. Nor is any allowance made for a default that becomes unavoidable in a bad season, as it should have been made. The provisions made for insolvency too are not sufficient. No doubt it is provided that when the Collector takes into his possession the debtor's immovable property for management for seven years, he shall exclude from it such property as is "required for the support of the insolvent and the members of his family dependent upon him." This provision is bodily taken from the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, but a new clause introduced in the Bill providing for temporary alienation of land omits to make a similar provision in favour of the insolvent. As the head-note to the clause indicated that when the property of an insolvent is given into the possession of the creditor, that portion of the property which is required for the debtor's support would be excluded, we had thought that the insertion of this safeguard was omitted from the body of the clause by an oversight, and we had hoped that the omission would be made good by the Select Committee. The Select Committee has, however, rectified the discrepancy by omitting the safeguard from the head-note too! This clause (70) is analogous to the preceding clause adopted from the D. A. R. Act and seeks to carry further the same idea, the idea being, as was said by Mr. Hope when introducing the D. A. R. Bill, "to liquidate the debts of encumbered agriculturists without the immediate sale of their lands and so to preserve the community of small proprietors and to endeavour to assist ignorant and indebted rayats in recovering their solvency." If the rayat is to be placed on his feet again he must first live, and provision was therefore made for setting aside for his use land required for his maintenance and the maintenance of his dependents before giving over his immovable property to the Collector for management. Now, if the property is to be given over to the creditors, it is obvious that land required for the debtor's support must by the same token be set apart. In failing to do so, the Bombay Government have shown ignorance of the principles underlying the structure of their own measure. The Select Committee has reduced the period for which the creditor is to be allowed to enjoy the debtor's land from 15 to 10 years. The land would be placed in the possession of the creditor as a sort of self-redeeming usufructuary mortgage, and after a period of ten years it is to return to the debtor. But what use will the land be to him if he is unable to earn a livelihood in the meantime? The original period of 15 years with the safeguard that the land required for his support will be retained for his use would have been much better than the reduced period of 10 years with that safeguard denied to him. The Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act does not provide for temporary alienation of the debt-

or's land, but provides, in the case of sale of land, that one-third of the land, subject to a minimum of an acre, shall be set aside for the debtor's maintenance. It is to be hoped that in the further stages of the Bill the Government will agree to restore a provision which apparently they had intended to insert, but which has been struck out from the head-note to the clause by the Select Committee.

The Bill, as introduced, had provided that no award for adjustment of debt could be made unless the debtor became a member of a resource society. This would have had two results. First, debt adjustment would have been compulsory only for creditors, for debtors who preferred to deal directly with the creditors without the intervention of the Boards (since the Boards' intervention would involve coercive processes in the repayment of instalments) could have kept themselves out of the purview of the Bill by refusing to become members of resource societies. Second, the Government would have had to undertake to finance all the current needs of the debtors through resource societies. Now, however, the Select Committee has removed the compulsion on the debtors who would like to come under the provisions of the Bill to join resource societies. But the removal of this compulsion from these debtors brings all the debtors compulsorily within the scope of the Bill. Debt adjustment is thus made compulsory for debtors as well as creditors. In judging of this result, however, it must be borne in mind that since minimum income is now going to be left to the debtor for his support in fixing instalments, the main danger of compulsory adjustment with the concomitant of the instalments being recovered as an arrear of land revenue will be largely averted. On the other hand, the alteration introduced by the Select Committee absolves the Government from the obligation for providing current finance to the debtor immediately. The moral obligation still rests on them of course, but they can meet it in proportion as it becomes possible for them to create an alternative rural credit machinery. It was feared that, by assuming a responsibility which they might not be able to fulfil at once, the Government were enacting a measure which might collapse under its own weight. This fear is now dissipated. It still remains true, however, that the success of the Bill which would necessarily result in the breakdown of the present credit structure is to be measured by the promptitude with which the Government are able to create another in its place. In order that the Provincial Land Mortgage Bank may take over a part of the work of debt redemption, a new clause has been introduced to the effect that those creditors who agree to reduce the amount of the debt to half the value of the debtors' assets may be paid in the Land Mortgage Bank's bonds. This alteration was necessary in view of the Bank's rule that no loan could be

advanced to a debtor whose assets are less than half of the amount of the loan. The scaling down of debts in other cases will be to the extent of 80 per cent. of the assets; this, as has been pointed out so often, is an inordinately high proportion and ought to be reduced, unless this criterion is entirely discarded as it should be. The actual reduction in debt, apart from what results after the taking of accounts and the lowering of the rate of interest, will be little; and since the maximum limit of annual instalments is to be removed, the debtor in many cases will have to carry the burden of debt which will not be reduced to any appreciable extent by the scaling-down process over a long series of years.

In fact, it has now become absolutely necessary to give up altogether the concept of capital value with reference to which the paying capacity of a debtor is to be assessed. The instalments will necessarily have to be based on income, and if the maximum number of annual instalments is limited to 20 as in Bengal, the total amount of debt to be recovered will automatically be reduced. Not only is thus the introduction of a preliminary stage of scaling down debts with reference to capital assets an unnecessary complication, but

the standard of assets laid down, viz. 80 per cent. of the debtor's property, is much too high to permit of any appreciable scaling down in fact. These are general considerations, but the widening of the scope of the Bill that the Select Committee recommends forbids the application of the "paying capacity" test, as defined in the Bill. The Bill, as originally drafted, was confined in its operation to cultivating owners, but the Select Committee now proposes to enlarge its scope by bringing also the tenants within the purview of its provisions. It is certainly desirable to extend relief to indebted tenants as well as proprietors, and we welcome this change. But the tenants have practically no assets, and the scaling down of their debts to 80 per cent. of their assets would amount to a wiping off of their debts. We do not suppose the Government contemplate this result. The best plan, and indeed the only plan consistent with what we regard as the Government's intentions, would, therefore, be to discard the capital assets idea as an index of the debtor's paying capacity in favour of the annual income which has already been adopted and to achieve the desired result of a reduction in debt by limiting the maximum number of annual instalments.

THOSE XB ENGINES

II

LAST week we examined some points arising out of the report of the Pacific Locomotive Committee instituted to implement the recommendations made by Sir John Thom in his enquiry into the railway accident at Bihta in July 1937 involving a heavy death-roll. We could discover in that report no valid reason for the Railway Board discarding between February 1924 and December 1925 their avowed policy of 'trial before bulk' purchase. It was physically impossible for the Railway Board to have evolved within so brief a period even the Indian mimicry of the Pacific engine as a vehicle. Unable perhaps to find any justification for this action confined rightly and legitimately to this period between February 1924 and December 1925, the Committee, in our opinion most irrelevantly, go to the history of the earlier period in quest of some props to support the Railway Board's *volte face*. Thus in paragraph 15 of their Report the P. L. Committee state:

The decision to introduce Pacific locomotives on Indian Railways formed part of the *policy following the Acworth Committee's recommendations.* (Italics ours.)

... From 1914 to 1919, renewals and betterments were held up; repairs and maintenance had also fallen into arrears largely because material was either not available or only available at prohibitive cost... The Committee admitted that the call for large capital expenditure for fresh railway development was great, but they urged the prior need for bringing the existing system up to date. In present

circumstances... future development must wait. But the rehabilitation and bringing up to date of the existing system in the shortest possible time cannot in our judgment be postponed. (Italics in the original.)

Let us now see how the *policy* developed. In November 1921 the Government of India appointed a Committee of the Legislature to consider, among other matters arising from the Acworth Report, the requirements of the Railways with regard to capital expenditure during the next TEN years. The Committee which had a non-technical personnel, guided no doubt—and guided perhaps overwhelmingly—by the technicians of the Railway Board, came to the conclusion (which formed a thin end of the wedge) that "It is not merely a question of buying more wagons and locomotives. Lines must be doubled, bridges strengthened, yards remodelled and the Railways generally fitted to handle more traffic. We are greatly impressed by the wastage in the use of existing rolling stock due to the incapacity of bridges to carry the increased axle loads involved in the use of the newer and heavier types of engines and wagons." Their final recommendation was "that funds to the extent of Rs. 150 crores should be devoted to railway capital purposes for the next five (not TEN as first proposed) years. This was eventually accepted by the Legislative Assembly. All this, it must be remembered, was during the period of railway deficits. But, it is pointed out, "following the Great War, a spirit of optimism in India, as elsewhere, anticipated extensive trade development," and the require-

ments included in the five-year programme of Rs. 150 crores were only minimum capital requirements.

The P. L. Committee admit that the Railway Board were unduly sanguine regarding the prospects of railway traffic which induced them to purchase modern powerful Pacific engines in large numbers. But, they say, the Board did not have the monopoly of this optimism but merely shared feelings which were generally prevalent. The logic is as follows:—

(I) One firm interested in manufacturing steel informed the Acworth Committee that they contemplated giving the Railways a ton-mileage which would require over 7,000 wagons and 139 engines. (Acworth Committee Report, p. 10.) Another group of firms, interested in metallurgical and allied industries, anticipated that by 1926 their annual freight movement would have increased from two to fifteen millions of tons. (ibid, p. 9.)

(II) This heavy increase in *goods* traffic anticipated by the firms was naturally expected to induce heavier *passenger* traffic. Hence, it seems, there were good reasons for thinking that, not only were new engines needed in large numbers, but that increased power was necessary to handle heavier trains.

THEREFORE, in deciding to purchase modern powerful Pacific engines in large numbers, the Railway Board were satisfied that this was the best type to handle the growing passenger traffic which was then expected. Q. E. D.

As regards (I), it is not stated whether the Acworth Committee themselves urged preparation on the part of the Railway Board to meet the anticipations of the firms; nor is it made clear what the firms in question were doing or did in the matter of strengthening their own plant to meet the huge increased outturn, which they themselves anticipated and which stampeded the babes of the Railway Board into tragic extravagance.

As regards (II), we simply admire the acrobatics of the high jump to heavier *passenger* traffic from the heavier *goods* traffic, anticipated by steel and other manufacturers.

One would have expected this Committee of super-experts to produce, for the edification of the mere layman, statistics showing from past records in what proportion passenger traffic reacts in sympathy with increases in goods traffic; and what exactly was the number of the additional *goods* engines provided, of which the provision of these 284 *passenger* engines was but the natural corollary.

The P. L. Committee is evidently speaking not only from a brief but also to a brief.

It is thus clear what little justification there was for the Railway Board (themselves *ex hypothesi* a body of experts possessing unrivalled combination of technical knowledge and business acumen) being overwhelmed into optimism by

the imposing figures given by manufacturing firms interested in steel and other industries.

We shall now turn our attention to the statement that "the conception of the X class Pacific engines took place during the period of prosperity." The exact date when this conception "took place" does not appear to have been given, but is certainly prior to December 10, 1925, when the grand process began of authorizing, in the brief space of less than three years, bulk purchases of as many as 218 X class Pacific engines. The Committee point out, no doubt as indicative of *real* prosperity, that "during the next six years, 1924-25 to 1929-30, the Railways earned a surplus of Rs. 52½ crores." Railway Accounts, particularly Railway Capital Accounts, are a store-house of a number of convenient irregularities. We need point out only two out of many that have been so used. Now, this imposing-looking surplus was arrived at by totally ignoring the heavy outstanding liabilities on account of arrears of depreciation, and the surplus was therefore a 'forced' or 'faked' money surplus and not a real surplus. The fact is that although real Separate Railway Finance was dead before it was born, the dummy show of separation of the Railway Budget from the General Budget with its glittering garb of contributions to General Revenues was kept alive only by not providing directly for fully wiping out arrears of depreciation which had accumulated up to 1923-24 right from the inception of railways in India and which, on a conservative basis, is estimated at no less than Rs. 75 crores. The Committee could not of course be aware of the real nature of this dead but stuffed and garbed animal presented to their admiring gaze. But there is absolutely no justification for the Railway Board not being perfectly aware of it, especially assisted as it is by a whole-time Financial Commissioner of their own. Again, during these years an enormous number of railway vehicles were condemned or scrapped, but their book value, probably running into crores, was not written down, thus apparently inflating the so-called surplus still further. We refer here to the information contained in answers to starred questions No. 99 and 107 asked in the Legislative Assembly on September 5, 1928.

We have not left ourselves space to discuss how much of the old stock of locomotives was or had to be condemned or scrapped which necessitated the purchase in large numbers of this new-fangled vehicular atrocity of the Pacific engine, perhaps involving in the long run greater expenditure than the saving expected on the total coal bill. The foregoing discussion, however, even to the extent it has already advanced, is in our opinion sufficient to establish the fact that the reasons of 'prosperity and optimism' advanced, whether in defence, extenuation or palliation, are singularly supportless — LAME.

We can, therefore, only reiterate the conclusion forced upon one who considers the matter dispassionately that the Railway Board's purchase policy was motivated by its desire to oblige the British manufacturer and to favour

the British unemployed. In the light of our experience of the present *regime* the threatened efflorescence of the Railway Board into a still more entrenched and irresponsible position under the name of Railway Authority would be a calamity.

HYDERABAD REFORMS ANALYSED

IT was in the month of December 1937, soon after the appointment of the Aiyangar Committee, that the Standing Committee of the Hindu subjects of Hyderabad demanded a unicameral legislature of 125 members excluding the Executive Councillors, the seats being distributed as shown below. For the sake of comparison the seats allotted by the recently announced Reforms are shown in parallel columns.

	H. S. C.	Reforms
Sarfikhas	1	3
Paigah, Jagirs	9	9
Inamdar, Mashdar	4	2
Agriculturists	48	16
Labour	2	2
High Court Pleaders and Graduates	2	4
Industries, Commerce and Banking	3	6
Medical Profession	0	2
District Boards, Municipalities and Hyderabad Corpora- tion	25*	6
Nomination	30§	28
	124	78
Executive Councillors	7	7
	131	85

In this connection it is desirable to note that, in 1920, the President in Council was directed to report specifically on the following points:—(a) increase in the number of elected members, (b) direct voting, (c) election on behalf of vested or special interests, (d) protection of the rights of minorities, (e) franchise qualifications, (f) number of official members, (g) powers and duties of the Council. But, in 1938, the Aiyangar Committee was directed as follows:—

I have since then given constant and anxious thought to the problem of increasing the association between my people and my Government by the creation of a body or bodies representing the main interests in my State, from which my Government could derive adequate and constant knowledge of the needs and desires of my people.

These terms of reference were retrograde in ideology, as evidenced by the recommendations of the

* The Hindu Standing Committee demanded direct election from the urban population and not indirect election as now proposed.

§ 5 Harijans, 1 Lingayat, 2 Christians, 1 Parsi.

Committee and the reforms based thereon. In another important point the reforms are retrograde. The *firman* relating to the Cabinet Council and the present Executive Council leave no shadow of doubt that His Exalted Highness and his ancestors have declared themselves in favour of the goal of constitutional monarchy. But the report of the Aiyangar Committee and the recommendations of the Council tell a different tale. For instance, it is stated in para. 4 that —

The Head of the State represents the people in his own person. He is both the supreme Head of the State and the embodiment of his "people's sovereignty." Hence it is that in such a polity the Head of the state not merely retains the power to confirm or veto any piece of legislation, but also enjoys a special prerogative to make and un-make his executive or change the machinery of government though which he meets the growing needs of his people. Such a sovereignty forms the basis, on which our constitution rests, and has to be preserved.

As regards the scope and powers of the legislature it will be found that the budget is to be submitted to the legislature, but the three-fold lists of subjects circumscribe the scope to a large extent. The list regarding which any bill or motion or resolution or interpellation or other proceedings cannot be proposed includes especially the following items:—(1) Police force and C. I. D., (2) State language, (3) salaries and allowances, pensions and gratuities, State charities and donations or religious endowments, (4) inquiries and statistics relating to the police, military and political charges, the Executive Council, etc.

The list of subjects wherein the initiative can be taken by the Government or any member thereof alone include the following:—(a) public order, preventive detention, censorship and official secrets, (b) admission into, emigration and expulsion from the Dominions of persons who are not His Exalted Highness's subjects, colonisation, naturalisation, (c) constitution and organisation of the courts, whether civil criminal or revenue, including the Judicial Committee and the High Court, (d) administration and the public services, (e) census, (f) any other class of matters that may be specified by H. E. H.

The apparently long list of subjects open to discussion, interpellation, or initiation of a bill or resolution contains such innocuous subjects:— fisheries, factories, prevention of cruelty to animals, adulteration of food stuffs, weights and measures, etc., education save as regards the de-

termination of the medium of instruction in higher education and control and supervision of education, court fees except rates of court fees, and stamp duties except rates of stamp duties. These illustrate the extent of real power being vested in the legislature. The Standing Committee recommended that the legislature should have final powers of legislation, and H. E. H. has in substance upheld the principle by restricting the exercise of the power of veto. But the three lists very severely limit the powers. The Committee recommended that the legislature should have the right of passing resolutions on administration in general, but this right has been greatly curtailed as shown above. The Committee suggested that the President of the Executive Council should be the president of the legislature and that a panel of three chairmen should be elected, but, instead, the Government have proposed a paid deputy president in addition to President in Council from among the members of the Council. The suggestion for giving a sense of responsibility to the critics of Government by introducing the system of dyarchy and constructive criticism has not been accepted. It will thus be found that the goal of responsible government has not been accepted, and the idea of statutory boards and district committees of a consultative character to help the executive Government that has been adopted is incongruous with the right of the legislature to control the executive.

The points to be considered now are the provisions for minorities and the method of communal-cum-functional representation. A glance at the proposals of the Hindu Standing Committee will disclose that it was based on purely democratic lines, whereas the proposal of the Government is fascist in spirit, communal in substance and undemocratic in outlook, as the majority community will thereby be reduced to a statutory minority. This is being done under the guise of treating the two communities equally, but virtually it will subordinate the interests of 85 p. c. to those of 12 p. c. of the population. The condition that half the number of elected candidates shall be Muslims and the restriction that a Hindu or Muslim should poll 40 p. c. of respective community votes in order that his election may be valid make the franchise undisguisedly communal. As regards representation of vested interests, the Hindu Standing Committee recommended only 19 seats in a house of 124, whereas in a house of 78, the Government have granted 19 seats. The Hindu

Standing Committee recommended 25 seats for the urban area and 48 for the rural area by direct voting, but the Government have provided for indirect election through District Boards, Town Committees and Hyderabad City Corporation. The Hindu Standing Committee proposed 30 nominated seats in a Council of 124, but, despite the reservation of half the number of elected seats for Muslims, the Government have proposed 28 nominated seats in a Council of 78. The scheme proposed is perhaps a somewhat diluted form of autocracy and has no pretensions to be styled democratic. It is but fascist in character and will concentrate power in the hands of the Muslim minority by devices of various kinds. In fact, it is calculated that Hindus and all other non-Muslims would occupy at the most only 39 seats although they form 88 p. c. of the population, and Muslims would occupy 46 seats. There are no doubt joint electorates in name, but the legislature will be saturated with blatant communalism. Functional representation will only have this result that the politically-minded sections will be practically shut out, and the executive will be backed up steadily and consistently by the parasites of the Government.

Lastly, the most important aspect is lack of provisions guaranteeing civil liberties. The Reforms do not make any improvement in this respect, except a slight alteration in Regulation No. 53 relating to meetings coupled with a promise of legislation for the freedom of the press and association. It was in the fitness of things that there should have been a declaration of the fundamental rights, and freedom of religious practices at least, especially at this juncture. The Religious Affairs Committee to be set up, considering its proposed composition, cannot be expected to deal with the matter either promptly or satisfactorily. Several Regulations and orders deserve immediate cancellation, but the Reforms show scant courtesy to civil liberties in general, beyond stating that rights of citizenship have been enjoyed by all, of whatever caste, creed or community. We all know how they have been enjoyed! It is equally significant that the question of public services and the proportion of Hindus in service has not been settled, but a bald statement that a committee of selection would be established is made, which can hardly be expected to destroy the communal character of the services, higher and lower. On the whole the picture is dismally dark.

L. G. G.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

AND ITS AFTERMATH

II*

THE SHIAH-SUNNI CLAIMS

AT an informal meeting of the Shiah held at Chapra in North Bihar on the 22nd November, 1938, the Secretary of the All-India Shiah Political Conference said: "The Shiahs have it as their proud privilege that they never support-

* This concludes from last week an article by Professor H. C. Mookerjee, Head of the Department of English in Calcutta University and a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Professor Mookerjee is the President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians.

ed separate electorates." He added that the Shiahs always believed that joint electorates are the only cure for all communal ills and that the system is absolutely essential for the growth of nationalism in the country. On the 12th April, 1939, the Organising Secretary of the All-India Shiah Political Conference in the course of a statement to the press said: "The Shiahs have always been opposed to separate electorates and have without any bargaining or safeguard joined the Congress and advocated the cause of joint electorates."

The above quotations represent the views of the nationalist Shiah who form the bulk of that community. But there are a fairly large number of Muslim Leaguers also among the Shiah who believe in the virtues of the Communal Award. The Muslim League, which includes in it both Shiah and a very large number of Sunnis, was marking time and was taking no active steps to compose the differences between the two sections of the Mussalman community over the Madhe-Sahaba and the Tabarra controversy. The Shiah members wanted to show their displeasure, which they proceeded to do in a manner very instructive to the man who is always desirous of adding something to his knowledge of human nature and the way in which it works.

The United Press reports that on the 21st May, 1939, there was a meeting of the Shiah at Lucknow convened by some prominent Shiah members of the Muslim League. It was stated that their discontent with the League was growing, due to its non-intervention policy regarding the doctrinal controversy which was responsible for the ill-feeling between the Shiah and the Sunnis. As a condition of their remaining within the Muslim League, they demanded "the inclusion of Shiah Ministers in the Punjab and Bengal Cabinets forthwith, lending support to Shiah in their demand for the inclusion of at least one Shiah Minister in every Congress province and particularly in the provinces of Bihar, U. P. and the North-West Frontier, and agitating for a separate electorate to Shiah or reservation of seats by mutual consent."

It further appears from the special correspondent of the *Statesman* writing from Nain-Tal on the 3rd June, 1939, that there has been a recent meeting in Lucknow "where some Sunnis had demanded separate electorates and reservation of seats in the services."

So pernicious in its ultimate effects is the Communal Award that it represents itself immediately as a weapon for political disruption as soon as there is any difference of opinion between groups forming integral parts of a particular party or organisation. I am sure that when our Mussalman brethren, in the language of Ramsay Macdonald, were "inspired" to demand communal electorates in order that they might be able to shape the political destinies of their community in their own way, untrammelled by Hindu interference, they never dreamt, even for a moment, that the time might come when the weapon would turn in their hands and prove their own undoing as a united community. Even the pillars of the Muslim League are coming to realise the untold possibilities for mischief which underlie this apparently harmless device for granting protection to the minority communities. The recognition of this aspect of the matter is probably responsible for the appeal for unity made by the Nawab of Chhatari.

Commenting on this new direction which the Shiah-Sunni controversy is taking, the Nawab of Chhatari has issued a warning to his co-religionists in which he said: "This tendency towards a separation will lead to the disintegration of Moslems in these provinces and will do good to nobody. The real need of our country is to create unity among various communities living in India. Our efforts should be directed towards unity between Hindus, Moslems, Christians and all other communities and not to create further divisions," which, I should like to add, is the aim and the dream of every genuine patriot.

THE MOMIN DEMANDS

'Of late the Momin community has organised itself on an all-India basis. Its aim is to bring this community "on one common platform to attain its political rights and claims which are being usurped by the capitalist and upper class Muslims". It is stated by the organisers that this movement has achieved such unprecedented popularity and success within a very short time that it has unnerved the upper class and capitalist Muslims, who, it is held, are carrying on propaganda to crush it, because they do not relish the idea that this particular section of the Mussalman community should grow so strong through organisation that it would be in a position to "resume their rights and shares which the former (other Muslims) had so long been enjoying."

This organisation has grown very active. On the 11th May last there was a meeting of the Muzaffarpore Momin Conference at a village at which the President of the Bihar Momin Conference took the chair. At this meeting resolutions were passed declaring that the All-India Momin Conference was the only representative political organisation of the Momins, demanding free education for the children of the Momins from the Bihar Government and claiming proportionate representation of Momins in Government services. This has been followed by another meeting held at Kanchrapara near Calcutta. On the 31st May last, speeches were delivered here by Mr. A. A. Mohammad Noor, M.L.C., (Bihar), and Moulanas Asim Behari and Qazi Md. Usman of Darbhanga, who are all leaders of the Momin movement. Mr. Mohammad Noor said that separate groupings of Momins and other poor working-class Muslims were due to the un-Islamic policy followed by the better-off Mussalmans.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyam Ansari, the well-known Bihar Momin leader, criticised the Bengal Cabinet for its failure to afford any help or assistance to the poor and down-trodden Momin community. This, he contended, was highly reprehensible in view of the fact that several of the Mussalman Ministers owed their seats in the Assembly and therefore their ministerships almost wholly to the Momin voters. He held that "the Muslim League was a rendezvous of Muslim knights, Nawabs and aris-

toorats" and, in view of their past unsympathetic attitude, the Momins had no confidence in them. Resolutions were passed at this meeting demanding from the Bengal Government "seats in the legislatures, local self-governing bodies and in Government services according to the numerical strength of the Momins."

The considered view of this All-India Momin organisation seems to be that the fall of Muslim rule in India was due to the selfishness and love of power of upper-class Muslims who have been systematically exploiting their poorer and backward brethren. Muslims in India are now divided into two classes, viz. "Shareef" (upper) and "Razeel" (lower). The former, who had always been looked upon as the natural guardians of the poorer Muslims, had betrayed their trust; they demanded and enjoyed Government patronage, social prestige and political power mainly on account of their claim to represent the Muslim masses. Actually, they had not stirred their little finger to help the latter to the slightest extent. The All-India Momin Conference represents the revolt of the Momins against this age-long exploitation. This organisation challenges the claim of the Muslim League as "the able champion of the rights and claims of the poor Muslims." That is why it has come into existence.

Here again is one very significant instance of yet another unexpected way in which the Communal Award has been sought to be utilised. According to the Momins, they have been systematically exploited by their better-off and more educated Mussalman brethren. Smarting under a burning sense of injustice, they are seeking to utilise the principle on which the Communal Award is founded in order to obtain redress of their grievances. They, therefore, demand the partition of the good things of life on the basis of their numerical strength. Does this not bear a very close resemblance to, if it is not identical in spirit with, the struggle in the Hindu hierarchy between caste and Scheduled Caste Hindus? If the demand is pressed home with sufficient vigour, there is no way out of the very difficult situation except by granting them their claims. Under these circumstances, we must have a Muslim Gandhi ready to fast unto death and a Muslim version of the Poona Pact in order to prevent the political disruption of the Mussalman party so long bound together by the common tie of self-interest seeking to extract as much as possible from the complaisant Hindu community.

It is most unfortunate for our Muslim brethren that in this case there was no wise Nawab of Chhatari to give the Momins a lead in the right direction. Probably this kind of advice coming from such a quarter would not have made any difference either in their attitude or in their opinions. At any rate, no one can deny that the masses are now getting to know their strength and are determined to utilise it to the full—a deve-

lopment to which no one can possibly have any objection. But what is really objectionable is that, under the Communal Award, this power is not likely to be used in the most efficient of ways or ultimately to the best interests of the country as a whole.

THE REMEDY

There is only one satisfactory method of meeting the unfortunate situation created by the Communal Award and that is to realise very clearly the fact that, except for the difference in the faiths professed by Indians, all have to face and solve the same pressing problems; and that in order to achieve success there must be absolute unity among us. Every one should remember that, in the last analysis, all political problems are economic problems. Margaret Burns, a very keen observer of Indian public life, who after reporting on the successive Round Table Conferences spent ten years in India and enjoyed exceptional opportunities of examining very closely Indian conditions, has suggested a solution which, coming as it does from a disinterested third party, is worth the serious consideration of every patriotic son of India. She found it impossible to conceive that there can be any serious difference of opinion between Indians on matters essential and held that unity among the different sections is not only desirable but ultimately inevitable. This is what she wrote after her return to England:

The problem of hunger is the same, whether a man is a Hindu, Mohamadan, or Sikh. The struggle for existence is just as keen if he is a Christian or an Anglo-Indian. . . . Consider for one moment the type of legislation which is likely to engage the attention of the Legislatures. Whether it affects the maintenance of law and order, social conditions, fiscal policy, education, taxation, unemployment—it will affect the electorate as citizens and not as adherents of this or that religion. In spite of separate communal electorates, there is no insuperable obstacle standing in the way of the formation of political parties on economic basis.

I feel proud when I remember that my community, small and insignificant though it is, displayed the greatness of its soul when as early as 1922 in its all-India Conference it unanimously accepted a resolution condemning the system of communal representation and recommending its discontinuance. In that resolution a forecast was made as to the disintegrating effects of the Communal Award on Indian national life—a prophecy which is being amply fulfilled to-day.

Let us all pray to Providence, the guardian of nations, that we may be able to sink all our differences and also that we might develop sufficient unselfish love of our country to be able to form our political parties on political programmes and along economic lines.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

(Concluded)

Review

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

THE LEAGUE AND THE FUTURE OF THE COLLECTIVE SYSTEM. (Allen & Unwin.)
1937. 254p. 7/6.

THIS book, the eleventh of a series brought out by the Geneva Institute of International Relations under the common title "Problems of Peace," is a welcome contribution to the literature on the League of Nations at a time when all thinking men and women are examining the reasons why the League has failed as an instrument for preserving peace and are considering the measures that would most effectively prevent war in the future.

It consists of thirteen papers on various aspects of the League's constitution and work by either distinguished students of international problems or actual workers in the international field. The essays are all of them marked by a sense of wholesome objectivity and willingness to tackle essential, instead of merely skirting the fringe of the more difficult problems posed by the continued helplessness and futility of the League in the face of recurring European crises. Some of the contributors deal with the problem of League reconstruction along the line of amending its constitution and revising its procedure, while others, not content with mere superficial tinkering, are all out for a root and branch change in the whole basis of international relations and in the economic organisation of the States. The palliatives suggested are many and varied, but, in so far as they all are designed to treat the symptoms rather than cure the disease, they fail to give satisfaction. To the Indian mind, particularly, weighed down as it is by the obsession of imperialism, it would appear that not enough emphasis is laid by League reformists on the fact that, if the League has failed, it is only because it has attempted to do the impossible, namely, to play the policeman for imperialist countries and try to preserve and guarantee a *status quo* which is basically unjust.

The fundamental need for social justice is, however, clearly brought out in the paper: "The I.L.O. and the Collective System" by Mr. E. J. Phelan. The successful ministry of the I.L.O. during the last two decades has amply demonstrated that world government based on democracy, social justice, and racial equality is not only a noble ideal but a stark necessity, the grim alternative being the collapse of civilisation in another and infinitely more frightful war. Mr. Phelan's thoughtful contribution makes it clear that, if civilisation is to be salvaged and world peace ensured, it is essential that some such programme for the conservation of social justice as that envisaged by the I.L.O., idealistic in its ultimate aims, but for the immediate present confined to what is strictly practicable, must be put forward for general acceptance.

K. E. MATTHEW

SHORT NOTICES

TANNING INDUSTRY IN THE PUNJAB.
By ROSHAN LAL ANAND. (The Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry.) 1939. 24cm. 127p. Re. 1.

INDIA is the biggest cattle producing country and Punjab has got more than its proportionate share of the number of cattle. This inquiry, therefore, into the present condition of the tanning industry is of vital importance to the province. The investigator has carefully dealt with information about the raw materials, viz., hides, skins and tanning materials, about the process through which they pass, and about the social condition of the workers. All these three he has found to be in a very deplorable state. The hides and skins reach the tanners badly slashed and branded, dried hard and full of dust. They undergo tanning by crude methods at the hands of the poverty-ridden ignorant outcaste tanners. The only persons that are benefitted are the Khoja merchant-middlemen, the nation being a loser economically. That the nation which abounds in cattle and tanning materials should export both and import leather goods is but in keeping with the general industrial backwardness. The author also complains that Punjab skins go to the Madras Presidency where they are tanned with the Tarwad bark and then exported, thus leaving Punjab poorer to that extent. But this provincialism has to be discarded in the interests of the general economic development of the nation as a whole. If the South abounds in a particularly good tanning material it will naturally specialise in tanning with it, but that does not preclude Punjab from taking to chrome-tanning, a process followed only in one factory in the Punjab. 41,000 tons of chromite was exported from India in 1937-38, of which the United States of America took 9,000 tons, and U. S. A. is also the largest purchaser of skins from India.

A census of the present production of goods and a compilation of the industrial and commercial statistics are the pre-requisites of National Planning, and inquiries like the present one will go a long way towards preparing the groundwork.

K

DHARMAKOSA, VOL. I, PART II. Ed. by LAXMANSHASTRI JOSHI. (Prājñapāṭhasāla Maṇḍal, Wai.) 1938. 27cm. ixxxii+990 Rs. 10.

THE Prājña Pāṭhasāla Maṇḍal, Wai, is to be congratulated on the speedy publication of the second part of the first volume of their proposed Dharmakośa within a short time of the publication of the first part. We had pleasure to review in this paper the first part last year, and hoped then that the other parts would be issued in quick succession. The second part which we recently received is undoubtedly more interesting and more practical than the first part, and supplies well-digested material and food for thought to the student of sociology and historical development of Hindu Law as it supplies classified information on Civil Law. A third part of this Volume is promised soon, and will complete the Vyavahārikānda. We feel confident that the general public will liberally support the undertaking of the Maṇḍala which, as we have already remarked, is a first class book of reference.

P. L. V.