

The Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA. 1

VOL. XIX, No. 8. } POONA—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1936. { INDIAN Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	85
ARTICLES —	
Hail Autocracy! Leslie Scott and Shanmukham Chetty	88
The Payment of Wages Bill	89
The Ninetieth Session of the Council of the League of Nations. By Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias	91
REVIEWS—	
American Constitutional Study. By Principal D. G. Karve, M. A.	93
Indian Finance. By Prof. V. N. Godbole, M. A.	94
Indian Military Engineering. By R. S. Deshpande, B.E., A.M.I.E.	94
SHORT NOTICE.	95
BOOKS RECEIVED.	95

Topics of the Week.

Late Sir Dinshaw Wacha.

THE death of Sir Dinshaw Wacha on Tuesday last at the ripe old age of 92 will be deeply mourned. Owing to growing age and declining health he was latterly not much in the public eye. All the same it cannot be doubted that he had an exceptionally long and meritorious record of public service devotedly rendered for nearly half a century. He was one of the founders of the National Congress whose first session, held in Bombay, he was privileged to attend. His was such a restless personality that even when Congress work was not as exacting as it is at the present day it engaged Sir Dinshaw's energies for a considerable part of his busy time. His disinterested work in the national cause received grateful recognition at the hands of his countrymen by his election to the presidential chair of the Congress in 1901. As Secretary to the Congress Sir Dinshaw discharged his duties with rare ability and characteristic distinction.

BUDGET figures and trade statistics have a repelling effect on the average politician. But for Sir Dinshaw they had a special attraction and he handled them with an ease and mastery all his own. It speaks volumes for his love of economics that he assiduously devoted himself to its study at a time when such study was exceedingly rare. But there is no doubt that it was his deep knowledge of Indian finance and economics that was the secret of Sir Dinshaw's success as a witness before the Welby Commission and later as a member of the provincial and central legislatures. The military policy of the Government as reflected in India's scandalously heavy military expenditure found in Sir Dinshaw a life-long and ruthless critic.

SIR DINSHAW did not however restrict his attention to problems of national importance. Civic activities too used to make a heavy call on his attention. His thirty years' association with the Bombay Municipal Corporation of which he rose to be President was marked by work for the improvement of the City undertaken in a completely non-sectarian and severely impartial spirit. To this must be attributed his success at successive municipal elections from a constituency which had a large European electorate. One great characteristic of his nature was his unconcealed hatred of humbug, whether in private or public life, and his habit to call a spade a spade. To this was joined a child-like simplicity and an impartiality which served to rob his criticism of men and things of all trace of rancour. In his death India has lost a patriot of sterling merit whose memory will be cherished by his grateful countrymen for many a long year.

The Railway Budget.

IF railway earnings are any clue to the progress of recovery, it is clear that the movement towards recovery in India was checked fairly early last year. Last year's Railway estimates were based on the hope of a continuance of the slight trend in increased traffic receipts noticed during the year 1934-35. But there was a relapse instead and the receipts for most months of the year 1935-36 are expected to fall below those of the year 1934-35. It is noteworthy that the traffic in metallic ores during the current year continued to rise and there was no diminution in the traffic in coal; the loss of revenue was due mostly to a fall in the movement of agricultural produce, the most marked amongst which were oilseeds and cotton. In view of the impending discussion regarding the Ottawa Agreement in the Assembly it is remarkable to find both the Railway Member and the Chief Commissioner for Railways drawing special attention to the loss to railways consequent on the diminished exports of groundnut to France.

RECEIPTS not having come up to expectations, the now well-established device of borrowing from the depreciation fund is being followed for the current year and further borrowings are budgeted for next year. The Railway Member analysed the general financial situation of the railways and easily proved that there was little hope of any general recovery in trade and consequently no hope of balanced budgets in the near future. In these circumstances it was surprising to find him taking it for granted complacently that all possible economies had been effected and that no scope for further retrenchment was possible. While on the one hand he dilated on the increased cost to railways in recent years due to labour legislation, he did not even discuss the possi-

lity of reimposing cuts in order to balance the budget. The Railway Member's reference to road competition was also perfunctory. The one point of view that he indicated was that the opposition of the provinces to controlling road transport affected the central revenues through railways and thus had an indirect influence on their own finances. One wonders whether this reference by the Railway Member means that the way of financial pressure may be tried to make the Provincial Governments see the point of view of the Indian Government in connection with the problem of road-rail transport in India.

The Samiti Law.

THE fate that overtook the latest non-official attempt to get rid of what is popularly described as the Samiti Act will cause widespread disappointment. The defeat earlier in the session of the Government move to closure the debate gave ground for the hope that the resentment universally aroused by the legislation all these years would be decisively expressed on the floor of the Assembly; but the hope has been dashed to the ground, thanks to the use by its President of his casting vote. Even so the result may be fairly described as a moral victory for the Opposition. That, though working against heavy odds, it could muster as many as 66 votes against the hated law is a measure of the public indignation against it.

ENACTED in 1908, the law was directed against the formation of secret societies. Whether secret societies had become a problem necessitating such drastic treatment and whether, assuming its existence, the problem could not have been met by milder means are points which it would serve no useful purpose to examine at this distance of time. Suffice it to state that on the strength of the solid majority at its command, the Government of the day thought fit to enact it in defiance of public opinion.

THE law consisted of two parts, the first of which was repealed in 1922. But this, it may be stated, was only in partial satisfaction of the recommendation of the Repressive Laws Committee with regard to it. Though refraining from proposing its "immediate" repeal, the Committee made no secret of its opinion that the legislation should continue in operation so long and only so long as "the present tension created by the non-co-operation movement" lasted. It is worthy of note that the Committee even agreed with the then Bihar Government in emphasising "the importance of removing from the statute book as far as possible all special laws of this character." How scant was the respect shown to its wishes by the Government is denoted by the fact that though the movement of non-co-operation and civil disobedience is dead the Act itself is alive.

THE principal argument in support of its continuance advanced by Government spokesmen in the course of the recent protracted debate on the motion for its repeal was that the law was found handy for dealing with the Communist organisation. We are afraid that this plea is rather overdone. Was not an identical excuse brought forward by Government in its attempt to silence the Opposition to the renewal of the ordinance legislation intended to cope with the civil disobedience movement? With the help of the legislatures, where possible and without it when necessary for the purposes of Government, that legislation has recently been given a fresh lease of life ranging from three to five years. Is that not a sufficiently strong weapon to deal with the

Communist organisation? Even granting for the sake of argument that it is not, we fail to understand what prevents Government from coming before the legislature with proposals avowedly designed to root out communism from the land. To oppose the discontinuance of antiquated laws on the ground of their possible use to put down Communism is not to face the problem fairly and squarely.

Indians and Cypher Bureau.

THE prohibition against the employment of Indians in any Government department in this country would be unbelievably strange; nonetheless it is a reality, however unpleasant. The department which has earned that unenviable distinction is the Cypher Bureau under the Government of India. The anomaly of the exclusion of Indians has been continuing in this Bureau for nearly twenty years in spite of repeated protests by popular representatives in the Indian Legislature. Europeans and Anglo-Indians find easy admission into the Bureau; but no Indian can be admitted to that sanctum sanctorum!

THIS is how the scandal is officially defended. The Bureau uses codes which are the property of the British Government. As owner of the codes, that Government has the right of saying who should or should not handle them. It is in exercise of this right that it is desired by them that no profane Indian hands should touch their codes. It follows as a corollary that the ban in regard to Indian appointments to the Bureau would have to be in operation so long as the British codes continue to be in use in it.

THE first step to open the doors of the Bureau to Indians is obviously to replace the British Government's codes by those owned by the Indian Government. Negotiations to this end have been in progress for years past, but have not yet come to an end. In 1933 it appeared as if their conclusion was at hand. Answering a question in the Assembly on the 15th of September that year, the Foreign Secretary himself expressed the hope that the negotiations would be over "inside the next twelve months." Nearly two years and a half have since gone by without the obstacles in the way of the employment of Indians in the Bureau having been removed, an eloquent commentary on the expeditious despatch of public business by the Government.

THE latest official assurance is more reassuring. It is that the new cyphers would be introduced before the session of the Assembly in September next. It is this assurance which saved the Government the indignity of a severe censure inflicted upon it on a recent date. But it is certainly very curious that the Government should themselves not have recognised the inconsistency of their position without it having been pointedly brought to their notice. It is to be hoped the scandal will ere long be a thing of the past.

Nationalisation of Railways.

WE congratulate the Legislative Assembly upon having passed a resolution favouring the taking over by the State of the B. N. W. and the M. S. M. Railways. It is admitted on all hands that under State management the Railways will be maintained in a decidedly better state of efficiency. The large number of accidents taking place over the B. N. W. Railway every year is in itself an argument for terminating the present agreement with that

Railway at the earliest opportunity. Though no reference was made in the Assembly to the inefficiency of the M. S. M. Railway management, yet nobody could deny that there is ample scope for improvement in this Railway also. This can be brought about only by the State which, unlike private companies, does not or at least should not look upon Railways as mere profit-making agencies.

THE Railway workers also will welcome the change heartily. Under the present circumstances, workers who want to get their grievances redressed are asked by the Railway Board to go to the Agent who in his turn directs them back to the Board. They are thus driven from pillar to post until they give up their quest in despair.

MR. V. V. GIRI in his speech on the resolution pointed out that, apart from the theoretical advisability and practical utility of nationalising industry and Railways, this particular proposition of taking over the B.N.W. and M.S.M. Railways appears to be financially sound. The M. S. M. Railway is paying a dividend of 10 per cent., while the B.N.W. Railway pays 18 per cent. Now even after making allowance for the increased expenditure necessarily involved in State management, it can safely be said that the State will be able to earn a fair amount of profit in normal circumstances.

WITH reference to the idea of raising a loan for the purchase of these Railways, Mr. Giri threw out a practical suggestion on behalf of the railwaymen of India. The State owes to these men as provident fund a sum of Rs. 42 crores. Even taking the share of the employees to be Rs. 21 crores, "I am sure," he said, "it is not a difficult proposition to raise a loan and I can assure you that the railwaymen in India will be very glad to give that sum on the same conditions on which the company-managed railways get 3½ per cent. guaranteed interest, even if there are losses." The chief objection of lack of funds brought by the Railway Member against the resolution is thus well met by the above suggestion.

Congress M.L.A.s and Workers.

PROFESSOR K. T. SHAH, in giving his impressions of the work done in the Legislative Assembly, writes about the Withholding of Wages Bill as follows:—

The speeches on the Payment of Wages Bill marked members into two opposing camps, in which there was, however, little bitterness or acrimony. Messrs. Joshi, Giri and Ranga are fighting against heavy odds; and if the Congress Party as a whole is in sympathy with them it does not seem to be very active in their support. Joshi and Giri have facts and arguments; and Ranga burns the pure flame of undiluted Socialism. But the sweet reasonableness of Joshi and the trenchant arguments of Giri are seldom heard by the propertied majority—even in the Left Opposition. And the fierce denunciation and hectic hopes of the workers' ownership of factories and workshops by Prof. Ranga make the capitalists and the employers sit up uneasily and take notice even of that which is not visible on the surface. Eventually, however, the workers' point was negatived—with some absentees from the Congress ranks contributing to the defeat.

What Selfishness!

THE well-informed and thoroughly impartial *Times of India*, it will be remembered, remarked some time ago on the extraordinarily meagre scope of the so-called "independence" granted to the Philippine Islands and on the grossly selfish motives of the American statesmen even in granting these narrowly

restricted powers. Another paper, not so well-informed nor so impartial as the *Times of India*, says about the Philippines Government in the new regime:

The President of the newly inaugurated Philippine Commonwealth Government is clearly determined that the withdrawal of American control from his country shall mark a real change of policy. He has cancelled thirty-one exploration permits granted to oil companies and has announced that oil production in the island is not to be run by "a handful of capitalists." Such a flagrant act of independence may raise doubts in the minds of American oil kings as to the wisdom of relinquishing the white man's burden. American Governors in the Philippines can, in fact, lay claim to a record of generous treatment for a backward people hardly equalled in the annals of imperialism. During the thirty-five years of American occupation health services have been vastly improved, the population has doubled, and Government's income as the result of increased foreign trade is now seven times greater than it was in 1900. A third of the annual revenue has been spent on education, a figure which compares well with the record of any European Government in its imperial affairs. These are facts which will no doubt be recalled if the Philippine President continues to disregard the interests of American traders and investors. The United States still retains its sovereignty over the islands for ten years; a Republican Government might be tempted to follow the example of President Harding and look for reasons to cancel its grant of self-government to this ungrateful dependency. The Philippines situation may provide an interesting conflict between the American people's aversion to foreign entanglements and the American capitalists' desire for foreign investments.

The journal which makes these remarks is the *New Statesman*, but its credibility is of course much less than that of our Bombay contemporary!

Scandalous.

THE Kenya papers to hand by the last mail report action by the local Education Department which, unless effective protest is entered against it, is likely to result in a virtual withdrawal of facilities for secondary education from some Indian students. The number of boys involved is apparently not very large, being 120 in Nairobi and 50 in Mombasa. But whether the number is big or small, the matter is of great public importance and deserves to be brought prominently to public notice.

THE number of Indian students was increasing rapidly, more rapidly perhaps than the Education Department was able to cope with. The problem with which the Education department was faced was whether provision was to be made for all the students that might like to avail themselves of the educational facilities or whether some means of restricting the number was to be found out.

THE provision of adequate educational facilities was apparently given up as a hopeless task by the Department. In its search for remedies of the easier variety, the Education Department hit upon the novel plan of turning out from the school boys above the average age. This plan has, it was represented, the great advantage of removing the existing disparity in the ages of students in various classes, and make room for additional younger children. But it was not only the over-age boys that were thus sent away. Even boys looked upon as dull or not coming up to a definite standard were also similarly treated.

HAIL AUTOORACY!

LESLIE SCOTT AND SHANMUKHAM CHETTY.

HAS any politician in India grasped the full implications of the relations subsisting between the British Government and the Indian States and the repercussions these relations have upon the attainment of responsible government in British India and the States? We are sure none has.

We all thought till only a few years ago that, whatever might or might not happen in the States, in British India at any rate self-government would be possible the moment the British Government was favourably disposed. No one was so simple-minded as to hope that the British Government would in point of fact be favourably disposed, say, to the transfer of the army to popular control at an early period; but one felt certain at all events that no constitutional difficulty in the way of such transfer could possibly arise on the side of the States. We thought that British Indian self-government was a self-contained problem and that the States could have no say in the matter.

However, we were disabused of this notion by Sir Leslie Scott who pleaded the cause of the Princes before the Butler Committee. He argued that the British Government has undertaken certain obligations towards the Princes, protection of the States and their rulers for instance, and that all the instruments required for the implementation of these obligations the Government must keep under its own control. It cannot hand over control of these instruments, the army for example, to a popular British Indian government without the consent of the Princes. The Butler Committee virtually accepted this argument and laid down, comprehensively, that the relations between the Indian States and the British Government as their paramount power would require the Princes' agreement for being transferred to a democratic government in British India.

British Indian politicians fought against this doctrine for a time. They contended that the British Government would, even after the grant of self-government to British India, continue to be in relation with the States: only the Government would choose a popular instead of a bureaucratic government as its agency to give effect to the obligations resulting therefrom. And surely the British Government has a right to choose its own agency; the States cannot impose a veto upon this right. Consequently, the constitution for a self-governing British India drafted by the Nehru Committee provided that "the Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States, arising out of treaties or otherwise, as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged." The draft constitution further provided that defence too would be in charge of a Minister responsible to the legislature, subject to certain qualifications which have nothing to do with the Indian States.

This position was, however, soon given up to all intents and purposes by Indian politicians, for when

the Simon Report endorsed the Butler Committee's dictum no emphatic protest was entered against it in the quarter from which a protest might have been expected. In fact, the federation idea which was mooted about that time was the result of an implicit acquiescence in the theory that the establishment of full self-government in British India, including control of the army, is impossible except with the consent of the Princes. Federation was proposed primarily in the belief that only in this way could India ever be self-sufficient and self-governing in respect of the army. As a matter of fact this object has not been secured, for the consent of the rulers of federating States will be required even under the federal regime for the transfer of defence to popular control and paramountcy will still remain with the Crown's representative in India and will not pass to the federal government.

Thus it has become almost an accepted doctrine now that the British Government is constitutionally incapable of turning defence over to a popular government, whether it represents British India alone or British India and Indian India together, except with the consent of the States. The British Government is not master of itself in this matter.

It is only a development of this doctrine to urge that, as the British Government cannot transfer its obligations towards the States to a popular government in British India without the States' consent, so the Indian States too cannot transfer their obligations towards the British Government to popular governments in the States without the British Government's consent. And we were wondering why no ruler of a State had yet put forward this idea. The Princes could well say: "Popular government? Of course, we are all for it. We would introduce it immediately if we could. But you have left out of reckoning the constitutional obstacles in the way. We are bound to the Crown by certain obligations. We can transfer rights to our people, but not obligations. These obligations we must discharge ourselves. We cannot unfortunately entrust to our beloved subjects the fulfilment of these undertakings, although we have (need we say?) full confidence in our subjects."

It was reserved for the ingenious Dewan of Cochin, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, to come forward with this plea. Replying to a non-official resolution for the grant of responsible government, he as President of the State's Legislative Council first protested that he was wholly in favour of the establishment of popular government in the State and then observed:

I have devoted some attention to the study of the problem of responsible government in British India. That has bristled with difficulties. But the problem of responsible government in an Indian State bristles with even greater difficulties than the problem of responsible government in British India (hear, hear), because here in the Indian States, we have to keep in mind, when considering the question of responsible government, not merely the relation between the people and the ruler which in a State

like Cochin is simple, but the relation between the State and the Paramount Power itself. It is a problem in constitutional law, which is of tremendous significance and importance, and I wonder how many subjects of Indian States who have applied their minds to the study of constitutional problems in their respective States have realised the difficulties that crop up in the way as a result of the necessary adjustments that have to be made between the State and the Paramount Power, when you think of responsible government in the State. By treaties, by usages and by various other means there have come into existence various rights and responsibilities between the ruler of an Indian State and the Paramount Power. At present the ruler of an Indian State is enabled to discharge those obligations because, legally, he is an autocrat and the problem has to be thought out as to how far the ruler of a State can reconcile that position of responsibility to the Paramount Power, when once he divests himself of that responsibility with regard to the internal administration of the State. In fact, I am throwing out this suggestion, not with a view to putting obstacles in the way, but to offer a suggestion to the people of Cochin that they may study the problem of constitutional development from this aspect as well because, as I have observed in the budget discussions about the constitutional reform in Indian States, nobody has ever applied his mind to this problem of the relationship between the State and the Paramount Power, and the necessary adjustments that will have to be made in case a scheme of responsible government is to be introduced in the State.

It must be admitted that the people (or, as Sir Shanmukham would have it, the subjects) of the Indian States have never considered this problem. They thought, ignorant of constitutional law as they are, that if the rulers were so minded they could introduce responsible government in their States without any objection on the part of the paramount power which they are bound to respect, just as British Indians had thought till recently in their ignorance that if the British Government were so minded it could introduce responsible government in British India without any objection on the part of the Princes which it was bound to respect. British Indians, however, have now received enlightenment; they have come to learn that the British Government, all powerful though it might look in outward appearance, labours in fact under a veto of the Princes. It might wish to give self-government to the people; but if it omits to go round to the Princes and take the individual consent of all of them it cannot give effect to its wish. The States' people too must undergo a similar process of education. They too must teach themselves to think that their rulers, however much they may be itching to inaugurate a democratic regime in their States, cannot do so, though they are sovereign in their domestic affairs, till the paramount power says, "Go ahead." And the States' people cannot have a better mentor in this respect than a prominent ex-member of the Swarajist party in British India!

The States' people will learn it all by and by; but they are not so knowledgeable as their more advanced brethren in British India, and it is possible that they will take a wee bit more time. Let Sir Shanmukham have a little patience with them. They are likely to resent the idea at first and ask questions. They may ask: "What are the obligations which the

Princes have undertaken of which the performance cannot be left to us?" Questions like this can only proceed from abysmal ignorance, and Sir Shanmukham will have no difficulty in answering them to the complete satisfaction of all unbiased persons. He may point, for instance, to the obligation of unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, which can be insured only so long as autocratic Princes rule the States. What guarantee is there that their subjects, if they are invested with power, will be imbued with an equal measure of loyalty? Whereupon the people may say, "If this objection is valid, then at no time can responsible government be established in the States. It is an objection which, if it holds good at all, will hold good for all time." But Sir Shanmukham cannot help it. If constitutional law is so inexorable as not to permit of the introduction of popular government in the States, so be it.

The upshot of all this discussion is that, between Sir Leslie Scott and Sir Shanmukham Chetty, autocracy will be maintained permanently in British India and the Indian States. It cannot be dislodged from British India without the consent of the Princes, and everyone of the numerous Princes; and it cannot be dislodged from the Indian States without the consent of the British Government. So it comes about, by the joint efforts of these two knights, one English and the other Indian, that the British Government has the States by the throat, the Princes have British India by the throat, and the British Government and the Princes together have the whole of India by the throat. It is no longer necessary either for the British Government or for the Princes to invent plausible excuses for delay in introducing democracy. They do not have to earn the hostility of the progressives in British India or the States. They can profess every sympathy with popular aspirations so long as they are sure that the *deus ex machina* of the new constitutional theory which their fat-salaried advisers have developed can save them from the necessity of giving effect to those aspirations.

So, hail autocracy!

THE PAYMENT OF WAGES BILL.

IN partial and belated compliance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour the Payment of Wages Bill was first introduced by the Government in the Legislative Assembly in 1933. It got past the Select Committee stage last year. Adopting the usual dilatory tactics of the vested interests, Mr. James at the Simla session of the Assembly tried to obstruct its progress by bringing in a motion for its recirculation on the ground that it was materially altered by the Select Committee. The House, however, was not taken in by such tactics and the Bill went through its final stages during the present session.

In the course of these debates Mr. N. M. Joshi suggested some very progressive amendments to the Bill, but unfortunately they did not find favour with the majority of the House. He sought to enlarge its

scope by making its provisions applicable to all factories, tramways, docks, mines and plantations. By means of another amendment Mr. Joshi suggested the introduction of a clause in the Bill to the effect that no fine be imposed on a worker unless he was given an opportunity "through himself or through a representative" to show reasons against the imposition of the fine. Both these amendments were in the interests of the working classes in India; but this is no sufficient insurance against their rejection by the Assembly as it is constituted to-day.

Sir H. P. Mody moved an extraordinarily reactionary amendment to clause 9 of the Bill which provides for proportional deduction in wages for absence from duty on the part of the workers. According to the amendment as finally moved by him, "If ten or more employed persons acting in concert absent themselves without due notice or reasonable cause such deduction from any such person may include such amount not exceeding his wages for 13 days as may, under his contract of employment, be due to the employer in lieu of notice." As might be expected, the amendment was accepted on behalf of Government and, in spite of strong and reasoned opposition from men like Mr. Joshi and Mr. Giri, finally approved by the Assembly.

One of Sir Homi Mody's typical arguments in favour of the amendment was that the proviso would be quite fair to the worker, seeing that he could claim salary during the period of notice of dismissal. This would naturally establish "a balance of reciprocity between the employer and the employed." Mr. Joshi pointed out that this sweet reciprocity idea could not bear a moment's scrutiny. If a worker leaves his job without notice the employer can withhold payment of his wages. The remedy against any unfairness to the employer on the part of the workers is in the employer's own hands. The poor workman, however, must go to the law courts, which may be none too sympathetic towards him, to get his rights vindicated against his wealthy employer. The employer is his own judge, while the worker—poor man—has to seek justice at the hands of a court of law. Reciprocity indeed!

Another object of Sir Homi Mody's amendment was to prevent disastrous lightning strikes. Granting that lightning strikes are undesirable, the fact must be noted that Indian workers are not sufficiently educated or organised to give notice of a strike and wait for its expiry before taking action. Moreover in the absence of any minimum wage legislation in India this measure will deprive the workers of their only defence against the reduction of their standard of living.

Again the proviso is capable of being widely misused by the employers. As Mr. Joshi pointed out, if a man was absent only for one day he could be made to forfeit 13 days' wages. If ten men remained absent from work to attend the funeral of a friend even that could be regarded as a lightning strike.

Not only this. The employer could always find ten men absent from work in order to make out that they were acting in concert and that there was a lightning strike.

Mr. Clow, Secretary of the Industries Department, in trying to meet the arguments of the oppositionists, sought to persuade the House that Sir Homi Mody's amendment, far from being unfavourable to the working classes, would actually be beneficial to them. Apparently he counted too much upon what he called the three restrictions on the employer seeking relief under the proviso. At present, he said, the employer can withhold payment from any workman; under the proviso he would be able to do so only in case of ten workers acting in concert. This is true so far as it goes. But this is no cogent argument for positively legalising, even in a modified form, the employer's evil practice of penalising the workers.

Again, says Mr. Clow, the right of employers to forfeit the wages of workmen is subject to such restrictions as the Local Government may choose to impose upon them. The third restriction on the sweet will of the employer is that he cannot exercise his right of forfeiture if there is a reasonable cause for absence. The enthusiasm of the Local Government in such matters and the employers' sense of justice being very well-known facts, no special insight in labour problems is necessary to realise the futility of these two so-called restrictions.

It is really a matter for regret that Government could not bring themselves even to accept a very sane and practicable suggestion of Mr. Anantasaynam Iyengar that before being competent to deduct thirteen days' wages of the workers the employers should be required to prove that they had actually incurred losses owing to the so-called "lightning strike." To this end Mr. Iyengar proposed to establish a special arbitration board in each industrial centre. The forfeited wages should, he suggested, be deposited with this board and employers should establish their claims to these before the commissioners whose decision in the matter was to be final. This just and equitable course of action would have effectively checked the workers in their rashness in declaring strikes, while giving them some protection against unfair victimisation. That Government should not have been willing to accept even such a reasonable middle course is very deplorable.

The penalisation of concerted action on the part of workers which is legalised by this measure is calculated to retard the healthy growth of trade unionism in this country where the trade union movement is very weak. Under these circumstances it would be putting it very mildly to say, as Mr. Joshi did, that when it comes to labour legislation, the Government proceed neither far enough nor fast enough. In this case they have really made a backward march.

THE NINETIETH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

I.

A REGULAR meeting—the ninetieth since the start of the League sixteen years ago—of the Council of the League of Nations was held last week at Geneva, from Monday, January 20, to Friday, January 24. It was an important meeting: and I shall presently endeavour to explain the important questions raised thereat; but as it was also a regular, in many ways a routine, meeting, the occasion will be taken to analyze the working of this Executive Committee of the League as an instrument, whether of world government or of international politics.

The Council on this occasion was presided over by the representative of Australia, which alphabetically follows upon Argentine, whose delegate had been in the chair of the 89th session. At the head of the horseshoe-table, then, sat the Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, High Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Australia in London, having at his left M. Avénol, the Secretary-General of the League. Next to the latter there followed Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. Litvinoff, Mr. Beck, and the delegates of Portugal, Chile and Ecuador. To the right of the chairman came the delegates of France, Italy, Spain, Argentine, Denmark, Turkey and Rumania. M. Laval represented France only on Monday: he left Geneva on Tuesday morning, in order to hand in the resignation of his whole Cabinet to the President of the French Republic. After his departure France was represented by two permanent officials from the *Quai d'Orsay*: M. Léger and M. Massigli. Italy's seat was occupied by Baron Aloisi, whose very bearing loudly proclaimed his firm resolve not to go one inch beyond the absolutely "correct": still, the most important fact was that anyhow the chair was occupied.

Hardly had the Council got into its stride on Monday, when King George's death in the night of Monday to Tuesday brought it to a stop. The regular morning session on Tuesday was countermanded and the Council met only for one hour in the afternoon, to express its condolences on the loss sustained by the British Government and nation. Mr. Bruce led, and at the close of his speech the whole Assembly stood in silence for a minute, as a tribute to the memory of His late Majesty. Followed M. Léger, voicing "the profound sympathy of the Government of the French Republic": and after him Baron Aloisi who "desired to associate himself with the sentiments of deep emotion aroused in the Council". Seeing the actual state of Anglo-Italian relations, it was certainly remarkable—and very graceful—for him to say that "the Italian nation bows respectfully before the great mourning which has befallen the Royal Family and the Commonwealth of British Nations."

For other reasons there stood out Mr. Litvinoff's "expression of sympathy", cleverly explained by the facts that "we know the sentiments of the British nation towards its King, and that our co-operation in

the organisation of the League has enabled us to understand each other better". Similarly Mr. Rustu Aras on behalf of "republican Turkey" felt "bound to recall that after the painful events which occurred and which spared neither his country nor my own, it was under his reign that we were able to liquidate all conflicts between us and to establish the bases of a frank and loyal friendship".

The rest followed conventional lines: but it seemed certainly noteworthy that of the twelve non-British world representatives there assembled, nine represented republics and only three monarchies (Italy, Denmark and Rumania), and that only the latter two could speak in a more personal strain of the kinship linking the Royal House of Windsor with their own. Last of all, Mr. Eden returned thanks for "the warm and generous sympathy that my country has today received from this great Council of Nations on the death of our King, who was the symbol of all that we respect and the epitome of those qualities to which we as Englishmen aspire:" as perfect a definition of the Britisher's concept of kingship, as any I have ever seen.

And with that the meeting rose.

DANZIG.

One of the two serious questions before the Council concerned the Free City of Danzig—no longer, alas, very "free", since the Nazi advent of power there three years ago. Until then there were constant bickerings between Danzig and Poland; but since the Hitlerian entente with Poland, the Danzig Senate has obediently fallen into line and treats Poland, formerly the arch-enemy of every good Nazi, as its only friend in a bad world full of philo-marxists.

But this composure of its differences with Poland has only served to make the Senate come down with double fury upon its German fellow-citizens who still dare to oppose the Nazi regime. The last elections showed that there are still 46 per cent. of them, Socialists, Catholics, Conservatives: united in their stand against the Brown Gangsterdom that has made itself master of Danzig. The only pretention against it is the League: hence the constant appeals to the League from German political minorities in Danzig against the tyranny of their own, Nazi, government.

The position of the League's High Commissioner in Danzig has thus become ever more difficult. Mr. Sean Lester has no forces at his command and can only draw the Senate's attention to infractions of the constitution, which guarantees political freedom to all Danzigers. If this call to attention is not heeded, he can put the matter before the Council of the League, and the League can then order the Senate to comply. But if the Senate refuses to do so and defies the Council?

This unfortunately is exactly what has happened. The President of the Danzig Senate not only has refused to carry out the instructions which the

Council issued to it during its September Session, but has in open meeting of the Senate in November held up the League to scorn, insulted its High Commissioner and dared the League to do its worst. What type of men they are, one could gather in the lobbies of the League, where a strong contingent of them were truculently and boisterously preparing to meet the Council, in order to stage one more defiance under form of fresh evasions.

Mr. Eden, as Rapporteur of the case, opened proceedings in an admirable speech, which stressed the gravity of the situation, and, as Mr. Léger subsequently observed, the gravity was all the more striking as Mr. Eden was accustomed to measure his words. When therefore in his apparently nonchalant manner, which merely stresses the great reserve of power behind it, Mr. Eden questioned "the goodwill, not to say the good faith, of the Senate", anybody who knows the British manner understood that a limit had been reached and that Great Britain would stand no further trifling. Mr. Litvinoff merely crossed the t's by saying that the Senate had disregarded its international obligations, but that "if one such breach were tolerated at the present time, in puny would lead to other breaches, which might have still greater consequences than the first"

Baron Aloisi kept silence; Mr. Beck, Poland's foreign secretary who had engineered his country's entente with Hitlerian Germany, alone of the Council Members made a non-committal speech, opining that the importance of the matter had been somewhat exaggerated. He obviously was ill at ease: I had watched him before the meeting in the lobby, fidgeting with the notes of the speech, he was going to make

Finally Mr. Greiser, President of the Senate, was called to the table and made a speech, of which it would be difficult to say whether it was more stupid than it was cheeky, or more impertinent than it was silly. According to him, the whole question before the Council was merely a difference of opinion between League jurists and his own lawyers, and not a very important one at that; he therefore exhorted the Council to look to the spirit rather than to the letter of the law; and, actually closed with a peroration that Danzig had no mighty imperial forces at its command, but only its good right—which apparently was the right to be left alone by the League.

Mr. Eden's summing up was icy. He could not accept Mr. Greiser's view that the Council's disregarded recommendations were only of secondary importance. He could not agree with his interpretation of the matter as a dispute between lawyers. He refused to consider that there was necessarily any contradiction between the letter and the spirit of the provisions with which the Council was concerned. In fine, he must insist that it was not possible to let the situation develop, as it had been doing for several months.

There the matter ended on Wednesday, as far as the public was concerned. It was taken up again on Friday afternoon, when Mr. Eden announced

with satisfaction that "the Danzig Senate has found it possible to reconsider the attitude which it had adopted towards the Council's recommendations." It had agreed now to give full effect to them; it would amend the two decrees-laws, declared unconstitutional by the Hague Court; and its President had promised that he would initiate legislation, ameliorating the situation of the press.

After congratulations all round at this happy issue, Mr. Greiser—a very subdued and chastened Mr. Greiser—thanked the Rapporteur and especially the Polish representative (Mr. Beck) for their efforts at conciliation, and ended by saying that "in the interests of the maintenance of peace and the rule of law throughout the world, Danzig would resign herself, though with heavy heart, to the acceptance of the measures proposed in the Rapporteur's report." Whereupon, saluting the President and Mr. Eden, and taking leave with effusive cordiality from Mr. Beck, the Danzig contingent withdrew sadder, though one can hardly hope, wiser men.

What had happened to bring about this complete climb-down on the part of these Nazi stalwarts?

Mr. Eden had said that he was "indebted to his Polish colleague for this valuable help in dealing with this problem." and it is quite obvious that it was by the mediation of Mr. Beck that Mr. Eden had put very strong pressure upon the German government. Perhaps one will not go very far wrong in surmising that Berlin was bluntly told that if it valued friendly terms with England, these absurd pinpricks in Danzig must cease once for all; that the Polish intercession was successful in bringing it home to the German government that it could not pay to provoke open hostility on the part of Great Britain at this juncture; and that consequently German headquarters gave Mr. Greiser the *mot d'ordre*, to give in and shut up. If this surmise is correct, one may expect that in future the Reich and Nazi Party will treat Danzig as if it formed part of Poland or, at least, part of the compact with Poland. It is significant certainly that on his way home from Geneva Mr. Beck stopped some hours in Berlin: no doubt, in order to round off personally the arrangements concluded by wire.

ITALY.

This matter came before the Council on Thursday afternoon, under the heading "Dispute between Italy and Ethiopia." Dispute? Had not Italy been judged unanimously and solemnly to have launched an unprovoked war of aggression on a fellow-member? To label this gravest international offence a mere "dispute" between two members is surely to beg the whole question.

Yet such is the case: and it is most important to keep in mind that the official League attitude towards the Italian invasion of Ethiopia is that it constitutes a "dispute". If this is League "impartiality", obviously magistrates should also describe cases of house-breaking as "disputes between burglars and householders."

Let us now see, what exactly the Council did on this occasion. It was seized of a report submitted

by the chairman of the "Committee of Thirteen", the eminent Spanish statesman, Mr. de Madariaga. Parenthetically let us observe that this "Committee" is simply the Council itself *minus* Italy. Baron Aloisi immediately observed that it was not for Italy to vote on this matter: whereupon the remaining Thirteen, *qua* Council, solemnly passed the Report presented to themselves by themselves *qua* Committee. The whole thing did not take five minutes.

And what did the Report say? That the Committee did not find it feasible to accede to the Ethiopian requests for financial assistance and for an impartial enquiry; that it saw for the time being no "opportunity of facilitating and hastening the settlement of the dispute through an agreement between the Parties within the framework of the Covenant"; and that therefore "it could only decide to watch the situation carefully."

And the oil sanctions? They were not as much as mentioned: though the Council members were of course aware that the "Committee of Eighteen" (a Committee of the Assembly of the League) were about to appoint a "Committee of Experts" to "conduct a technical examination of the trade and transport of petroleum"—as good a dodge for spinning out proceedings without having to take decisions as any other. No doubt, once the rainy season has safely set in and put a stop to all military operations, the League will decree the application of oil sanctions—at least for the duration of the rainy season?

Mr. Eden had sat impassively throughout this business: which by no means implies that he was inactive. On the day before he had addressed a lengthy memorandum to the "Committee of Eighteen" (not to the Council!) informing them of the military understanding for mutual protection in the Mediterranean, initiated by H. M.'s government with France, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Simultaneous declarations to the same effect were handed in to the Eighteen by the French, Turkish, Greek and Yugoslav delegations; moreover, the Czechoslovakian delegate also sent in a note in which he declared that the Yugoslav adhesion to this Military Pact had been taken in full accord with the other members of the "Little Entente", viz. Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

These declarations are of great importance: on the one hand they foreshadow the mutual help in case of need, in fact a military alliance, not to put too fine a point on it, between Great Britain, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, and they thus constitute a definite warning to prospective disturbers of the European peace, by which term one thinks not so much of Italy, as of Germany. The whole move is a very great success for Mr. Eden: and incidentally it will explain the sudden German complaisance over Danzig.

On the other hand these declarations put the matter right *vis-a-vis* of the League: for of course Sir S. Hoare had begun all his naval adventures in the Mediterranean purely on his own, and the point made by the Italian delegate (in a verbal note sent to all members of the League on Friday, the 24th

inst. in reply to the declaration above mentioned) is perfectly justified, that

It would be difficult even from a formal point of view alone to contest the fact that previously to the exchange of views aforementioned provisions of an extraordinary nature had been taken by a Power outside the Italo-Ethiopia dispute without communicating them to the League, while the examination of the controversy by the League Council was still pending, and before there had been an opportunity or possibility of referring to article 16 of the Covenant.

Mr. Eden thus has done his best to repair his predecessor's bad blunder of acting, not on behalf of the League, but individually; not to preserve peace, but British interests in Africa. But I think there is even more in these declarations than this: in fact, one can hardly be wrong if one looks upon them as a veiled invitation, held out by the declaratory Powers to Italy, to join their mutual protection-pact, which in that case would be made to cover—Austria.

Baron Aloisi's presence at the Council-table; his friendly remarks on the death of King George; the lull in sanctionist talk; the general expectancy of a further peace move during the rains; the League's chilly "correctness" towards Ethiopia; all indications combine to make one believe that a master-mind is preparing within the League framework so strong a combination of Powers against any further arbitrament by war that even Hitlerian Germany will in the end deem discretion the better part of valour and—join the combination.

And I don't mind admitting that in my opinion that master-mind is Mr. Anthony Eden. Which is not equivalent to saying that he will succeed—for no man can command success—but at least it is something to understand the game of which one sees the moves.

Geneva,
30th January.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

Reviews.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL STUDY.

THE CONSTITUTION IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE. By H. ARNOLD BENNETT. (Putnam's, New York.) 1935. 24cm. 315p. \$3.50.

THIS is a unique book written by an American scholar and educationist. Since the American Civil War most of the state governments have legislated for a compulsory study of the Constitution in educational institutions. Dr. Bennett finds that higher institutions have practically ignored this requirement. The schools provide formal instruction, but it is devoid of all critical and constructive value. The Constitution in the United States has too often and too long been treated as an immutable and passive symbol of national unity and stability. In the opinion of Dr. Arnold this is a mistake. The constitution ought to be taught as an instrument of government in changing society.

Dr. Arnold finds fault with old legal scholars who cared only for forms and structure and ignored the underlying political principles. The educationist, on the other hand, approached the Constitution with too much awe. Hence an objective study

of the Constitution was never inculcated among the American people in the most impressionable days of their lives. A very strong prejudice against all would be amenders of the Constitution pervades American voters and the process of peaceful adjustment of constitutional forms to changing social conditions has thus become well-nigh impossible. Dr. Bennett has, therefore, put in a strong and plausible plea for a new approach to the study of the Constitution, which he calls neo-juridical. An objective, critical and constructive study of the clauses of the Constitution and their bearing on contemporary social life would of course be a very welcome addition to American scholarship. But whether the school is a stage at which such an erudite and ambitious plan can be tried with advantage is doubtful. Perhaps, Dr. Arnold suspects this and he therefore recommends that the teachers themselves in their colleges should be taught the Constitution in this way, so that they may pass on the new outlook to scholars.

Dr. Arnold has written a very scholarly book which is based on a fund of erudition and experience. Its perusal and study ought to be helpful both to students of the American Constitution and to educational experts. We may, however, be permitted to state that much as objectivity and comprehension may add to the usefulness of an advanced worker's study of the Constitution neither the interests of scholarship nor of civic virtue are likely to be furthered by asking the school student to run before he can walk. In the hands of an exceptionally able teacher, such as Dr. Bennett himself, any system, however ambitious, would succeed. But for the average school student and his teacher, the civic purpose of a study of the constitution is fairly well served by a more or less descriptive study undertaken in a respectful mood. We agree that the introduction of a little more political science in the teacher's own study of the Constitution may come in as a useful reform. We recommend Dr. Bennett's book to all educationists and constitutional scholars.

D. G. KARVE.

INDIAN FINANCE.

REVIEW OF INDIAN FINANCE, 1927-34.

By K. T. SHAH. (The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.) 1934. 24cm. 48p. Rs. 2.

THIS book is intended as a Supplement to the author's "Sixty Years of Indian Finance." It is admitted in the beginning that the edge of the criticism is dulled if we take account of the world-wide depression and the fact that India is passing through a period of transition. It is the opinion of the author that during his stewardship Sir George Schuster could not subserve Indian interests, Government burdens have increased, and in the matter of currency Sir George has submitted to the dictates of Whitehall. As for reduction in the interest payments, it is obtained only by transferring the interest charges to the commercial departments which are far from paying. One result of his debt operations has been to increase the burden of private indebtedness. Ample facts are given in support of the above contention.

As for the reduction in military expenditure to the tune of some ten crores of rupees the author rightly points out that it is temporary and demands for re-equipment may spring up at any time. There has been no substantial reduction in civil administration expenditure.

All the increases in taxation in Sir George Schuster's time are examined in detail. It is calculat-

ed that the total addition to revenue from fresh taxation is about Rs. 50 crores. During this period Imperial Preference was openly asserted and carried out. For example, the duty on British cotton piece-goods was 25 p. c. while that on non-British piece-goods was 50 p. c. The arguments given by the author against the silver duty are quite convincing. The excise duty on sugar and matches pressed upon the poor people much more heavily than on the rich and the principle of adjusting every tax to the ability of the payer is violated.

On page 40 the author reproduces from his large work the principle that agricultural incomes should be taxed by the imposition of an additional income-tax. We dissent from this opinion for reasons which are generally known by this time.

Enough data are supplied for proving the charge that the Government have contracted and expended in currency to suit their own convenience. In fact the need for manipulation arises from the maintenance of the 18d. ratio so that the rupee has to go with the pound-sterling being tied to it.

It is doubtful however whether India would have benefited from allowing the rupee to find its own exchange-level. The gold bloc has been trying this expedient and is far from happy. The review therefore shows that in every item concerning the financial position, India displays a worsening effect during the last seven years.

V. N. GODBOLE.

INDIAN MILITARY ENGINEERING.

THE MILITARY ENGINEER IN INDIA. By E. W. C. SANDES. (The Institution of Royal Engineers, Chatham.) 1933 & 1935. 24cm. 594, 392pp. 30/- for 2 vols.

THIS is the history of the activities of the Engineer Corps of the East India Company, written in great detail with maps, charts, and numerous half-tone illustrations. The author was for some years the principal of the Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, and has already got to his credit two interesting books: "In Kut and Captivity" and "Tales of Turkey".

The first volume, to which a foreword has been provided by General Sir Bindon Blood, deals with the achievements from the year 1640 onwards of the men who first started as Gunners and carried out the defensive works of the East India Company and of their successors who assumed the charge of the military works in the capacity of full-fledged engineers, as the trading company developed into an important political body. The regular Public Works Department of India was not organised till the year 1853. Still at this time there were so many stupendous civil engineering works, either started or projected, and so few civil engineers to do them, that complete control of the civil works could not be transferred to the P. W. D. till so late as 1895, when the P. W. D. was finally separated from the Military Works Department. Still most of the higher-responsible posts in the Railway Engineering Service and those of Chief Engineers of Provinces on the civil side were occupied by Royal Engineers.

The first few chapters of the first volume are devoted to the history of the fortifications of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, and in the course of the narration a very interesting account is given of the difficulties encountered, not only from the rival trading companies but also from the parsimonious Board of Directors in England, who often grudgingly sanctioned the necessary funds for the defensive works, saying "Our business is trade and not war."

The island of Bombay came into the possession of the British as part dowry of the marriage of Infanta Catherine of Portugal with King Charles II of England in 1661. The Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, when the news first reached him, was shocked, and, plunging into despair, wrote: "India will be lost on the same day on which the English nation is settled in Bombay." The prophesy has happily proved untrue.

After giving an interesting account of the East India Company, the author proceeds to describe the exploits of the Military Engineers in the various campaigns no less than 40 in number, both inside and outside of India, such as the four Mysore wars, the three Mahratta wars, the Afghan, Sikh, Burma and China wars, the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the North-West Frontier Provinces war, etc. taking the readers to the modern Great World War of 1914-18, not omitting the latest operations in N. W. F. P., the campaign in Vaziristan, the Moplah rebellion of Malabar, the Kajuri Plain operations of 1929-31, the Afridi attack on Peshawar, and all the important events that took place down to 1932. Very useful appendices are added at the end of the first volume on the existing Military Engineer Service Organisation, Queen Victoria's Own Madras, King George's Own Bengal, and the Royal Bombay Sappers and Miners, Submarine Mining in India, etc., with a very exhaustive index at the end of both the volumes.

The chronological order of events as strictly followed in the first volume was not possible in the second. In it are described the achievements of the military engineers in civil capacity as engineers, scientists, archaeologists, administrators, etc. The part played by them in this capacity to make India what she is today is very important. As Irrigation engineers, they are responsible for the excavation of the Upper and Lower Ganga Canals, the Lower Chenab Canal, the Sind Canals and many others, not to exclude the Khadakwasla dam and the Mutha Canals system near Poona. In the Roads Branch they have to their credit the Grand Trunk Road with the Attock Bridge, the Kalsi Suspension Bridge, the Bombay Agra Road, the Bombay Calcutta Road, etc., and the Railway Branch all the older railway systems such as the G. I. P. R., M. S. M. R., the B. B. C. I. R., E. I. R., etc., which were designed by Royal Engineers and the Khyber Pass Railway, which was not only designed but constructed by them.

On the Buildings side too they have left a lasting monument. The famous building of H. M.'s Mint, the Town Hall, the Secretariat, the High Court etc. in Bombay; the St. John's Church, the Government House, the Town Hall, the Silver Mint, St. Paul's Cathedral, etc. in Calcutta; King George's Medical College, Lucknow, and many other similar very magnificent buildings erected by them certainly do credit to their engineering and architectural skill. They have done equally well even in Marine Engineering. The Dry and Wet Docks of Madras and Bombay, the Light Houses of Bombay and Burma are a few of the many inspiring works designed and executed by them.

A work of still greater merit is the Survey of India. One must, in fairness, acknowledge that the topographical map is the foundation stone upon which all the projects, whether of Roads, Irrigation Canals, or Railways are based. In what masterly fashion they have executed it and with what accuracy they have shown even the minutest details, an engineer alone can appreciate. Their contribution to the Archaeology of India is of no small magnitude. Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham's name written in golden letters in the annals of Indian Archaeology will ever be remembered with grati-

tude. Nor is their record in the government field or as conductors of educational institutions less distinguished.

The author deserves great credit for the extensive and laborious researches made by him for writing these volumes. This invests his work with great historical value.

R. S. DESHPANDE,

SHORT NOTICE.

RECONSTRUCTING ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MYSORE. By M. SIDDALINGAIYA. (The New Education Fellowship, Mysore.) 1935. 18cm. 211p. Rs. 2-3-0.

THIS is an excellent publication, thorough and comprehensive in respect of treatment of the problem which it undertakes to discuss. The author is very well qualified to write on the subject and usefully quotes a good deal from well-known American and European educationists. Although the book is written with Mysore in view, its conclusions are equally applicable to the whole of India. The problem of elementary education in India, with its allied questions, has been discussed both from the theoretical and practical points of view, and in that light reconstruction of elementary education has been proposed.

A "new philosophy of education" has been propounded and in consonance with the aims thus defined, revision of curriculum, re-writing of textbooks, readjustment of the primary course both in respect of the prescribed studies and length, re-organisation of institutions for the training of teachers and revitalising of the whole fabric underlying the educational system have been successfully attempted in a succinct manner. There is little in the book with which any reader would disagree. The book is pleasant and immensely instructive reading to persons interested in educational matters. In almost all the provinces today, there is a discernible stir to reconstruct education on lines related to the realities of life, rural and urban. If the speed has to be accelerated and a correct approach to the new education in practice has to be ensured, it is very necessary that private efforts on a sound basis and intelligent organisation should be forthcoming in large measure to run these experimental schools.

M. S. MODAK.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- LABOUR'S WAY TO CONTROL BANKING AND FINANCE. By JOHN WILMOT. (Labour Shows the way Series.) (Methuen.) 1935. 20cm. 113p. 2/6.
- THE MUSIC OF ORIENT AND OCCIDENT. By MARGARET E. COUSINS. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.) 1935. 20cm. 199p. Rs. 2.
- SOCRATES AT SCHOOL. By F. L. BRAYNE and W. RYBURN. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 20cm. 113p. Rs. 1.
- DIKTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY. By JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT. (Oxford University Press.) 1935. 22cm. 231p. 10/-.
- THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF THE HIMALAYANS. By S. D. PANT. (Allen & Unwin.) 1935. 22cm. 244p. 15/-.
- THE DUTY OF EMPIRE. By LEONARD BARRER. (Gollancz.) 1935. 22cm. 318p. 10/6.
- EDUCATIONAL REFORMATION IN INDIA. By EXPERIENCE. (J. C. Basak, 363 Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.) 1935. 19cm. 271p. Rs. 1.
- CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES FROM 1885 to 1910. First Series. (Natesan, Madras.) 1935. 19cm. 873, XXXVIII, x1p. Rs. 4.

ESTABLISHED 1911.

The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.

(Registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.)

Head Office: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY. (Branches: 28)

Apex Bank of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay Presidency.

WORKING CAPITAL Exceeds Rs. 2,00,00,000

FIXED, CURRENT AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS ACCEPTED.

Terms on Application.

ADVANCES made only to registered Co-operative Societies.

COLLECTION WORK undertaken at almost all important towns in the Bombay Presidency.

Money deposited with this Bank directly benefits the agriculturists and persons of small means.

For further particulars write to Managing Director.

The Industrial and Prudential Assurance Co. Ltd.

The Premier Indian Life Office.

Estd. 1913.

Head Office — BOMBAY.

UP-TO-DATE BENEFITS.

LOW PREMIUMS.

BONUS:

Whole Life—Rs. 22-8-0 per Thousand per Year.

Endowment— „ 18-0-0 per — „ —

For Agency apply to—Secretaries and Managers,

Industrial and Prudential Assurance Coy. Ltd.,

Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

SUPREME FOR YEARS — SUPREME TO-DAY— QUALITY ALWAYS TELLS



Mysore Sandalwood Oil B. P. quality, the finest in the world, is perfectly blended and milled by a special process with the purest ingredients to make.

Mysore Sandal Soap

“It's good through and through
to the thinnest wafer”

Available Everywhere.

**GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY,
BANGALORE.**