

Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA 4.

VOL. XXI, NO. 38. }

POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1938.

{ INDIAN Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

CONTENTS

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	481
ARTICLES:	
The Reshuffling of Divisional Areas.	484
India and the Next World War.	486
Spike the Labour Bill.	487
Indian India in Agony.	488
REVIEW:	
Times of India Guide to Basic English. By Prof. V. N. Bhushan.	490
SHORT NOTICES	490
CORRESPONDENCE:	
Land Mortgage Banks and Debt Conciliation. By P. J. Taleyarkhan.	491

Topics of the Week.

Rajaji Denies.

IN our last issue we had occasion to comment on Dr. B. N. Khare's statement in the C.P. Legislature charging Mr. C. Rajagopalachari with initiating negotiations with the Madras Governor behind the back of the Congress High Command and in a sense contrary to the public avowals of the Congress. At the recent session of the All-India Congress Committee, Mr. Rajagopalachari characterized Dr. Khare's statement as "a first class lie." Having given publicity to Dr. Khare's charge which he made "without fear of contradiction," it is only fair that we should give equal publicity to Mr. Rajagopalachari's equally emphatic denial.

WE wish, however, that Mr. Rajagopalachari had issued a contradiction much earlier. It will be readily granted that he is a busy man who cannot be expected to read all the news that is printed. Nor can he be expected to reply to all kinds of criticisms that may be levelled at him. But in the present instance, no less a Congressman than Dr. Khare, the ex-Premier of the C. P. makes in the C. P. Legislature under very dramatic circumstances a most serious charge against Mr. Rajagopalachari himself. It is unfortunate that Mr. Rajagopalachari missed the news and was not in a position to issue the contradiction immediately.

Cabinet-making in Assam.

PROVINCIAL autonomy in Assam has, since its inauguration, run along interesting and some-

what original lines. The Assam Legislature consists of several parties, some of which are very small. The largest groups are the Moslem League, the Congress and the Europeans. Sir M. Saadullah, the leader of the Moslem group, with the co-operation of several smaller groups and with the support of the European group, formed the first Ministry. His Government suffered some nine defeats in ten months! He however declined to resign on the ground that defeat on a motion, other than a no-confidence motion, did not call for resignation. The Governor seems to have acquiesced in this arrangement since he could not find in the Legislature any other combination of groups which could command a majority. Discontent against the Ministry later grew in its own ranks, and the Opposition, led by the local Congress leader Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, continued to nibble away at the Ministerial strength. In February last Sir Muhammad anticipated that a no confidence motion would go against him. Whereupon, he quietly resigned and immediately reconstituted his Cabinet with some changes in the personnel, hoping thereby to recover and consolidate his waning strength and then faced the Legislature. He saved his second Cabinet by a majority of just one vote on a no confidence motion!

SINCE then some members of the Ministerial party crossed the floor, and the Ministry was again in September faced with a no confidence motion. This time Sir Muhammad shied from contesting the motion but surprised the Assembly with his resignation on the admission that he had no majority in the Assembly. The Governor sent for the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bardoloi of the Congress party, to form a new Ministry. Since the Congress party had only 32 members in a House of 108, Mr. Bardoloi had to follow the example of Sir Muhammad Saadullah and seek the co-operation of other parties. He chose the five non-Muslim Ministers out of a Cabinet which was to contain eight members, the other three being reserved for Muslims. The Governor, who had accepted the resignation of the Saadullah Ministry and invited Mr. Bardoloi to form a new ministry, fixed the date for the swearing in of the Bardoloi Cabinet. And when all were assembled to witness the ceremony, the Governor sent a message postponing it! In the meanwhile the Legislature was adjourned *sine die*.

FROM the statements issued by the Congress party and the new Opposition parties, it would appear that Sir Muhammad Saadullah was persuaded to seek to return to power. He was told that some of the Muslims who had deserted him when he was the Premier would return to him

on his resignation and give him again a majority in the Legislature. It is not clear why these Muslim members insisted on his resignation only to reinstate him in office. The postponement of the installation in office of the Bardoloi Cabinet was apparently due to the representations made to the Governor that Mr. Bardoloi did not command a majority in the Assembly and that Sir Saadullah did after his resignation. The question could not immediately be put to the test, as the Assembly had been adjourned *sine die* and would not meet till after the Puja holidays. The new Oppositionists feared that this interval would be used by Mr. Bardoloi to manœuvre a majority for his Ministry. The Opposition, under the inspiration of the European *bloc*, has since gathered within its fold some 56 members in an Assembly of 108, and given notice of 56 motions of no confidence! It remains to be seen if the Bardoloi cabinet will survive the challenge. The three Muslim Ministers of the Bardoloi Cabinet have yet to be appointed. It appears that the Congress leaders have offered the seats to members of the Muslim League, and among them to Sir Muhammad Saadullah himself, provided they subscribed to Congress discipline! If Mr. Bardoloi succeeds in keeping in office, Assam will be yet another province under Congress rule though diluted by the coalition. In Assam, as in Bengal, the European *bloc* has the determining voice in deciding which party shall be in power. This *bloc*, which represents very largely the planting interests, is apprehensive of Congress policies and is opposed to a Congress administration. The weightage given to the European planters in Assam gives them a disproportionately large and a decisive voice in the affairs of that province.

Indians in Ceylon.

WHILE we have not hesitated to condemn the anti-Indian attitude of the Ceylon Government in keeping out Indian labourers from the electoral roll for village councils we must at the same time deplore the attitude of the Ceylon Indian Association in claiming separate electorates for Indians in the constitution of Ceylon and pleading for the reservation of powers in the Governor of Ceylon, unless it be the Association urged them only as bargaining points and as levers to persuade the Ceylonese politicians to take up a more reasonable attitude towards Indians. Separate electorates and weightage for minorities and reservation of over-riding powers in the Governor will militate against the growth of healthy democratic responsible government in Ceylon. That would be deplorable. It would be a pity if Indians, who in Kenya and Fiji, have been agitating for common roll, should in Ceylon agitate for communal roll. It is hard on the people and Government of India to ask them to support with equal zest separate electorate in Ceylon and common electorate in Kenya and Fiji. The Indians in Ceylon must realise that their attitude will embarrass other Indians elsewhere. But apart from that, communal electorate is not good in itself.

The real solution is to press for the full implementation of adult franchise and the comprehensive definition of domicile which the Donoughmore Commission recommended but which were watered down when the constitution was actually put into operation. The extension of the common franchise, rather than political segregation, is the right solution which the Government and people of

India can support with all their strength. The Government of India may well use the new leverage that they have obtained by the enactment of the bill to control all unskilled emigration to persuade the Ceylonese politicians to a more reasonable frame of mind. The recent success in Zanzibar must convince the Government of India that even a just cause needs some sanctions other than its own righteousness.

More Loyal than the King.

THE Maharaja of Bikaner was recently over-powered by his deep sense of loyalty to the Crown and to the British Empire. In view of the tense European situation threatening war at any moment he is reported to have communicated his readiness and eagerness to place at the disposal of the British Government all the resources of his State, human and financial, should the occasion arise. The officious lead given by the Maharaja has been very promptly taken up by other equally over-loyal Rulers of States and big Zamindars who are now regularly vying with each other in their protestations of loyalty and the exhibition of their anxiety to protect the interests of the Crown and the integrity of the British Empire.

WE are not aware of any appeal for help or even for 'preparedness' issued either by the Government of India or by the British Government to these worthy Indian feudatories of theirs. And yet our Princes have the officiousness to offer help to their imperialist masters in any kind of war that they may choose to embark upon. Apparently it is none of their business to see what harm or good the war, in promotion of which they promise unreserved support, is likely to do to their own country. They live in a paradise of their own, and they know that to preserve intact all the agreeable features of that paradise it is necessary, in season and out of season, to burst out with professions of loyalty to the Crown and of love for the British Empire.

THE Maharaja of Bikaner and his royal and loyal friends must be knowing that an overwhelmingly great bulk of their own countrymen are mortally opposed to the idea of India's participation in any more imperialist wars. This unqualified opposition has been and is being declared in thousands of public meetings and thousands of newspaper columns. But these expressions of Indian people's views are as nothing to the Indian Princes whose only business in life is somehow to keep their masters in good humour and preserve their own autocratic rule over their suffering subjects. But it is now high time they realised that a radical revision of their policy is necessary not only in the interests of their country, for which, they may not care, but also in their own interests.

Another Devotee of the Empire.

SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON, the High Commissioner for India, speaking at Quebec in Canada, declared that "the people of India will beyond doubt back Britain with military measure in the event of war." He is also reported to have said:

People outside India do not realise how deeply loyal India is to the king and how all religions enjoin loyalty to their Emperor. This, despite political differences, which must exist in all countries.

We are constrained to say that if this was the kind of speech that Sir Firoz is reported to have delivered in Quebec, he was only deceiving himself or his Canadian listeners. The words, quoted above, coming as they do from a responsible officer, may mislead those who do not know much about India. Such unfortunate and baseless utterances become a kind of pernicious propaganda against the surging nationalism of India and its growing resentment against the imperialist yoke and they are, therefore, to be strongly deprecated.

TIME and again, Indian people have unequivocally declared their determination not to participate in the imperialist wars in which England may find itself involved. Love for the Empire is conspicuous by its absence in the Indian people's declarations regarding the nature of India's political goal. Sir Firoz Khan Noon cannot possibly be unaware of these things. And yet he persuades himself and tries to persuade the Canadian public that Indians are burning with the desire of remaining in the Empire and that there are no bounds to their loyalty to the powers that be. We hope this is only wishful thinking and nothing worse.

Bodyguards for Satraps.

It is understood that in future only men from the Bombay Presidency shall man the Bombay Governor's Bodyguard. At present, the Bodyguard, numbering 55, are all men from outside the Presidency, mostly Punjabis and Sikhs. We are not very much interested in the proposed change in the policy of recruiting members of the Governor's Bodyguard. We would, therefore, address ourselves to the further more general question whether it is necessary for the Bombay Governor and, for that matter, any other Governor or the Governor General, to have any Bodyguards at all.

ON this point we entirely agree with an ex-Commander-in-Chief of India, General Sir O'Moore Creagh, when he says in his *Indian Studies*:

Besides the regular cavalry, separate detachments are maintained as bodyguards for the Governor General of India and the Governors of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. They are, respectively, of the strength of about a squadron, and are under the control of those officials. Except, perhaps as a reserve, if those functionaries will spare them when wanted by the military authorities, they are useless as soldiers, being insufficiently trained, as they are used for ceremonial purposes alone. These high officials, in former days, travelled by road through disturbed districts. Nowadays their journeys are mostly confined to the railway. It seems curious, that, when such energetic demands were perpetually made for the reduction of military expenditure, these bodyguards have been allowed to continue. They are magnificently mounted, clothed and housed. The expense of their maintenance is much higher than that of any other Indian cavalry unit. They are not the only pseudo-military bodies attached to the household of these satraps, who also kept up strong bands composed of ex-British soldiers. This is an extravagance for which there is no excuse; if these officials require bands and bodyguards for ceremonial occasions, they could get them temporarily, when required, from the nearest garrison.

THE passage quoted above neatly sums up very cogent arguments against the maintenance of this expensive piece of luxury only to satisfy the vanity of high officials. The annual expenditure on the Bombay Governor's Bodyguard is nearly Rs. 77,000 and that on the band nearly Rs. 42,000. The total expenditure on ceremonial bodyguards and bands in India as a whole is no inconsiderable amount which can be very usefully diverted to one of the many crying needs of the people. We earnestly request the popular provincial Governments in India, to bring to the notice of the Governors the passage from the ex-Commander-in-Chief quoted above and prevail upon them to forgo the luxury of the bodyguard and the band, thereby doing a good turn to the people of India.

Prohibition.

MR. V. Venkatasubbiah, Senior Member of Madras Branch of the Servants of India Society, recently visited some parts of the Salem district where the Madras Government has introduced prohibition and published a report of his observations in the *Madras Journal of Co-operation* for September 1938. The testimony of such a careful observer as Mr. Venkatasubbiah is of the utmost value, and it is very gratifying that his testimony is that prohibition has been a success in Salem. "I am very glad to say" writes Mr. Venkatasubbiah, "that prohibition has been thoroughly successful and that it has conferred the greatest benefit on the very poor people." This testimony must be heartening to all lovers of prohibition and encourage the Madras Government, as well as all other Provincial Governments, both Congress and non-Congress, to go ahead with the great reform. It is gratifying that in this respect not only the Congress Governments but also the non-Congress Governments are making experiments, though, quite naturally, with caution and on a limited scale. It is to be hoped, however, that this reform will be taken up on an all-India basis and speeded up as soon as possible.

In effecting this reform, it is necessary that the Indian States and the Government of India should toe the line *pari passu* with the Provincial Governments. The case for prohibition in the Hyderabad State has been admirably put by Mirza Yar Jung, Chief Justice of the Hyderabad High Court and Chairman of the Central Temperance Committee in Hyderabad in his recent publication. Mirza Yar Jung estimates the annual economic loss to the people of Hyderabad State on account of the drink evil at some 10 crores of rupees! He meets the argument of loss of revenue to the State by reminding that the wealth of the people is not reduced by prohibition; if anything, wealth that now goes to waste through the drink evil will be conserved for more beneficent use. And all that is necessary for the State to do is to vary the system of taxation, to substitute another tax for the liquor tax it now levies. It is to be hoped that the Government of the Nizam will speedily follow in the footsteps of the Madras Government and excel it by introducing state-wide prohibition.

Articles.

THE RESHUFFLING OF DIVISIONAL AREAS.

THE Government of Bombay announced a few days ago its intension to revise the arrangement of revenue divisions within the province. Government proposes to abolish the Central Divisions and redistribute its districts as between the Northern and the Southern Divisions. The Headquarters of the new Northern Division will be two—Ahmedabad and Thana; and those of the new Southern Division—Poona and Belgaum correspondingly. The third revenue Commissioner freed by this re-arrangement is to be appointed Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction.

The question of the arrangement of the divisional areas in the Province is closely connected with the question of the powers and functions of Commissioners. And the question of the powers and functions of Commissioners has been much discussed in the past. The Royal Commission on Decentralization has, for example, devoted a whole chapter (Chapter XII) to this theme. It should be remembered that this Royal Commission reported when there was not even a trace of responsible government in the country. Contemplating conditions under a purely bureaucratic regime it held that :

The Commissioner is, or should be a picked man with long experience of district administration who can maintain closer personal relations with the officials subordinate to him and the people of his division than is possible for any headquarters authority; while his greater experience and range of view should enable him to assist the Government with more mature and comprehensive views than the collector.

The Royal Commission, however, found the then existing position of Commissioners unsatisfactory and suggested a number of ways of improving it. The Commission also discussed, *inter alia*, the merits of the Board of Revenue system of Madras. In spite of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralization the position of the Commissioners remained unsatisfactory and we find the Bombay Retrenchment Committee (1921-23) devoting considerable attention to this question. We reproduce below the relevant remarks of this Retrenchment Committee.

Among the non-professional Heads of Departments the Commissioners of Divisions occupy the principal place and in their case the duplication which we have noticed is most immediately apparent because the functions of the Commissioner are wider than those of the other Heads of Departments and more nearly resemble those of a Secretary.... The Commissioners of Divisions in the Presidency proper, however, seem to resemble other executive Heads of Departments chiefly in their functions of controlling the subordinate staff and dealing with appeals. In other respects their position is somewhat anomalous, as the following facts will show. In the first place the Collectors themselves rank as Heads of Departments for purposes of the Civil Service Regulations and in this and many other matters it is evident that they correspond

with Government through the Commissioner only because he exists. Again the Collectors are not subordinate to the Commissioners for all purposes since they correspond directly with other Heads of Departments, e. g., the Commissioner of Excise, with whom the Divisional Commissioner has nothing to do. In the third place the Commissioner himself deals with many matters falling within the particular scope of other independent Heads of Departments, e. g., Police, Forests, Education, Agriculture, Veterinary, &c. In regard to such matters the Commissioner is supposed to bring his general knowledge to bear on the questions and to keep the various Departments in *liaison* with one another, and in this respect his functions are exactly those of the Secretariat. Lastly in Local Self Government matters, which apparently occupy more than half of the Commissioner's time, he deals on behalf of Government with non-departmental organizations, and here again his functions seem to resemble those of a Secretary to Government or even of Government itself.

We are told that the *raison d'être* of the Commissioner is that he should supervise the administration generally in all its branches. If this is so the value of his work consists in the fact that he is expected to adopt the same standpoint which is claimed for the Secretariat itself, and it is clearly a waste of time that he should submit his work through a Secretary junior to himself from whose point of view he cannot differ. The interposition of the Secretariat in this case seems to be necessitated only by the territorial jurisdiction which Commissioners have hitherto possessed, in consequence of which no one officer exists who can represent to Government the subject as a whole. This difficulty can however be surmounted by redistributing work among the Commissioners on the subject basis, a course which we think has much to recommend it even on other grounds. Such a redistribution would render it possible to group the Commissioners at the headquarters of Government where they could work directly as Secretaries.

No action was taken on the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee and we find the Reorganization Committee of 1932 again at the problem. The Reorganization Committee followed lines of thought in regard to this problem essentially similar to those of the Retrenchment Committee and recommended basic reorganization. The following quotations indicate the recommendations of the Reorganization Committee and the principles on which they were based.

We consider that in no department should there be more than one intermediate authority between the actual executive and Government. The ideal organisation, as we see it, is an executive operating in the districts, an administrative authority (which may be either an individual or a of board individuals) responsible for the administration and working of its department and endowed with sufficient powers to enable it to discharge this responsibility, and a reduced secretariat dealing primarily with questions of policy and those involving large financial issues....

The arrangement under which administrative officers are required to reside within the boundaries of their charges had its origin in a time when transport facilities were far different from those which at present exist, and the development of the railways and the introduction of the motor car have completely altered matters. Indeed, it is really only by those actually resident at the present circle headquarters that any material inconvenience would be felt; the improvement in communications has been so great that it would mean but little extra expenditure of

time and money if those from outlying districts had to come to the departmental headquarters when personal interviews were necessary....

The revenue department differs from all other departments in that it has no administrative head. There is no single officer whose duty it is to advise Government as to the policy of the department as a whole; each commissioner can speak only for his own division....

The remedy which we propose is the substitution of a Board of Revenue....

The Board of Revenue should, in our opinion, consist of two revenue commissioners and the excise commissioner, with a secretary who should be an officer on the senior time-scale of the revenue department....

We have quoted the observations of the two committees *in extenso* to bring out saliently the issues involved in the reorganisation of divisions and the functions of Commissioners. In our opinion the trend of political development makes it now entirely unnecessary to have a resident divisional Commissioner. Apart from the improvement in the means of transport noticed by the Reorganisation Committee it is no longer the function of the Commissioner to keep in touch with the public of his division. The Ministers and the representatives in the Assembly can do this much better than the Commissioner was ever able to do. In short there is now nothing in the way of the creation of a Board of Revenue as suggested by the Reorganisation Committee. (We have presumed throughout that because of the fixed schedule of civil service posts for the Civil Service it is not possible to abolish the posts of Commissioners.)

The announcement regarding the intentions of Government does not indicate that Government has given any attention to this, the really important, aspect of the reorganisation of Commissionerships. Government seem to have acted merely with a view to secure economy. The extent of the economy secured has not been indicated in the announcement. But it cannot be large. The post of the third Commissioner cannot be abolished; hence he is to be made a Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction. The only effective economy will this be that of some saving in posts of assistants, clerks and menials. This will, however, have to be off-set by the extra expenditure necessitated by each Division having two head-quarters.

A number of points may be urged against the proposals of Government. In the first instance, measures of economy and reorganization should be considered, undertaken and announced as a whole and not in a piecemeal fashion. Axing a post here or there without a plan has never been found to be wise policy. During the last twenty years a number of enquiries have been conducted as to the efficiency and cost of administration in this province. Government can base its decisions on the reports of these enquiries or order further enquiries; but whichever course it follows, it should do the work comprehensively as a whole. Secondly, measures of economy and reorganization should go hand in hand. The proposal under consideration may be a measure of economy but it can only

be termed a measure not of reorganization but disorganization. It makes administration not less but more complex. Even the proposal regarding the Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction is ill-conceived. Does Government think of rural reconstruction as a subject by itself apart from the normal activities of all Government departments? What is wanted to-day is not a Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction but a reorientation in the activities and outlook of all Government departments so as to make rural reconstruction possible. In this connection we would invite attention to the proposal of the Reorganization Committee for setting up a Board of Rural Development. Such a Board could do a great deal towards bringing about the necessary co-ordination within departments working in the rural areas. The services of the extra Revenue Commissioner freed by the organization of a Revenue Board could be utilised in connection with this Board. An old revenue officer by himself could hardly make a success of rural reconstruction, but an experienced revenue officer would be very valuable if working with, say, officials like the Director of Agriculture, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, etc., on a Board of Rural Development for co-ordinating the work of the revenue department with the other departments.

We maintain that the suggested formation of two Divisions instead of three is wholly inappropriate. We have indicated above much better alternative ways of attaining the same objectives. With the creation of the Board of Revenue no rearrangement of divisional areas will be necessary as the work will be divided between members of the Board by subjects and not territorial divisions. The matter does not, however, rest here. For the proposal under consideration has also positively harmful aspects. Apart from being the seats of Commissioners, Divisional areas have significance in other connections also. One of the most important of these is that the Division is the area within which a number of the subordinate service officials are transferable. Even from the restricted point of view of economy a larger Division is worse than a smaller Division. According to the Reorganization Committee, the smaller the area within which a service operates the cheaper the service. But there are other aspects to be considered also. At present the Northern Division, except for Thana, is Gujarati; the Central Division is purely Marathi and the Southern Division, but for the two Konkan districts, is Kanarese. This obviously makes for considerable convenience in the matter of recruitment to Government and to the staff in the matter of transferability. This important advantage will be lost in the suggested rearrangement. If, as is often claimed, under the new provincial government the lower administrative staff will have to exhibit a real understanding of the lives of people this consideration assumes the greatest importance.

We may finally bring to the notice of Government the folly of shuffling areas having an eye only to administrative considerations. This is to adopt an attitude towards regional boundaries and the peoples residing within the regions which is reminiscent of the early British administrators. The present haphazard and inconvenient formation of provinces is the result of the disregard of the British of geographical and linguistic factors. It

is not, however, too much to expect of a popularly elected Government that it will pay some attention to them. Even from the point of view of administrative convenience the proposal is not happy. But looked at from the geographical and linguistic point of view it is more unhappy. No doubt it may be urged that geographical and linguistic factors have little to do with the work of a Commissioner and a new grouping of districts would not much affect the lives of the people. Such a contention would not be wholly correct. For, in the familiarity displayed by the staff of the Commissioner with regional conditions, in the recruitment and transferability of the subordinate

staff and in preferring appeals and petitions to the Commissioner geographical and linguistic considerations do play some part. But even if it were not so the proposal would be wrong. The regional division is to-day coming, as a result of various forces, to have a sentimental significance especially in highly heterogeneous provinces like Bombay. Already in the C. Ps. the Congress party has accepted the principle of a linguistic sub-province. Though in this province affairs have not approached that stage, it is distinctly unwise under the circumstances to convert three comparatively homogenous linguistic Divisions into two highly mixed Divisions.

INDIA AND THE NEXT WORLD WAR.

THERE is much to be said for the policy of not meeting trouble half way and in the present instance of formulating in advance the attitude of India towards the next world war in which England is involved. The All-India Congress Committee which met in Delhi last week-end avoided declaring its policy and left it to the Working Committee to take decisions as and when the occasion arose. Nevertheless, there are times when the declaration of policy in advance may give a new turn to the course of events. There can be little doubt that if England had joined France and the U. S. S. R. in declaring in advance their unequivocal determination to support outraged China, Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia, history would have taken a different course. In the case of India, it is not possible to assess to what extent England's attitude and of others will be influenced by India's attitude. But that it will have some appreciable influence need not be doubted.

Already the British Dominions, free to decide for themselves on the merits of the issue, have declared in advance that in the event of war they would stand by England. The Government of India, constituted as it is, has no such choice in the matter and is bound to support England. It has already secured the enactment of the bill to penalise anti-recruiting propaganda. Several Indian Princes have offered all the help they could give. But they, too, have little choice in the matter. Greater significance attaches, however, to the plea of the Punjab Premier for unreserved support of England, for not only is he an elected representative of the people of the Punjab but also because Punjab has all along supplied the great bulk of the Indian soldiers. Though the All-India Congress Committee declined to anticipate the contingency, the Working Committee and the Mahatma were seized of the question and were giving it very earnest attention at Delhi.

Several considerations enter into the question as to what should be India's attitude towards the threatening war, which may be on within a week. Indian public opinion is almost unanimous that, in spite of the present constitution which automatically commits India to a war in which England

is engaged, India should not in actuality be committed to the war without India's own full and cordial consent. The very worst thing that England can do is to rely on the letter of the constitution and commit India to a war in which England is involved. India will resent such compulsion, irrespective of the merits of the war. The Joint Select Committee has often emphasised the need for the development of the constitution by conventions. Here is an opportunity for a convention to anticipate the constitution.

Indian opinion is not equally unanimous on the question of using violence at all in settling disputes, international, national or domestic. Broadly speaking, Mahatma Gandhi takes the extreme position that under no circumstances is violence justified. There is much truth in his contention, as that of many pacifists, that violence never settled any question satisfactorily. But it is not likely that the Mahatma and the pacifists will find many sincere supporters. It may be recalled that the Mahatma, notwithstanding his principle of non-violence, actively engaged himself in recruiting during the last World War. The great majority of publicists in India will not shrink from violence on principle.

Given the choice to decide, should India join England in the war that looms ahead? Of course, if the impending war were of an imperialist kind, meant to extend England's sway over other people for their exploitation, there can be no question what India's attitude would be. India will not join an imperialist war. But in the present case, if war breaks out at all, England will be on the side of outraged Czechoslovakia in defence of democracy as against fascism. Whatever be the ethics and merits of it, the whole of England's policy in the present instance was to avoid war even at the sacrifice of justice and morality rather than support, by violence, the claims of the German dictator. The only conceivable contingency is of England standing by the side of France and Russia in aid of Czechoslovakia.

India cannot withhold her sympathy for Czechoslovakia; she cannot refuse to go to the assistance of that unhappy country. Even if England

had shirked, India would, to the extent that it was open to her, assist that nation.

On the other hand, should India assist England without reservations even when England is engaged in a war which India herself approves? There are those who advance the view that England's difficulties are India's opportunities, and others that hold the contrary view. If memory serves right, in 1914, paradoxical as it may seem, the late Dr. Annie Besant supported the former view, while Mahatma Gandhi urged the latter. A Britisher, perhaps because she was Irish, advised India not to help England without asking for the price in advance, while an Indian, perhaps because he was a Mahatma, thought that to take advantage of others' difficulties was unchivalrous. Events have proved that Mrs. Besant was more in the right than the Mahatma. Whatever may be

the case with individuals, nations know no chivalry and morals.

What view the Mahatma will take on this occasion remains yet to be seen. But the general opinion will be that India should secure her rights before she goes to the assistance of England even in a righteous war. It may not be the height of chivalry but it is sound commonsense that India should not hesitate to exploit England's need of her co-operation to secure her own just and rightful dues in advance. Before fighting for democracy in Czechoslovakia England may well concede democracy to India. If England declines to make India an equal partner with herself, India must be content to show her undoubted sympathy for Czechoslovakia by her prayers, rather than by her arms.

SPIKE THE LABOUR BILL

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Nagpur on September 17 and 18 under the presidentship of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee. Fourteen members, including Mr. N. M. Joshi, were present. The Committee unanimously passed the following resolution on the Bombay Industrial Disputes Bill:

Having considered the provisions of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Bill introduced by the Government of Bombay in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress is of opinion that the Bill is uncalled for, reactionary, retrograde, and prejudicial and harmful to the interests of the workers.

The Bill makes unnecessary discrimination and distinction between the different kinds of unions and is calculated to create slave unions working under the direction and control of the employers.

It puts unnecessary restrictions on the free, proper and healthy development of the unions working on real trade union lines and creates rivalry between them, thereby weakening the trade union movement as a whole. It deprives, under certain circumstances, the trade unions of the right to negotiate and transfers it to outside agencies. The Bill takes away a legitimate, constitutional and powerful weapon of the workers, viz., the strike, by declaring it illegal and therefore, punishable with serious punishment in a large number of cases.

Further, the provisions of the Bill in this behalf are based on utter disregard of the fact that the two partners of the industry, viz., the employers and the workers, are not equally organised and do not possess the same strength and power.

The provisions of the Bill relating to conciliation are unduly complicated and make an invidious and uncalled for discrimination between employers and employees. Part of the Bill relating to arbitration and industrial court is incomplete and one-sided and puts unwarranted, unjust and unfair restrictions on the employees.

The Working Committee regrets to find that the Bill, not only repudiates the Congress election manifesto but even ignores the progressive recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in this behalf.

The Committee, therefore, expresses its emphatic protest against the Bill and strongly condemns the Bombay Government for introducing and rushing through, in spite of the T. U. C. and the entire working class opposition, a measure which takes away the most fundamental right of the workers to an extent as even the bureaucratic Government could not think of doing.

The Committee appeals to the public to support the working class struggle against the Bill and voice its timely protest against this anti-working class and anti-national measure.

We endorse every word of the resolution quoted above. Most of the points made in it against the Bombay Industrial Disputes Bill were discussed in some detail in these columns before. Those contentions now acquire special weight in view of the support given to them by the Working Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress which represents the whole of the Trade Union Movement in India. The Congress Government in Bombay, however, is not likely to budge an inch from its grim determination to pass the Bill as it is before the Poona Session of the Assembly is over. This is evident from the facts that Government have refused even to refer the Bill to a Select Committee and that they have not even cared to circulate it for eliciting public opinion. Amendments proposed by the labour members to the various clauses of the Bill are being only formally opposed and thrown out through sheer force of numbers. Sure of its mechanical majority in the House, Government do not even care to reply to the contentions of the movers of the amendments. Or, do they not have any arguments whatever, on the strength of which they could oppose the amendments? Their business apparently seems to oppose the amendments formally and throw them out. The attitude is entirely unbecoming to a responsible Government and is, therefore, reprehensible in the extreme.

The remarkable gifts of a spirit of compromise and a policy of give and take displayed by the Congress when it negotiated with British Imperialism on the issue of office acceptance, seem to have exhausted themselves altogether. Or, are they being specially reserved for employment in the near future, when the formula of 'working the Federation with a view to wrecking it' will be discussed?

THE ugly haste with which the Bill is being rushed through the legislature is really most astonishing and contemptible. As Mr. Parulekar pointed out in the Assembly, heavens are not going to fall if some months are allowed to pass before the Bill is carried on to the statute book. We however learn that the desire of Government to pass the Bill in Poona instead of taking it to Bombay for the next session of the Assembly, is pregnant with meaning deeper than may be ordinarily suspected. The Government apprehend that if this Bill is discussed in Bombay, the militant workers of Bombay will bring pressure on Government to give up this Bill by organising a huge demonstration and protesting against the systematic emasculation of their movement. The demonstration will cause embarrassment both to Government and to the legislators. If this is true, the attitude of Government only betrays a guilty conscience. It is really deplorable that a popular Government returned to power primarily by workers and peasants should, within a year of its coming into office, be reduced to the plight of having deliberately to keep away from their constituents. The Congress Party, than which no other party in India was more fond of public demonstrations just a little more than a year back, seems to have suddenly shed its love of the spectacular and developed an ultra-liberal disposition towards the constitutional forms of agitation except, of course, in the Provinces in which Congress is not in office. The Congress Government in Bombay did not like the great rally of 25,000 peasants that, in January last, demonstrated before the Council Hall in Bombay and presented the 'peasants' demands. Government, apparently do not want any more occasions of that variety, least of all one organised by the trained and militant workers of Bombay.

It may be only a truism to say that there must be something wrong with a popular Government which shows signs of dislike for a meeting with their own electors. But the truism comes to us at the present moment full of significant content. Here is a Government which furiously canvassed support of the toiling masses of the country only a little while ago and which, within a year of its return to power, develops unhealthy symptoms of contempt for mass contact. The apparent contradiction, though not logically justifiable, is psychologically explicable. The Bombay Government finds

itself sandwiched between two sets of considerations—those arising from their spacious promises to their electors in the form of the notorious Karachi resolution and the Congress election manifesto on the one hand, and, on the other, those arising from the class interests of persons who dominate the Congress Party as a whole. Unfortunately the Bombay Government is fast completing the process of throwing overboard the provisions of their election manifesto so far as they relate to the improvement of the conditions of workers and peasants. It just cannot help doing so, being as it is, completely under the thumb of persons who are anxious to keep pleased a class whose interests, in their very nature, collide with those of the workers and peasants.

But whatever the explanation of the origin and development of the present reactionary policy of the Congress Government in Bombay, the workers and peasants cannot but protest against it with all their might and in all the ways that are available to them. The Bombay Provincial Committee of the Trades Union Congress has already arrived at a unanimous decision that as a protest against the anti-labour nature of the Labour Bill now on the anvil of the Bombay Assembly, workers all over the Province should declare a general strike of one day on the 17th of October next. We have no doubt that the resolution of the B. P. T. U. C. will be acted up to in all the important industrial centres of the Presidency. What are the Bombay Government going to do about it? Are they going to resort to the hated provisions of the central Trade Disputes Act of 1929 declaring political strikes illegal and penalise the workers and their leaders for organising this strike? If they do so, to say the least about it, they will soon be going the way that all repressive and despotic Governments have gone before. If they decide to turn night into day and finish all the three readings of the Bill before the 17th of October, the consequences will be worse. For all we know, the symbolical nature of the one-day strike may not remain altogether symbolical, and this Province may have to pass through an orgy of labour unrest such as it never witnessed before. Whatever the Bombay Government does or does not do about it, we have no doubt that the workers will spike the Labour Bill.

INDIAN INDIA IN AGONY.

ALMOST every mail received during the last few weeks has brought to us some piece of news or other regarding repression on an unprecedented scale resorted to by authorities in various Indian States. Mysore started it and it has now spread to Travancore, Hyderabad, Nabha, Udaipur, Kashmir and quite a number of States in Orissa. Everywhere the form of political agitation by the people and its forcible suppression by the

authorities is the same though the particulars differ from state to state.

As a rule the demands of the people are simple and moderate. In Orissa they want the governments to put an end to feudal levies and forced labour and modify the oppressive forest laws. In some States they want representative government of the diarchical form. People in some other States like Kashmir are asking for adult franchise and responsible government. In view of the political developments in the neighbouring provinces of British India, these demands of the States peoples are, as we said, really moderate and in some cases of an elementary character.

The States peoples are pressing for these concessions from their autocratic rulers by legitimate methods: holding public meetings, issuing pamphlets and publishing newspapers to awaken and educate public opinion. But these measures are resented by the authorities and are being suppressed with the utmost vigour and rigour. Wholesale and semi-permanent promulgation of Section 144 in order to ban public meetings and demonstrations is one of the mildest measures of checking popular movement for social and political reform. The ban on public meetings of all descriptions became so rigid and oppressive in many places that people had to disregard it in order to make their will felt by the authorities, who promptly retaliated in the name of law and order. In Travancore they opened fire on big gatherings of people four times in course of two weeks, as a result of which nearly twenty people are reported to have died and a considerably large number injured. In Dhenkanal, in Orissa, on the 11th September last, the President of the Praja Mandal and fourteen other leaders of the people were arrested. Fire was opened three times.

With regard to the freedom of the Press and the freedom of organization it may be generally observed that the State authorities have ruthlessly banished these things from their territories. It would be more accurate to say that they hardly ever existed in any Indian State. The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam have prohibited the entry into the State of 21 newspapers, of which eleven are from Bombay. The same Government, under the guidance of Sir Akbar Hydari, recently had the unique distinction of declaring unlawful an institution which has yet to be born—the proposed Hyderabad State Congress. The Travancore State Congress has also been declared illegal. In Dhenkanal State in Orissa British troops have been called in to assist the State authorities. They are now combing the interior of the State in search of unlawful assemblies and subversive activities. As a result, many people, including women in advanced state of pregnancy, are reported to have left the Dhenkanal State and migrated to the neighbouring British Indian territories. The situation in Talcher, another Orissa State, is equally serious. All "assemblies of persons" have been declared illegal by a notification. The notification is quoted

to say: "Any man wearing Khaddar and putting on Gandhi cap and seen exciting people is liable to be arrested and punished under the law."

The story of repression that is being perpetrated in the name of law and order in other States is more or less of the same nature.

The causes of these happenings in the States are not far to seek. British India and the so-called Indian India form one integral whole whatever, in theory, may be their political character. Political developments in the one, therefore, can scarcely fail to influence public opinion in the other. The recent advent of responsible Government and autonomy in the British Indian Provinces, however imperfect it may be, has naturally roused the hitherto suppressed social and political aspirations of the Indian States' subjects. After all, whatever the endeavours of the Indian Princes to preserve intact their mediaeval autocratic methods of rule, there is no putting a stop to the process of history. Lord Samuel, recently speaking in London, on the question of the proposed Indian Federation, expressed a similar sentiment with regard to the Indian Princes. "He believed the Princes would be well advised to realise that the day of the old, simple, mediaeval autocracy was drawing to an end and that it was essential to liberalise their institutions. He saw no reason why they should not hope that the Princes would, on their own initiative, come forward with some declaration to the effect that they were prepared to adopt a liberalising policy."

We entirely agree with Lord Samuel when he says that it is high time that the hitherto immobile Indian potentates appreciated the signs of the times and adapted themselves to the changing circumstances. But we are afraid we cannot share his optimism in this respect. Our Princes are accustomed for long years to exercise almost unlimited authority over the lives and property of their subjects. The entire being of more than 8 million human beings in this country has been at the mercy of these less than 700 persons called Princes. They are not likely to suffer any loosening of their tight hold on their people unless they are forced by the people to do so. Political power never changes hands by the process of giving and receiving. It is secured only to the extent to which it is taken.

In support of this general contention of ours we may refer to the views of the Dewan of Travancore, as they were recently reported, on the question of responsible government in the State. According to him the demand for responsible government on the part of the State subjects is, strictly speaking, inconsistent with their loyalty to the Maharajah, because the demand means the people have not got complete and implicit faith in the wisdom and benevolence of the Maharajah and such a faith is the very essence of unqualified loyalty.

The demand for responsible government, therefore proceeds from the disloyalty of the maker of the demand and moreover, if the maker preaches the demand to others, that involves him in the further offence of preaching disloyalty, viz, sedition. Those, therefore, who make a demand of responsible government commit sedition and are, therefore, liable to be prosecuted under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. If demanding responsible government is disloyalty and preaching it is sedition, we have no hesitation in openly declaring that, whatever the Government, disloyalty will be our aim and sedition our creed. But that is the view of the situation that the Princes are driven to take almost instinctively and in sheer, desperate self-defence. Because the wise among them may be expected to know that they or their kind will have no place in the future Indian polity, why should they not fight every inch of ground before finally giving in and why should any considerations of justice deter them from using any means whatever, to preserve the *status quo*? We do not blame them for doing so. We only express our apprehension—or shall we say hope—that, like all others of their kind, they will overdo the thing and thereby only bring the end nearer.

Review.

BASIC ENGLISH.

TIMES OF INDIA GUIDE TO BASIC ENGLISH,
BY C. K. OGDEN AND I. A. RICHARDS. Ed. BY
ADOPPH MYERS. (The Times of India Press,
Bombay.) 1938. 21 cm. 171 P. Re. 1.

Basic English has been in the air for a long time now; but it is only during the last few months that it has become a topic of interest in our country. The press and platform propaganda carried on in its behalf has successfully attracted public attention, and has led to the formation of associations here and there for experimenting with the scheme.

It is perhaps too late in the day to question the claim of English to become the international *lingua franca*, or at least the most widely spoken language among the nations of the world. By chance or by intrinsic merit, English has won many adherents, and possesses to-day the richest literature in the world. Its claim, therefore, to spread and spread widely, is more legitimate than that of any other language.

Taking that for granted, the only problem concerning English is how best to learn it. It is a general belief—not without reason—that English is a difficult language to learn. Basic English is first and foremost a step towards removing that difficulty. The Basic scheme makes it possible for non-English knowing persons to pick up that language easily and to write and speak with sufficient fluency. For conversational, commercial and even literary purposes, Basic English is a convenient vehicle. Its great merit is that it has a scientifically chosen vocabulary of 850 words which do most work in "covering" senses. The words chosen are simple and short, and two other good points about the system are—first, the

simplification of grammar through the elimination of the verb and in other ways; and, second, the selection of vocabulary and idiom by inclusiveness of meaning.

The book under review is only a guide, but a very good one, to the scheme of Basic English, prepared by two of the best exponents of the system—C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards. The book deals with questions like—what is Basic English?, what is its purpose?, what about grammar?, the future of Basic as an international language. In Part II the system of Basic English, the word scheme, the learning of Basic and the teaching of Basic are clearly explained. The examples (in part V) of essays written on scientific, political, economic, literary and journalistic topics give the reader an idea how Basic English can be successfully employed for the conveyance of ideas in all departments of thought.

The book, on the whole, is well planned and well executed, and presents the new scheme in a very clear and appealing manner. It is enough inducement for those whose ideas of Basic English are vague to become converts to the system. The claim of the authors that—"as a psychological and educational discipline and as an international medium Basic English is admittedly a challenge to certain habits which have their roots very deep in our social behaviour", and that "the moment is perhaps not altogether unfavourable, in India as elsewhere, to the demand for a new linguistic conscience in the new generation whose social experiments may otherwise be frustrated by outworn verbal formulae"—is as just as it is valid.

Basic English is an especial boon to India, where the teaching and learning of English in the lower classes particularly is a problem. It serves as a splendid first step for our young boys and girls in their attempt to learn the English language. And the fear that Basic English on account of its limited vocabulary and restricted rules, tends to stunt the advancement of wider knowledge is without foundation, for the scope is always there in later stages for the more gifted to develop the range of their vocabulary and idiom and with them their self-expression. No, Basic English is not so revolutionary as is it generally supposed to be. It does not play truant to the parent. Preserving all the essentials of a great language with a great tradition, Basic English is only a made-easy method, timely in its advent, valuable in its use and hopeful in its results.

V. N. BHUSHAN.

SHORT NOTICES.

**THE DRAVIDIAN CULTURE AND ITS
DIFFUSION.** By T. K. KRISHNA MENON.
(V. Sundra Iyer & Sons, Ernakulam.) 1937.
18cm. 107p. Rs. 2.

THIS little book, the author says, is an introduction to the history of Kerala. It is no doubt valuable in estimating the influence of Dravidian culture. There is something unique in the Dravidian culture that will yet make a mark in the march of the world's civilization. But as can be seen from the recent discovery of a pre-Aryan civilization in the Indus valley, the Dravidians are supposed to be root founders of ancient civilizations that have lived and gone. The claims seem to be upheld with strong historical arguments.

SWAMI YESUDAS.

AS I LOOK BACK. Address delivered by SIR PHIROZE SETHNA, (Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1938. 18cm. 27p. Rs. 1.

Melancholy interest attaches to this posthumous publication of a radio speech given by the late Sir Phiroze Sethna a few months before his recent death. In the speech Sir Phiroze recalled the story of his busy and useful life. It is interesting reading.

K.

HIMSELF--THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A HINDU LADY. BY MRS. RAMABAI RANADE. Translated by Katherine Van Akin Gates, (Longmans, N. Y.) 1938. 19cm. 253p. \$ 2.00

This book is an English translation of the account of the married life of the late Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, wife of the late Justice M. G. Ranade. It is a picture of the life of a Hindu wife in the late 19th century and a moving story of a great love.

The book begins with a brief sketch of the family background and life of an eleven year old girl in a Maratha Brahmin family. The real story begins with her marriage at that age to the sorrowing and unwilling widower, Mr. M. G. Ranade, who was 22 years older than the bride. Mr. Ranade's understanding, keen interest and personal supervision of his wife's education are sharply contrasted with the abuse that was her portion from the many widows who made up their family.

The story has many descriptions of places and people who were friends of Mr. Justice Ranade. With the encouragement and help of her husband, Mrs. Ranade became one of the first Indian ladies to take part in public meetings. She also joined with the women who were pioneers in the movement to emancipate Hindu women.

The book ends with the death of the husband. But, as many people in India know, Mrs. Ranade afterwards did very great work for the women of Poona by helping to found the Poona Seva Sadan. It is an inspiring story of what even a few people can accomplish when they earnestly work to help their fellowmen.

M. C. RAO.

URBAN BANKS. By L. K. BHAGWAT. (Author, Keshav-Niwas, Jangli Msharaj Road, Poona.) 1938. 19cm. 170p. Rs. 2.

THIS volume of 170 pages is literally a mine of information for the worker in the field of urban co-operative banking. There is a general impression in banking circles in India that the field of effort for co-operative banking is confined to rural areas. How incorrect this impression is can be appreciated by any one who cares to study the development of banking in other countries. How ill-informed it is will be obvious to any one who takes the trouble to glance at statistics relating to the progress of the co-operative movement, particularly in provinces like Madras, Bombay and Bengal. It is not Mr. Bhagwat's purpose in this volume to assess the utility of urban co-operative banking in the world of Indian banking. His aim is much more modest. It is to provide for those who are connected with the large and growing number of urban co-operative banks a compendium containing much valuable material gained from various sources.

It is a self-contained treatise on the subject and the student and the worker have no need, for all practical purposes, to turn to other books for reference. The most valuable part of the volume is represented by the detailed hints given on the subject of procedure, the model rules proposed for adoption, and the forms of documents and accounts recommended. For this purpose Mr. Bhagwat has drawn on his experience as Chief Accountant of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, and the staff and management of urban banks will find scattered throughout the book practical hints on various aspects of the work they take in hand. Mr. Bhagwat's is thus a most praiseworthy effort, which needs to be brought to the attention of co-operative workers all over India.

V. L. M.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

LAND MORTGAGE BANKS AND DEBT CONCILIATION.

SIR,—My three years' experience as Chairman of a Land Mortgage Bank has convinced me that the success of Land Mortgage Banks as an instrument for relieving agricultural indebtedness depends mainly on the effectiveness of their conciliation machinery. During those three years we could advance loans to the extent of only about one-fifth of the aggregate amount for which applications were made. That was because the unsuccessful applicants were unable to offer adequate security and or had not adequate repaying capacity. But if the debts for the redemption of which they needed loans could have been reduced by conciliation to the extent of making the security and the repaying capacity adequate in respect of the correspondingly smaller loans that would then have been needed for the repayment of the reduced debts, none of the applications need have been turned down.

Our conciliation boards were however powerless to achieve any such result, or anything remotely approaching it. Here I must frankly say that conciliation statistics are apt to be deceptive, and but little reliance can be placed on them. A 25 per cent. remission of a debt which has been 25 per cent. inflated is really no remission whatever, and in most cases debts are more or less inflated. Indeed, I have reason to suspect that in a number of cases the creditor must have secured more than what was equitably due to him even though he had given a seemingly liberal remission.

It is not at all surprising that conciliation boards have been of little material help to agriculturists. They have at present no power to require production of accounts and documents, or to summon and examine witnesses and, have generally no means of finding out how much is really and equitably due to the creditor. It will not, however, be enough to invest them with such

powers by legislation. They must further be empowered (1) to scale down the total debt of an agriculturist to the market-value of his holding after excluding therefrom such quantity of land as would be needed for his and his family's maintenance; and (2) to scale it down still further, where necessary, to such amount (inclusive of future interest) as he can repay by ten annual instalments out of the estimated net income of his land after subtracting therefrom enough to maintain himself and those dependent upon him. In making this suggestion, I am merely applying the principle underlying all insolvency legislation to the case of semi-insolvents. I say nothing here about the reduction to be made at the outset on account of the marked difference between the past and the present purchasing powers of the rupee because Government have already recognized the justification for it.

But it would be no use scaling down debts unless there is a law making it disadvantageous for the creditors to refuse what is offered. At present, secured creditors dictate their own terms to conciliation boards and say: take them or leave them.

The number of suitable men available for conciliation work is strictly limited. It is, therefore, very desirable that the conciliation boards to be constituted under the proposed legislation should also be the conciliation boards for Land Mortgage Banks in their respective areas, so that there may be a single board for all conciliation work in a particular area. The work will not be done expeditiously if two boards, with a more or

less common personnel, are constituted for the two different classes of work. If conciliation work is to be done satisfactorily, it will be desirable to have an official at the head of the board, and as more than one could be ill-spared for the work, it would be desirable to have only one board. It may be urged that there will be nothing to prevent a debtor from applying in the first instance to a conciliation board constituted under the proposed legislation for getting his debts compounded by it, and thereafter applying to a Land Mortgage Bank for a loan to pay off the compounded debts. If he can do that, he will certainly do it and if the boards constituted under the proposed legislation have wider powers conferred on them than what may be conferred on boards attached to the Land Mortgage Banks, every debtor who wants a loan from a Land Mortgage Bank will do so. But in that case, the latter boards will have no work to do and will be practically superseded by the boards constituted under the legislation.

It is very desirable not to allow agriculturists to continue in the clutches of their sowcars. The latter should be paid off by Land Mortgage Banks wherever the former are in a position to borrow from the Banks on the security of their lands. Where they are not in a position to do so, Government should arrange to pay off the creditors, and later recover the money (with interest) from the debtors by yearly instalments as land revenue.

P. J. TALEYARKHAN.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

SPECIAL PUJAH NUMBER

(September 29, 1938)

CONTENTS

Present Chaos and World Order	... By SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions, Oxford University.
Leaders and Politics	... " K. R. KRIPALANI, Editor, Viswabharathi Quarterly.
The Sakta Cult and Hindu Religion	... " K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras.
The Pujas in Bengal	... " BUDDHADEVA BOSE, Editor, "Kavita."
Separatism or Self-expression?	... " DR. P. SITHARAMAYYA, Member, Congress Working Committee.
My Special Article	... " POTHAN JOSEPH, Editor, "Indian Express."
Sanskrit in Indian Universities	... " DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.
Cult of Islam	... " PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR, M.L.C.
A Skit	... " G. L. MEHTA (G. L. M. of Indian Finance).

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20, British Indian Street, CALCUTTA.