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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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Topics of the Week.

The late Kemal Ataturk.

IN the passing of Kemal Ataturk, modern Turkey loses its creator and the world one of its most outstanding personalities. The record of his life and work is a modern marvel. He took hold of Turkey, or what remained of it after the Great War, at a time when the nation was most disheartened and demoralised, and in a few years fashioned a most virile, modern and self-confident nation. The vast and fundamental changes in the social, political, religious and economic life of the people of Turkey that he successfully forced through in such rapid succession have no parallel. Among the most fundamental reforms were the abolition of the Sultanate and its substitution by a republic, the abolition of the Caliphate and the secularization of the State and education, the emancipation of women, the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the metric system.

THOUGH a Dictator, he was different from other contemporary Dictators. He did not constantly hoist himself on the mass hysteria lashed up among his people, or keep the rest of the world uneasy all the time. He dropped all desire to win back the lost territories of the former Turkish Empire and was content to rejuvenate the limited number of people under his charge. Both in his internal and external policies he was remarkably successful. It remains to be seen if the reforms effected by him have been assimilated by the people and will continue to be operative even when his forceful personality has been removed, or whether there will be a reaction.

General Strike Inquiry Committee.

THE Government of Bombay has appointed a committee to inquire into the incidents that happened in connexion with the one-day general strike organised in Bombay on the 7th inst. as a protest against the pernicious character of the Industrial Disputes Bill. Labour would welcome, and had indeed asked for, an impartial inquiry, but to this particular committee it has strong objection. It objects both to the composition of the committee and its terms of reference. The committee consists wholly of lawyers and would appear at first sight to be such as would insure a judicial report. But, in the opinion of the workers some one who has experience of labour movements and is familiar with the excited state of feeling inevitably generated in times of stress and tension should have found a place on the committee. He realises the necessity of keeping steady nerves at such a time, while others are apt to get quite an unnecessary scare.

AGAIN, the terms of reference have been so drawn up as to appear to prejudice the issue. Government in their communique announcing the appointment of the committee assert that there were "serious disturbances" and that they "were due to the violence of speech and action on an organised scale." The committee, being told this much, is asked to inquire into the disturbances which took place "as a result of the strike," and to examine "the precautionary measures" that Government took on the occasion. Labour feels that some of the most important questions on which the committee is invited to give its finding are already taken for granted in its terms of reference, and the inquiry based upon them cannot be full and impartial, even if its defective composition were to be ignored. An elucidation on this matter was sought in the Assembly by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, but the replies he received were considered by him to be so unsatisfactory as to lead him to move the adjournment of the house. The adjournment motion was lost only because of the thinness of the Assembly at the fag-end of the session.

ANOTHER grievance of labour is that Government took no steps to promise those workers who would give evidence before the committee that they would be protected from victimisation at the hands of the employers. Such protection is essential if workers are to come forward to tender honest evidence. They can go on strike in a mass, but, isolated, they are too weak, and can easily be tempted or coerced into perjuring themselves. The cumulative weight of these objections is so great that both the Trade Union Congress and the Independent Labour Party, who jointly organised the strike, have decided to boycott the

proceedings of the committee, and we do not think that the decision is without justification.

* * *

The Plight of the Jews:

THE impotence of national and international morality to save the unhappy Jews in Germany from the incredibly cruel persecution by the German Government is sickening to contemplate. Heaven knows that the Jews all over the world have enough and more reason to hate the present Nazi Government. It is hardly surprising that there should be a young Jew who was driven by a sense of exasperation to deed of violence without counting the costs. The rash and criminal act of a young Jew in Paris in assassinating the German diplomat, Von Roth, has led to the perpetration of atrocities by the Nazi Government on innocent Jews in Germany that staggered even confirmed anti-Semites. Not only has private property of the Jews been wantonly destroyed, but even their synagogues have been set on fire, and the action has been approved by Dr. Goebbels! Further persecution is threatened. Expulsion or segregation in ghettos are among the measures enacted or proposed.

* * *

THERE were times when the Christian nations of Western Europe felt shocked at the tyrannies of heathen potentates elsewhere and, like knight-errants, they sought to intervene, even at the cost of war, to rescue the innocent victims. There were days when the Christian nations of Western Europe realised the shocking nature of human slavery in Negroes which they themselves had carried on for centuries with profit, and made wars to end the inhuman system. But today, the Christian and non-Christian nations of the world are not less shocked with the Nazi atrocities on the hapless Jews in Germany, but are looking on impotent to lift their little finger to rescue them. Some of them are even talking of coming to terms with the arch-tyrant and appeasing him. Far from saving from him the people who are already his victims, they have sold other people to him and propose to do more of it.

* * *

"Put Your Own House in Order."

IN reply to the severe condemnation of Nazi atrocities in the British Press, it would appear that the controlled, and therefore unanimous, Press in Germany retorted by asking the British to put their own house in order first. The example the German Press gave, the British persecution of Arabs in Palestine, is, however, very wide of the mark. There is no persecution of Arabs in Palestine by the British like the persecution of the Jews in Germany. But that does not mean that there are no parallels in the British Empire. In South Africa, for instance, Indians are practically expelled from the country. The white policy of the Government drives Indians out of the jobs they held, and that naturally compels them to leave the country. South Africa has stigmatized Indians as undesirable even as the Germans stigmatized the Jews in Germany. Apart from this milder form of expulsion, the Government enforces segregation of Indians in ghettos. The treatment of Indians in the Transvaal has not been very different in many ways from that of the Jews in Nazi Germany. Within India itself, though there is no expulsion of any community, there is yet the segregation in ghettos of the Harijans.

* * *

RACE persecution need not always be as violent and dramatic as that of the Jews in Germany today, in order to be equally painful and humiliating. It is pretty universal, particularly in the British Commonwealth and the U. S. A. It is only in India that there is to-day a strong movement to denounce the persecution and abolish the prejudice; elsewhere, it is acclaimed and enforced by the Governments and leaders of public opinion.

* * *

The Punjab Land Alienation Act.

THE Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 was passed with a view to protecting the agriculturist from the money-lender. Few, except some money-lenders, would have any objection to such a beneficial measure. But the definition of the agriculturist under the Act is unique and mischievous. An agriculturist, was defined as a member of a caste which the executive Government recognised as agriculturist, irrespective of the vocation of the individual concerned. A person's vocation was defined by the accident of his birth and not by his occupation. With the result that a person may not himself be an agriculturist by profession but is one by order of the executive Government for the purposes of the Act.

* * *

THE working of the Act during the last nearly forty years has proved to the hilt the criticisms of the opponents of the Act. The Act created a class of money-lending agriculturists who were no better than the non-agriculturist money-lenders, and increasingly the land of the smaller owners has passed into the hands of the larger owners, though both belonged to the class of statutory agriculturists. It is no consolation to the small land-owner to know that he lost his land to an agriculturist money-lender instead of to a non-agriculturist money-lender.

* * *

RECENTLY the present Punjab Ministry promoted three bills, some of which have already become law, which deal with land in the Punjab and which provoked much agitation among the non-agriculturists in the Punjab. As we have already dealt with these measures in these columns, it is unnecessary to refer to them again, except to say that only one measure, the Punjab Alienation of Land (Third Amendment) Act, attempts to abolish the distinction between the statutory agriculturist and non-agriculturist. It seeks to put the agriculturist money-lender on a level with the non-agriculturist money-lender upto a point. Critics of the measure have asked the Government to go further and designate all money-lenders, whether from the agriculturist or non-agriculturist classes, as non-agriculturist.

* * *

IN all these measures, however, the fundamental basis of the Punjab Land Alienation Act has not been attacked, namely, that an agriculturist is one whose caste the executive Government recognises as agriculturist. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang has given notice of a bill which seeks to attack this fundamental basis of the Act. It seeks, in the words of the resolution of the Kisan Sabha held at Lyallpore on the 17th October last, to make the term "agriculturist synonymous with the actual tiller of the soil, irrespective of the caste or community to which he belonged." Apart from any other provision of the Bill, this provision

to eliminate the most absurd and most mischievous definition in the Act of the agriculturist by his birth in a caste recognised as agriculturist by the executive Government, should commend itself to all sane people. Sir Gokul Chand's Bill seeks to protect the small owner of 15 acres and less from the large owner. This is an eminently sensible proposition.

IT is to be hoped that all small-owners, whether agriculturists or non-agriculturists under the present statute, whether Muslims or Hindus or Sikhs or others, will join in supporting the Bill of Sir Gokul Chand Narang, and the Government themselves will see their way to accept it. An economic measure should be discussed on economic grounds, and not on racial and religious ones.

Jewish Settlement in Kenya.

REPLYING to interpellations in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi, Sir Giriya Shankar Bajpai stated that there was a scheme to settle a limited number of Jewish refugees in the Highlands of Kenya as agriculturists. He added that the Jews would be agriculturists and not traders and that, therefore, the interests of Indian traders would not be adversely affected. He admitted, however, that the question of the admission of non-British Jews to settlement in the Highlands when the British-Indians were excluded from it was a matter of principle, and that the Government of India had made representations.

INDIANS have no feeling against Jews on racial grounds and would welcome them as any other people. They recognise also that in the present plight of Jews in Germany every effort should be made to accommodate them elsewhere. It is a problem in the solution of which Indians will gladly co-operate and share the necessary sacrifices. As far as the settlement of the Jews is concerned, India will share the view advanced by Mr. George Lansbury in the House of Commons that the British Dominions could and should receive them. Their admission to the Dominions would not only solve their present difficulty without any inconvenience to the already resident populations, but will create much less difficulties in future than their admis-

sion to African colonies and mandates, where their presence will only aggravate the racial conflicts. The European Jews from Germany stand a better chance of racial, political and economic assimilation in the British Dominions and the U. S. A. than in Africa.

WHILE holding this view, India would not object to the settlement of a limited number of Jews in the Kenya Highlands, but must strongly object to their own exclusion from the Highlands for settlement. India has helped in the development of Kenya while the Jews to be invited, have not, and it is most unjust that British Indians who helped to develop the Colony should be denied rights which are to be conferred on non-British Jews who have no such claim.

Malaya.

A comparison of paragraph 18 in the Annual Reports of the Labour Department, Malaya, for 1936 and 1937 discloses an important omission in the latter Report which calls for some explanation, particularly as the wording of the paragraph in the two Reports is exactly the same, word for word, except for this omission. This paragraph institutes a comparison between Chinese and Indian labour on the rubber plantations, and the wages that they get. Among other things the 1936 paragraph said: "The Chinese have always been accustomed to payment by results and get higher wages than Indians by working in this way. *The costs to the estates are the same, however, no matter which type of labour and system is employed, and most large companies are still of opinion that apart from the smaller yield the other results of Indian tapping are more satisfactory.*" The words put in italics have been omitted in the 1937 Report. If the omission was deliberate, an explanation should be given. It has been held in other quarters that the costs to the estates were different and the estates paid higher wages to the Chinese than to Indians for the same amount of work. If the estates could afford to pay higher wages to the Chinese, there is no reason why they cannot afford to pay the same wage to Indian labourers. The question is of some importance, and it is hoped that the Malaya Government will furnish an authoritative statement on the subject.

PALESTINE

THE British Government have accepted the major and unanimous recommendation of the Woodhead Commission and abandoned the Peel Commission's proposals for the partition of Palestine. They propose now to explore the possibilities of an agreed settlement between the Arabs and the Jews by means of a Round Table Conference in London. Interest naturally centres on the composition and agenda of the Conference.

The British Government do not propose to call a Round Table Conference in the first instance in which the Arab, the Jewish and the British delegates will participate. They propose to have two separate conferences: one between

the British and the Arabs, and another between the British and the Jews. They then hope that it will be possible to have another conference in which all the three parties will participate. This is a tacit recognition that at the moment there is no common ground between the Arabs and the Jews. That is indeed the basic fact of the situation. There is no possibility of reconciling the claims of the Arabs and the Jews, which are mutually exclusive. And the situation is further complicated by the fact that Britain is no disinterested party, though at the moment the dominating one. Nor is it a local problem confined to Palestine. The great bulk of the Jewish world

is behind the Jews in Palestine and the great bulk of the Arab and Muslim world is behind the Arabs in Palestine. And Britain is not the only third party interested in the question though the main responsibility of finding a solution has fallen to her lot. Germany and Italy, though not particularly fond of the Arabs, are not loth to fan the flames of Arab hostility not only because they are anti-Jewish but also because they wish to accentuate the difficulties of England. Instigation of the Arabs is part of the revenge that Germany and Italy, the defeated nations in the last War, are planning against the vindictive victors and England in particular which gained most of the spoils of the War. France and the U. S. A. are also involved, because of the Arabs in the French mandate in Syria and of the most influential Jewish organization in the U. S. A. and the special treaty between the U. S. A. and England regarding the rights of American Jews in Palestine. In fact, the British Government acknowledged that Palestine was a world problem.

It was because of this recognition that they felt it proper and necessary to invite to the conferences others besides the representatives of the Jewish Agency and of the Arabs in Palestine. They have invited delegates of the Governments of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yeman and Trans-Jordan. While acknowledging that Syria and Lebanon, by reason of their contiguity, were interested in the question, the British Government refrained from inviting delegates from their Governments because they were under French mandatory control. Nor have Persia and Afganistan been invited, though they are Muslim Powers. There seems to be no principle on which the invitations were issued. If Egypt, though not an Arab State, was invited because of its contiguity, Syria and Lebanon, which are also contiguous, should have been invited. If only Arab States were to be invited, there was no need to include Egypt. If Muslim interest in the question was the criterion, the Muslim States of Turkey, Persia and Afganistan might have been included. As it is, the only common factor is that all the invitees are under British control.

Even the *Times* of London has questioned the propriety of inviting the delegates of the Governments of the so-called independent Arab States. It is not clear what part the British Government expects them to play at the Conferences. As far as their views on the Palestine question are concerned, they have already unequivocally declared themselves in the League of Nations in favour of the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. It remains to be seen whether in London they will continue to maintain their former opinions, or allow themselves to be used by the British Government as a counter-weight to the Arabs in Palestine.

The method of representation of the Arabs in Palestine itself, the people most concerned, has

not been indicated. The British Government have stated however who shall not be delegates. They have reserved the right to refuse to receive leaders whom they regarded as responsible for the campaign of assassination and violence and they have already exercised the right in the case of the present Mufti of Jerusalem, whom they have declared to be "wholly unacceptable." Both with regard to the general right and its particular application, the British Government have, we fear, committed a serious blunder. If the British Government wish to treat with the representatives of the Arabs in Palestine, they must leave the choice to the Arabs themselves. It would be a mistake if the British Government hand-picked the Arab representatives, even as they did the representatives of India to the Indian Round Table Conference. However judicious the selection, the representative character of the delegates will be questioned, and that would be fatal.

If, unluckily for the British Government, the present Mufti of Jerusalem is chosen by the Arabs to represent them, they cannot wisely decline to treat with him on the ground that he led a campaign of assassination and violence. War is nothing but violence, and the Mufti was engaged in a war with the British, and violence was met by violence, both parties claiming to have used violence in defence of their rights and duties. The Mufti is no criminal, but was engaged in a war with the British and the Jews, and until violence is altogether abolished in human affairs, it is futile to decline to treat with a man on the ground of his use of violence.

By their action, the British Government have only succeeded in investing the Mufti with a much greater representative character than before, and it is likely that the Arabs will insist on having him as one of their representatives. Already the Inter-Parliamentary Palestine Congress Delegation has deprecated the unwise action of the British Government. By their precipitate ban on the Mufti, the British Government have rendered worse a problem which, in all conscience, is already most intractable.

CONFISCATION IN KOLHAPUR STATE

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S GUARANTEE

MUST OPERATE

(Contributed)

GRAVE injustice is being perpetrated by the Kolhapur State against hundreds of holders of service inams by pursuing towards them a policy which amounts not only to an expropriation of their inams, but to an extortion of additional amounts from them. In return for the performance of services allotted to them, whether in the villages or under the Huzur, they were granted land free from assessment. This grant

was meant to be perpetual, to be continued to them and to their successors as long as they were willing and able to render the services required of them. But in the Kolhapur State numbers of them are being indirectly deprived of their watans and are in fact being despoiled still further.

The service inams came into being on a large scale at a time when cash was scarce. Conditions have now altered, and it may be good policy to replace hereditary watandars by salaried servants. This policy becomes particularly desirable in the case of those watandars of whom service is required for only a part of the year instead of throughout the year. The soundness of this policy is not questioned here, but only the method of so giving effect to it as to result in an unjustifiable breach of the rights accorded to the watandars. It is the recognised practice everywhere, in the case of those who are released from the obligation of service, to remove their exemption from payment of a part of the assessment. If no service is taken, liability to pay part, say half, of the assessment accrues. This is but fair.

In the Kolhapur State, however, several of the watandar service men who are willing to continue to perform the service but from whom the State chooses to take no service are made to pay full assessment on the land, which means that they lose the whole of their inams for no fault of theirs. This is cruel enough, but that is not the worst of it. They are required to pay in addition quite a good bit either from the profits of agriculture or from their earnings in other walks of life. This arises from the fact that the State pays the substitutes whom it appoints at its discretion in place of the no-longer-wanted watandar service men, at a higher rate of remuneration than that at which the latter were supposed to be paid in the shape of exemption from land assessment. If the State does not wish to take service from its watandars but wishes to employ salaried men and pay them a higher salary, the proper course for the State would be to charge the watandar service men half the assessment from the payment of which they were exempted and to bear the balance of the cost of maintaining their salaried substitutes out of its own exchequer. But instead, it releases the watandars from the obligation of service and yet exacts from them whatever it elects to pay those whom it appoints in their place, without recking whether, in doing so, the watandars have to sacrifice the whole of their watans and also to toil in other ways to make good the resulting loss to the treasury even after they have been made to sacrifice their watans. The injustice involved in this is so patent that it could not have escaped the State authorities.

Indeed, there is evidence to show that the authorities are alive to it. For only as recently as 1st

December, 1937, the State called a Jahagir to account for this very offence of taking from the inamdars not only what it had given them in lieu of service but also something of what belonged to them in their own right. It discovered that the Jahagir exacted from some of the village service men who were no longer able to perform the service they had undertaken to do more than the land assessment, exemption from which had been promised to them as a *quid pro quo* for the performance of the service. The Kolhapur Durbar said very sternly to this Jahagir: "No, this shall not happen again; this is a naked invasion of other people's rights; you shall on no account take from these watandar service men anything in excess of the assessment." The State becomes fully aware of the injustice when it happens elsewhere. Only it closes its eyes obstinately when the injustice happens within its own borders. Another reason which goes to show that the State is conscious of injustice which it is doing to its subjects is that, while at least for ten years the aggrieved parties are crying out against the State's extortionate policy, it has not yet dared to take an adverse decision. The head of the State to whom the matter has gone, has given no redress it is true; but neither he has the heart to say: "Your complaints are unfounded. I can make you pay through the nose if I please. I can not only retract the grant my predecessors gave you, but compel you to pay whatever is necessary to finance my policy." The lower authorities have no doubt the brazen-facedness to say such things, but the ruler of the State, who is the repository of final authority and with whom the decision rests has not yet deigned definitively to turn down the complaints, presumably because he is mindful of the injustice that would be done if he were to take this line.

It may be that H. H. the Chhatrapati Maharaja will not behave like the lower authorities, seeing the beam in the Himatbahadar's eyes and yet being blind to the mote in his own. But the subjects of the State have a right to invoke the aid of the Paramount Power in this matter. For in its Resolution of 23rd January, 1882 the Bombay Government, as the British Government's representative has pledged itself to see to it that all the inams which have stood the test of the inquiry that was held would be maintained uninterfered with. The Resolution says:

If the future Prince (of Kolhapur State) should think fit to resume any inam left intact to a holder after inquiry by the British administrators, the holder would of course complain to Government, and the Maharaja is bound to comply with the advice of the Political Agent, which would necessarily be that the inam should not be interfered with. The holders of the settled and confirmed inams are therefore virtually guaranteed against resumption by the Maharaja in any circumstances except such as in the opinion of the Political Agent justify resumption on principles upheld by the British Government.

This quotation no doubt applies specifically to personal inams and not to service holdings. In respect of the latter, the Resolution said :

While Government entirely approve the proposals for resuming for the State a part of the revenues of holdings the service due for which is no longer required, it is not necessary finally and absolutely to guarantee to the holders the part of the State revenue left in their enjoyment. Circumstances may arise in the future in which it may be proper for a Maharaja of Kolhapur with the consent of Government to take further measures with the service holdings. Alienations of the State revenue on service holdings which it is now proposed to continue should be regarded as confirmed subject to the above state condition.

From this some conclusions emerge : (1) the British Government stands behind the guarantee given to inamdars; (2) the guarantee is absolute in the case of personal inams confirmed after inquiry; (3) it is of a somewhat lower status in the case of service holdings; (4) watandar service men whose services are not required by the State would ordinarily be charged only part of land assessment and left undisturbed in respect of the exemption from payment of the remainder; (5) only in exceptional cases would a departure from this rule be conceivable; and (6) anyway the ruler of the State cannot inaugurate such a departure except with the British Government's express consent. In the case of the watandar service men it could by no stretch of imagination be maintained that circumstances justifying such departure have arisen, and it is not known that the British Government have given their consent to this exceptional procedure. This is thus a matter eminently deserving of the A. G. G.'s attention: he must call upon the Maharaja to show how without the British Government's consent he has been following a policy which is contrary to that laid down in the 1882 Resolution for his guidance. It would in fact be the A. G. G.'s duty to put a stop to this infraction of the paramount Power's instructions and to order refund of all the amounts that may have been illegally exacted in the Maharaja's name so far.

The watandar service men of Kolhapur State have not yet lost hope that the Maharaja will right the wrong done. Still the British Government's intervention is necessary, the reason being that one who is appointed to check the wrongdoing of another detects the wrongdoing more quickly than the doer of it. This is best exemplified by the fact that the Kolhapur State itself reprimanded an offending Jahagirdar and checked his misdeeds, though it has allowed the very same misdeeds by its own lower officials to go on unchecked. The A. G. G. must do to the Kolhapur Maharaja what the Maharaja has done to the Himatbahadar. For ten long years the State officials tried to pigeonhole the complaints and to rule against the complainants when the complaints were pressed. The Maharaja may yet set matters right; but justice deferred is justice denied; and in any case a timely word from the A. G. G. may help to

quicken the Maharaja's sense of justice. The British Government has given a pledge in this respect, and time has arrived to redeem it.

THE BENGAL 'POLITICALS'.

GRAVE discontent prevails in Bengal over the question of the continued incarceration of the political prisoners. It was felt that as an earnest of the inauguration of provincial autonomy, the Huq Ministry would declare a general amnesty making it possible for all classes of people to participate fully in the new order of things. Mahatma Gandhi stayed in Calcutta for a number of days to persuade the Huq Ministry to carry out this laudable object. But even the attempts of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, did not meet with the desired success. The Huq Ministry has not yet thought fit to declare a general amnesty of the political prisoners. The negotiations that were proceeding between Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Babu on the one hand and the Huq Ministry on the other have broken down and the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has passed a resolution expressing its resolve to organise and conduct a campaign for the wholesale release of the political prisoners of Bengal. The resolution of the B.P.C.C. in this connection is of very great importance. It states that :

"In view of the failure of negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and the Bengal Government in connection with the public demand for the release of political prisoners and in view of the inadequate and unsatisfactory response made by the Government to their demand, the Executive Council of the B.P.C.C. resolves that the agitation which was suspended while the negotiations were going on be now resumed. The Executive Council, therefore, requests all Congress organisations in the Province to start an agitation at an early date for voicing the public demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

In view of this resolution of the B. P. C. C. passed under the presidency of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and in view of the recent utterances of Mr. S. C. Bose on the subject, we have no doubt that a serious situation will develop in Bengal which will severely strain the strength and resources of the Bengal Government. The Bengal Government would do well to take the wind out of the sails of this agitation by releasing all the political prisoners now in jail. Otherwise, we see no hope of the tension easing down.

We fail to see any convincing reason for the obstinate refusal of the Bengal Ministry to the release of the political prisoners. The U. P. and the Bihar Ministries did not shrink from staking their all for the wholesale release of the political prisoners and we do not think that the release of political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar has led to a violent outbreak of revolutionary activities. We concede that the terrorist crimes

were much more frequent in Bengal than in any other province of India. But, we contend at the same time that the erstwhile terrorists will find no scope for their activities under provincial autonomy. After all, it is only severe repression that breeds discontent of a type which tolerates and even encourages terrorist outrage. But, we hope the Bengal Ministry has no intention to break records in repression and oppression. Then why should it be so suspicious of the ex-terrorists?

In a signed article recently published in *The Bengal Weekly*, Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, the Home Minister of Bengal, has adduced some arguments in defence of the present policy of the Bengal Government. His arguments are, firstly, the Bengal Ministry are opposed to a general policy of political amnesty. Secondly, though according to Mahatma Gandhi, the political prisoners have abjured violence, still they have not intimated to the Bengal Government that they have done so. Thirdly, some of the State prisoners who have been released are advocating far-reaching changes in the present social structure which the Bengal Ministry thinks will lead to violent revolution and therefore does not want to add to their numbers. With regard to the first argument, all that we can say is that if the Bengal Ministry had been intent on releasing political prisoners even on considerations of individual merit, no political would have remained behind the prison-bars up till now. Eighteen months are sufficient enough time for any Government to carry out its policy, provided it keeps the policy steadfastly in view. It is only the inordinate delay of the Bengal Ministry in releasing politicals that has tired the patience of the public of Bengal. In fact, the B. P. C. C. resolution says as much when it points out that for a long time it refrained from carrying on agitation for the release of political prisoners just because the Ministry was engaged in negotiations for the release of the politicals. But the Bengal Ministry was no in mood for a compromise. So the B. P. C. C. cannot be accused of antipathy against the Ministry if it launches an agitation now for the release of the politicals.

Secondly, the Bengal Ministry wants, so it appears to us, that the political prisoners should

on bended knees proclaim their abjuration of violent tactics as the first condition of release from prison. No self-respecting person would agree to do so. This humiliating condition will help neither the Government nor the political prisoners. It will not create that atmosphere which is so very necessary for the prevalence of mutual sympathy and good-will between the parties concerned. If the Bengal Ministry thinks that the 300 and odd politicals who are now in jail will usher in a bloody revolution in Bengal just after their release, it attaches greater importance to the politicals than they deserve. In any case, in view of the clear assurance given by Mahatmaji that the political prisoners have abjured violence, we fail to appreciate the continued detention of the politicals in jail just on the suspicion that they may resort to violence. We would earnestly request the Bengal Ministry to give the politicals a chance to improve their behaviour and to reform their conduct. If such a chance is given and the politicals do not utilise it, then the Bengal Government will be perfectly justified to deal with them according to law.

Lastly, Sir Nazimuddin contends that some of the released prisoners are already engaged in what he would prefer to call 'subversive propaganda' and, therefore, further release of politicals will only swell their ranks. In this connection, we would like to point out to Sir Nazimuddin that the best way of counteracting subversive propaganda is not repression, but counter propaganda. If the Bengal Government thinks that a certain class of people are carrying on subversive propaganda, all that it should do is to have its own propagandists for countering that propaganda. This is the way of democracy all the world over. We hope the Bengal Government will realise this and will treat its political opponents more kindly than at present.

Considering the question from all aspects, we find no justification whatsoever for the continued incarceration of the 'politicals' of Bengal. We, therefore, earnestly request the Bengal Government to release them forthwith.

ECONOMIC PLANNING.

II.

ORGANS OF PLANNING.

NOTWITHSTANDING the possible disagreement on fundamentals, to which the Planning Committee may inevitably be subject, it is certainly worthwhile having it; because, any amelioration in the conditions of economic life that may be brought about without its assistance may be much less than what may be accom-

plished under its guidance. Its disadvantage, such as it is, is largely negative, in the sense that, being a body representative of radically divergent outlooks, its ability to agree on issues of policy or even in regard to the execution of it may not be great; and a speedy execution of work so urgently needed in the present circumstances may not be possible.

Moreover it must also be remembered that in the present circumstances any planning body is bound to remain more or less an advisory body; and it will never do much useful work if it does not recognise the political limitations and the inadequate control of the instruments of economic policy. Any programme sought to be adopted in defiance of these realities is likely, not only to involve waste and injury, but if trifled with too light-heartedly, may even discredit the idea of planning itself much to the disadvantage of its usefulness at a future date when political factors may be more favourable to such planned activity. As against these disadvantages the creation of a planning body in the present circumstances has many compensating attractions in its favour.

In the first place, it may be hoped that co-operation between representatives of different outlooks may help to rub off in some small measure at least, the angularities of partisan attitude generated by party strife in the political arena and help each other appreciate the rival point of view in a realistic spirit of give and take. And if fortunately an area of agreement could be discovered (and there is no need to be cynical enough to believe that there will be none), the formulation of policy with regard to the realisation of that measure of reform could be managed expeditiously. But more than that, with all the possible differences, it will still be a body invested with an expertness that will at least help the public to discriminate wise avenues of reform from the unwise. If we remember that in a democratic administration the tempo of governmental reform is set by the standards of the critical judgment of the average voter, in an illiterate mass like the Indian population the crank can always be relied upon to carry the day and hinder progress. And if wise measures which may not be popular could be offered with the appellate sanction of an expert body there may be still some hope of an escape from the crazy. It has often been contended, with a fair measure of accuracy, that the premier political party in the country having had to remain an essentially fighting organization could not contribute towards the framing of means for the achievement of the ends it had in view. That part of the constructive work has to be now performed by the Planning Committee. If nothing else it will have created machinery for organised thinking in economic matters as a substitute for the chaos of half-witted remedies and quack-medicines that are vying with one another for supremacy in the democratic market. It may also be expected to become, at least in course of time, a body that might help to counteract the fissiparous trends of separatist and parochial aspirations that are embedded in the soil of Indian thought and which may sprout up too readily with the assistance of local autonomy. It could be relied upon to serve as a clearing house of information and data from one province to another

and coordinate the experience of one administration with that of another. It is often said of the League of Nations that its bankruptcy on the political side of its activities is more than compensated for by the enormous clearance it has effected in the knowledge of economic data. Similarly, if the planning bodies could do nothing more than enable us to have accurate knowledge of our economic conditions they will be rendering a very useful service. And above all, it will be a representative body which can express with some claim to authority the nation's aspirations in matters economic, and save us from the advocates of reactionary theories purchased too cheaply by vested interests in the brothels of economic science—an advantage of no mean value, at any rate, during the stages of transition towards the realisation of a full-fledged economic autonomy. For these reasons, if not for any spectacular achievements, the planning bodies can be relied upon.

With all this it must be admitted that the planning organs will be functioning under a serious limitation if they are to work without the co-operation of the central Government. It is a limitation because, no planning that is precluded from suggesting alterations in monetary policy, fiscal regulation, commercial agreements, international investments, etc., can even pretend to be planning at all. In regard to this cooperation from the central Government, as already pointed out, so long as it does not give up looking upon India as a laboratory for experimenting with the theories of the London School of Economics (which, by the by, is a commodity in the export list of British trade, because British statesmen themselves find no benefit in its acceptance!), there may be little hope of any useful cooperation from that quarter. It should, on the other hand, be a matter for thankfulness if the policies of the centre do not have a deadly effect on the plans of the provinces. But even here, whatever it may be in the earlier years, it does not seem reasonable to believe that in the long run with the nearly unanimous weight of the provinces moving against it, the centre can continue to frame its policies without reference to, or in antagonism with, those of the constituent units. No doubt, the effectiveness with which it can be compelled to cooperate would depend largely on the extent to which the Planning Committee succeeds in unifying the provinces and the states in their collective demands upon the centre. Even in this matter the Planning Committee will be in a position to explore avenues of cooperation much better than any other agency.

But at the same time it is necessary to recognise that the work of the Committee itself will depend on the environment within which it works, the responsibility with which it is invested, the comprehensive character of the assistance that is offered to it, and the machinery that is created to provide it with data and to shape its decisions.

After all, the Planning Committee is nothing more than a body of individuals each with an individuality of experience and aspiration, and the effectiveness with which their different abilities could be fused to evolve a common measure of practicable reform will depend upon the scientific character of the base that is provided for their work. In the creation of the auxiliary bodies even more than of the Planning Committee, care is necessary to make them scientific, representative and responsible; because, it is the nature and composition of their organisation, as much as their findings and experience, that will finally shape the conclusions of the Planning Committee. It is here, therefore, that the greatest amount of thought is necessary.

Also, while framing the proposals for the acceptance of the public and the governments, it would be highly desirable that the work should be designed, at least in the earlier stages, to be objective, rather than to voice any particular type of social philosophy. There is so much that awaits to be done in a merely exploratory spirit and in a manner that need hardly provoke controversy, that at least until this work reaches some kind of completion, the acerbities of different outlooks need not be brought into active play. As remarked truly by a prominent Indian economist, the planning of a plan may take some years, and the spirit of this saying must never be lost sight of in constructing the planning organs.

For these reasons, the bodies to be created will have to be looked upon more as economic councils, at least for some time to come, rather than as planning bodies, in the real sense of the term "planning." And in the creation of such bodies we might be able to draw freely from the ample experience of countries that have set up economic councils, with suitable modifications, if necessary, in their constitutions to make them a little more responsible as a planning bodies. In general the idea of creating planning commission seems to have been accepted, but it may be necessary to further decentralise the commission either on a functional or a territorial basis. Branches of the planning commission may be created either separately for each province and state, or alternatively, the planning commission may be constituted of different syndicates, each in charge of a branch of planning—such as industrial, agricultural, commercial, social, etc.—the function of co-ordination and final decision resting with the central Planning Committee. Each of these varieties has its own particular merits and drawbacks. But a consideration of the pros and cons would probably weight evidence in favour of a system which might combine the territorial and functional types. Regional planning will enable a more detailed knowledge of local conditions; it can plan more easily because of the smaller dimensions of the work it will have to handle; it will be very valuable in the planning of small-

scale and cottage industries; it will be immensely useful in the organisation of market facilities for products with a limited market; it would be practically indispensable in the planning of agricultural undertakings, specially that part of it which is of a purely local interest. But at the same time there are obvious disadvantages. Its plans might overlap with the plans of other regions, and this kind of uncoordinated planning might easily lead to errors and miscalculations. It may emphasise local development to the obvious disadvantage of a centrally coordinated development. In certain aspects of planning, especially on the side of social and welfare legislation, it may not be conducive to uniformity, which may have an almost nullifying effect on the more important aspects of planning. It is obviously unsuitable in the case of planning large scale industries, which can only be developed on a nation-wide basis. And finally, it is likely to suffer from an inability to command in its services any but the local talent. Most of these disadvantages would be eliminated under a system of representation on a functional basis, under which the planning commission may be decentralized into smaller commissions each in charge of a particular branch of planning on a more or less nation-wide basis. The best thing would probably be to combine, as already indicated, the elements of both the systems, and have regional planning commissions subject to the guidance and direction of a central planning commission, itself constituted of planning syndicates of a functional type.

Another precaution to be adopted is in regard to making the planning commission as broad-based as possible. Even if a few provinces or a few states are left out, it will be obvious that their freedom to pursue their own lines of policy may involve some measure of conflict with some of the important aspects of planning elsewhere. The extent to which the planning commissions' proposals are mandatory on the constituent units will also decide the extent to which planning will be a success. And there is every reason to fear that even if the different local units formally agree to cooperate with the work of the planning commission, but for one reason or another fail to accept its suggestions in practice, the work of the commission may end in futility. It should, therefore, be necessary to devise from the very beginning for ways and means by which the commission's work could be rendered acceptable without difficulty to the various provinces and states.

But most important of all, it is also necessary to give a great amount of thought in regard to the nature of the responsibility with which the planning commissions are invested. The mere responsibility to make suggestions without responsibility for executing them would only lead to the piling up of suggestions. The real

idea in creapind planning bodies is that they should enables coordination of the activities of popularly elected representatives with those of experts in the several fields and thus seek to combine the strength of popularity with that of ability. It would be eminently desirable to bring about this harmony to the extent that is possible under the present circumstances. But at the same time, the far reaching implication of this principle must also be borne in mind. If the will of the popularly elected houses were to have the final say in the determination of policy,—and it is inconceivable how in the present circumstances it can be otherwise,—the proposals of a planning body, especially if it is one that works for a certain measure of centralised policy, are likely to be compromised in certain important respects. If by any stretch of imagination it is possible to argue that the proposals of the planning bodies must have a mandatory power, it is not difficult to see that the argument of classical Liberalism, that planning would succeed only under some form of dictatorship, stands half-proved. If, on the other hand, the Governments are free to accept or reject the recommendations of the planners the success of the plans evolved by them may easily be jeopardised; and while Government on the one side and the planners on the other hold learned debates in apportioning blame to each other for this failure, the poor voter may have his confusion worse confounded. Of course, it is possible to argue that the best thing would be not to give final authority either to the popular choice or to ability, but rather to strive to find the golden mean between the two in due measure. But in concrete terms it is doubtful if this means any thing more than an expression of a pious aspiration. This conclusion, no doubt, is likely to cool down our enthusiasm for planning in any but the most unrecognizably diluted form. Even then, it is desirable to pursue this adventure, if not for any spectacular success, at least for the numerous incidental advantages outlined above.

P. S. NARAYAN PRASAD.

(To be continued.)

Review.

PRIME MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF SOME NOTABLE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A Series of Lectures delivered in King's College, University of London, Ed. by F. J. C. HEARNshaw. (Macmillan, Bombay.) 1936. 20cm. 300p. Rs. 3.

THE book before us is the second edition of a series of eight lectures on the Political Principles of some Prime Ministers of the 19th Century, delivered in King's College, London in 1926. The

subject-matter chosen for the lectures as well as the choice of the lecturers enhance the importance of the book and make it a valuable addition to historical literature.

The Prime Ministers of the 19th century who are dealt with in this book are Canning, Wellington, Peel, Palmerston, Russel, Disraeli, Gladstone and Salisbury. In the hands of experts these Prime Ministers have received just and sympathetic treatment. Professors Marten, Hearnshaw and Reddaway and Sir Richard Lodge have cleverly woven the threads of their careers in dealing with their political principles, and have successfully kept them in due subordination to the general design. The result is that we get a proper historical background.

Philip Guedalla's treatment of Lord Palmerston, though original, is, we are afraid, meagre. He describes the various influences which helped to form the political opinions of Palmerston but one misses a complete account of Palmerston who dominated the Foreign Office in the middle of the 19th century. We mean no disparagement to the author when we say that for a right understanding of Philip Guedalla's essay on Palmerston, it is necessary to possess some knowledge of the career of Palmerston and the history of the 19th century.

Probably the most interesting and well-written chapters in the book are those on Disraeli by Prof. Hearnshaw and on Salisbury by Prof. Marten. These essays are largely based on many publications bearing on the subject. Prof. Marten's way of allowing Salisbury to state his opinions in his own words makes his lecture instructive and interesting.

In a work of this kind there cannot but be some repetition of ideas. The repeal of the Corn Laws which led to the rise of Disraeli had to be treated in the chapters on Peel as well as on Disraeli. Similarly the Treaty of Berlin had to be mentioned in the careers of Disraeli and Salisbury and the Catholic Emancipation Act in the lectures on Wellington and Peel. But one never has the repetition feeling on account of the other merits of the book, its graceful style, its fund of stories and anecdotes which are the life of history, its scholarship and balanced judgment.

We have great pleasure in recommending this book to all who wish to deepen their knowledge of 19th century English politics. It is a thorough, accurate piece of work, full of information only to be gathered by extensive reading.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICES.

INDIA—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL. By Rama Shankar Prasad, (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad.) 1936. 18cm. 342p. Rs. 2-8-0.

THE book is intended by the author to be a "description of the social and political conditions of India.... particularly suited to the needs of students taking a course in Indian Civics." Rather misleading in its title, the book is a trifle too ambitious in its scope. While it is mainly a history of the growth and development of Indian Administration under British rule, it has only a couple of chapters devoted to social and religious

movements in this country. The information supplied in these two chapters is necessarily scrappy and superficial. The author's account of the development of the Indian Constitution is both clear and concise, and is commendable for its lucidity and freedom from controversy. Nowhere, however, is the reader impressed by any searching criticism or adequate presentation of controversial issues. It is a pity that the author has not found it possible, beyond giving the important provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 in italics, to analyse and explain the implications of the new Constitution. This rather lessens the value of the book for students of Indian political problems.

The book is written in a simple style and makes, altogether, very easy reading.

N. S. P.

PRACTICAL LESSONS IN YOGA. By SWAMI SIVANANDA SARASWATI (Yogic Culture Series No. 1.) (Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore.) 1938. 19cm. 363p.

THE book under review is the first in the Yogic Culture Series. Swami Sivanand, the author of this book, is already wellknown as a great practical Yogi from Rishikesh who can authoritatively speak and write about Yoga, one of the most abstruse of human sciences. Swamiji has already produced a voluminous literature dealing with the different aspects of Yoga; and it has been accepted on all hands as a lucid and clear exposition of that abstruse subject. The present volume is no exception to it.

This book is specially intended for foreigners who visit this land in quest of some solid instruction in this practical spiritual science and it can be safely said that this volume will certainly serve the purpose for which it is intended. All the important problems concerning the practical side of Yoga from dietary regulations to the awakening of Kundalini have been discussed in this book. Moreover, the author writes lucidly and never forgets the type of reader for whom he is writing. Though the book is specially intended for foreign students, it will certainly give good guidance even to those Indians who may be attempting to study and practise Yoga for the first time.

S. V. D.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND FOREIGN BILLS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. (11th Edn.) By WILLIAM F. SPALDING (Pitman.) 1938. 22cm. 336p. 10/6.

SPALDING'S treatise on Foreign Exchanges was first published in 1915, and now it appears in its Eleventh Edition. The great popularity of the book is due, we believe, to the fact that "special attention has been paid to the more practical part of the subject." Mr. Spalding will not satisfy those who look for the five points of the theory of Foreign Exchange. Thus, in the initial theoretical portion, the discussion of the underlying factors working on the price level, and on the balance of payments is inadequate. The book, however, is highly satisfactory from the point of view of those who want to understand the technical mechanics of Foreign Exchanges. In this field, the student has no better guide than Mr. Spalding. He carefully explains the technical

terms used in the Foreign Exchange Markets and in the financial press, and then goes on to describe the Foreign Exchange systems of leading countries. In this latter, the author acquaints the readers with the vicissitudes through which exchanges passed since 1915, and there explains the changes in the Exchange systems introduced in recent years. This part of the book contains a useful account of Eastern Exchanges. The Rupee rates question is treated at some length; its history is traced carefully; and current problems discussed. But here, the author's views will hardly satisfy those in India who have thought upon the subject. Thus, in regard to the good export question, the author contents himself with approvingly quoting the official views, without referring to the opinions of the critics.

The concluding portion deals with the methods and practices in connection with Foreign Bills. It contains a useful description of the discount market, and here, the account testifies to the author's intimate knowledge of financial operations.

T. M. J.

THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1938-39. Ed. by Francis Low, 1938. 19cm. 1260p. Rs. 7.

THE TIMES OF INDIA CENTENARY ANNUAL, 1939. 1938. 33cm. Rs. 2. (Both Published by Bennett, Coleman & Co., Times of India Office, Bombay.)

THE *Times of India* Office, Bombay, deserve the thanks of the public for bringing out the Indian Year Book and Who's Who for the year 1938-39. The volume maintains the high character of its predecessors and is as indispensable book of reference for all interested in India.

The Annual for 1939 maintains the high level which the previous Annuals attained and will be widely welcomed. The articles are interesting, the illustrations are excellent and the get-up most attractive.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III. MAHARAJA OF BARODA. VOL. IV. 1934-1938. (University Press, Cambridge.) 1938. 25cm. 717-892p.

THE title of this volume is somewhat misleading as regards the dates of the speeches included in it. The volume is apparently designed to cover the period from 1934 to the present day. As a matter of fact, however, it contains a number of earlier addresses and speeches of the Maharaja of Baroda. This in no way detracts from the importance of the utterances themselves or the utility of the volume. As is well known, Sir Sayaji Rao is a man of varied interests, and this variety is found reflected throughout the volume. The contents, as explained by the Editor who is also the Maharaja's Private Secretary, "range over a wide variety of subjects, from the nutrition of the peasant to the expanding freedom of the British Commonwealth, from denunciation of aimless book-learning to the brotherhood of man, from the opening of a humble institute to a loyal greeting at Buckingham Palace." It is

certainly a convenience to have the utterances of such a renowned figure in Indian public life as the Maharaja of Baroda made available to the public in a handy form, for which the publishers need to be thanked:

D. V. A.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE FLOATING DEBT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, 1919-1936. By EDWARD RAGUET VAN SANT. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.) 1937. 24cm. 88p. \$ 1'00.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. An Economists' and Businessmen's Survey of the Main Problems of To-day. (International Chamber of Commerce, 38 Cours Albert, Paris VIII.) 1936. 24cm. 225p.

TRAVANCORE TO-DAY : HER STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. By the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress. (The Working Committee, Travancore State Congress, Trivandrum.) 1938. 24cm. 208p.

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY: ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. By M. P. GANDHI. (Author 14/2, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta.) 1937. 24cm. 178p. Rs. 2-4-0.

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY (1938 Annual). By M. P. GANDHI. (Author, Calcutta.) 1938. 24cm. 100p. Rs. 2/4.

IMPERIAL JAPAN, 1926-1938. By A. MORGAN YOUNG. (Allen & Unwin.) 1938. 328p. 12/6.

INDUSTRIAL PRICE POLICIES AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS. By EDWIN G. NOURSE AND HORAD B. DEWY. (Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1938. 21cm. 314p. \$ 2'50.

GENEVA AND THE DRIFT TO WAR. Problems of Peace. Twelfth Series. Lectures by Norman Angell, J. B. Condliffe, Malcolm Davis etc. (Allen & Unwin.) 1938. 19cm. 234p. 7/6.

SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM. An Essay in Synthesis. By C. NARAYANA MENON. (Oxford University Press.) 1938. 19cm. 276p. Rs. 3.

THE DOCTOR'S VIEW OF WAR. Ed. By H. JOULES. (Allen & Unwin.) 1938. 19cm. 122p. 3/6.

INTRODUCTION TO JOURNALISM. By S. P. THIAGA RAJAN. (Education Publishing Co., Madras.) 1938. 18cm. 376 + xip. Rs. 3.

THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES AND TENDENCIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Vol. I: Analysis of Post-War World Forces. 2nd Edition. By BENGY KUMAR SARKAR. (N. M. Chowdhury & Co., Calcutta.) 1938. 18cm. 322p. Rs. 2-8.

ENDS AND MEANS. A Critique of Social Values. By K. S. SHELVANKAR. (Lindsay Drummond, London.) 1938. 19cm. 146p. 3/6.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III MAHARAJA OF BARODA. Vol. IV. (Privately Printed at the University Press, Cambridge.) 1938. 23cm. 717-892p.

A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By A. L. MORTON. (Collanz.) 19cm. 544p. 8/6.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF DURRANA LANGANA. A Village in Multan District of the Punjab. Inquiries conducted By R. K. Seth and Faiz Ilahi under the supervision of P. W. Emerson and E. P. Moon. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1938. 24cm. 398p. Rs. 3.

THE MARIA GONDS OF BASTER. By W. V. GRIGSON. (Oxford University Press.) 1938. 22cm. 350p. 30/-.

TARIFF LEVELS AND THE ECONOMIC UNITY OF EUROPE. By H. LIEPMANN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1938. 22cm. 421p. 21/-.

SLAVERY THROUGH THE AGES. By GEORGE MACMUNN. (Nicholson & Watson.) 1938. 22cm. 279p. 12/6.

INDIA—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL. By RAMA SHANKAR PRASAD. (Ram Narsin Lal, Allahabad.) 1936. 18cm. 342p. Rs. 2-8.

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