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## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	245
ARTICLES :	
Tragedy in South Africa.	
By P. Kodanda Rao. ... ..	248
Tenancy Legislation in Assam. ... ..	250
CURRENT COMMENT : ... ..	254
REVIEW :	
Moribund Pacifism. By Prof. B. P. Adarkar. ... ..	256
SHORT NOTICE. ... ..	256
BOOKS RECEIVED ... ..	256

## Topics of the Week.

### Ceylon.

IT is a thousand pities that the anti-Indian feeling among the Sinhalese leaders is growing apace, and there is yet no sign of the return of reason and sanity in their dealings with the Indians in Ceylon. On the 12th inst., the State Council of Ceylon defeated by 26 to 7 votes an amendment suggested by Mr. I. X. Pereira that the franchise should be on the lines recommended by the Donoughmore Commission, namely, five year's residence in Ceylon. Instead, the Council carried by twenty-one votes to twelve Mr. Amarasuriya's proposition that the existing restricted Indian franchise should be retained.

THERE has always been general agreement that the franchise should be granted only to those who had a "permanent abiding interest" in the country. The differences have arisen as to how to ascertain this interest. The Donoughmore Commission suggested that five years' residence was a sufficient test. It was something definite and easily ascertainable and does not depend on legal quibbles and personal discretion of hostile officials. The Sinhalese leaders might have suggested another equally simple and definite test than five years' residence if they were in a reasonable mood. For instance, they might have a longer residence as the test. But their preference to the present system only betrays their *mala fides*.

An argument advanced against the enfranchisement of Indian labourers is that they must choose between the franchise as natives of Ceylon and the special privileges as aliens, and they cannot have both. As we have shown already in these columns, the so-called special privileges of Indians apply only to labourers, and they are in the nature of protection for the weak. The Ceylonese leaders will do well to extend the benefits of the special protection to the Ceylonese labourers as well, and thereby not only remove the discrimination in favour of Indian labourers but also improve the lot of Ceylonese labourers. Would the Ceylonese leaders then insist that Ceylonese labourers also should be disfranchised because they get the benefit of special labour protection? In every civilized country weak groups have special protection in addition to the ordinary rights in full measure.

THE anti-Indian feeling which has become an obsession with the Ceylon Government is more directly and distressingly displayed by the decision of the Minister of Communications to dismiss immediately some 6,000 Indians now employed in his Department. He hopes to dismiss another 4,000 Indian employees in other Departments. The distress of these Indian employees, who, though they were on daily wages, have, some of them, been perhaps several years in the service of the Departments and who will now find it very difficult to find alternative employment either in Ceylon or in India, has no restraining influence on the Minister. Persons are to be dismissed simply because they are Indians and for no other reason. The definition of Indians as persons "not born in Ceylon" is deviously comprehensive. The length of their residence in Ceylon, their local commitments, the length of their service, and the acquirement of the skills needed in Ceylon did not weigh with the Government. The fact that some Indians are married to Ceylonese wives and have settled down in Ceylon meant nothing to the Government. The action of the Ceylon Government is painfully reminiscent of the persecution of Jews by the Nazis.

### The Digbol Struggle.

THE grim and determined struggle carried on by the ten thousand workers of the Assam Oil Company for the last six weeks is remarkable in more respects than one. In the first place the solidarity among the ranks of the workers is exemplary. In spite of frantic efforts, even marked by shooting of three strikers, on the part of employers to recruit blackleg labour, the workers

have remained firm in their resolve and have consistently refused to go back to work before their just demands are conceded and long standing grievances redressed. Actual starvation and prospects of permanent unemployment have not sufficed to break the undaunted spirit of the workers. Not only this. Regular anti-strike propaganda on communalist lines carried on by interested parties has been unsuccessful in its nefarious purpose and the unity of the workers has been complete to perfection.

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IN the second place the struggle is being conducted in the most peaceful and unusually non-violent manner, at least as far as the workers are concerned. It is notable that the strikers, in spite of grave provocations including the killing of three of their comrades, have not, even on a single occasion, succumbed to the temptation of allowing themselves to drift into the violent methods of picketing. The leaders of the workers deserve to be congratulated upon the success with which they have been able to preserve the peace. It is not a joke to keep as many as ten thousand militant workers from violence and mischief in the face of abject poverty and considerable provocation from every side.

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IN the third place the workers have been able to enlist the sympathies not only of the menial and clerical staff employed in the concern but of the entire population of Digboi. This circumstance is as much due to the justice of their demands and the reality of their grievances as to the thoughtfulness with which their whole course of action is marked. It would not have been difficult for them, for example, to induce their comrades engaged in the public utility concerns of Digboi to join the strike and thus to paralyse the whole life of the community. But they have not done so. It is reported that "drainage, sanitation and lighting systems have not been so far affected by the strike as the labourers at the Waterworks and Electrical Power Works have been instructed by the Union to continue work." The workers are thus literally acting up to the famous dictum of the French philosopher Bergson: Think as men of action; act as men of thought.

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THE cause of the workers, therefore, deserves every form of sympathy and support from all fair-minded people. The settlement of the dispute, in spite of the gravity of the situation, is not yet reported to be within sight. The patience of the strikers is being rapidly exhausted. The magisterial enquiry has been completed and its report has been submitted to the Assam Government. In case the findings of the enquiry are favourable to the workers—and there is nothing to show that they will not be so—; in case the blame of the unfortunate shooting and killing of the 18th April last is cast by the report on the employers and the police, it will be very difficult to keep the surging fury of the workers within bounds. We, for our part, will not be shocked if, after all this patience and forbearance, the workers lose control over themselves and in sheer desperation and ennuï yield to the temptation of indulging in force and violence. The matter is extremely urgent; it cannot brook a moment's delay. This is the time for the Assam Oil Company and also for the Assam Government to act quickly and prevent

untoward happenings. It is surely high time that the Company took a more practical and less unreasonable view of the situation and the Assam Government exerted all the influence at its command to make it do so. Unfortunately, under such conditions, the technique of employers and governments is practically to wait for the outbreak of violence on the part of workers and then to crush their movement in the name of 'law and order.' We hope the employers and the Government, in this particular case, will give more furious thought to the matter and amicably settle the dispute before it is too late.

#### A Black Bill.

THE Calcutta Municipal Act Amendment Bill which, sponsored by the Huq Ministry, has recently been passed by the Bengal Assembly can be called a black bill in every sense of the term. This bill intends to introduce not only separate electorates in matters of election to the Calcutta Corporation whereas joint electorates were so long in existence in that metropolis and have been in existence in the other local bodies of Bengal, but what is worse still, it aims at reducing considerably the representation of the Hindus of the Calcutta Corporation. In the city of Calcutta, Hindus form 73.6 per cent of the population and Moslems only 25 per cent. Even under a regime of separate electorates, if representation is given on population basis, then the Hindus of Calcutta are entitled to 62 seats out of the total 86 elected seats of the Calcutta Corporation. But the new bill provides only 47 seats for them. On the other hand, Moslems who form only 25 per cent. of the population have been provided with as many as 22 seats on the corporation. One might think that the greater representation of Moslems on the Calcutta Corporation in spite of their smaller numbers might be due to their greater voting strength. But this again is not the case. It has been calculated that under the provisions of the new bill, 331 Moslem voters can send a representative to the corporation while in the case of the Hindus, the voters must be 1500 to send a representative to the corporation.

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WE fail to understand what justification can there be for this gross discrimination against the Hindu community of Calcutta. Supposing the Huq Ministry wants to introduce election by separate electorates in order to safeguard the interests of the Moslem voters of Calcutta, we see no reason why it should not fix the representation of the different communities on a population basis. In fact, that is the only logical course left open to a government bent on introducing separate electorates. But the Huq Ministry goes much further and by a stroke of pen reduces the representation of the most populous community on the Calcutta Corporation without any justification whatsoever.

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DURING the discussion on the bill, Mr. Fazlul Huq tried to show that in spite of their reduced representation, the Hindus will have a majority in the Calcutta Corporation and therefore the management of the corporation will remain under their control. But this argument is wholly irrelevant to the point at issue. It does not matter in the least, whether the Hindus of Calcutta

retain or do not retain control over the Calcutta Corporation. What is material is that they should have that much representation in the corporation which they are entitled to on a population basis. If inspite of getting representation on a population basis, the Hindus fail to retain control over the Calcutta Corporation, then nobody will accuse the Huq Ministry for that. It is not the duty of the Huq Ministry to see that the Hindus retain control over the corporation. But it is surely its duty to see that the Hindus get the representation that they are entitled to on a population basis.

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BECAUSE the Opposition in the Bengal Assembly argued that separate electorates should not be introduced in the Calcutta Corporation, for in civic matters there cannot be any difference between the Hindu and the Moslem interests, Mr. Fazlul Huq at once pounced upon that argument for justifying the reduced representation of the Hindus. He said:

"Now, Sir, if they (the Hindus) have not got seats according to the population ratio, what does it matter? When there is no such thing as Hindu interest, why cannot the Hindu interest be protected by Mr. Nooruddin and Mr. Shahabuddin? Why, if there is no such thing as Hindu interest, can't you trust your Moslem brethren?"

This we think is the only explanation which Mr. Huq has offered for reducing the representation of the Hindus on the Calcutta Corporation. The explanation itself is so absurd coming as it does from one of the most communally-minded Moslems, that we should not care to rebut it. Suffice it for us to say that by this single act of reducing most arbitrarily and wantonly the representation of the Hindus on the Calcutta Corporation the Huq Ministry has shown to the world that it is most unfit to be the custodian of the Hindu interests of Bengal. It is clearly partisan and therefore cannot claim to represent the interests of the whole of the province. Its continuance in power will only aggravate the existing embittered feelings between the Hindu and the Moslem communities of Bengal. It is, therefore, necessary that strenuous efforts should be made to overthrow this most communally-minded government so that the larger national interests of Bengal should be under the protection of better and abler hands who will use to be guided by communal considerations.

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#### Cochin.

THE administration report of Cochin State for 1937-38 has been recently received. The year was characterised by the grant by the ruler of an instalment of what, in the existing political condition of Indian States, must be considered to be far-reaching reforms. This consisted in the transfer to popular control of some of the nation-building departments. According to the public declaration of the ruler, these would be administered by a Minister selected by himself from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. That this Minister would be left free to administer the departments in his charge according to the popular will and not be subjected to interference in this work by the ruler is made clear by the self-denying ordinance which the ruler publicly imposed upon himself. He has

stated that in relation to the transferred departments his intention was to act as if he were a constitutional ruler. The Maharaja's solemn assurance that his paramount authority and prerogative would be used not to restrict or circumvent the powers of the Minister but to safeguard the interests of the State is to be welcomed as an indication of his desire to do everything possible to ensure the successful working of dyarchy in his State. The Minister entered upon his duties about the middle of June last so that by the end of the year covered by the report he had been in office for only two months. It is thus too soon to know how the dyarchical scheme was working in Cochin.

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THE reduction in the palace expenses which took place during the year deserves to be prominently mentioned. From Rs. 6,95,200 during the previous year they came down to Rs. 6,00,000. It may also be stated that during the last four years there is a drop of 20 per cent. in the Privy Purse. And be it noted that Rs. 6 lakhs is about 9 per cent. of the total revenue of Cochin which, in comparison with similar proportions in the generality of Indian States, can by no means be regarded as too high. It is also undeniable that for such reduction in the palace expenses as has taken place the ruler is entitled to the gratitude of his people. All this is true. But when all this is said and done, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the palace expenses not long ago stood at the modest figure Rs. 4½ lakhs. We would take this opportunity to request the Maharaja of Cochin to revert to that figure within as short a period as possible. To say so is not to detract from the admiration that is universally felt for Cochin for its high educational level and for its enlightened and generally progressive administration.

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THE working of the Debt Conciliation Board in the State may be briefly referred to here. The Board does not cover the whole State but only three of its talukas. 201 applications for conciliation involving nearly Rs. 14 lakhs were pending at the beginning of the year under report. 519 fresh applications were received during the year which involved a total debt of nearly Rs. 21¼ lakhs. To this must be added another 28 cases re-admitted for hearing which involved Rs. 1,40,386. There was thus a total of 748 applications involving over Rs. 36½ lakhs of debt to be conciliated. Their disposal was as follows: 28 applications involving Rs. 44,260 were conciliated in full, 2 involving Rs. 945 conciliated in part, 12 involving about Rs. 18,500 were compromised by the parties themselves at the instance of the Board, and in respect of two applications involving Rs. 1,888 an agreement was arrived at. 115 applications involving over Rs. 3½ lakhs were dismissed on merits, 60 involving Rs. 2,10,000 were rejected for defects, 313 involving Rs. 12¼ lakhs were dismissed for defaults, 16 involving about Rs. 1¼ lakhs were dismissed because conciliation could not be effected within the prescribed statutory period and 24 involving Rs. 2,34,700 were dismissed as a result of ruling by the Chief Court. Conciliation was effected in the form of ready cash payments in certain cases and by transfer of the debtors' properties to the creditors in others.

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## TRAGEDY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### I

AS we anticipated in the issue of the 4th May, the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Bill, that is now being rushed through the Union Parliament, is an *interim* measure, partly to protect Indian rights which would otherwise be in jeopardy. On the 30th April last expired the temporary protection offered to Indians who were technically in illegal occupation of land in the Transvaal. If by that time the Government had not given effect to the Feetham Commission's recommendations, as they had pledged themselves to do, and if besides they did not pass some legislation enjoining a moratorium, the likelihood was that some thousands of Indians stood to lose heavily. The moratorium is to last till April 1941. It was for that reason that even an anti-segregationist as Mr. Jan Hofmeyr supported the Bill. The other object of the Bill is to prevent any new trading licences being issued to Indians in the Transvaal till April 1941, without the permission of the Minister, which, it may be taken, will not be granted, since such is the policy underlying the Bill. This feature is adverse to Indians and is meant to appease the anti-Asiatics. The Government have apparently postponed a final decision regarding the Feetham recommendations in order to settle, in the first instance, their Union-wide policy of residential segregation after consultations with the Government of India. Segregation is the most sinister part of the Government's policy.

Critics of the policy, particularly Mr. Hofmeyr, have urged that the segregation policy of the Union Government was diametrically opposed to the Cape Town Agreement, and that the policy could not be followed as long as the Agreement lasted. They also pointed out the political repercussions of the policy, which was bound to antagonise not only the Indian community in South Africa but the whole of India, and that, the international situation being what it was, it was most unwise to antagonise India. But all these fell on deaf ears.

The supporters of the policy, particularly Mr. Heaton Nicholls of Natal and Mr. Stuttford, the Minister of the Interior in charge of the Bill, insinuated that the Cape Town Agreement was no longer binding inasmuch as the co-operation of the Indians in South Africa and of the Government of India was not forthcoming in carrying out their part of the Agreement. It was said that the main purpose of the Agreement was the reduction of the Indian population in South Africa to a manageable minimum by repatriation, and that this object had not been attained. Nothing can be further from the truth. The Cape Town Agreement consisted of two parts: repatriation and uplift. It should be remembered that repatriation was to be *voluntary* and *contingent*. It was officially acknowledged at the second Round

Table Conference in Cape Town in 1932 that voluntary repatriation or assisted emigration to India had exhausted itself. It was because of it that the colonization idea was at all mooted. The Union Government subsequently appointed a committee to make preliminary investigation as to suitable places for colonization by Indians not only from South Africa but from India as well. The Committee could not present an attractive picture; the colonization idea fell flat and was dropped and rightly. In any event, the essential factor was that assisted emigration either to India or elsewhere was to be *voluntary*, and inasmuch as the great majority of Indians in South Africa were born in the Union and knew no other country, very few were inclined voluntarily to seek colonization elsewhere. The Government of India were right when they advised the Union Government to divert for uplift the funds they had earmarked for assisted emigration of Indians.

It should also be remembered that repatriation was not only voluntary but also contingent. It was only such Indians who, in spite of the best efforts of the Union Government, could not attain Western standards of life that were to be assisted to emigrate. The main objective of the Union Government was to maintain Western standards of life, and it was incidental to that policy that some Indians might prefer to emigrate from the Union. The reduction of the Indian population was not the reason given to India when the Union Government agreed to the first Round Table Conference. If all the Indians could attain Western standards of life, no question of assisted emigration or the reduction of the Indian population would arise at all.

While emigration was voluntary and contingent,—both to be decided by the Indians concerned and not by the Government of the Union or the Government of India,—the *obligatory* part of the Cape Town Agreement was the uplift of the Indians who *ch. refuse* make their permanent home in South Africa, and the obligation was squarely laid on Union Government. The obligation which the Union Government, with Dr. D. F. Malan as the Minister of the Interior, undertook, was not *contingent* on anything to be performed by the Government of India, least of all on the volume of emigration or the reduction of the number of Indians in the Union. *It was a duty which they acknowledged as the duty of every civilized Government. It is contingent on the Union Government being civilised. For this reason the obligation will remain so long as the Union Government claim to be civilised, even if the Cape Town Agreement is denounced.*

### II

Another reason advanced by the supporters of the Union Government's policy was that the bulk

of Indians in South Africa were untouchables who in India were segregated and who in consequence had no right to object to being segregated in South Africa as well. This is a most deplorable line to take. It is not true that the bulk of Indians in the Transvaal, for instance, are from among the untouchables in India. They are most of them traders, a good number of whom are Muslims. The Hindu traders are caste Hindus. Even in Natal it is doubtful if the great bulk of Indians are from among the untouchables in India.

Granting, however, for the sake of argument that the bulk of Indians in South Africa were drawn from untouchables in India, does it justify their being treated as untouchables in South Africa? In the first place, people, even Indian untouchables, do not migrate to distant places to be no better off than they were at home. The main purpose of migration is betterment. Secondly, if heathen India was guilty of untouchability, should Christian Africa copy it? Christian missionaries have denounced, and rightly, the system of untouchability in India. Should Christians advocate in South Africa what they denounce in India? Thirdly, enlightened India is ashamed of untouchability and is trying to get rid of it. The men and women of influence, light and culture in India are making strenuous efforts to eliminate untouchability. In view of the magnitude of the problem and the illiteracy of the vast bulk of the population, the reform will necessarily take time but all enlightened and influential opinion is ranged on the side of reform. Should South Africa copy an evil of which India is ashamed and just when India herself is trying to get rid of it? If South Africa is keen on copying India, let her learn that India has realised that untouchability is an unmitigated curse. In this respect India is a warning rather than an example. Fourthly, it may be helpful to the Union Government to know what is being attempted for the benefit of the untouchables in India in the matter of political rights, educational facilities, civil service preferences, and how in order to make amends for past repression and in order to hasten the day when they shall be even with others they are being given special preferences.

### III

What is to be done? We hope with Mahatma Gandhi that better counsels will prevail with the Union Government and that they will abandon racial segregation as their national policy. The Union Government have agreed, obviously in accordance with the Cape Town Agreement, to consult the Government of India before making their final decisions. They have, however, declined to have another Round Table Conference. This is unfortunate, for it was understood that the Cape Town Agreement should be periodically reviewed, and another such conference

would be the most appropriate organ for such review. We still hope that the Union Government will agree to such a conference. Why should the Union Government fight shy of discussing with the representatives of the Government of India a question which interests them both at a conference? Do they feel unequal to the Indian members, or is it a confession in advance of the weakness of their case? It is a pity that even Mr. C. F. Andrews, according to his interview in Madras, has discounted the conference idea. It is easy to understand his motive and his sense of despair. Nevertheless, we hope that a conference will be held notwithstanding that the Union Government have so far turned it down and only offered to give a hearing to a deputation of two or three delegates of the Government of India. If the conference becomes impossible, we hope the Government of India will nevertheless send a deputation to urge their case. No stone may be left unturned to avoid a catastrophe.

It is hoped that the Union Government will not insist on the Government of India accepting the principle of residential segregation as a preliminary to mutual consultations, since that is the very point at issue between the two. The Governments can meet only if they are not previously and irrevocably committed to Union-wide residential segregation.

Mr. Satyamurty, the Dy. Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature, has suggested that the Viceroy should emulate the example of Lord Hardinge and make a public statement identifying himself with Indian opinion. It will be an appropriate gesture, though it is doubtful if it will have the same effect as Lord Hardinge's had years ago.

Retaliatory measures are both unavailing and ineffective; they will only worsen things for India. In this matter it should be remembered that India is the bride's party and South Africa the bridegroom's party, and the latter has an advantage over the former.

Sir Syed Raza Ali has advocated South African Indians joining a non-European front but that is not likely to stave off the imminent danger.

Mr. Bhavani Dayal has advocated that Great Britain should, in return of her defence of South Africa from external aggression, insist on South Africa treating Indians better. Britain had this instrument of persuasion all along, but did not care to use it. She may use it only if she finds herself in hot water in India. In any event, after having sanctioned racial segregation in Kenya and Fiji, she will find it hard to lash herself into righteous indignation over segregation in South Africa. It is a vain hope.

Mr. Andrews has suggested that, instead of the Government of India sending a deputation, the European community in India should send an unofficial deputation to plead with the Whites.

in South Africa to desist from the course of action they are bent on. It is an excellent idea, and we hope it will be enthusiastically taken up.

In this connection, we would suggest a deputation of Christian missionaries to South Africa to plead with the Christian Whites in South Africa that untouchability is a curse which they should not contaminate themselves with. The missionaries have emphatically condemned untouchability in India as un-Christian. Will they not take up a similar mission in South Africa? They may even consider if their presence is not more needed in South Africa than in India today, considering that they have succeeded in making India realise that untouchability is an evil and that all indigenous progressive forces are keen on eradicating it. In South Africa, on the other hand, the most influential people, both within and without the Christian Church, are not only defending untouchability but forging fresh measures to make it

more effective! If there is a place where anti-untouchability campaign is more needed than in India, it is South Africa. Will the Christian missionaries answer the call? Can White South Africa produce a Gandhi to crusade against untouchability in South Africa?

In the meanwhile, the Indians in South Africa have decided to resort to *satyagraha*. We shall not under-estimate the sufferings that the campaign will involve. Life in a South African jail will for most Indians be a thousand times worse than what it was in India under the old regime. We shudder to contemplate the situation. We still hope that they will be saved this supreme sacrifice which has been forced on them in defence of their own self-respect and the honour of India. But if the Union Government kill all hope and leave no alternative, we shall not stand in the way of South African Indians resorting to *satyagraha*. In their struggle, they have the sympathy of India, deep and burning.

P. KODANDA RAO.

## TENANCY LEGISLATION IN ASSAM.

THE land revenue to be paid by zamindars in the permanently settled areas in Sylhet and Goalpara divisions of Assam was fixed by Lord Cornwallis at about two and a half annas an acre while the average rate in temporarily settled areas was as much as one rupee and seven annas an acre. Thus there was plenty of scope for the growth of sub-ifeudation and rack-renting in the zamindari areas, and this process of sub-ifeudation was accelerated by the density of population in these tracts. On the other hand while this was happening, the relations of the zamindar and the tenant were left extremely indefinite. As a result of public agitation, the first Tenancy Act was enacted for Goalpara in 1929, and for Sylhet, where the pressure of agricultural population is extreme and competitive rent common, only in 1936. These Acts did not go far in recognising the rights of tenants, as compared to the then existing Acts in Bengal and Madras. The Government of Assam have recently brought forward two bills to amend these Acts. Frankly, in our opinion, they do not even touch the fringe of the problem of tenancy.

One would naturally expect from a Congress Ministry, which has pledged itself to introduce measures for wiping off arrears of rent (item 9 of the Agrarian Programme passed by the Faizpur Congress), for granting fixity of tenure and a substantial reduction in the rents of tenants (items 1 and 3 of the Congress policy in the Legislatures adopted by the Working Committee on 28-2-1937), for the right of tenants to build houses and plant trees, and for the abolition of the method of ejection for arrears of rents (items

6 and 11 of the Agrarian Programme of the Faizpur Congress), that it will make some announcement promising to carry out these details of reform, even if all of them cannot be embodied in the present bills. Since the announcement of the Congress agrarian policy in its resolutions and election manifesto, the Prime Ministers of two provinces, Madras and U. P., have made a further declaration that zamindars are not landholders having any proprietary rights, but only public servants appointed in the early days for mere collection of land revenue on behalf of Government and remunerated by a certain portion of such revenue. Those announcements have been followed by an enquiry in Madras into zamindari conditions. The Madras Legislative Assembly has recently given its seal of approval to the recommendations embodied in this enquiry which mainly concerned itself to interpret the judicial interests of tenants and zamindars under the existing law. The recommendations are that the zamindar is no more than a revenue-collecting agent; that what he could collect from the tenants, what he should pay to Government, and what he should retain to himself were unalterably fixed at the time of the permanent settlement; and that rights in sub-soil, communal lands, and forests are a common-law right of the people.

Any tenancy legislation should take note of these facts. If the zamindar is no more than a public servant, then the steady expansion in the proprietary area owned by him is unjustifiable. This area was confined originally to that directly cultivated by him. As in the other Tenancy Acts, the Sylhet Tenancy Act also permitted possession

of private land according to village usage, and of land commonly known as *khanabasi* (sec. 143c). Not only does a zamindar own and lease lands which he cannot ordinarily cultivate, but he adds to it when a statutory tenant surrenders his holding for various reasons. Unless there is strict provision in law declaring that a tenant's land should on no account become a *zamin* land, there is every possibility of tenancy legislation intended to ensure security of tenure and fair rents being defeated by the conversion of tenants' lands into zamindar's lands (*Sylhet Act*, sec. 150.4). Secondly, the extent of private land should be limited to what a zamindar can directly cultivate as has been done in the recent U. P. bill (sections 7, 8 and 8A). Tenancy rights should be allowed to accrue in the rest of his private lands (sections 13A and 24). The U. P. bill goes further and protects the rights of sub-tenants to whom the private land of a zamindar may be let after the passage of the Act, by granting them a five years' occupancy on the same rent. When we do not find any reference to these measures in the Assam bills, how can we say that the security of tenure promised to tenants is being carried out by the Assam Congress Ministry?

Security of tenure may be defeated in other ways also by landholders. The right of a tenant to make the fullest use of the land by planting trees and otherwise, should be a complete right. A landlord may claim mining rights, rights over trees, rights to develop pastures and forests. History has shown that rent-receiving landholders have hardly discharged their responsibility of assisting their tenants in developing their lands, and it is no use to put on them the larger tasks of providing irrigation facilities and effecting improvements in land which the State should promote and finance. The zamindars whose proprietary rights have been proved to be non-existing need hardly be saddled with these tasks. The new bill does not in any way define the rights of the land-holder over a tenant's land. But it repeals the section in the present Act which empowers a land-holder to acquire land as a tenant (sec. 99.1).

Another principle on which any tenancy legislation should be based is that a tenant who is protected as against a landlord who sub-lets, should equally be prevented from himself becoming a smaller rent-receiver and sub-letting his land. The principle of limiting transfer of land either by mortgage or by lease to a definite period should not vary in operation with the varying status of different grades of tenants, but should have the main objects of firstly preventing sub-letting for making rents, and secondly permitting it for legitimate purposes. The former object is achieved in the O. P. Tenancy Act, and the latter in the U. P. Tenancy Bill. The *Sylhet* bill does nothing to prevent misuse of land for letting out at a com-

petitive rent. Granting hereditary rights of occupancy to the lessee as against the lessor is the only way of ensuring fullest exploitation of the land by the tiller of the soil. As such a measure will be an expropriation of the rights of existing landholders, the latter may be given a definite period within which they may take to direct cultivation; otherwise the land should go to the tenants, themselves being assured of a fair rent. Security of tenure at a fair rent may be granted to all tenants of landholders who wish to remain or become mere rent-receivers.

Considered from the point of view of protecting the tiller of the soil, a tenancy law should lay down the rules for calculating fair rents. The U. P. bill provides for a number of rules, one of them being that the rent should not exceed one-fifth of the produce in the case of occupancy tenants. It also lays down that the rent in the case of the sub-tenant should not be more than one-third of the rent paid by occupancy tenants. The *Bengal Tenancy Act* of 1928 has fixed the maximum amount of rent realisable from an under-rayat at one-third of the gross produce.

Where there are gradations of tenants, rent will have to be fixed for all the tenants in chain, so as to fix a definite rent for the cultivating tenant at the bottom. This is absolutely essential in Assam where a zamindar pays land revenue which is ten times lower than that of a landholder in temporarily settled areas. The fixation of rent for the under-rayat and for the tenants above him in such a manner that the rent income of a zamindar may approximate to that of a landholder in temporarily settled areas, or the fixation of the rent due to a zamindar so as to assure him of a remuneration for the collection work he does on behalf of the State will hardly be an unjust proposal. Anyway the fair rent fixed should assure a minimum wage to the cultivating tenant.

The *Sylhet* Bill has provided in three ways for the regulation of fair rents. It suspends enhancement of rent for a period of 10 years (116 A). It introduces in the new Bill a clause, 116B similar to the existing sections in other tenancy Acts which endow the Revenue officers with powers to settle rents fairly and equitably subject to appeal to a Revenue Tribunal or some other authority. When a settlement of rent takes place in an area under this clause, it is quite possible that arrears of rent falling due at the time of settlement may be collected by a rush to courts, thereby defeating the purpose of this provision. The *Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act* of 1928 provides against this evasion by a section in the following words:

Such arrear shall not be recoverable in any court in so far as it exceeds the amount which would have been due as rent of the tenancy, had the settlement of rent taken place at the commencement of the period for which such rent is claimed. (Sec. 113.b.)

We hope this provision will be introduced in the Amending Bill. Thirdly, the Sylhet Bill fixes the maximum rent of the under-rayat so as not to exceed twice the sum paid by the rayat above him to his superior holder.

A suspension of the enhancement of rent for ten years will hardly solve the problem of settling a fair rent on the basis of defined principles. It is hoped that the Government intends fully to use the new power which they have taken under clause 116 A for settling fair rents. Madras, U. P. and N. W. F. P. have provided remission of rent to tide over the years of depression. Under the Bihar Tenancy Act 1937, the Collector has been empowered to reduce rents according to a fall in prices. Bihar has in fact gone further inasmuch as it provides for the restoration of lands which were auctioned for arrears of rent and which are in the possession of zamindars. Under the Sylhet Act, the rents paid by occupancy tenants are presumed to be fair and equitable. It is hoped that Government will take power to wipe off arrears of rent which the Congress has promised to carry out in its resolutions, and to settle the rent payable by different grades of tenants.

Some protection for the under-rayat has been assured under the new Bill. The rights accorded by law or custom to an under-rayat cannot be taken away by any contract otherwise. The rent of an under-rayat, as mentioned already, has been fixed so as not to exceed twice the amount of what his immediate superior holder pays. Full protection for the under-rayat can come only by fixing a fair rent for him, and not by relating it to the rent paid by his superior holder.

But the position of an under-rayat under the Sylhet Act is no more than that of a tenant-at-will holding a registered lease for a defined period under an agreed rent. The Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act provided as early as 1928 that an under-rayat who held land for 12 years or had a homestead on it could not be ejected on the expiry of his term of lease. Other under-rayats could not be ejected unless the landlord required the land for his own use. The best protection for an under-rayat would be the granting of heritable occupancy rights as was done in 1920 in the C. P. under the provisions of the C. P. Tenancy Act, and under the U. P. Bill of this year in respect of certain classes of tenants-at-will.

The provisions in the Sylhet Act for ejection of non-occupancy tenants and under-rayats for non-payment of rent (sec. 57 and sec. 65) will automatically disappear when once all tenants are granted heritable occupancy rights. In fact, this is the only way to abolish the process of ejection which is enjoined on the Congress legislatures in the programme passed at the Faizpur Congress. The Bill no doubt enlarges the rights of one class of tenants. Those holding lands con-

tinuously for twelve years on condition of rendering service, unless the lands other than the private lands of the zamindar may commute their services into rents within a period of three years from the commencement of the Act, and they will have the rights and status of occupancy tenants.

The Bill also improves somewhat the position of the agricultural labourer in relation to his homestead. If he holds the homestead under a rayat, the incidents of his tenancy of the homestead will be those of an under-rayat. If he holds it under a landholder, the incidents of his tenancy of the homestead will be those of a rayat (sec. 201A).

The Bill further provides for division of tenancies and distribution of rent by the civil court, on the model of the sections in the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act of 1928. Under the rules of the C. P. Tenancy Act, sec. 93, "if the application involves the formation of a holding of which the area will be less than ten acres, the Revenue officer shall reject the application forthwith." It would be a welcome provision if tenancies are not allowed to be sub-divided below the size of an economic holding, and if such holdings passed only to a single heir. In cases of dispute among the heirs, the Revenue officer may decide upon the heir who is to succeed to the holding.

The new Bill substantially reduces the transfer fee due to the landlord. Under the Sylhet Act the transfer fee generally was twenty per cent. of the consideration money or five times the annual rent in the case of voluntary sale of land, or gifts, or sale in execution of decrees, or foreclosures of mortgage; ten per cent. of the consideration money or two and a half times the annual rent in the case of bequests; and five per cent. of the consideration money or one and one-fourth times the annual rent in case of exchanges. The new Bill renames the transfer fee as registration fee. This registration fee shall be —

- (a) in the case of a transfer by sale, gift or usufructuary mortgage —
  - (i) if the rent of the holding is payable in cash, a fee of two per cent. on the annual rent; provided no such fee shall be less than rupee one or more than one hundred rupees.
  - (ii) in any other case, a fee of two rupees;
- (b) In the case of a transfer by exchange or bequest, a fee of rupees two.

It should be noted that the Sylhet Act provided for no transfer fee in respect of usufructuary mortgages (sec. 36, 2, IV), but the new Bill brings usufructuary mortgage under the category of transactions for which a fee should be paid to the landlord. In Assam as in Eastern Bengal a tenant raises credit generally only by the method of transferring his land with possession to the creditor. Consequently the new Bill will be creating a new source of income for the landlord.



The Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act of 1938 has abolished the levy of any transfer fee. We do not understand why even a small fee should be levied and why a new class of mortgages should be made liable under the Bill to a levy of this small fee.

The immediate landlord has also certain powers of pre-emption. These are repealed in the new Bill.

While the abolition of transfer fee and the rights of pre-emption should be welcomed as they thereby enlarge the transfer rights of tenants, they will prove ruinous to the latter unless some arrangement has been made for the liquidation of their past debts. Reports from Bengal indicate how creditors rushed to courts for sale of lands in execution of decrees, as they need not pay, after the passing of the Amendment Act of 1938, the consideration money due to landlords. The same story will repeat itself in Sylhet unless the debts of tenants are previously adjusted by conciliation boards, or unless the law allows a reduction in the amount to be recovered from the debtors by way of sale of lands to the extent of the consideration money which used to be paid to the landlords.

The Bill also makes provision for the redemption of usufructuary mortgages. The existing provisions in the Tenancy Acts of Sylhet and Goalpara have restricted the period of usufructuary mortgages made after the passing of the Acts to nine years. The present Bills fix the period for mortgages made, before these Acts were passed, at twelve years "or the period mentioned in the instrument, whichever is less." Whatever might be the terms in these mortgages, they would be deemed to have taken effect as complete usufructuary mortgages. These provisions are to apply to mortgages made by occupancy rayats. This will no doubt facilitate the transfer of mortgaged lands to the original rayats.

The new Bill has not bestowed any attention on the question of coercive processes for the collection of arrears of rent. It retains the certificate procedure for sale of land by revenue officers, while it has been repealed in the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act of 1938. It has no provision to regulate the sale of holdings so as to restrict it to the minimum necessary at a fair price for the realisation of arrears. (sec. 163 A of the Bihar Tenancy Amendment Act, 1938). The retention of auctioned land as his private land by a zamindar for a definite period for the realisation of arrears of rent and its re-transfer thereafter to the tenant will be a sound procedure to adopt, as was proposed originally in the Bihar Tenancy Bill of 1937. In fact, when once you declare in law that rayati land cannot become private land of the zamindar even when he buys it in auction, the zamindar gains nothing by dispossessing an old tenant and admitting a new one. And he may prefer to retain the land himself for a temporary

period instead of selling it to a third person. This may be an alternative method to public sales, and not the only method, thereby ensuring collection of arrears by sale of holdings in the last resort.

The question of coercive processes should be considered along with that of the agency for the collection of rents in future. The Tenancy Regulation of 1934, Travancore, provides for the collection of rents due to zamindars by the State. When some such arrangement is made, the application of coercive processes will be similar both for the collection of land revenue and rent. Preceding such large reforms, it is not understood why the State should give special facilities for the collection of rents beyond the ordinary procedure available in law, particularly when the tenancy law is imperfect. The Faizpur Congress too enjoins on Congress legislators that they should treat arrears of rent as no more than civil debts. It is rather strange that, while a non-Congress Government like that of Bengal has adopted the Congress programme in this respect by abolishing the certificate procedure, the Congress Ministry in Assam not only does not follow the example, but tightens the screw more by empowering the Local Government under the bill to realise the rents due to zamindars by a prescribed procedure "where circumstances exist which render it impracticable for a landlord to realise his rents" (176 A). The use of this power may be justifiable when the *cultivator's* rights of hereditary occupancy at a fair rent are assured, when lands have been surveyed, and when rents have been settled. Until then, the assistance of the Government for collection of existing rents is assistance to a landholder to harass his tenant in several ways.

The Bill also makes a few minor amendments. Option is given to the landlord, when an arrear of rent is due and when a tenant does not specify the item to which his payments are to be credited, to credit it to the arrear. The C. P. Tenancy Act has a more stringent clause viz. that any payment by a tenant should be presumed to be for rent when rent is due.

Interest on arrears is reduced from 9½ per cent. to 6½ per cent. (Sec. 82). Under Sec. 83 the court may award damages to a landlord for rent withheld without reasonable excuse, and to the tenant if he had been improperly sued for rent. This section is repealed. The amount to be deposited in the court by a tenant in rent suits has been reduced from the full sum to a half (secs. 163, 164 and 172). Under the Act the rate of interest to be paid to a mortgagee on the amount advanced by him, to prevent public sale of land for arrears of rent, is 12½ per cent. The new Bill reduces it to 9½ per cent.

We have made no special criticism of the Goalpara Tenancy Bill, as its clauses are similar to those proposed in the Sylhet Tenancy Bill.

## CURRENT COMMENT.

## A LESSON FROM THE U. S. A.

A Bulletin issued by the American Civil Liberties Union on April 15, contains interesting information regarding the opposition waged by the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Committee to a series of bills intended to restrict the exercise of civil liberties in the state of Massachusetts. The Legal Affairs Committee of the Massachusetts legislature is at present seized of certain measures recommended by a Special Commission appointed in 1938 to investigate "subversive activities" in the state.

One of the bills seeks to amend the Criminal Anarchy Law of Massachusetts by prohibiting people to advocate the use of force or violence "to effect political or economic changes in the state or federal government or in the economic condition of any person or class of persons." Another bill seeks to establish a "division of citizenship" for the purpose of "eliminating the activities of persons seeking the overthrow of the American form of government." According to the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Committee, the establishment of a "permanent inquisition to smell out political heresy, independent of the ordinary police, is not consistent with the American democracy, but more nearly resembles the Gestapo." The Committee generally points out that "no law can be written to outlaw propaganda without striking at freedom of speech in general and becoming a possible instrument of oppression."

The Committee is opposed in principle to all these measures on the obvious ground that they are unduly restrictive of the civil liberties of the people and moreover they are very likely to be abused by the police. The opposition to these measures organised by the American Civil Liberties Union is a conclusive reply to two at least of the patent arguments brought forward in this country in support of such or even much more repressive pieces of legislation. The first argument, the favourite with the Congress Governments, is that whatever smacks of violence must be (ironically enough) violently put down. The abstract principle of non-violence is at present being raised to the level of a religious dogma in India—a country already suffering from all manner of irrational dogmas. It is high time our Governments became more tolerant and less dogmatic in their ideas about civil liberty. The other argument—again a favourite with Congressmen—in favour of repressive laws is that these laws can and will be used only for the benefit of the community as, in the provinces, only popular and responsible governments are in power. Now, it is

absolutely clear that our provincial governments being elected by only about 10 per cent. of the people are certainly less "popular" than the American State Governments. And yet the American people find it necessary, through their Civil Liberties Union, to remain constantly vigilant and, when called upon to do so, to wage an uncompromising war against all measures calculated to curtail the liberties of the people. The Americans know by experience that a vicious weapon tempts even a saint and a repressive piece of legislation tempts even a responsible government. The best form of security against the abuse of extraordinary powers by a government is not to give that government those powers. The earlier this is realized in India the better for all concerned.

## THE BAN ON THE C. P. I.

The notorious stamp of illegality imposed on the Communist Party of India by the Government of India on July 23, 1934, formed the subject matter of a resolution recently passed by the United Provinces Legislative Assembly. The resolution moved by Mr. Badan Singh reads as follows:

This Assembly recommends to the Government to lift the ban from the Provincial and District committees of the Communist Party of India and to recommend to the Government of India to lift the ban from its Central Committee.

We have always noted with satisfaction that the policy of the Congress Government in U. P. has, on the whole, been fair and generous in the matter of civil liberties of the people. Even on the question of the Communist Party they take a bold stand on the sound principle that, in the words of the U. P. Premier, "it is not sound policy to invest the executive with the power of stifling political organizations." The U. P. Government had taken a similar view of the same question in July 1938, when they were asked by the Employers' Association of Northern India specially to curb the activities of the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha. Commenting with approval on the correct and spirited reply of the U. P. Government to the employers, we had then observed:

We may perhaps take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the U. P. Government the fact that the Communist Party of India is still under a ban. . . . The (U. P.) Government admit that "communists have been openly carrying on their propaganda and seeking election to the legislatures on communist tickets" in "civilized states such as the United Kingdom." The inevitable inference that Communism is banned in India because India is uncivilized is not very pleasing to us nor could it be so to the U. P. Government or to the Congress Party. May we, therefore, request the U. P. Government to lift the ban on the Communist Party in their Province and vindicate their faith in the freedom of political thought? That will be an excellent example for other Provinces to follow.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the U. P. Government lived up to their reputation and supported the motion for the lifting of the ban on the CPI. We hope that they will soon take the next logical step and put into effect the recommendation of the Assembly by formally removing the ban from the U. P. Committee of the CPI and further by requesting the Central Government to adopt a similar reasonable attitude towards the Central Committee. As Mr. Dwarka Prasad Misra said in the Assembly, the U. P. Government may even give the Government of India to understand that "if the Government of India did not lift the ban, it would amount to interference with the rights of the Provincial Government."

In view of this proper and rational outlook of the U. P. Government on this question, one would naturally expect the same tolerance from other Congress Governments in the country. Facts, however, run counter to these expectations. It was only the other day that the Hon'ble Mr. Varkey, a Madras Minister, spoke about his unmitigated antagonism to communism and also of the desirability of putting it down ruthlessly in whatever manner possible. During the last session of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, on February 13, 1939 the Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Desai, replying, on behalf of the Home Minister Mr. Munshi, to a question by Mr. R. N. Mandlik whether the Bombay Government would think of removing the ban on the CPI in Bombay and taking up the matter with the Government of India, declared categorically that Government had nothing of the kind in mind and further that it would not be in the public interest to reveal Government's reasons for this policy of theirs. Evidently the U. P. and the Bombay Ministries have contradictory views of the nature of public interest, at least as far as the CPI is concerned. And both are Congress Governments.

#### THE INCONSISTENCIES OF CONGRESSMEN.

It is curious that while the Congress Ministry of C. P. has imposed an ungraduated tax on all professions which are liable to the payment of income-tax and the Congress Ministry of U. P. is going to impose a tax on all employments above a certain level and get it graduated, the Congressmen of Bengal are stoutly opposing the levy of the Profession Tax in Bengal which is a mere replica of the C. P. measure. It seems that the only strong objection which the Bengal Congressmen have against the levy of the Profession Tax is that it exempts from payment of the tax those professions which are not liable to the payment of income-tax. If the Bengal Ministry had imposed the tax on all professions irrespective of

their ability to pay the tax, then the Bengal Congressmen would have no objection to its imposition.

We fail to understand what the Bengal Congressmen would have gained if the Profession Tax would have been levied on all professions irrespective of their ability to pay. We are aware of the contention of Bengal Congressmen that if exemptions are granted under the Profession Tax, it ceases to be a Profession Tax and becomes an income-tax which, according to the Government of India Act, can only be levied by the Federal Government. But if Congressmen take up this position in Bengal, they ought to take up the same position also in C. P. and U. P. But in C. P., as we have already seen, a tax on professions has been levied by the Congress Ministry which exempts from the tax those professions which are not assessable to income-tax. The Employment Tax of U. P. not only exempts certain employments from the payment of the tax, but also classifies the employments into different grades and raises the progression of the tax accordingly as the employments are more lucrative. If there is a close resemblance of any tax with the income-tax, then it is surely the Employment Tax of the U. P. Government. But the Congressmen in the U. P. have not only defended the U. P. measure but have faced bitter opposition to secure its passage.

If Congressmen can lend their support to the Employment Tax, they cannot, with any semblance of reason, oppose the levy of the Profession Tax in Bengal. But Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, the leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Council, not only thinks that the Profession Tax is "an income-tax in disguise," but what is more important, he accuses the Bengal Government of "having committed the greatest violence against the spirit of the Government of India Act." It is news to us that Congressmen are so solicitous of preserving the spirit of the Government of India Act. But if Dr. Mukherji thinks that the Bengal Government is violating the spirit of the Government of India Act by imposing the Profession Tax, how would he like to characterise the action of the U. P. Government which has levied the Employment Tax? We are afraid that the activities of Congressmen in different parts of India give rise to a strong suspicion that there is no well-thought-out programme to guide their actions. They follow a certain course in U. P. and another in Bengal just to suit their conveniences. This may be defended on tactical considerations. But Congressmen should remember that by following such contradictory courses of action they are exposing themselves to public ridicule.

## Review.

### MORIBUND PACIFISM

**WE SAY "NO." THE PLAIN MAN'S GUIDE TO PACIFISM.** By H. R. L. SHEPPARD. (Murry.) 20cm. 168p. 3/6.

THIS is a Churchman's approach to the problem of War. The late Canon Sheppard discusses in this little book the question of collective security from the Christian standpoint, starting from the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill". Dr. Sheppard believes that "the world will to peace may yet be made effective; but this can only happen if we renounce war, not only formally, but absolutely and unconditionally". This somewhat begs the question. However, the Canon's attitude towards war and imperialism and such-like is inspired by a real humanitarianism. This is what he says about British rule in India: "British rule in India has conferred many benefits upon the peoples of that ancient land. But, to the Indian, it must always be an alien rule, and the Indians are becoming nation-conscious. And, when political movements are suppressed and proscribed, when their leaders are imprisoned, when their newspapers are subjected to a rigorous censorship, it is not perhaps altogether surprising that there is a reversion to direct action on the part of certain impatient spirits." Mahatma Gandhi's heart will receive the following sentiment with a sympathetic vibration: "Having regard to the nature of modern warfare, and the temper of the modern world, I believe that disarmament is the best defence. I might go further, and say that is the only defence. I commend this thought to the practical people, and to the practical Governments. They tell us that there is no defence against aircraft. Here is one they have never tried."

The ecclesiastical attitude towards War, however, suffers from the great drawback that it tries to cure the surface symptoms rather than go to the root causes of the malady. So long as the predatory instinct of man is there, and so long as the mighty, so-called pacifist nations, the Imperialistic democracies of the world, are not prepared to part with their ill-gotten possessions and territories and to make the fruits of progress, civilisation and freedom available to weaker peoples under their domination,—so long as they have not renounced their hegemonies and monopolies,—the fountain-springs of War will still remain. Those arm-chair pacifists, therefore, who would have peace on earth, must begin at home. For the rest, their holy denunciations are likely to be as futile as they are boring to all practical thinkers.

B. P. ADARKAR.

### SHORT NOTICE.

**HINDU SCRIPTURES.** Ed. By Dr. NICOL MACNICOL. (Dent.) 1938. 17cm. 293p. 2/-.

THE place of the religious sentiment in the future life of mankind seems to be more or less uncertain. But the scriptures will certainly continue to possess literary and cultural value. The Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavat-Gita form the triple treasure of the philosophico-religious heritage of the Indian people. The wonder about the world is the psychological source of the hymns of

the Vedas, the wonder about the self is the main spring of the reflections in the Upanishads and the wonder about the moral law is the central point in the Bhagvat-Gita. Dr. Macnicol has selected 33 hymns from the Rigveda for translation. From the Upanishads he has chosen the principal ten Upanishads, and at the end he has given the translation of whole Bhagavat-Gita.

The value of Dr. Macnicol's book consists in the fact that the reader's mind passes through the main stages of the evolution of India's religious thought with a breathless rapidity. It is a sort of digest of the Hindu religion in translation. The book will doubtless be read with advantage by all those interested in the Hindu religion and culture.

D. G. LONDHE.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE?** By Dr. V. K. R. V. RAO. (Vora & Co., Bombay 2.) 1938. 20cm. 104p. Re.1.
- DHARMAKOSA, Vol. I-Part II: Vyavahara Kanda.** Ed. By LAXMANSHASTRI JOSHI. (Prajna Patha Shala Mandal Grantha Mala.) (Prajnapathasala Mandal, Wai, Dist. Satara.) 1938. 27cm. i-ixxxii + 599-1589p.
- THE SPIRIT OF INDIA.** By W. J. GRANT. (Batsford.) 1938. 22cm. 120p. 10/6.
- CO-OPERATION IN INDIA. A Student's Manual.** (3rd Edn.) By C. F. STRICKLAND. (Oxford University Press.) 1938. 18cm. 112p. Re. 1-8.
- THE MANAGEMENT OF LABOUR RELATIONS.** By GORDON S. WATKINS AND PAUL A. DODD. (McGraw Hill Book Co., New York.) 1938. 23cm. 780p. 24/-
- CORPORATION CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORGANISED COMMUNITY WELFARE SERVICES.** By PIERCE WILLIAMS AND FREDERICK E. CROXTON. (National Bureau of Economic Research, New York.) 1930. 23cm. 347p.
- PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND. A Commentary.** By HAROLD J. LASKI. (Allen & Unwin.) 1938. 22cm. 453p. 12/6.
- THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICER.** By L. HILL. (Allen & Unwin.) 1938. 19cm. 231p. 5/-
- REPORT OF THE SIND REORGANISATION COMMITTEE,** 1938. (Chairman: Diwan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing.) (Official, Karachi.) 1938. 24cm. 518p. Rs. 2-5-0.
- ESSAYS AND STUDIES.** By the Members of the English Association (U. P. Branch.) (Indian Press, Allahabad.) 1933. 28cm. 179p. Rs. 2.
- CO-OPERATION AT HOME AND ABROAD. A Description and Analysis. Vol. II-1908-1938.** By C. R. FAY. (King.) 1939. 22cm. 540p. 18/-
- THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION. Exposition and Examination.** By C. J. VARKEY. (Oxford University Press.) 1939. 18cm. 175p. Re. 1-2.

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