

The Servant of India

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OFFICE: SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XVII, No. 8 } POONA—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1934. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15 s.

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Topics of the Week.

Gokhale Day.

ON the 19th inst. was celebrated in several parts of India the 19th anniversary of the death of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, at which eloquent tributes were paid to the personality, the services and the example of selfless service of Mr. Gokhale. Presiding over the celebration in Calcutta, Mr. G. A. Natesan said that Mr. Gokhale had "served India with steadfast aim, signal devotion and with splendid self-sacrifice and has left an abiding example before his countrymen." Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, the Mayor of Calcutta, associated himself with the tribute. Principal Khadye of the Nowrosji Wadia College was the principal speaker at the public meeting organised by the Deccan Sabha in Poona. Mr. S. Satyamurty played that role at the public meeting in Madras. Similar meetings were held in Kolhapur, Sangli, Calicut, Bombay and others.

Presiding over the public meeting at Madras, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri remarked that the people of India had made vast strides in different directions since the passing away of Mr. Gokhale but nothing has happened to justify a departure from the fundamental principles of his political outlook: the achievement of swaraj for India by constitutional means within the British Commonwealth.

Another Service.

ON the 18th inst. the Hon. Mr. V. B. Chaulal, the Minister of Agriculture in the Central Provinces, opened the new rural centre organised by Mr. N. A. Dravid, Senior Member of the Servants of India Society, Nagpur, in the village of Bhambora, near

Amraoti. The Society had early recognised the importance of rural work and several members have been engaged for some years in such work in different parts of India. The latest addition to this type of work is the one organised by Mr. Dravid who brings to the task his intimate knowledge of the local conditions and the ripe experience of a long period of devoted public service in the Central Provinces and Berar. It is fervently hoped that the new venture will receive ample public support and will succeed in its great mission.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU was commonly believed to have been aimed at by Government as one of its numerous victims on the last Independence Day. This has proved inaccurate, but Government has lost little time in coming down upon him and putting him out of action. He was arrested on a charge of making a seditious speech and tried. He has now been convicted and sentenced to a term of two years' rigorous imprisonment. It will never be a difficult matter for Government to bring home to Pandit Nehru the charge of sedition, as it is generally understood and interpreted in this country, but we little thought that the Bengal Government would initiate proceedings against him. For only a short time ago Pandit Nehru had delivered a message to the terrorists in that Presidency exhorting them to renounce their methods. He did so chiefly on the ground that such methods were foredoomed to failure. Many leaders have said this before; in fact, all of them have been saying it almost continually, but it had little effect upon the terrorists for the simple reason that all these leaders were so completely out of sympathy with their objective as well as methods, that the terrorists did not look upon them with a friendly eye. But the case with Pandit Nehru was different. He is believed, even by the terrorists, to be pursuing a revolutionary aim. The revolution that was desired by him was to be brought about by peaceful and non-violent methods, it is true; but he aimed at nothing less than a social revolution. Moreover, abstinence from violent methods was not dictated in his case by metaphysical considerations but by considerations of practical expediency. The terrorists must have seen in him a larger kinship of spirit than in any other leader and naturally therefore his appeal to them that they should desist from violence would have much greater weight with them than an appeal from anyone else. When we first read this appeal, made with such earnestness and sincerity, we thought that the Bengal Government would look upon Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its best, if unavowed, friend. But instead it seized upon something else that he said in Bengal which smacks of sedition—and what does not smack of sedition that is said by the Pandit?—and on the strength of it got him clapped into gaol. We deeply deplore and regret

this, for we sincerely believe that the Pandit exerted his great influence consistently on the side of non-violence.

States' Protection.

IT must be acknowledged that the Select Committee has made some appreciable improvements in the States' Protection Bill as introduced by the Government. Instead of extending the operation of the sedition clause of the Indian Penal Code to the Indian States, it is now proposed to create a new offence with less severe penalty. The non-official criticism that a British Indian who owes no allegiance to the ruler of an Indian State cannot be guilty of sedition towards that ruler has been recognised. The Bill gave power to magistrates to prohibit meetings or acts which in their opinion were calculated to cause "interference" with the administration of the States. It was pointed out that the word "interference" was too vague and might mean anything, and might be used to prevent the most innocent and legitimate activity. The Select Committee has changed it into "cause obstruction to the administration". Even with this change, the grave objection to the preventive powers being conferred on magistrates so ably pointed out by the District Magistrate of the Nilgiris, is not met. He pointed out:—

Proceedings under Cr. P. O. 144 are judicial proceedings of a court, not administrative acts. I do not know upon what information the District Magistrate would normally base his opinion that action under Section 5 or 6 is necessary. In practice it would probably be upon information given by the Government, and the effect of Government's action upon any except the most independent Magistrate would be equivalent to an order. I think it better that the terms of the Act should be more in accordance with the probable facts and if Government is likely to exercise such authority, the responsibility should be openly placed upon it.

The most objectionable of the objectionable sections of the Bill is the one that refers to the gagging of the press. From newspaper reports it is not clear what amendments have been suggested to this clause to meet the criticisms levelled against it.

But whatever be the minor improvements made by the Select Committee, there is no getting over the fundamental objection to the whole spirit and purpose of the Bill itself and at this time. The essence of the Bill is to substitute executive in the place of judicial action; the abrogation of the reign of law.

Indian Terrorism in Parliament.

THE watchfulness of the Duchess of Atholl was responsible for dragging terrorism in India prominently into view in Parliament last week. She was apparently concerned to make the flesh of the average Britisher creep by making it appear that the terrorist cult was steadily on the increase. In the achievement of this object she perhaps expected to derive help from the relevant statistics asked for by her from the India Office; but the figures when supplied were found, as pointed out by Sir Samuel Hoare himself, to be very far from supporting her preconceived view that the canker was assuming serious dimensions all over the country. That the evil must be completely rooted out as soon as possible is common ground among all sections of opinion, both Indian and non-Indian. Divergence of view manifests itself only on the question of methods for attaining that end. Iron rule is the panacea suggested by the die-hards, whom the Duchess represents, quite in defiance of the

lessons of history; while Indian opinion with equal strength of conviction points to a policy of conciliation and liberal reforms as the road leading to a definite weakening of the terrorist forces. Ever since the evil raised its head in Bengal nearly nine years ago progressively severe measures hardly distinguishable now from martial law are being mercilessly enforced in the name of putting down terrorism. Has all this harshness helped to check the spread of the poison? The answer is to be found in the recent admission of the local Government that the cult of violence which was originally looked upon as a passing phase has come to stay. It does not need much intelligence to perceive that repression defeats the very purpose for which it is intended. It strengthens the ranks of the malcontents who furnish a very promising field for the activities of the terrorists.

An additional complication in the Bengal situation is provided by the employment of troops with a view to bringing the evil under control. Past experience shows that their behaviour in relation even to the law-abiding sections of the community leaves very much to be desired and leads to a still further widening of the gulf between the people and the Government. The same experience is repeated in Bengal. Though some of their alleged "excesses" in the course of their recent marches through some parts of the Midnapur district have been officially denied, it is significant that "a certain amount of unavoidable damage" has been admitted. Then, it is also public property now that highly respectable persons were invited to attend the ceremonial parades of these troops in language which appeared even to Sir Samuel Hoare rather "peremptory" and, what is even more offensive, asked to explain their failure to respond to such an insulting invitation. Such and similar official doings are, to put it at the lowest, highly improper and do nothing to ease the situation. Loyalty cannot be thus manufactured to order and all attempts in that direction are bound to be attended with consequences very disastrous to the harmonious relationship between the people and the Government. Is it at all surprising that in such a situation the cooperation of the public in hounding out terrorists does not become available to the Government in full measure? However, for this the Government have to thank none but themselves. Even in this respect Sir Samuel Hoare seems to see an improvement in the situation, though the local officials as represented by the Chittagong Divisional Commissioner think otherwise. Anyway the grievance about the failure of the public to lend a helping hand in tracking down terrorists sounds strange in the Government's mouth.

Lord Brabourne on the Situation.

THE budget session of the Bombay legislature which commenced on Monday last was opened by H. E. Lord Brabourne with a speech in which gratification was expressed at the improvement in the political situation as compared with that of last year. If this improvement were real and lasting there would certainly be cause for rejoicing. But, as Lord Brabourne himself knows, this seemingly calm political atmosphere has been brought about at the cost of severe restrictions on the civil liberties of the people. Speaking about the White Paper, he told his hearers that it was not enough merely to give one's silent support to the White Paper policy but that its supporters should come out in the open and proclaim the support from house tops. He also added that it was a mistake to suppose that "the desired modifications in detail" could be secured by a condemnation of the fundamental policy. The Governor's advice would have been more helpful if instead of

warning us against what should be avoided he had told us what should be done and how we should proceed in order to secure improvements in the White Paper. Even during his short stay Lord Brabourne must not have failed to take note of the fact that there are influential sections of opinion which desire amendments in the White Paper but seem almost to have despaired of securing them, because having exhausted the usual means of putting pressure on the Government, they are at a loss to know what further action they should take to make themselves heard. His Excellency would have put fresh heart into them if he had pointed to a method by which this useful result could have been achieved.

The Bombay Budget.

THE budget introduced by the Finance Member, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah, in an almost incredibly short speech, is described as a balanced one. But it may be doubted if this description is really not a misnomer, in view of the fact that during next year it is not contemplated to make any payment to the Central Government towards debt reduction. As usual, this supposedly satisfactory result is attributed to a severe cutting down of administrative costs and the public is impliedly asked to believe that nothing more in that direction is possible. It is making too heavy a demand on public credulity to expect it to take it for granted that all avenues of further retrenchment are exhausted, so long as it has ocular proof of the continuance of such needless offices as those of divisional commissioners and the high salaries paid to the All-India services. Except for the provision for the opening of B. Sc. classes in the Karnatak College, there is hardly any addition to the educational expenditure of the presidency. Expenditure for laying out roads and sewerage on the reclaimed land in the Backbay at Bombay is proposed with a view to facilitating its sale. Let us hope the expectations of Government in this respect will be fulfilled. On the whole there is nothing which is particularly objectionable or praiseworthy about the new budget.

Land Revenue Remission.

AT last the Bombay Government has deemed it necessary to announce the concessions that it will make in its land revenue collections this year on account of the slump in prices. A press communique has been issued in which the remissions and suspensions that will be allowed in various districts and parts of districts have been detailed. But beyond mentioning what action the Government will take the communique is silent as to the policy on which the action will be based or even as to the total amount of loss public finances will suffer on that account. The only principle that one discerns is that larger concessions are made in districts of which the principal crop is rice and which have been resettled in years when prices were ruling high. This is as it should be, but, in the absence of any explanation given by Government in other respects, the concessions appear to us to be wholly insufficient. The Bombay Government's complete silence in this matter comes into very strong relief against the elaborate defence of its policy made by the Madras Government the other day.

Problem of Bihar Reconstruction.

WITH the need for immediate relief in the way of provision of food and shelter to those rendered destitute by the Bihar earthquake being satisfactorily met, thanks to generous help rendered by the different relief funds, the problem of reconstruction

now occupies the public mind to the exclusion of everything else. A conservative estimate puts the amount needed for the purpose at about five crores which will be apparently loaned to the province out of Central funds. The question formed the subject of a debate in the Legislative Assembly last week; but as the details of the loan scheme had not yet been fully worked out, the Finance Member was unable to take the legislature into his confidence on the subject. The Indian budget which is due for presentation to the Assembly at the end of the month may however be expected to supply full information as to the Government's proposals for giving financial accommodation to Bihar at this crisis in its life. It is to be hoped that what they propose to do to set Bihar on its feet again will be found adequate by all concerned.

When the loan becomes available, it will be utilised obviously for the financing of house building by private persons. To this end a Bill has already been passed by the Bihar legislative council at present in session. It is impossible in the absence of the text of the measure to judge of the generousness or otherwise of the terms of the proposed loans, but attention may here be drawn to the public demand that the maximum limit of the loan should not be fixed at a needlessly low figure. If, and to what extent, any town-planning regulations should be enforced in connection with the scheme of reconstruction are matters, which need very careful consideration. According to the Bihar Finance Member, these and similar points are receiving the earnest consideration of the local Government.

In the meanwhile the question of how to minimise losses to sugarcane cultivators cries for urgent action. They had a ready market in the sugar mills some of which have been almost razed to the ground by the earthquake. The crop cannot obviously be allowed to wither away if irreparable injury to the economic life of the province is to be avoided. Arrangements are therefore being made to supply 3500 sugarcane crushers driven by bullocks to the affected parts. These can handle only a little more than half the crop and the *gur* that may be thus available is expected to be purchased by sugar mills in Bihar and in the adjoining province of U. P. for the manufacture of sugar. So far as the balance is concerned, cultivators will be given loans on easy terms for the purchase of small machines for the manufacture of sugar itself. We hope this will meet the needs of the situation. In this connection we cannot help saying that the demand for the remission of rent in the affected parts deserves to be sympathetically considered and the zeal of revenue officers for the collection of rents even by selling the personal effects of the help's peasant, of which an instance was recently brought to light by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, must be strictly curbed.

Abolition of Madras Taluka Boards.

REFERENCE has already been made in these columns to the reasons which led to the Madras Government deciding to abolish taluka boards. The reasons were largely economic; but there was also a desire to avoid overlapping of duties caused by three sets of bodies viz. panchayats, taluka boards and district boards, working in the same field. But their fate would not have been sealed so soon if their finances had been in a satisfactory condition. The fact, however, was that most of them were either bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy. Even so, it was too much to expect that a measure involving the disappearance of more than 200 such bodies, though based on such commonsense considerations, would be universally supported. And as a matter of fact

when the Bill authorising the disbandment of the boards was recently before the Madras Legislative Council for its first reading, it did arouse some opposition which however was not strong enough to obstruct its progress through its further stages. The Bill has since been considered by the select committee which, without disturbing the underlying principle of the abolition of the boards, has introduced important modifications in its details. One or two of these may be briefly noticed here. The Bill empowered Government to require district boards to set up standing committees to look after specified subjects. With the increase in the district boards' functions that may be occasioned by the disappearance of the taluka boards, the select committee felt it necessary to make it obligatory on all boards to have statutory standing committees in charge of such important subjects as education, rural development, public health, etc. At the same time it thought fit to continue in the local Government a general power to compel local boards, whenever it may deem necessary, to arrange for the establishment of similar committees for other purposes as well.

The proposed abolition of the Village Development Fund provided for in the Bill created the misgiving in the public mind that this course of action would lead to a still further neglect of rural needs in the way of communications, water-supply, sanitation and public health. The fund was made up of contributions of one-sixth of the land cess and could only be spent on these objects. The select committee, while adhering to the provision in the Bill about its abolition, has pressed for a statutory provision that the portion of the land cess which used to be credited to this Fund should be expended on purposes for which the Fund was created. It will thus be seen that the contemplated abolition of the separate existence of the Fund will make no difference to the satisfaction of the rural needs for which it was brought into being. This should go some way to disarm public opposition to the provision in the Bill abolishing the Fund.

Articles.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

THE Railway budget presented by the Railway member to the Legislative Assembly last Saturday was, as was to be expected, another heavily deficit budget. 1928-29 was the last year in which the Indian Railways paid a contribution to the general revenues and kept a sum apart in reserves as well. In 1929-30 there was a surplus, but it was not enough to pay the full contribution to general revenues and some withdrawal from reserves became necessary. In the next year the working showed a definite deficit and yet a contribution to general revenues was made, entirely from the reserve fund. In 1931-32 the deficit was so considerable that in spite of the railways being exempted from making the contribution to general revenues the deficit could not be met from the reserve fund which had been freely drawn upon during previous years. During this year the reserve fund was exhausted and loans from the depreciation fund became necessary. In the years following, deficits have continued to occur and each year recourse is had, for balancing the budget, to loans from the depreciation fund. 1932-33 was the heaviest deficit year. In budgetting for the

current year the Railway Member had a year ago counted upon some improvement in railway receipts. Trade has looked up during the last few months but not to the extent expected by the Railway Member and had it not been for the lowered interest charges during the current year the deficit would have been much larger than budgetted for. The Railway authorities expect a continuation of the improvement in traffic conditions next year and have budgetted for a substantial increase in traffic receipts. It is uncertain how far these expectations will be fulfilled; but it must be admitted that they are, this year, based on at least more tangible indications than they were last year. Even so the deficit will be large involving a loan from the depreciation fund of nearly Rs. 5½ crores and the depreciation fund will stand at the end of the year at the low figure Rs. 11½ crores. Each year the Railway Member when introducing a deficit budget has been consoling himself by putting forth imaginary calculations regarding dividends that would have been declared if the Railway Board had been in the position of the directorate of a private company. It is therefore, necessary to emphasise how far the position of the finances has worsened since 1929-30. At the end of the year 1934-35, the loans from the depreciation fund will stand at a figure of nearly Rs. 28 crores and there will have been an outstanding in the neighbourhood of Rs. 15 crores as contributions to general revenues and these have to be paid off when a surplus again occurs before the railways can begin to build up a reserve fund. Apart from the deficits on ordinary working the railways have to provide for two large extraordinary items of expenditure during the ensuing year. These are reconstruction works in areas affected by the earthquake and large repairs necessitated by flood damage to the Sara Bridge on the Ganges. Expenditure on these works does not, however, affect the budget as they are to be provided for by a special loan from the depreciation fund to be paid back in annual instalments spread over a ten year period.

Apart from giving a résumé of the financial results of the year the Railway Member did not, in his speech, deal at length with any other points regarding railway policy. His reference to the conference on Rail-road coordination was brief and no indication was given as to how far the State railways were contemplating the use of powers to operate on roads which were conferred on them by special legislation last September. It was further not indicated what action apart from corresponding with Provincial Governments, the Government of India were themselves thinking of taking in this matter. Looking to the importance of the question we would have expected some more information on it being made available at the time of the budget speech. A similar reticence was observed by both the Railway Member and the Chief Commissioner for Railways (when speaking in the Council of State) regarding the efforts at retrenchment. Nothing was said as to the nature of the concrete suggestions made by Mr. Pope whose services had been specially obtained from the English railways last year. The only informa-

tion vouchsafed was that on the recommendation of Mr. Pope special committees had been set up on each railway for detailed analysis of expenditure and that the savings effected by them, though small in individual items, may in the aggregate amount to a great deal. It is to be hoped that more definite information regarding the activities of Mr. Pope and the special committees will be drawn out from the Government during the course of the discussion.

Sir Guthrie Russel in speaking before the Council of State dealt at some length with the question of freights and fares. He pointed to some local reductions in freights that had already been made and justified the refusal to lift the surcharge from coal rates on the ground that the statistics did not show that the surcharge affected the trade adversely. It is necessary in this connection to comment on the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the statistics published by the railway authorities. The statistics regarding the tonnage of commodities carried, for example, are given by whole systems. There is no subdivision into zones; so that it is impossible to guess at the real nature of any change in trade that may come about. The railway authorities are further, according to definite information that we possess, never ready to place any more detailed information before the public or make it available to students. We are thus, all of us, entirely at the mercy, in this matter, of the railway authorities themselves, and have to accept any conclusions that they assure us flow from the statistics that they have collected and which are available only to themselves. In the circumstances the railway authorities should not be surprised if the public refuses to credit all their statements as being grounded in valid statistical data. Apart from this the attention of railway authorities may be directed to the consideration that if, as they believe, we are at the beginning of an upward trend of the trade cycle these beginnings will be distinctly helped by a liberal policy in the matter of freights on the part of the railways.

We are glad to note that a special experiment is being made in lowering third class fares on the N. W. Railway and glad to have the assurance that special efforts are being made to improve "passenger amenities." We are afraid, however, that in this matter of amenities it is chiefly the higher classes that attract the attention of railway authorities. Before the era of motor transport the third class passenger was notoriously scurvily treated by the railway authorities. During the last decade some improvement has come about in this matter but even so the position is yet extremely unsatisfactory. Sir Guthrie Russel referred to the special attempts made to attract tourist traffic and we know that of recent years higher class fares have been more often than once lowered to keep the higher class traffic up. We feel in this connection that the time is now come to undertake a detailed enquiry into the comparative costs of the various services and the income they yield. The receipts from 3rd class traffic have consistently been higher

than 85 p. c. of the total receipts from passenger traffic. The higher class traffic has been consistently of little importance and also always liable to shrink more in times of depression. Yet if we look to expenditure on such items as coaching vehicles the disproportion between the lower and higher classes is most striking. Our stations are designed primarily for higher class passengers and the room and amenities provided for these passengers is vastly in excess of the proportion that their fares bear to third class fares. There are again a number of trains—all the best and fastest services—specially and exclusively meant for higher class passengers and these enjoy a larger measure of concessions etc. than the third class passengers. We feel that in all this the third class traffic receipts are being used heavily to subsidise higher class comforts. This is a matter of first rate importance. It is upto members of the Assembly to see that enquiries are made and statistics compiled to enable us to judge to what extent there is a disproportion between fares and services. If any subsidising is to be done, it is to the lower classes at the cost of higher. This inverse relation in our case is typical of the topsyturvydom of all things administrative in India. Instead of vague generalisations regarding having the interests of the lower classes at heart we would be glad to get some concrete evidence that third class service in India is commensurate with the level of fares paid.

THE PRINCIPLE OF DAM DUPAT.

THE principle of *dam dupat*, as generally understood, does not set any limit upon the total accrual of interest, but only upon the amount that becomes payable at any particular time. It takes no account of the interest that may have been paid in the past, but only says that if, at the time when a claim is made, the amount of interest that is due has accumulated to more than double the principal, the debtor is liable to pay only as much as the principal and no more. It is quite possible, therefore, under the operation of this rule, that a borrower may in fact pay his moneylender several times over in the way of interest and yet remain indebted to him for the whole amount of the principal borrowed. While a man who goes on paying interest as it falls due will thus derive no benefit from the principle of *dam dupat*, another man who makes a default will stand to gain by it as he will not be called upon to pay more than twice the amount of the principal.

This inequality in its working is a serious defect in *dam dupat*, which can be removed in two ways. It can either be laid down that the debtor will in no circumstances be required to pay interest exceeding the principal or that he will be required to pay interest only at a nominal rate after the interest that has accrued, whether paid or left unpaid, equals the principal. The United Provinces Agriculturists' Relief Bill, passed in December last, has adopted the latter method after considering the merits of both. The Act applies the principle of *dam dupat* in this way: it limits the total amount of interest to be paid on

the principal to 100 per cent. of the principal in the case of secured loans and to 150 per cent. in the case of unsecured loans, and provides that, when this limit is reached, irrespective of whether any part of it has in fact been paid or not, interest at a much smaller rate will become payable thereafter. The effect of such a provision is best explained by giving a concrete instance, the one that was given by the Finance Member in the Legislative Council. "Assume," he said, "that a lakh was borrowed in 1900 at 10 per cent. simple. By 1910 that would have come to two lakhs. And if section 23-F (which contains the provision of the law referred to above) were not in existence, then by 1933, the amount of interest due in all would have been Rs. 3,30,000. Now, Sir, under section 23-F, what would happen is this, that as soon as the first ten years elapsed, from that time onwards the rate of interest would become $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the total amount due would then be only Rs. 2,03,500 instead of Rs. 3,30,000. Now supposing that the debtor has been paying all through regularly, and has therefore disbursed Rs. 3,30,000, obviously he is worse off by the difference between that sum and Rs. 2,03,500. Well, what we propose to the House is difference between the two should be set off against the principal. Now in that case the difference is Rs. 1,26,500. The original principal is one lakh. Therefore, in that particular case the whole debt will be wiped out straight away. Of course, if he has not paid that is another matter, but even then he will find himself due to pay only the smaller amount and not the larger." The rate of interest was eventually reduced from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and on that account the advantage to the debtor will be proportionately increased.

The other method of removing inequality incidental to the operation of the law of *dam dupat* is, as said above, to provide that after interest equals the principal, no debt shall earn any more interest. The merits of this method were discussed at great length in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces. It found many able advocates. Their chief argument was that the moneylender will sue his debtor as soon as the limit of interest is reached and obtain a decree. This will be to the advantage of the debtor, for his principal difficulty at present is that the creditor sits quiet and allows his loan to run and interest to accumulate till the debtor, finding it impossible to repay the loan out of profits, is driven to sell his land. If, on the other hand, he is sued before his debt is doubled, he will pull himself together and manage to keep out of the morass of bankruptcy. But this reasoning did not prevail in the end. It was thought that the best plan would be, instead of abolishing all interest on loans after they had doubled themselves, to allow nominal interest on the loans, so that the creditor would not be forced to sue and sell up the debtor but would be persuaded to give him some grace and many honest debtors would require such grace. The U. P. Act allows only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on past loans which are secured on immovable property. That is to say, as the Finance Member

pointed out, the creditor will "get one per cent less than the Government on secured loans," which of course represents best possible terms. This provision would be, the Government thought, entirely to the advantage of the debtor and should be retained. Consequently it is retained in the U. P. Act. The rates of interest allowed on loans after they have reached 100 per cent. in the case of secured loans and 150 per cent. in the case of unsecured loans are:— $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on secured loans and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on unsecured loans, if the loans were taken before the Act came into force; and if the loans were taken after the Act came into force the rate of interest on secured loans will be just the rate at which the local Government borrows from the Government of India and on unsecured loans 2 per cent. above this. It cannot be denied that these rates are low enough.

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES UNDER THE NAZIS.

THE new regime in Germany has brought about vast changes in age-old institutions and the Universities, (which term is used here to include also the Hochschulen and Akademien i. e. technological Colleges and academies of forestry, commerce, mining, etc.) are no exception to this. In order to understand the true significance of the changes, it is however necessary to know the working of the Universities before 1932.

All Universities in Germany are maintained by the state and every professor, lecturer and assistant in the various institutions of the University is therefore a state employee. There was no restriction to the admission of either German or foreign students to the University except that they had to show that they had passed the school-final examination of a recognised school in Germany or its equivalent in other countries. In the case of foreigners, a formal permission of the education minister was necessary in addition.

German University life has always been conspicuous for what is called the "Lehrfreiheit" i. e. the freedom of the student to learn any subjects he liked and attend any lectures he fancied. There was no examination at the end of each term and even for a doctorate, the thesis, submitted after a certain number of terms and an oral examination in a certain number of subjects allied to the principal subject, were the only requirements. There were thus no compulsory subjects, no texts prescribed and no written papers. This system encouraged the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and inculcated the habits of inquiry and research in the mind of a majority of the students.

As regards the teachers in the University, any body could become one after satisfying certain conditions. After his doctorate every aspirant for the "Venia legendi" i. e. the permission to teach, had to carry on original research work on his own and submit the results of the same to the Faculty of the University under which he wanted to become a teacher. If this work was found to be of a sufficient-

ly high merit the prospective teacher would be asked by the Faculty to deliver a "Probavorlesung" or a kind of trial lecture, in which his powers of delivery, explanation and his mastery over his subject would be tested by his future colleagues. If this also was found satisfactory, he would obtain the permission to teach in the University and would be called a Privatdozent. He would still get no remuneration but would be entitled to receive the fees (each student paid 2.50 marks per weekly lecture per term) from all students who attended his lectures. His further advance to an extraordinary professorship and finally to an ordinary (i.e. chief) professorship would depend on the importance of his work (research papers etc.) and ordinarily no University teacher could expect to become an ordinary professor before the age of 45 or 50.

The internal management of the University was vested in a Senate made up of ordinary professors and representatives of the extra-ordinaries and privatdozents, which divided itself into faculties (philosophy (i.e. arts), medicine, theology, law etc.). At the head of each Faculty was a Dean elected by the members. The Rector (chancellor) of the University was elected each year by the members of the Senate from among the ordinary professors by rotation between the different Faculties.

The students had not only perfect freedom in the matter of choice of lectures and subjects, but also largely in the matter of their unions—political, economic, theological, etc. Thus all the more important political parties from the nationalists to the communists had their student organisations which arranged lectures, demonstrations, etc.

Since the advent of the "Dritte Reich" (i.e. the third empire) some fundamental changes have been introduced in the structure and functions of the Universities. In the first instance, the political neutrality of the teachers in the University has been completely destroyed and inculcation of patriotic, especially Nazi, ideas in the minds of the students is considered to be an important function of the teachers. The various political unions have been dissolved and there has been established under the supervision of an official of the State a students' union which will have the right to send representatives to the Faculties and Senate when questions about the students are discussed. The Universities in Germany have therefore now ceased to be institutions for imparting knowledge only but are centres of active training of a political nature.

Jews are naturally not allowed to become teachers in the University and even as regards students, a very small percentage of that race are to be admitted. Moreover, even if they pass their examinations in law, medicine and other professions, they will not be allowed to practice except with the special permission of the Government (one can imagine, that this will not be given as a general rule.)

The so-called "Führerprinzip" (i.e. the leadership principle), which is the very opposite of the principle of democracy, has been introduced into the Universities. The Leader of the Nazis, or one of his repre-

sentatives, is to nominate the Rectors of the Universities and these, in their turn, are to nominate the deans, the members of the Senate, etc. There are to be no decisions by majority, but the Faculties and Senate are to serve only as advisory bodies to the deans and the rector respectively. These latter have the fullest powers to carry out their decisions irrespective of the opinion of their colleagues.

The future professors besides being experts in their subjects, must also be either members of the SA, SS, etc. (Nazi auxiliary police) or to have put in compulsory service in one of the numerous works camps (Arbeitslager) conducted by the Government. The Venia Legendi will be granted only for a limited period and may be withdrawn at any time (if, presumably, the political opinions of the person are not agreeable to the higher authorities.)

The total number of students who will be allowed to study at the Universities has been drastically cut down and it is hoped that by this means the unemployment in the ranks of the educated is to be reduced. Students or teachers who held opinions, even slightly different from those held by the men that count, have been ill-treated in many instances by the ultra-nationalist "Aryans." According to the new principles, the *Lehrfreiheit* would in no case include the freedom of expressing approval of anti-Nazi doctrines from the chair or of forming students' unions for purposes other than those approved by the Nazis.

D. D. KARVE.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

London, February 7.

THE LEAGUE AND DISARMAMENT.

ON Tuesday night a large and important demonstration was held at the Albert Hall, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, with Viscount Cecil in the chair. The object of the gathering was to encourage support for the principles of the League and to express disapprobation of the private manufacture of arms. The principal resolution was moved by Lord Halifax (it is difficult to think of Lord Irwin under his new title, since his father's death), and recorded the meeting's "profound conviction that only through the collective system embodied in the League of Nations could war be averted and civilisation saved," and the meeting "promised to support His Majesty's Government in all efforts to secure the greatest measure of all-round disarmament for which agreement could be obtained". It was recognised by all the speakers, who included Sir Herbert Samuel, Lady Astor, and Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, that far less was possible of achievement in the way of disarmament by agreement than had at one time been hoped; but that even a poor agreement was infinitely better at the present stage of European affairs than the disaster and anarchy that would result inevitably from no agreement at all. Sir Herbert Samuel summarised the possibilities as four only—*isolation* (no longer possible), *alliances* (leading almost surely to the arraying of opposed forces struggling for the balance of

power), anarchy (an appalling prospect), and the League, and the whole assembly roared applause when he declared that the best of these was the League. He also drew laughter in describing the Government's policy in the words of an epitaph "piety without enthusiasm." That, too, was the mood of the House of Commons debate on the subject that afternoon.

Yesterday, however, a sterner note was struck in a debate dealing with the state of the defence forces of the country. Many speakers spoke with alarm at the state of unpreparedness in case of war. Mr. Churchill's view was that, whilst, when he was in the Government, the defence forces budget was framed upon the assumption that war was unthinkable within a minimum period of ten years, in recent years that supposition had become untenable. Mr. Baldwin, who replied on behalf of the Government, said that a reply to the British proposals was due "very soon". In the event of an agreement being reached, it would be necessary to arm up to the limits agreed upon. If the negotiations failed, a vastly more dangerous position would have been reached and "the Government will feel that their duty is to look after the interest of this country first and quickly." And as every other country will certainly do the same on its own behalf, we shall again be faced with a race in armaments, everybody heading for the inevitable war and the consequent anarchy. It is a hideous alternative.

OF INTEREST TO INDIA.

Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes who has virtually no knowledge of modern conditions in India, is the Nationalist Conservative candidate for the Portsmouth Division by election. In his election address, he states that, he is ready, on the subject of India, "to wait until the Joint Committee has reported, and he expresses a hope that the evidence given to the Committee will convince the National Government of the dangers of a policy which a great number of their followers view with alarm". He thinks that "this is not the moment to give home rule to India and impose on India's many irreconcilable races an imitation of a Western Parliamentary system in which so many powerful European countries have lost faith". Nor does he "feel any confidence in the so-called safeguards, seeing what has happened in Ireland". It will be terrible for the gallant Admiral if the Joint Committee is so strongly convinced of the advantages of the Government's proposals for Indian constitutional reform as to support them at least with a majority report. He will be delighted to know that all political parties in India will join with him in reprobating the imposition upon the country of "an imitation of a Western Parliamentary system". What, of course, they want is the real article, in which, presumably, he, at least, believes. If not, one wonders why he is standing as a candidate for election.

Lord Wolmer, who is even more of a "backwoodsman" than his father, Lord Selborne, thinks that the situation in India is so grave that he does not see how we can get out of it without bloodshed. If his school of thought prevails, his fears are well-grounded.

Mr. Subhas C. Bose, writing in the *Manchester Guardian* from Geneva, denies that the Calcutta Corporation has been bankrupt, as alleged by Mr. J. C. French before the Joint Select Committee, and holds that it was entitled to keep in its service ex-political offenders not guilty of moral turpitude. Mr. French continues to disagree on both points.

The Capitulation Tribunal's recommendation that a contribution of £1,500,000 a year should be made from British funds towards the cost of Indian defence

is being given effect to in supplementary estimates shortly to be submitted to Parliament which also include a loan to the Bacon Marketing Board, half the purchase price of the Codex Sinaiticus and a contribution in aid of the finances of Bechuanaland—a queer medley. Sir Alexander Cardew strongly objects to the grant of £1,500,000 towards the cost of Indian defence, and describes it as a "christening gift" to save the White Paper. Probably the grant will be opposed by the Tory diehard group.

In this correspondence I drew attention recently to the Kidderminster Chamber of Commerce protest against what is described as the excessive importations from British India of carpets as a serious menace to the home carpet trade, the town's staple industry. Mr. Runciman in a reply to Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, Member of Parliament for the Kidderminster Division, says that this country was given certain trade agreements with India at Ottawa and as a result many advantages were secured for the industries of the United Kingdom. It was necessary to regard the interests of trade as a whole, not of any particular section. This answer does not appear to have satisfied the Kidderminster trade, which has expressed the view that Indian carpets coming to this country should be limited by means of a quota system. It is of interest to note that unemployment amongst carpet-workers is at the relatively low figures of 5.8 per cent.

Referring to his duties on the Joint Select Committee on India, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Spring Session of the Church Assembly this week said, "If I had known what those duties would have involved, nothing would have induced me to undertake them. But we have now reached the stage of decisions in what I might call one of the most momentous tasks ever committed to any body of men in this country."

The Indian Village Welfare Association, whose President is Lady Halifax, and whose Chairman is Sir Francis Younghusband, and whose objects are (1) the collection and dissemination of information on rural activities in India; (2) the furtherance of schemes and experiments to promote rural welfare, and (3) the holding of schools and other educational activities to arouse interest in the needs of rural India, has announced the holding of a third successive Easter School, in the last week of March. It should prove to be of great value in concentrating attention upon the urgent needs of rural India.

MR. BERNARD SHAW ON INDIA.

In a broadcast-talk in the series entitled "Whither Britain?" Mr. Shaw this week spent a good deal of time rehashing old prejudices and new panaceas.

Discussing "this Empire business," Mr. Shaw said that the instinct not only of the distant Indian, but even of the nearby Welshman, the Irishman, and the Scot, was to resent and repudiate Imperial dominance, so that if we were to preserve the connexion, we must make it appear flattering and advantageous to all the parts of the Empire, giving them Home Rule, calling them Dominions instead of Colonies, and putting them on the same footing as what we called the Mother Country, or even on a better one. But let them think what that might lead to. There was only a handful of English-speaking people with pink skins in the Dominions. The Indians outnumbered the rest of the Empire, including England, five to one. Consequently, the effect of making India a Dominion, in the Canadian sense, would be that England would become, in effect, a Dominion of India, and England might not like that. England might break off from the Empire, as the United States did.

He could not feel sure of the permanence of any intimate political combination not based on homogeneity—the people in the combination being reasonably like one another in their tastes and religious faiths, their traditions and hopes. A combination of the northern States of Europe with the United States of America, and with Australia and New Zealand, would be far more homogeneous than any possible combinations of Europeans and Asiatics. If he were a stranger from another planet he would say that an attempt to combine England with India before England was combined with the United States on the one side and with all her Western European neighbours on the other was a crazy reversal of the natural order of things, and could not possibly last. If we did not make the constituents of the Empire so independent of England that England would have nothing to do but support an enormously expensive Navy to protect them, they would break off as the American Colonies did; yet if we granted them that independence, the tail would wag the dog, as it did very vigorously at the Ottawa Conference.

THE EARTHQUAKE.

News, official and unofficial, continues to come in, revealing to us, in ever increasingly graphic detail, the nature and extent of the disaster that has befallen North Bihar. Calls have been made by Dr. Tagore and Mr. Gandhi for help from abroad, presumably in view of the fact that, in the present economic state of India, home resources will not suffice for the restoration and reconstruction that are called for now that the needs of the stricken area are beginning to be discerned with some clearness. In the telegrams from the Poet and the Mahatma, it is recommended that contributions should be sent to Babu Rajendra Prasad, who, his friends are glad to learn, has now been released from confinement on grounds of health. The difficulty is that, except for the small Indian organisations who will probably respond as a result of the special appeals that they are making to their members and friends, hardly any one in this country knows Babu Rajendra Prasad even by name, and the fact that he is a staunch Congress worker just released from jail will not make it easy to organise a non-official fund of any substantial value that can be placed at his disposal for relief of distress. In the circumstances it is hoped that advantage may be taken by those contributors who may wish to send their contributions through non-official agencies to do so through the Servants of India Society, to whose long record of useful social activity the *Times* pays an editorial tribute, this week, in the following terms: "There is also the Servants of India Society, which is always early in the field on such an occasion collecting and distributing relief funds, and performing invaluable work in making known the extent of distress. Such a Society helps to establish confidence that money given for relief will be well distributed". In the absence of any announcement as to the setting up of a non-official relief committee, it is to be hoped that the Society may be willing temporarily to act in the capacity of a receiver and transmitter of funds for relief.

It is interesting to note that the League Against Imperialism, a recognised Communist body, has written to Mr. Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, suggesting a separate fund "on a class basis", as "there would be cases in the working class movement which are not covered by a Government fund", and asking for a subscription to such a fund for the relief of Railway workers in Jamalpur, victims of the earthquake. Mr. Citrine has promptly replied declining to have anything whatever to do with the League. In a subsequent statement made by Mr. Citrine he said, "The British workers have

the utmost sympathy with the sufferings of the Indian workers in this terrible earthquake disaster, but they must make absolutely sure that that suffering is not improperly exploited by Communist organisations. If an appeal should come from the properly accredited representatives of the Indian T. U. C. it will be considered with the utmost sympathy.

"We will not consider appeals from Communist organisations primarily concerned with exploiting the misery of their own workers for their own ends."

Undoubtedly, however, this country's major response will be made to the Lord Mayor's Fund, and that opened at India House as a branch of the Viceroy's Fund, by the High Commissioner for India. In addition to the written appeal issued by the Lord Mayor of London last week, he made a most touching and sympathetic personal appeal which he broadcast throughout the country. Almost immediately there have flowed in large sums and small alike, from palace and from kitchen. One poor woman immediately subscribed 2/6d. out of her weekly pension of 9s. and there have been other great acts of sacrifice comparable with this. If, in the long run, the total amount subscribed does not reach the sums to which one is accustomed to look from Mansion House funds in the past, it is to be attributed rather to the widespread economic depression in this country than lack of sympathy and interest in connection with this great disaster. On the contrary, as the news of its magnitude has become known so the response has been more immediate and generous, and the Provincial Lord Mayors and Mayors have opened funds in support of the Mansion House Fund.

With a view to the wider dissemination of information on the subject, and so as to make a still stronger appeal, a public meeting was held at the Mansion House yesterday, attended by the Lord Mayor, presiding, and Lady Mayoress and the Sheriffs of the City of London, as well as the Masters of several of the Livery Companies and a number of the best known public men in the country. There would have been a much larger gathering but for the inconvenience of the hour that kept most of the City magnats away, and that prevented a number of other public men from attending.

Our Parliamentary Letter.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

New Delhi, February 18.

TARIFF AMENDMENT BILL.

THE Tariff Amendment Bill giving specific protection to certain industries was passed during the week, after it was debated upon from all points of view. When Sir Joseph Bore moved for its consideration, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed led the attack on the Bill, saying that the tariff changes proposed in the Bill would not really help the Indian manufacturer so much as the Empire manufacturer. Mr. Ramsay Scott expressed dissatisfaction at the half-hearted policy of Government in the matter of giving protection to industries against Japanese competition. He asked why Government sat over the Tariff Board's report for over a year, during which period heavy Japanese imports had nearly dealt a death blow to the indigenous industries. He could not understand why Government should have been halting in this matter when the Assembly had given them sufficient powers to safeguard industries under the safeguarding of Industries Act. Mr. Gaznavi saw no merit in the Bill, beyond that it gave additional revenue to the Finance Member. He complained that the

Bill did not give sufficient protection to any industry and yet it raised the prices of commodities unnecessarily high. He smelt in it an attempt at giving imperial preference by the back door, for Government had imposed high duties against Japan, where Lancashire interests would not suffer. The Commerce Member, in replying to the charges, made it once more clear that "Government did not intend to confer substantive protection on any particular industry, but it only attempted to restore, as far as possible, competitive conditions that existed in 1930-31, making full allowance for the general fall in prices." He further assured the House that if an industry did not look upon this as sufficient protection, it should prepare a case and Government would submit it to the Tariff Board; if the industry made out a case for substantive protection it would be given.

When the Bill was read clause by clause, all the amendments, except two moved by Mr. Lahiri Chowdhary, failed. By one amendment domestic enamel hollow-wares were included for the new tariffs and a graded scale of duty was proposed on domestic earthenware, china and porcelain by the other amendments. There was a good deal of heated discussion on amendments moved by Mr. Ghuznavi and Mr. Azarali, to refund or exempt goods that have been transhipped on or before 22nd December 1934 and are on the way to this country. Both these amendments were strongly opposed by Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. S. C. Sen and Mr. K. C. Neogy. Sir Cowasji Jehangir pleaded that equity and justice demanded such exemption, when Mr. Ramsay Scott twitted him by asking how Sir Cowasji did not come forward to ask for similar exemption, when the duty on cotton goods went up by 75%. Mr. Hardy, member of the Revenue Board, explained how unpractical the suggestions would be and would merely add to the legal problems without one anna of the refund going to the pocket of the consumer. In replying to the speeches made on the third reading of the Bill, Sir Joseph Bhoré assured the House that they would not rest content with the passage of the bill, but that they would consider the question of protection of some industries that were making representations.

BENGAL STATE PRISONERS REGULATION OF 1818.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt moved, on Thursday last, that his Bill to repeal the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation of 1818 be circulated for opinion. Mr. Dutt did not see any reason why Government should still require this archaic piece of legislation, when they had several other drastic enactments they could rely upon. Such a law might have been necessary in the troubled times a hundred years before, but there seemed to him no justification to keep it any longer on the Statute Book. Mr. S. C. Sen opposed the motion, on the ground that this piece of legislation was far more humane than the various other enactments that have since been added to the Statute Book. As was but expected the Home Member Sir Harry Haig stoutly opposed the Bill, saying that the time chosen for its repeal was most inopportune, as Indian constitutional progress was threatened by forces of open violence and hidden conspiracies. Unless they could defend themselves by such weapons, he thought, it might be difficult for Government to resist those subversive tendencies; even more drastic measures might be necessary to combat the menace. The motion was negatived.

AMENDMENT OF THE LAW OF SEDITION.

Mr. Ranga Iyer's attempt to amend sections 124 (A) and 153 (A)—law of sedition—of the Indian Penal Code also fared no better. Mr. Ranga Iyer quoted profusely the views of eminent judges and

lawyers that 'intention' should be the criterion in this matter, and that the Bill tried to make it explicit. He could not understand how any comments, expressing disapproval of the measures of Government and methods of administration, with a view to their alteration by peaceful means should constitute an offence. He dwelt upon the history of the section which was amended in 1898 by excluding the word 'intention'. Yet in practice many high courts convicted persons only if it was proved that the accused had the intention to commit the offence! All that his Bill attempted to do was, he said, to incorporate the spirit of the judgments and hence they should not find it difficult of acceptance. Mr. Yamin Khan found merit in the law as it stood, as it acted as a check on the disruptive forces in the country. He thought the press alone was responsible for creating trouble and these sections acted as a brake on them. Forces of communism and disruption, according to him, required the retention of these clauses. Sir B. L. Mitra did not want the Legislature to interfere with the present law and warned the house against proceeding with its amendment without looking to the consequences. Sardar Sant Singh bitterly complained that the sections were being abused and used for punishing those who held certain political views. Mr. Ranga Iyer in reply referred to the arrest and conviction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and said he wanted by this bill to make such easy arrest difficult. The motion was lost by a big majority.

EQUALISATION OF DUTY ON KEROSENE.

Discussion on Mr. S. C. Mitra's resolution to equalise import and excise duties on kerosene oil was resumed on Tuesday last, but the mover ultimately withdrew it. In putting forward his resolution Mr. Mitra said that British oil companies operating in Burma enjoyed a monopoly in India and the difference between the customs and excise duties gave them an indirect subsidy in the form of further profits of Rs. 74 lacs and the Indian Treasury unnecessarily suffered a loss to that extent. He also charged those companies with depriving Government of the super tax by paying millions in bonuses to their shareholders. He also quoted from the Tariff Board's report on Oil Industry to show that these companies got higher price for their kerosene. Mr. R. S. Sarma opposed it on the ground that it was such a resolution that gave a handle to the British commercial interests to demand safeguards. D. B. Ramaswamy Mudaliar also opposed the resolution. He explained that there was no real competition between the Burma Oil Company and the Standard Oil Company owing virtually to an agreement regarding prices and spheres of distribution. The B.O. Company had a monopoly of the red oil that is entirely consumed by the poor people and if the excise duty was to be raised, as was suggested in the resolution, only the poor people would suffer, as the Company was bound to raise the prices. The Finance Member assured the House that Government would see that the oil companies operating in India, would not henceforth enter into agreements with foreign companies to keep up the higher level of prices. Mr. Mitra then withdrew his resolution.

HELP TO BIHAR.

Mr. Gupteshwar Prasad Singh moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council that a loan to the Bihar Government be made by the Central Government, without interest or at a low rate of interest, to help the stricken province in its reconstruction. The resolution had nothing but sympathy from all parts of the House. During the speeches grateful acknowledgement was made of the services rendered by the various relief funds and the relieving parties at work; every one concurred

that such relief work would touch only the immediate problem of finding shelter and food but that for reconstruction an all-comprehensive policy had to be worked out by Government. Sir Cowasji Jehangir assured the Government that the House would not object if the Central Government decided to give loans to the Bihar Government free of interest. Mr. Joshi hoped that principles of modern town-planning and sanitation would be adopted in the work of reconstruction. Sir George Schuster, on behalf of Government, accepted the resolution and explained that Government were evolving a comprehensive plan of reconstruction in consultation with the Bihar Government; and that it would be found adequate to the needs of the situation. He hoped to make the announcement about it during the Budget speech or even earlier if it was possible.

Reviews.

FRUIT-MARKETING IN POONA.

A SURVEY OF THE MARKETING OF FRUIT IN POONA. By D. R. GADGIL & V. R. GADGIL (The Authors, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.) 1933. 22cm. 184p. Rs. 2/8.

THE book under review is one of those rare productions, a really illuminating survey of the mechanism of the marketing of produce. The authors set themselves an unusually difficult task and deserve to be congratulated on the result of their labours. Under the existing conditions, where there really is no such thing as organisation in the marketing of fruit or other agricultural produce, it is the grower who bears the brunt of the burden and the numerous middlemen wax fat at his expense. As the authors have put it, there is a feeling of utter helplessness in the producer; he could do nothing against the salesman, there was no alternative to him, and there was no use in bothering about details. It would do our legislators good to digest the chapters describing the number of middlemen through whom the produce has to pass, the number of commissions that have to be paid and the transport difficulties that exist. They might then find time to think of the lot of farmers.

The book is so full of useful information both to the economist and to the farmer that it is not possible to indicate all that it contains, in a small compass. Every chapter is indicative of the immense amount of pains that the authors have taken in their attempts to obtain first-hand information. Most of the growers of fruit are small holders and as such they are individually helpless against the several clever middlemen. These middlemen rarely stand to lose anything. Whatever the prices may be, they rake in their commissions and it is the grower who has finally to foot the bill and take all the losses.

Discussing the conditions that exist at the Reay Market in Poona, some valuable suggestions are made. The establishment of a separate "Growers' Market" is an excellent idea, as that would, to some extent at least, minimise the losses through middlemen. The necessity of proper control by the Municipality of the stall holders is obvious, as any tendency towards the slackening of this control may mean all sorts of underhand dealings. The most deplorable thing seems to be the lack of strict control over all weights and measures used in the market.

A study of the tables showing the commission charged by salesmen, forwarding agents, and commission salesmen, and the transport charges, will give some idea how the farmer is exploited in every direction. We are continuously being told that the

farmer is the backbone of India and that the country's prosperity is measured by his prosperity. The present process of his slaving the year round at his crops, only to have the major part of the produce swallowed by all sorts of middlemen, cannot surely conduce to the strengthening of his position. The data given in this book explain, to a large extent, the reason of the notorious indebtedness of the farmers and also indicates the lines on which action should be taken to strengthen India's backbone.

Transportation studies reveal another woeful tale. The damage that occurs to fruit of various kinds in railway transit is a matter of common knowledge. One has only to watch baskets of fruit being thrown into and out of railway wagons, to understand why so much damage occurs. Absence of complaints means nothing, as both the consigner and consignee are in a helpless position. The whole thing works in a vicious circle. Unless the traffic is large, the railways will not provide special facilities; unless special facilities are provided, traffic will not grow. It is the business of Government to end this state of affairs.

The farmers themselves ought to bestir themselves and form cooperative organisations for handling their produce. They must improve their technique of growing, picking, grading, and packing. If this is accompanied by suitable legislation and control of the trade as suggested by the authors, only then will the fruit industry thrive.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN BOMBAY.

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY. By K. H. VAKIL (Taraporewalla.) 1932. 20cm. 160p. Rs. 3.

THE printing and the get-up are excellent, the photographs beautiful and decent. But what is more significant about the book is not so much its external attractions as the spirit in which it is written. Mr. K. H. Vakil is perfectly justified in complaining against the present mental approach and attitude towards ancient temples which remain, in his opinion, "blurred and incoherent". "Archaeological and iconographic details are collected with diligence," he says, "not interpreted with vision. Sculptures are assigned their dates, sometimes their "schools" seldom their qualities, but never their place." In the opening pages of the book Mr. Vakil does, indeed, discuss and determine the dates of the temples at Elephanta, Jogeswari, Mandpeshwar, and Kanheri. It may be generally admitted that the caves are of sufficient antiquity, most of them belonging to about the 8th century A. D. Mr. Vakil discusses many interesting details and from them we gather that it would not be an impossibility to reconstruct history wholly from material remains. The archaeological, sculptural, and iconographic achievements that are concretised in stone are the expressions of the lives lived by the people of those times, their ideas, beliefs and aspirations. And these expressions themselves cannot be appreciated by assuming "uniformity of qualities and standards at all time, in every place, medium, material and phase of Indian Art." For we find infinite diversity in conception and creation. Mr. Vakil's passionate plea is therefore for a "discriminate, critical, dispassionate examination" of Indian Art which could make it yield permanent values. Objective writers like Vincent Smith may care little for artistic problems; but subjective writers like Havell would explain the "spiritual suppositions underneath the peculiarity of form." But in this also there is a danger. Works of art might be interpreted on the basis of expression irres-

pective of the fact that the forms of expression themselves are subject to considerable fluctuations and "that at various times, in spite of the identity of intentions, the same motif was represented in different ways."

Mr. Vakil warns us against the use of stock terms of art criticism which obscure art values. For these art values have to be appraised in terms of the artists' feeling and sense for volume and content. "Art was not representative," he says, "merely of the body and beliefs of Man. It dared to interpret the mind of man, the mind that speculates, explores, aspires as well as understands and believes, the mind that challenges facts and creates new conditions and new values not less than it accepts old facts and faiths." We might discover conceptual unity and social continuity but uniformity, never. And time spent therefore in the study of the monuments of the "Rock Cut Temples Around Bombay" would be highly instructive and elevating.

Mr. Vakil has, in our opinion, eminently succeeded in interpreting our "heritage of beauty." He has further the vision of the true seer to recognise that it is also the heritage of humanity, common to the universe, and permanent as well. He concludes with this sincere wish, 'India's vast, immensely, almost illimitably, rich art legacy will be well employed if in the modern search for permanent and universal values and significance of art it could assist to recover and re-establish the lost human belief in the common and permanent heritage of beauty.

We feel great pleasure, therefore, in recommending this book both to the serious scholar and the general reader.

R. PRATAPGIRI.

VILE SLANDER OF INDIANS.

NAKED ASCETIC. By VICTOR DANE. (Rider & Co., London.) 1933. 20cm. 235p. 7/6.

VILE and biting slander of Indians is the theme of this obnoxious book and its author has vomitted all the venom of his posion pouch so as to leave nothing unsullied. To turn the splash of printed ditchwater on the person of the author, he is "a literary curse ...always willing to slandar a man without the least evidence or reason," who possesses so depraved a mind as to corrupt the imagination of his readers. At best he is a raving lunatic who suffers from a swelled psychological bump and so few and far between are the lucid intervals that they betray logical rancidity. Arriving in India with intent to understand Occultism (which he confuses with Yoga), he loses his reason and under some kind of mysterious hallucination, he makes, or thinks he makes, the acquaintance of magic workers who are miscalled Yogis. With his uncharitable ink he paints these jugglers in the blackest colours of his conception as a means to calumniate the people of India so as to leave them smarting under it. Miss Mayo is a less offensive judge of things Indian than this malicious genius who digs his claws into the harmless flesh of the Indian. He accuses Indians of cowardice, little realising that there is no worse knavery than that which beats an enslaved people, defenceless and unable to silence a tongue that utters libel. By the false standard of charlatans, he misjudges a whole nation without giving thought to the fact that spurious Yogis and tantrics who can be counted on fingers' ends if they exist at all, do not represent the real India and her culture. One wonders how Viper Dane (which

name suits the author better) will consider it a trustworthy estimate of the character of Britishers if an Indian were to pick out all the undesirable people of Great Britain of whom, I am sure, there are more than we have in India, for prejudiced investigation. Instead of looking at Indians in the light of a right international perspective of "all very much the same under the clothes," and helping to relax "the heavy paternalism" of the Britisher (to quote the words of H. G. Wells), so as to raise the standard of life of the people, this foul individual whips out his tongue in order to give vent to a string of blasphemies, one more scathing than another.

"The Indian is the greatest liar within the two hemispheres."

"Indians are a very mean people and the Bengalis, probably the meanest of the lot."

"The Marwaris are the greatest rogues under the sun. They are a nasty lecherous crowd."

"The Turk is a mean fellow, having retained the cupidity of the East, as well as acquiring the vices of the West." (Mustapha Kemal Pasha, please take note.)

"A quite common orime in India—child rape."

"Unselfishness is not known in India."

"Indians will only attack when they are fifty to one."

"There is more sincere spirituality in the little finger of a British Navy than in the whole lot of them."

"A rare thing to be able to trust any man, rarer still when that man is an Indian."

For a lady, "this offering of oneself to a Yogi is quite common in India."

"Indians are naturally sadistic."

"Very often the husband has so abused sex that when he marries (though he may only be twenty years old) he is impotent."

"With all their purdah and their talk of chastity of their women, they will unblushingly sell their wives and daughters for advancement. One must remember that the East is one tremendous piece of play-acting. Take off the varnish and a very poor metal is discovered. The lending of wives is quite a frequent practice."

It is futile to attempt to cleanse the lavatory of the author's mind. There is no doubt that the book will pour oil on Indian feelings already politically aflame. By way of answer to it, all that lies within our power to do is to mercilessly close the doors of our proverbial hospitality on all Europeans other than good officials and approved friends so as to avoid being bitten in the hand that feeds. "That is the one thing which always struck me about Indians, how very hospitable they are. These people have trusted me, fed me and opened some of their innermost store rooms of knowledge before my enquiring gaze," says our ingrate author.

The book is not worth being touched with a barge pole, and the author's place is in a mad house.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE MILK SUPPLY OF LAHORE IN 1930. by ROSHANLAL ANAND. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1933. 25cm. 140p. Rs. 2.

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH. Vol. I. By M. K. GANDHI. (Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.) 1933. 24cm. 602p. Rs. 5/8.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF KALA GADDI THAMMAN (Chak 73 G. B.) by RANDHIR SINGH. (The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1932. 25cm. 200p. Rs. 4.