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Topics of the Week.

The Dharma.

" I THINK Council entry is Dharma at this stage—but not for myself, for I have devoted myself to something else. My Sadhana at present is non-violent disobedience of laws. Council entry will prove a hindrance in the realisation of that end of mine."

Thus wrote Mahatma Gandhi to resolve the doubts of one of his perplexed disciples, Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta of Benares, who could not understand how Congressmen, pledged as they are to a severance of the British connexion, find it consistent with their political creed, on being returned to the legislatures, to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Politicians generally do not look too closely into the ethics of their conduct provided it serves the immediate purposes they have in view. Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta too was not surprised to see that the general run of Congressmen took no objection to swearing their fealty to the King of England, but what tormented his soul was the fact that they did it under the advice of the Mahatma who always adheres to Truth, never swerving even by a hair's-breadth from it.

THE Mahatma's explanation is: "Council entry was decided upon, seeing the present condition of our country, and it is not good on the part of those who take the oath to do anything against the Government." The plain meaning of it is that although Congressmen still subscribe to the creed of independence, they are to put it in cold storage while they are in the legislatures, doing nothing whatever to promote their creed. We had thought that Congressmen went into the legislatures to translate their ideal

to however small an extent, into a reality, but we now see that we were mistaken. They are to do nothing against Government.

BUT the hardest nut to crack is the few sentences from Mahatma Gandhi's letter given at the beginning of this Topic. The moral duty of all Congressmen is no longer the same. The Mahatma himself is to practise civil disobedience—not immediately, but when a suitable opportunity offers; but all the rest of Congressmen, weaker vessels, are to—well, go into the Councils and do things which may be condoned in them, but which to Mahatma Gandhi would be sheerly immoral.

We have a difficulty here. We can well understand the Mahatma reserving to himself the toughest job and warning all others off it. But whatever others may be asked to do should fit into a general scheme of things. It should be helpful to what he himself may be doing now, or later when he will actively resume civil disobedience. But Council entry, to which Congressmen resorted if not under his bidding, under his advice and sanction, he says, "will prove a hindrance in the realisation of the end" which he wishes to fulfil by civil disobedience. It really looks like the G. H. Q. ordering the whole of the army to join the enemy's ranks. But it is not merely bad generalship to which we wish to allude; it is really the fact that he has lent his countenance to something that he looks upon as immoral or sinful. We thought no one, and least of all the Mahatma, could do anything that partook of sin.

CAN some one explain this to us? How we wish Charlie Andrews were in India to interpret the Mahatma's Gospel to those like us who are strangers to supra-rational things! But he has just left the Indian shores. Who can now undertake the task?

A Pact with the Governor!

MR. JAYAKAR elaborated to a writer in the *Times of India* the process by which he felt confident of improving the constitution by working it "in a modest fashion." The explanation is as follows:

Mr. Jayakar pointed out that the most important leverage in the constitution which was in India's favour was that if it was worked in a spirit of compromise and conventions the genuine interests of the country would not suffer. If, instead of trying to wreck it, the people's representatives bent their energies to a search for the points of compromise there would be no occasion for the exercise of the special powers of the Governors or the Governor-General. No head of the administration would like to govern with the aid of special powers for any length of time, and that was the secret behind the safeguards. The safeguards were there for exceptional occasions when it was found impossible to prevent un-

warranted injury to legitimate interests. Their use could altogether be avoided if no necessity for their application were permitted to arise. Thus it was open to any Ministry to formulate its programme in a modest fashion and enter into a pact with the Governor whereby progressive schemes could be got through without a hitch.

Similarly a world of good could be done by the party in power entering into a working understanding with European commercial interests and with the minorities. Both these wanted only to "live and let live." It should not be difficult for the future Ministries to adopt a policy of give-and-take towards these interests. Once they realised that the majority had no hostile intentions towards them, the element of fear would vanish. That meant the knocking out of the basis and justification from the bottom of the safeguards. In short, although the constitution doubtless bristled with special powers and safeguards and restrictions all these could be rendered inoperative if the problem were approached with good-will and a constructive mind.

Don't Let us Get in Each Other's Way !

A PACT with the Governor is rather a nice idea ! Safeguards can easily be conjured away by entering into an arrangement with the Governor (and the Governor-General). The necessary arrangement can surely be brought about if we promise the Governor in advance that we shall be progressive "in a very modest fashion," that we shall not come within a shooting distance of any British interests, and that we shall leave all dominant classes in India free to exploit their position of vantage to the full. We are only to make our humble submission to the Governor, "We shall never, NEVER, NEVER get in your way," and the Governor will at once respond by saying, "Then I shall not get in your way either." How simple all this looks when it is fully worked out ! The difficulties of the situation which appeared so overwhelming to minds uninitiated in the arts of diplomacy vanish as if by a magician's wand. In the light of this new-found tactic, how foolish must have appeared our Round Tablers in London who took their stand against the safeguards and made themselves unnecessarily unpleasant at the Conference ! But it takes a real spark of genius to hit upon this simple-looking but all-sufficing formula—"Don't let us get in each other's way." It is marvellous !

Standing on Principle !

WRITING on the Italian-Ethiopian dispute, the *Pioneer* thinks that compromise has no place in the solution of this controversy and that a firm stand must be taken on principle. This is really a dangerous doctrine to enunciate in India though it has no direct reference to this country. The paper says :

What should the League do in the circumstances ? To our mind this is a case where there can be no question of compromise on any terms that Signor Mussolini is likely at present to accept. So far from attempting to keep Italy in the League, the Powers should consider whether his threats are not already sufficient cause to justify her expulsion. Nothing is to be gained by "saving face" at the expense of sacrificing everything that the League stands for. That mistake has been made once already. If a firmer line had been taken with Japan, Italy might never have been encouraged to this adventure. Better now to stand on principle and face the consequences, whatever they may be.

Cannot the British Government and the League avail themselves of Mr. Jayakar's formula, devised though it be for the special behoof of India ? Suppose they decided not to get in Italy's way ? We are inclined to think that the problem will be more easily

amenable that way. Abyssinia ? Ask her to go down Italy's throat—without causing Italy too much pain. Why, there will then be no problem left ! A Jayakar is badly wanted in international politics.

The Mody Party.

UNDER this caption the *Tribune* writes as follows :

Our Simla correspondent states that strenuous efforts are being made to bring into existence a party on the lines proposed by Sir H. P. Mody in his recent speech at a meeting of the Reform (Ripon) Club at Bombay. Among those whose names are specifically mentioned as supporters of the project are Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. M. R. Jayakar. All three are serious politicians and whether they have or have not got much of a following among the Indian masses, it is certain that they are not without supporters among people who are likely to find a place in the Legislatures under the new constitution. There are, indeed, some men in the country who are prepared to work any constitution, no matter how bad or unacceptable, provided it holds out to them the prospect of a gratification of their personal ambition. Such men would jump at the idea of joining an organisation promoted by a man like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, though of course we have great doubts if Sir Tej Bahadur will consent to publicly associate himself with an organisation like the one proposed by Sir Homi Mody. For our part we would welcome the formation of such a party, not because we wish the new constitution to be worked as Sir H. P. Mody and Mr. Jayakar want it to be worked, but because it would be far better for the Congress and other progressive parties in the country to have to deal with an organised party of political reactionaries than to have a miscellaneous horde of non-descripts to contend with.

We entirely agree with our contemporary about the desirability of those who believe in the renunciation policy forming a party to give effect to it so that the reforms will have the best chance of success, as they understand "success".

No Half-Way House.

IF the Congress includes the States' people not as outsiders, but as full members, it cannot merely use them as its auxiliaries in its British Indian campaigns and then leave them to their devices in their struggle in the States, extending to them only its moral sympathy. It must send some of its British Indian members into the States to share the burden of the States' people's struggle as they were made to undergo sufferings in its Satyagraha campaigns. This plea, contained in the statement of the Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference, is based on such unanswerable logic that even *United India and the Indian States* has felt constrained to support it. In its issue of 24th August the paper says :

We cannot help thinking that the Congress has put itself in a false position by its policy of recruiting members of the Congress from the Indian States. So long as this is the case, subjects of Indian States have a right to demand that as the Congress requires their help in the affairs of British India, so British Indian Congressmen must be prepared to help the agitation for reform in the Indian States. The Congress has never looked at the matter in this way and is now surprised that the demand is made. The linguistic reason for including the States as part of British Provinces is hardly sufficient for ignoring the separate political jurisdiction of the States—and the sooner the mistake is rectified and the Congress confines its constitution as well as its activities to British India, the better for British India.

Our contemporary is wrong in thinking that the States' people were admitted into the Congress only because

of the accident of their speaking the same language as their British Indian confreres. They were admitted with a view to their political emancipation. This being so, the least that the Congress can do in their behalf is not to distort the Calcutta resolution on the States by interpreting "support" to mean mere moral support, but to make an unequivocal declaration that it is its moral duty to give them active support to the fullest extent of its capacity. The Congress may reserve to itself the right to decide when and how to implement the declaration, but a declaration of active as distinguished from moral support cannot be refused, and this is all that the States' people appear to us to want for the present.

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Indian Tariff Policy.

EXCEPT for the vigorous terms in which the Finance Member expressed himself there was nothing remarkable in the exchange of views between the President, Indian Merchants Chamber, Bombay, and Sir James Grigg which took place recently. The definitely laissez faire point of view of the Finance Member is by now well-known to the public through many of his utterances in the Assembly and other places. And he gave in his latest speech a more extreme instance of this when he declared that all that a government need and could do to foster industry was to maintain a sound financial and currency policy. This bent of the Finance Member's mind may, however, we believe, have a salutary effect on the development of Indian Tariff policy. As we have had frequent occasion to point out in these columns the protective regime in India is getting less and less discriminating day by day. It would seem that if Sir J. Grigg had his way he would exercise a more careful scrutiny over the grant of protection to industries.

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WHILE in his remarks regarding the grant of help to industries the Finance Member put the agriculturist and the consumer to the fore it was surprising to find him admitting that the reduction in the income-tax surcharges took priority over the customs surcharge. We would strongly protest against any such priority being granted. The level of direct taxation in India is not anything as high as in a number of other countries while the tariff wall has suddenly mounted up during the last few years. The disparity in the movement of the prices of agricultural and industrial prices has, as Sir J. Griggs himself emphasised, created a serious situation in the country. Under these circumstances it would be very unjust to cause any delay whatsoever in giving the much needed relief to the large body of consumers and agriculturists.

* * *

A NUMBER of other questions were raised by Mr. Subedar and duly answered by the Finance Member. But none of the answers, such as Sir J. Grigg's belief that the Ottawa agreements are working out more advantageously to India than to Great Britain or his protestations that the safeguards are all in Indian interests, deserve any special comment.

* * *

Ichalkaranji Memorial Rejected.

THE Ichalkaranji Jehagir had submitted a memorial to the A. G. G. (Deccan States) protesting against the orders issued by H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur in the Ajra firing incident. The Jehagir has been informed in reply that "the memorial is summarily rejected."

The grounds on which the reply is based are two. First, the Administrator of Ichalkaranji, Col. A. G. Frere, in whose name the memorial was submitted, is said to have derived his appointment to the post from the Kolhapur Durbar, and the A. G. G. argues that a servant of the Durbar is not competent to protest against its orders. The Jehagirdar of Ichalkaranji was all the while under the impression that Col. Frere was his own appointee and that he had delegated his own powers to him, the Durbar having merely approved the appointment. But the Durbar claims to have appointed Col. Frere direct, though on the Jehagirdar's request, and the A. G. G. has allowed this claim.

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MORE important, however, than this technical point is the fact that the A. G. G. accepts in full the claim of the Durbar that it is itself responsible for the preservation of law and order in the Jehagir and that the orders of His Highness are therefore a matter of internal administration, with which the Paramount Power sees no reason to interfere.

We can only say at this stage that the A. G. G.'s interpretation of the relations subsisting between the Durbar and Jehagir is in flat contradiction to the interpretation generally put upon them by the public at large, who will feel that a serious injustice has been done to the Jehagir. A more detailed comment would require expert examination of State papers, which is not immediately possible.

* * *

A New Approach to Terrorist Problem.

Repression by itself as a panacea against terrorism has failed of its purpose. That apparently is the experience of the Bengal Government after ten year's relentless operation of that remedy. An admission in these terms will, it is true, not be found in Sir John Anderson's recent speech before the Bengal Legislative Council; nonetheless it is implicit in his observations. How else can his remark about the indefinite detention of people with no prospect of the amelioration of their condition being no solution of the terrorist problem be interpreted if it does not virtually amount to a recognition on his part of the failure of repression to put down terrorism. The recognition, though belated, is welcome.

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SIR JOHN ANDERSON'S speech holds out the hope that hereafter terrorism will not be met only by repression and more repression. It will be coupled with measures designed to turn terrorists into useful members of society. How is this to be done? It is proposed to give to selected detenus a training which will enable them to assist in developing the country's natural resources. This training will not cost the detenu anything but will be financed out of public revenues. The forms of agriculture in which the proposed instruction will be imparted will be fruit-farming, kitchen gardening and the like, while on the industrial side the young detenu would be taught how to manufacture articles which will yield a fair profit and make the province self-sufficient. In the first instance, only a few detenus will be selected for this experiment. At the end of the period of training it is intended to restore them to liberty provided their conduct is found satisfactory. Should the experiment prove successful it follows that its scope will be extended to the whole province. That the Bengal Government mean business is shown by their appointment of Mr. S. C. Mitter, the author of a book entitled "A Recovery Plan for the Bengal" to be in charge of the new experiment.

* * *

Loharu.

DESPITE the fact that the public demand for an independent inquiry into the recent happenings in Loharu State is gaining widespread and influential support, it apparently seems to have left the Paramount Power unmoved so far. Their inaction in the present case is in sharp contrast to the promptitude with which they appointed committees to inquire into last year's firing incidents in Rampur and Kapurthala States. Why in those cases they should have shown so much concern for the loss of life that occurred and why in the present case they should not see the need of an impartial inquiry with a view to satisfying themselves that only the minimum force was used in order to put down disorders is difficult to divine.

IN reply to Bhai Parmanand's request for an inquiry addressed to the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States, the latter's secretary has sent a long letter to him, which is only a rechauffe of the official version of the incidents issued earlier by the Durbar. It is not known whether its issue was preceded by any personal inquiries by or on behalf of the Agent or whether he relied on the information supplied by the Durbar as gospel truth. Even in the former case, it cannot be a satisfactory substitute for inquiry by an independent committee. It is obvious that none but the findings of an impartial committee will command the requisite measure of public confidence and it is very necessary that arrangements for such an inquiry should be promptly made. Already a month has been allowed to pass without any action in that direction, which is greatly to be deplored. It is not enough for the Paramount Power only to help in restoring order whenever peace happens to be disturbed. It is equally, if not more, necessary for it to guard against the repetition of such disturbances by assuring itself that the people of the State have no

reasonable cause for complaint against the State administration.

The Home For the Blind.

IT is a very common misconception that blindness is incurable. If treated in the early stages by competent medical men, experience tells us that it is possible to remove it. The number of the blind in India is very large; but there is reason to believe that blindness in at least 50 per cent, of these cases might have been avoided by timely action. It is truly said that there is no affliction so great as blindness. Those therefore that assist in its removal or in making useful and self-supporting citizens of the blind must be acclaimed as social benefactors. The Poona School and Home for the Blind is one among many similar institutions working under the auspices of the Blind Relief Association. The aim of the Association is to teach the blind personal hygiene, reading and writing, music, both vocal and instrumental, etc. The Poona Home was started about seven months ago, but has during that period turned out a credit able record of work. It has at present 10 inmates, only 2 of whom are Brahmans—an eloquent testimony of the cosmopolitan nature of its work. As a beginning they are being taught music, in which work the Home is receiving valuable co-operation from renowned local musicians. The inmates are so poor that they have sometimes to be fed and clothed at the expense of the Home. A dispensary started three months ago for giving free eye treatment has so far treated more than 125 patients. Such beneficent work eminently deserves financial support from all well-wishers of the country. We trust the municipality, local board and Government which are being approached for financial assistance for the work of the Home will give it ungrudgingly.

POLICY OF RENUNCIATION.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL has announced a renunciation of his former attitude of opposition to the Government's India policy and has promised his cordial co-operation in carrying out the policy in future. This is hailed by the British public as a graceful and magnanimous gesture, and the Anglo-Indian press too in general is full of praise, though there is a section of this press which, fearing lest the announcement might only confirm the widespread impression in this country that the dog-fight between the Right and the Left wings of the Conservative Party in England was a put-up affair, is rather chary of welcoming Mr. Churchill's declaration of his having buried the hatchet. The *Pioneer*, for instance, wishes to reassure Indian nationalists that the Baldwin section of the Conservative Party was really far more liberal than the Churchill section on the Reforms Bill, and attributes what it calls Mr. Churchill's repentance on the India question to nothing nobler than a desire to avoid an expulsion from the party ranks at the hands of Mr. Baldwin. But there is no need to discern such a personal motive in Mr. Churchill's announcement. The British Parliament is now for a long time quit of the Indian problem. Even if Mr. Churchill maintained his hostility he would have no occasion

to show it for many a year. He can now well assume an air of virtuosity, seeing that all opportunities for opposition are exhausted.

The question is if Indians are also to practise renunciation, following Mr. Churchill's lead. The plea put forward by Mr. Jayakar or Sir Homi Mody for complete co-operation is really a plea for doing in fact what Mr. Churchill has done only in form. Mr. Churchill can really neither co-operate nor oppose any longer. But Indian nationalists can actively follow either of the two courses that their judgment may approve. What are they going to do? In this respect we wish to point out that the inconsistency of which the *Pioneer* accuses Mr. Churchill will attach much more firmly to those in India who, having declared that a considerable improvement of the White Paper proposals will be required to elicit co-operation of the Indian people, will now urge upon them, when the White Paper proposals have been drastically whittled down, a policy of unmixed co-operation. They will be regarded everywhere as quick-change artistes, and we for our part should feel at a loss how to defend them. But of one thing, we feel certain, every Indian will acquit them, and that is a charge of personal advancement which the *Pioneer* brings against Mr. Churchill. Whatever

fault may be found with their policy, everybody will admit that they advocate it in a thoroughly unselfish and disinterested spirit. But there is no doubt that their policy is a policy of renunciation, of resignation, of surrender, of submission to what they look upon as inevitable.

We fail to see how those that are dissatisfied, and thoroughly dissatisfied, with the reforms can work them in the same spirit of ungrudging and whole-hearted co-operation as those that are satisfied with them; how they can bring themselves deliberately to avoid all measures which are likely to bring the reserve powers of the Governor-General and the Governor into action; how they can keep all the time scrupulously within the four corners of the Act without bending any part of their effort to proving its utter inadequacy to the demands of the situation and thus compelling the authorities to undertake a radical revision of the Act. The vested interests, which the constitution has entrenched still more firmly, will naturally now desire nothing more than a smooth functioning of the constitution and an elimination of all conflict, but no nationalist can join a party formed for the express purpose of smoothly working the constitution in this sense and sidetracking all questions likely to create friction, without laying himself open to the accusation of a flagrant betrayal of his principles. On the contrary, it is up to every nationalist true to his salt to put his convictions to the proof by so working the reforms that the innumerable grave defects in them that cry out for a drastic cure will be exposed to the gaze of the world and at a suitable opportunity brought to a head. We recognise to the full that it is necessary at this juncture to steer clear both of a policy of vain recklessness and of a policy of easy complacency, but the danger of the latter policy looms larger on the horizon at the present moment than that of the former.

The policy of a contented working of the reforms so as never to displease or offend any of the vested interests or the Governor and the Governor-General is fraught with serious dangers. It will in the first place compel our politicians to potter about busily with trifling administrative detail and keep them off larger schemes of social reconstruction, to accomplish which alone constitutional reforms were sought. They will have every time to play to the gallery of this special interest and that, for without doing so a smooth working of the constitution is in the very nature of things impossible. We are very glad to find that the Christian paper, the *Guardian*, which is as far from advocating wrecking tactics as any journal can be, is with us in this matter. It says in a leading article in its last issue: "Working the reforms may also degenerate in the hands of the workers of the reforms into the type of attitude that has been created in the dyarchic system of the Montagu reforms. It is to preserve the smooth working of the administration at any cost, SACRIFICING EVERY INDIAN ASPIRATION AND EVERY URGENT IMPROVEMENT REQUIRED BY THE PEOPLE." "For such," it adds, "we do not need the proposed costly

cumbrous machinery. The bureaucratic system is infinitely superior. If Indian statesmanship can do no more than run the machinery, then a few brown bureaucrats can do it better than all India parties." And the white bureaucrats will perhaps do it still better. We entirely agree with our contemporary, which is justly known for taking a sober view of things, that a frankly bureaucratic regime is very much to be preferred to a so-called popular regime, if the popular regime is to confine itself, as it must in order to ensure smooth working of the constitution, to the carrying on of routine administration without ever venturing upon what may be regarded as the dangerous paths of policy.

In the second place the insistence that is placed in recent speeches on the supreme need of making a compromise at every turn in order to give no opportunity for the safeguards to come into operation will lead to a feverish political manoeuvring based on nothing better than unprincipled opportunism. Even if there is no direct corruption and nepotism (though the scope for these would be none too restricted where one unit of federation consists of Princes who have long purses and are under no obligation to account for their expenditure to any human being), politics will degenerate into a disgusting scramble for the spoils of office. When a hodge-podge of a Party is formed, including in its fold people who hold not only different but contrary opinions on major issues of social and economic policy and who are enabled to work in the same organisation only because they are willing to put aside their opinions with the object of making the constitution successful, the political demoralisation of the country that will result from this process will be appalling. Who can deny that compromise has a legitimate place in politics? But when a policy of wholesale compromise is preached as if it were a principle in itself, it becomes necessary to point out that every act of compromise is a departure from principle. The departure may be necessary in the circumstances of the time and can be justified as well on moral as on prudential grounds, but every compromise requires justification with reference to the particular circumstances and can be allowed only if such justification is forthcoming. To ask all parties to unite in working a constitution, never mind in what way, but only so as to keep the Governor and the Governor-General out of the picture is to tell people that principles are of no account and that expediency is the only deity to whom incense should be burnt. When prudence is being made into a religion, will no one speak of the importance of a sacrificial devotion to principle? We rejoice to see that the *Guardian*, in the article referred to above, has boldly given a very much needed warning in this respect.

Above all, we must not sacrifice the general mass of people to the privileged classes, as we must do if we set out with the object of working the constitution without friction. Where peace and justice are found to be ranged on opposite sides, we must unhesitatingly choose for justice, leaving peace to take care of itself. They will be doing serious

harm to the people who will, for the sake of pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of making the constitution work smoothly, try to kill the spirit of opposition in the country. Let us use all the resources of prudence we can command in canalising this spirit in proper channels, not in killing it.

THE STATES' OPPORTUNITY.

THE anxieties of the States are for the most part relieved by the changes introduced in the India Bill during its passage through Parliament, but the States are not yet altogether without a grouse. The States' Ministers' Committee will meet in Bombay tomorrow to consider the federal provisions of the Act from their point of view with the help of their legal adviser, Mr. Monckton.

It is reported that some of the States feel that Clause 6, which is the crucial Clause, is not yet quite satisfactory. Their particular objection is to the provision which gives power to His Majesty to accept or reject an Instrument of Accession that a State may offer to be bound by. The purpose of this provision is obvious: it is to bring about some kind of uniformity of conditions in which the States will come into the federation. Sir Samuel Hoare, as Secretary of State, stated on numerous occasions that, while the States might be allowed to take out a subject or two from the Federal Legislative List for reasons the justification of which would have to be proved in each case, they would be expected on the whole to agree to the List as it stands in the Act.

This is only one of the several matters on which an approach to unanimity will be required, and in order to enforce such unanimity the British Government must have the power to examine every Instrument of Accession, and, if it falls short of the desired standard, not to accept it. If the Government be under an obligation to accept every Instrument offered, then obviously there will be no approach to uniformity. The States accept in principle the position that the British Government should have the power to accept or reject the terms of federation offered by them just as they themselves retain to Their Highnesses the unfettered discretion of accepting or rejecting the terms of federation offered by the British Government. The only trouble is that they fear that while they themselves will be reasonable, the Secretary of State on whose advice His Majesty will act may be unreasonable, and they want a private assurance that he will be particularly reasonable in dealing with them. We have no doubt that they will get the assurance. But the States can go further and say that, while they themselves have the right to scrutinise the terms of federation, the British Government should have no right to scrutinise their Instruments of Accession. Well, they can say that.

Clause 110 also is said to cause them concern. The Clause safeguards the sovereignty of the British Crown, but there is no provision in the Act to safeguard such sovereignty as still remains with the States. They were told that if such a provision be inserted in the Act it would be subject to the interpretation

of the Court, which might whittle away their sovereign rights, and that therefore they would be better off without a statutory provision. The States are not, however, to be hoodwinked in this way. If the British Federal Crown's sovereignty is not in danger of being impaired by a specific provision guaranteeing its maintenance, why should this bogey be raised only when a similar demand is made by the States?

The Princes are quite right. Let them fight on this as well as other matters. If they fight valiantly enough they will win. They have now the whiphand over the British Government. Having passed an Act which requires for its implementation the States' adherence, the British Government would now look foolish if, no matter for what reason, the States do not adhere. Let the Princes make what terms they please, and the British Government will have to agree. The Act is passed it is true, but it can be amended, and it will be amended—if only the States hold out long enough.

For instance, the question of paramountcy has yet to be solved. The British Government is putting off the States on this question with the answer that paramountcy is unconnected with federation and constitutional reforms which alone it is considering. There may be no connexion between federation and paramountcy, but the negotiations on federation are the only leverage which the States can use to get a satisfactory solution of paramountcy. They make it a condition, therefore, of their entering federation that the British Government's paramountcy rights shall be properly defined. If these words "properly defined" are properly interpreted, they mean that the paramountcy rights should be drastically scaled down.

The Princes' paper, *United India and the Indian States*, says: "Another matter which will have a definite effect on the progress of federation is the willingness of the Paramount Power to accommodate the Princes in connexion with their demands *re* paramountcy. We do not think we are exaggerating when we express it as our deliberate opinion that the satisfactory settlement of this question will considerably expedite the date of the advent of Indian federation." The Princes are much too modest in their demand and they put it too mildly too. That is our only complaint against the Princes. Why should they be asking merely for a limitation of paramountcy? Why not for its total abolition? And why should they say, "a satisfactory solution of paramountcy will render federation easier," instead of boldly saying what they in fact mean, "a satisfactory solution of the question of paramountcy is an indispensable condition to their agreeing to federation?"

Are there still any Princes who think that to ask for a complete elimination of paramountcy would be an extravagant demand? We hope not. But assuming that there are some, we would call their attention to what the United States has done in Cuba. The United States has altogether abrogated the Platt Amendment which empowered her to exercise rights of supervision over Cuba corresponding to the British

Government's rights of paramountcy over the Indian States. Why cannot Mr. Baldwin do to India what Mr. Roosevelt has done to Cuba? The Princes, no one can doubt, are a very patriotic lot, and we may therefore still expect them to ginger up their demand, and say in the clearest possible terms to the British Government: "None of your paramountcy now." Will they do it—not in their own interests, of course, but in the interests of the Indian nation?

What is then to happen, some one may ask, to the subjects of the States? The Princes will answer: "They have never come into the picture so far; they shall not come into the picture hereafter." And the British Indian patriots will say Hurrah!

INDIAN LAND PROBLEM.*

AS is well-known, nearly 75% of the population in India is dependant directly or indirectly on the produce of the soil, land revenue constitutes the main stay of provincial finances, and the new constitution is calculated to enfranchise a very large fraction of the peasantry. The importance of a proper appreciation of the land problems cannot therefore be overemphasized; and Dr. Mukerjee has rendered an invaluable service in presenting in this book much valuable material for an intelligent study of this important subject.

The book consists of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Calcutta University, subsequently amplified. It is an attempt, within the compass of a single volume, to deal with numerous complicated and difficult problems connected with land systems in India. By adopting both comparative and historical methods, he has shown that "the drawbacks and deficiencies of peasant farming on the one hand and of feudal land-holding and absolute landlordism on the other are not peculiar to India. In other countries, similar causes have produced similar transformations of the relations of the agrarian population with its reactions on agriculture" (p. 4). Based on the data furnished in numerous publications, both non-official and official, chiefly Settlement reports, and also on enquiries conducted personally at great pains at places as wide apart as the Punjab and Malabar, East Bengal and the Berar, the author has painted a realistic picture of the deplorable condition of the actual tiller of the soil, which he attributes to the prevalence of absentee-landlordism, sub-infeudation, fragmentation of holdings, sub-letting, indebtedness, inequitable system of land taxation and various other causes. Before suggesting appropriate remedies he has passed in review the action taken in recent years in several countries in south-eastern Europe and in Russia, and has prominently brought out the fact that owing to the steady increase of landless labourers the chronic poverty, discontent and under-feeding among the bulk of the agricultural population and the backward state of industrial development in the country,

a situation fraught with dangerous possibilities is fast developing which, if not tackled in time, is almost sure to lead to revolution, chaos and widespread distress. Mr. Mukerjee is however careful to point out that the remedial measures, involving comprehensive legislation, vigorous executive action, a considerable expenditure of money and a decided change in the mental outlook of the people must necessarily take time.

The basic idea, which would readily command universal acceptance, is that early steps must be taken to improve the lot of the tiller of the soil. To this end, Prof. Mukerjee offers, among others, the following suggestions: With the help of a scientific system of agricultural costing, a representative economic holding, i. e. a minimum area capable of being cultivated by, and of supporting, the members of an average family should be determined, which should vary according to the agricultural conditions of the various parts of the country. Sub-divisions smaller than an economic holding should be prohibited by legislation. No addition to a holding should be permitted which cannot be cultivated by the manual labour of the cultivators' family (p. 361). The law of inheritance should be so changed as to permit a 'preferred' heir of a deceased holder to succeed to an economic holding, the compensation to the remaining shareholders being determined not on the market value of their share but according to an assumed margin of agricultural profits (pp. 63-64). The State should advance loans to the 'preferred' heirs, repayable in easy instalments, in order to enable them to pay compensation to the dispossessed shareholders. Scattered holdings should be consolidated with the help of legislation. Surplus land owned by the bigger landlords and the more well-to-do tenants should be compulsorily acquired by Government and redistributed, in suitable economic holdings, among those who have been deprived of their inheritance and also those who own uneconomic holdings. The cost of acquisition should be met by Government in the first instance, to be recouped partially from the new holders in easy instalments. The surplus labour should be drafted to new industrial concerns which should be set up presumably with Government assistance (pp. 60-61). Sub-letting of tenancy land should be prohibited by legislation. A system of *metayage* should be devised under which the landlord should provide agricultural capital, machinery, expert guidance and immigration facilities, the produce of the soil being divided half and half by the landlord and the cultivator (p. 194). The State should render more active assistance through the Agricultural and Co-operative departments, by introducing improved methods of production and marketing, by means of subsidies and loans on easy terms. Non-economic holdings should be exempted from assessment. The revenue assessed on land should be substantially reduced, while the agricultural income should be subjected to a progressive scale of taxation with a view to taxing the non-cultivating landlords, tenants and middle-men out of existence (pp. 299-300).

* LAND PROBLEMS OF INDIA. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. (Calcutta University Readership Lectures.) (Longmans & University of Calcutta.) 1933. 25cm. 260p. 9/-.

Here is a formidable list of reforms, a few of which, though quite reasonable, are hardly practicable in present conditions, while several others are frankly Utopian and openly revolutionary. We have space to touch only on a few salient points.

Whatever may be the outcome of the measures adopted in South Eastern Europe or in Russia, the conditions prevailing in India are so entirely different that, short of a revolution, no organised party is, under present conditions, likely to embark on a policy of wholesale expropriation of landlords, which must necessarily be followed by expropriation of other capitalists, involving the nationalization of the key industries in the country. In any case, the landholding and capitalistic interests being safely entrenched behind the safeguards imposed in the new constitution, a proposal of this type may be ruled out as being beyond the range of practical politics.

As regards some of the other proposals, the practical difficulties attending them do not appear to have been fully appreciated. For instance, there is nothing novel in the system of agricultural costing recommended by the author. A reference to Baden-Powell's *Land Systems in India*, Vol. I, pp. 295-297, 328, 338, will show that similar principles have been laid down in almost all provincial Settlement Codes. Unfortunately, most careful enquiries conducted by experienced settlement officers have failed to obtain dependable statistics for the determination of economic holding or the profits of agriculture as a basis of assessment. The provisions of the C. P. Settlement Act and the Berar Land Revenue Code, on which the author sets much store, merely codify the standing instructions on the subject, and it is believed that enquiries since held under the provisions of these Acts have so far proved inconclusive.

The author admits that, if land revenue was assimilated with income and uneconomic holdings were exempted from assessment, the larger portion of the present land revenue would disappear altogether (p. 304). It is clear therefore that, although there is undoubtedly a great scope for a more equitable distribution of the taxation on land, the suggestion of the author is hardly such as can be given effect to, so long as the existing expensive machinery of Government is left intact.

On the evils of sub-infeudation and subletting, the learned author has made several thoughtful suggestions which merit serious consideration. It may be pointed out, however, that, in spite of the drastic restrictions on subletting which have been in force in the C. P. for nearly 40 years, the number of rent-receivers has risen by 52 p. c. in the C. P. and Berar (p. 217) due to the increase of subletting. At p. 197, the author very correctly observes, "Not merely in the permanently settled tracts but also in other parts of India, the substantial cultivator is relinquishing his personal labour in the fields and depending more and more on hired labour or on the share system. This is an ominous system, which is bound later to be followed by a conflict between the higher and lower peasantry as in Russia and Germany." Again, at

pp. 104-105 appears the following observation: "In the more fertile areas in Bengal (as in other provinces), the practice of subletting is due not so much to inability as to unwillingness to cultivate, the *ryots* being too prosperous and indolent to care to till all their lands themselves." In such cases, reduction of assessment, as proposed by the author, would merely put a premium on indolence and restriction on subletting would result in a loss of production. It would appear, therefore, that mere restrictive legislation is not likely to be effective, as indeed, it has not proved effective (p. 166) in checking the admittedly growing evils of sub-infeudation and subletting. Working for profit is implicit in the capitalist system. The doctrine of 'buy cheap and sell dear' is being constantly preached since the days of Adam Smith and is in keeping with human nature. Until the whole outlook on life undergoes a radical change and until individual members of a community learn to subordinate their almost insatiable greed for wealth, fame and power, the exploitation of one class by another is almost sure to make its appearance in some form or other.

The author is on much firmer ground when he chastises the landlords for their failure to do their duty by the tiller of the soil. The criticism applies with almost equal force to the intelligentsia generally. In other countries, on retirement from active life, successful businessmen, politicians, administrators, civil servants, educationists, writers and others often settle down in the country-side and make a useful contribution towards the enrichment of village life. In India, unfortunately, such persons invariably gravitate towards provincial headquarters or big towns, either for the sake of the better amenities which town life provides or in search of what they consider to be better opportunities of serving their country, with the inevitable result that the interests of the villages, which are denuded of their finest products, necessarily suffer. Descendants of such persons often live a life of indolent ease on the profits of the savings of their ancestors, thus making themselves parasites on the society, much the same as the absentee landlords. Patriotic appeals made to impressionable youths and others to go back to the land have proved ineffective. It appears, therefore, that, unless and until persons of character, influence and unquestioned integrity decide to settle down in the village and to work there in a missionary spirit it is doubtful if the question of rural uplift and the problem of rural poverty can receive the attention they deserve.

AN EX-REVENUE OFFICIAL.

Reviews.

POST-WAR EUROPEAN TRAGEDY.

RETREAT FROM GLORY. By R. H. BRUCE LOCKHART. (Putnam.) 1934. 23cm. 372p. 10/6.

THE tragedy of post-war Europe is very graphically described in the book before us by Bruce Lockhart who sojourned in almost all the capitals of Central

Europe in the capacity of either a member of the British Foreign Legation or a Financial Agent or a journalist. The book reads like a novel with situations for laughter, frivolity and tears. As the title of the book indicates, it shows us glory and at the same time shows us the consequences of the short-sighted arrangements at the Peace Table.

The book has got several good features. It contains the impressions of one who was in intimate touch with politics and personalities in Central Europe after the war. Secondly, the impressions are not those of a nationalist Englishman but those of one who is an internationalist and who is not afraid of attacking the foreign policy of his country when it was directed to serve French chauvinism. Lastly, the book is written in a delightfully readable style with personal confessions here and there which make us laugh.

The book opens with the impressions of Bruce Lockhart after his return from Russia. Bruce Lockhart was next sent to Prague, as Secretary under Sir George Clerk and during his stay in the Czechoslovakian capital was able to get a correct idea of the newly created State. The author is very favourably impressed with the achievements of Czechoslovakia, especially when the other component parts of the pre-war Hapsburg Empire were fast sinking down. This is what he writes on p. 87 :

The Czechs, at any rate, have made good their claims to independence. At a time when Central Europe was a kind of witches' caldron bubbling over with corruption, debauchery, dishonesty and decadence, they furnished the one justification of a nation's vitality. They produced the men—and I write without exaggeration the exceptional men whom the moment demanded.

Bruce Lockhart gives tabloid sketches of the leading men of Czechoslovakia who have made their country what she is today. Of these character sketches those of President Masaryk and Dr. Benes are the best.

With regard to the Anschluss movement, the learned author has some very interesting views. The Germans favour it, for it will unite the Germans and Austrians. The Austrian attitude to the Anschluss, so far as the learned author was able to judge, varied with the trade barometer. When economic conditions were bad, ninety per cent. of the Austrians were for it and when they were good ninety per cent. did not favour the idea. The author points out graphically the evil consequences of the tariff walls between the component parts of the pre-war Austro-Hungarian Empire and says that the best system is that which, while safeguarding the political liberties of the new States, would help to restore the free flow of trade between the Succession States.

Chapter Seven is very interesting as it describes the interview of the learned author with the ex-Kaiser. The interview was arranged through the efforts of Karl Friedrich Nowak, the historian and the man of confidence of the ex-Kaiser. It is interesting to note that the ex-Kaiser who was furious at the publication in England of "The Letters of the Empress Frederick" with a preface by Sir Frederick Ponsonby wanted to take legal proceedings against the publishers, but was advised by Nowak and Bruce Lockhart not to do so as legal proceedings would give still wider publicity to the book and unpleasant notoriety to the ex-Kaiser's name. On Bruce Lockhart's advice the ex-Kaiser wrote a dignified explanation of his relations with his mother and it was published in England and Germany.

Not one page in the book is dull and we have no hesitation in saying that it is an excellent book on politics and personalities in Central Europe

during the fourteen years following the Treaty of Versailles.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION. By M. M. ZUHURUDDIN AHMAD. (The Author, Ismail College, Andheri, Bombay.) 1935. 20cm. 89p. Re. 1/4.

THIS is a sketchy essay on Indian education with special reference to the Muslim view-point as represented by the author. The chapters on "Brahmanic Education" and "Education under Buddhism" do full justice neither to the Brahmanic nor to the Buddhist period. Probably that was not possible within such a short compass. The author would have done better if he had acquainted himself with the social conditions in the Upanishadic days. Very erudite women, qualified and capable to cross swords with masters of learning, are mentioned in the Upanishads, a sure indication of women not being debarred from the domain of learning.

The author's outlook as indicated by his view of the prevailing system of education in India is, however, refreshing, though many will join issue with him when he observes: "But if the ultimate object is to develop an Indian Nationalism and mass education is to be spread with a view to this ideal, then the only one vernacular which is suitable to become a medium is Urdu." Why not Hindi, which would be easily accessible to a comparatively greater mass of Indian population? Without disproving the claims of Hindi, the author has set up the claims of Urdu as an all-India medium in rather an *ipse dixit* manner. The wholesale introduction of the Urdu medium in the Hyderabad territory has done grave injustice to the local vernaculars, viz., Telugu, Kanarese and Marathi. It would be idle to think of uprooting provincial vernaculars in favour of a common medium. A better and surely more practicable way would be to encourage provincial vernaculars in their respective tracts and to introduce Hindi as a compulsory second language, with a view to have a common *lingua franca*. What is necessary is one *lingua franca* for India—not necessarily one *medium* of instruction.

Discoursing on the "Purdah", the author agrees that "it is really a great obstacle not only in acquiring knowledge but also in living the life of a free human being." But he would not condemn "Purdah" as it is meant "to guard zealously the honour of our women." He reiterates that "Islam is very particular about chastity and regards it as one of the greatest virtues of moral life." But chastity has been the greatest virtue in all other religions as well, though "Purdah" has not been prescribed by any of them. The author has displayed a halting attitude towards this social practice which cannot possibly be justified on grounds of reason.

M. S. M.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEATRE.

THE THEATRE AND A CHANGING CIVILISATION. By THEODORE KOMISARJEVSKY. [The Twentieth Century Library.] (John Lane.) 1935. 20cm. 183p. 3/6.

NO one could be better qualified to write on "The Theatre" than Theodore Komisarjevsky, himself a leading *régisseur* (director) of the present day. Every artist, actor and lover of the theatre should have a copy of this book in his library. A brilliant survey of the British and European Theatres with their con-

stituents of scenery, stage production, actors and playwrights, the book compels attention from all artists.

It shows an extensive and intensive study of "the art of the theatre" which in Komisarjevsky's opinion, is "the combination of all arts and which, by means of the emotional dramatic action of a theatrical performance, leads the spectator into the world of imagination and ideas." The function of the theatre should be to foster and uphold social and political ideas of the finest type and not have "the sole object of amusement of the people."

The author carefully describes the work of the régisseur. "Such a man to be proficient must be an actor as well as an expert in all the arts which together constitute a performance. He must visualise and hear a production as a whole. He stresses the importance of "the harmonious concord of the scenic environment with the acting" and also of "the value of music and of rhythm in acting." Incidentally, the advice he gives to actors through criticising the methods of individual actors is very instructive. It is interesting to note that he considers that an actor should always study the play as a whole and never try to over-emphasize and act down other parts, the secret of a successful actor being his realisation of the importance of the play as a whole and not as an unbalanced one-man show without cadences and climax."

For my part, I should like to "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" his views on acting, they are such wholesome, intrepid criticisms, utterly free from pettiness and carping. The incomparable Sarah Bernhardt, of whom one has heard such eulogies, is described by him "as an acting automaton whose art chiefly consisted in exploiting the outwardly effective qualities of her own stage and private personality (entrancing while young)." On the other hand, his praise for another great name, that of Garrick, is unstinted. Again, Mlle. Dumesnil is another to gain his meed of praise for giving up the monotonous recitation and also for suiting the action to the words instead of using formalized movement which was often meaningless. However, it is not my intention to summarise the methods of acting of the many actors Komisarjevsky has mentioned. I have only cited a few instances to awaken the interest of would-be readers.

Whether one accepts or rejects his opinion, he is courageous enough to criticize the stage productions of Irving, Tree, Gordon Craig and Reinhardt, and there is sincerity in his arguments. He blames Reinhardt for starting the vogue for super-spectacular scenery. He follows the development of stage scenery from canvas and wood painted by crude workmen and left to the discretion of carpenters, to the time when Léon Bakst and his disciples associated with Diaghilev of Russian Ballet fame, and formed the first painter artists of the symbolic school of scenery.

His own vision of stage setting coincides with that of his sister Vera Komisarjevsky, in whose theatre at St. Petersburg he started his career and of whom he says: "In her various characters she did not represent individual woman only, but was the ideal and truthful impersonation of every phase of human joy, happiness, suffering, misery, love, jealousy, indignation, etc," a description of an actress who fairly oozed with personality and created atmosphere. Can it be wondered that she should want "a revolutionary theatre of big realistic forms of theatrical expression suitable to her ideas? For "as an actress, was she not a realist possessed with wide spiritual horizons and inexhaustible inner energy". Therefore she naturally looked for "the form of scenic

environment which would not divert the attention of the public from the actors and would give realistic suggestions of things instead of showing the actual things themselves, in all their minuteness."

The author's closing remarks on the theatre and films which have become commercialised are noteworthy. He deplores the cupidity and stupidity of the producers whom he calls "profiteers of human imbecility" and yet he wonders "whether they do not overrate the emptiness of human heads." Finally, he draws the conclusion that the culprits are the capitalist propagandists who "give the people what they need to keep them slaves for ever. There is much information in this book that is quite unknown to the average person, for the criticisms and analysis of stage production and development are of immense value. The fact that the revolving stage was a Japanese invention is news to me. To amateur, connoisseur, or mere desultory theatre-goer, I recommend this book, perfectly convinced that they will be much interested and if by the remotest chance they are not they ought to be!

MIRAVATI.

SHORT NOTICES.

A SELECTION FROM THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SACHCHIDANANDASINHA (RAM NARAIN LAL, Allahabad.) 1935. 505p. 22cm. Rs. 5.

MR. SINHA'S public life has been as long as it has been all-sided. According to Mr. Chintamani who has written a foreword to this volume, Mr. Sinha's public life extends over two generations. And of its all-sidedness no better proof is needed than this collection of his speeches and writings. The subjects dealt with in it range from the working of dyarchy to music, a study of Mr. Sinha's views on all of which will be found to be of both interest and instruction to the present generation. It is true that some of the subjects which are discussed in his speeches are no longer live issues. Even so an acquaintance with the thoughts of a leader of Mr. Sinha's standing on such topics cannot but be useful. Nay, this is strongly to be commended. The book is dedicated to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and has a very readable appreciation of Mr. Sinha from the pen of the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad.

The classification does not, however, appear to be systematically done. The personal section should contain not only the two items now figuring under it, but also his speeches on the late R. B. R. N. Mudholkar and Mr. Whitty, which are unaccountably consigned to the miscellaneous section. Similarly, there is no reason why the "Sapru-Sam Hoare controversy—A Survey in Prose and Verse" should not be transferred to the political from the miscellaneous section. An index would doubtless have added to the obligations under which the publishers have laid the reading public by this publication. But it is promised for the second edition, should one be called for. We have no doubt the volume will be found of great use by all students of public questions and will, we doubt not, command a large sale.

T. B. G.

THE PAISA FUND SILVER JUBILEE NUMBER, 1935. (The Secretary, 626, Shanwar Peth, Poona, 2.) 26cm. 108p.

THE contents of this publication are more comprehensive than its title leads one to expect. It is only to be expected that it should give exhaustive information about the Paissa Fund—how the idea originated, how it was translated into action and who helped in

making a success of it. The album not only fulfils the reader's expectations in these respects but considerably adds to his knowledge about the present position of the Indian glass industry. Indeed the album might have been more appropriately and without exaggeration styled "All About the Indian Glass Industry." As it is, it gives the reader more than its title promises.

It is generally supposed that the idea of a national fund originated in the Deccan and that Mr. Antaji Damodar Kale was its originator. The album tries to disabuse the public mind of that misconception. It seems that the idea first occurred to one Tarapada Banerji who took great pains to popularise it. But the credit for demonstrating the practicability of the idea must unquestionably go to Maharashtra. And in this matter the Fund will always remain under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Kale who at great personal sacrifice unsparingly devoted himself to the difficult task of winning popular support to the Paisa Fund scheme. It is unnecessary to take the reader through all the stages through which this pioneer undertaking has passed. Suffice it to note that the Glass Works are now self-supporting, having returned almost the entire capital the concern had received from the Fund. But commercial success is not the acme of its ambition. Its mission is to popularise technical instruction among the youths of Maharashtra and for that matter among those of the whole of India. To this end a well thought-out programme has been chalked out by the organisers, to whose appeal for a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs within a period of five years attention may be drawn here.

The large number of photographs printed in the volume add to its attractiveness and impressiveness. The list of glass works in India and the graphs showing imports of glass and the map of India showing locations of glass factories appended to the album will be found generally useful. We commend the album to all those interested in the glass industry in general and in the development of the Paisa Fund scheme in particular.

D. V. A.

HISTORY OF KERALA, VOL. III. By K. P. PADMANABHA MENON. Ed. by T. K. KRISHNA MENON. (Cochin Govt. Press, Ernakulam). 1933. 25cm. 660p. Rs. 8.

THIS patriotic work has all the merits and some of the defects of works of that class. It is a very full and sympathetic account of the various important and unimportant, indigenous and foreign tribes and communities in Kerala; it is really an 'ethnology' of Kerala, and not its 'history,' and as such it is full of carefully observed and classified facts and features, the scientific merit of which is a little diminished by perhaps natural attempts to clear the peoples of Kerala from uninformed allegations of moral depravity or low culture. To the scientific ethnologist and sociologist, variations in sex-relations are adjustments of a society to environments, or manifestations of special lines of psychophysical development in which questions of 'morality' in the popular sense do not enter. Mr. T. K. K. Menon has done well in emphasising the antiquity and basic importance of Dravidian culture in Indian history, both continental and colonial, and the part played by Kerala in that culture and history; his tentative suggestions on the important subject of the diffusion of Dravidian culture certainly deserve serious consideration and further careful working out.

S. C. SARKAR.

THE IMPERIAL SILVER JUBILEE COMMEMORATION VOLUME. ED. By AMAL HOME. (Central Municipal Office, Calcutta.) 1935. 30cm. 128pp. Rs. 2.

THIS dainty volume is "a thing of beauty and joy for ever." In artistic finish, matter and format, it takes precedence over all the rest in the field. The first chapter deals with the private and public life of Their Majesties bringing out prominently the many aspects of their qualities of head and heart, while the second surveys in general the great events in the world's history that were crowded into these twenty-five years of Their Majesties' reign. The remaining chapters, appropriately enough, deal with the events in India during the period. This souvenir was published after the celebration of the Silver Jubilee all over the Empire, and the Editor has taken advantage of the delay to include in it the homage paid to their Majesties in various parts of the Empire including India. The souvenir is profusely and well illustrated. Printed on art paper and with many coloured plates, the souvenir is a superb production and does great credit to the printers. Two rupees for such a sumptuous artistic production is a marvel of cheapness.

KAUNDINYA.

SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL ECONOMY IN THE PUNJAB. BY B. K. MADAN. (Rama Krishna & Sons, Lahore.) 1934. 34cm. 53p. Rs. 1.

THIS is an economic survey of the village of Hari-pur (chak 6) situated in Shekhupura district. This is a canal colony village, divided into six abadis, and the land belongs to big holders. The owners are practically absentees. The tenants are poor and eke out a meagre living. Dr. Lucas, in his preface, says that their present precarious position has driven them to part with the gold they had hoarded in prosperous days. This village is fast decaying and its story is really tragic. The population which stood at 1052 in 1900 is now 372, and these too are waiting for an opportunity to quit the village. The cultivated area of 1737 acres in 1906 had come down to 1332 in 1933. The canal irrigation instead of bringing with it prosperity had practically taken ruin with it. With the introduction of canals, the level of sub-soil water began to rise, and made the land alkaline and unfit for cultivation. This problem of water-logging cannot be easily faced. Pumping the subsoil water, water-proofing the canals and constructing surface and subsoil drainages are all costly propositions and they may not be paying ones either. The poor and hardworked tenants have to contend against heavy rents and these unfavourable natural conditions.

The aspects of rural economy which have been taken up for study here have been thoroughly done and the author deserves praise for this useful study.

N. S. S.

EMINENT AMERICANS WHOM INDIA SHOULD KNOW. By J. T. SUNDERLAND. (R. Chatterjee, 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.) 1935. 20cm. 283p. Rs. 3.

THE average reader always thinks of America as the land of the Almighty Dollar, as the land where Carnegies and Rockfellers flourish. Dr. Sunderland, in the volume under review, supplies us with interesting pen pictures of fourteen eminent American men and women whose active and successful idealism has been their chief title to glory. The sketches of Abraham Lincoln, of Emerson and of Thomas Paine

in particular are fine specimens of Dr. Sunderland's style and literary craft. India is on the road to freedom and social reconstruction and so the study and contemplation of the labours and achievements of workers in the field—even when these workers have lived and thrived in other countries—is bound to be stimulating. We heartily recommend this book to the reader and trust that Dr. Sunderland or somebody else will write on the same lines a book dealing with the lives of 'Eminent Indians'.

A.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

ELEMENTARY BANKING. (Second Edn.) By B. RAMACHANDRA RAU. (University of Calcutta.) 1934. 21cm. 353p.

A HISTORY OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN HYDERABAD STATE. By M. WATHULLA KHAN. (New Hyderabad Press, Station Road, Secunderabad, Deccan.) 1935. 26cm. 160p. Rs. 3.

GOLD BOOM OR SLUMP. By L. L. B. ANGAS. (St. Clements Press, Ltd. Portugal Street, London, W. C. 2.) 1935. 33cm. 33p. 5/-.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE STATES IN FEDERAL INDIA. By V. L. D'SOUZA. (The Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore City.) 1935. 19cm. 86p. As. 12.

COCHIN AND THE FEDERATION. By M. S. MENON. (Madras University Extension Lectures.) (The Vidya Vilasam Press, Ernakulam.) 1933. 19cm. 27p.

WOMAN OF THE FUTURE. By MARGARET SANGER. (British Control International Information Centre, Parliament Mansions, London, S. W. 1.) 1934. 18cm. 19p. 6d.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE GIVING OF INFORMATION ON BIRTH CONTROL BY PUBLIC HEALTH AUTHORITIES. (Birth Control International Information Centre, S. W. 1.) 1930. 22cm. 36p. 6d.

THE RIGVEDA AS LAND-NAMA-BOOK. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. (Luzac.) 1935. 21cm. 39p. 3/6.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN SOUTH INDIA. By T. ADINARAYANA CHETTY. (The Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Madras.) 1935. 20cm. 81p.

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