

Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

Office : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XVIII, NO. 45. } POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1935. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	577
ARTICLES :—	
“Smooth Steering” of the Constitution. ...	579
Should Indians Stand Behind League Sanctions ? ...	580
The League and World Government. I—The League and the Tories. II—Has the League Failed ? By Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias. ...	582
REVIEWS :—	
Problems of Birth Control. By V. Venkatasubbaiyah.	585
Experiments in Social Reconstruction. By Prof. S. G. Puranik, M. A. ...	585
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Tributes to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. ...	586
BOOKS RECEIVED.	587

Topics of the Week.

Srinivasa Sastri.

THE *Indian Social Reformer*, in its last issue, says: “The Governor of Madras unveiled a portrait of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri at the Annamalai University on Thursday. The picture is the work of Mr. Nageswara Rao of Bombay and is a speaking likeness. Mr. Rao has managed to catch and fix on his large canvass the quizzical eyes and lightly mocking smile, outward expression of a mind which has learnt, in the spirit of the *Gita*, to look with an equal eye on the praise and frown of the multitude no less than of the official world. At the first two Round Table Conferences, Sastry outshone the Labour Premier in eloquence and rather piqued him by his sincerity. He was unceremoniously dropped out of the third and subsequent proceedings. Sir Annamalai Chettiar, the founder of the University which bears his name, did a public service by persuading Mr. Sastri to accept the honorary office of Vice-Chancellor. He has enhanced it by the presentation of this magnificent portrait to the University. Sir Annamalai is no longer in the good books of the Justice Party. Mr. Sastri as a Brahmin is as hateful to it as a Jew to a Nazi. Lord Erskine's association with a function which concerns the two men is sure to cause heart-burnings in the Ministerial camp. As a sign that His Excellency intends to be above party politics, his attendance and speech at the function will be justly appreciated.”

Attack on the “Lokashakti.”

THE newly started and ably conducted bi-weekly Marathi organ of the Congress party in Poona, the *Lokashakti*, has come under the heels of the Press

Act. Mr. Javdekar, as publisher of the *Lokashakti* newspaper and keeper of the Lokashakti press, has been called upon to deposit, and has deposited, Rs. 4,000 as security. The article which, in the eyes of Government, has given cause for offence is an imaginary dialogue in the issue of 23rd September contributed by a correspondent, of which the purport is to dissuade one who is supposed to be willing to join war from taking the course. As is usual with all “anti-war campaigns,” the article dwells on the iniquities of previous wars and makes particular reference to the imperialist policy which was responsible for the partitioning of Africa among European powers and the perpetration of atrocities in the Belgian Congo. The facts in connexion with these shameful episodes in history have been related with perfect accuracy by such well-known writers as Leonard Woolf and the late E. D. Morel and universally accepted as authoritative. It is difficult to see what objection Government could possibly take to reproducing some of these facts in popular style.

WE feel confident that if Government had not ready to hand a lawless law under which it could crush a newspaper without recourse to a court of law and if they were required to obtain a judicial conviction, before they could touch a newspaper they would not have dared to seek an impartial verdict on this article. In any case they would have failed in their prosecution against the *Lokashakti*. Why, even if the article were in English, they would have thought twice before launching a prosecution. For English articles can be scrutinised all over India, and it is possible Government would have considered the popular resentment that would be produced as a result of their action too great a risk to run. But with vernacular newspapers, whose articles appeal only to sections of the people, Government can take greater liberties. If there are still any simple-minded people amongst us who think that wide powers restrictive of popular liberties can be conferred upon the executive without the latter misusing them, here is an instance, one amongst many, which conclusively proves that this is a vain hope. Give the executive discretionary powers, and they are sure, in spite of assurances to the contrary in profusion, to misapply them. What harm, one wonders, would have come if the publisher of the *Lokashakti* had been tried before the Judge in the normal way? The harm to the omnipotence of the executive is obvious—they would have failed to make good their case—but what harm would have been done to the public peace?

Congratulations.

IT is not often that a candid critic of the States gets an opportunity to congratulate a ruler. We feel an unfeigned pleasure, therefore, in according our hearty felicitations to the Chiefsahab of Aundh for

the progressive tendencies that he has been showing in his administration. He was among the first to establish a Legislative Council of an advisory character in his State, and at an early stage he conferred upon it the power of discussing and voting upon the budget. The discussions were often lively, but, because the Chieftsaheb was known to be really desirous of knowing the popular wishes, invariably friendly. Only last year, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the ruler's accession to the gadi, a system of dyarchy was introduced, handing over such nation-building departments of governmental business as education and agriculture to a Minister drawn from the ranks of independent critics, thus giving the people a real share in administration.

* * *

THE most ardent champion in Maharashtra of the introduction of dyarchy in States is Mr. Vagbhat N. Deshpande, and the latest step that the Chief of Aundh has taken in the path of progress is to appoint Mr. Deshpande as his Dewan to take charge of the reserved departments. In a sense this step has even a greater significance than the installation of dualism in the administration. With the transfer of a part of government to popular control, the Chief may have liked to keep the other part under rigid official control. But in selecting for this job a man of such proved independence as Mr. Deshpande, and so sensitive to ideas of reform and popular progress (Mr. Deshpande, though belonging to British India, was the leader of the Opposition in the Aundh Legislative Council, and the Chieftsaheb could not have been under a delusion in regard to this), the Chieftsaheb has evinced his desire to liberalise the whole of the administration of his State. We warmly congratulate Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi on this bold move on his part, and we hope and pray that the Aundh State will make rapid strides towards popular government.

* * *

Inadequacy of Indian Sandhurst.

POINTED attention was recently drawn in the Council of State to the inadequacy of the Indian Sandhurst from the point of view of the needs of rapid army Indianisation on a non-official motion. This asked for the present intake of 60 cadets being doubled, a demand which, as on previous occasions, was turned down by the Government. If ever there was a case of great public expectations roused by the declarations of Government themselves being subsequently dashed to the ground by their actual performance, it is that of the establishment of a military academy which could take only 60 cadets. Be it remembered that the birth of the academy is to be attributed directly to the deliberations of the first R. T. C. at which the desirability and even the necessity of Indian defence being increasingly the concern of the Indian people themselves under the new regime was freely acknowledged on behalf of the British Government and the urgency of "immediate steps" to promote "substantial" Indianisation stressed. He must indeed be blind who wants to delude himself with the belief that the work of the academy, which is found in actual practice not to result even in the full quota of 60 officers turned out by it succeeding in getting Commissions, is going to advance, in a material degree, the cause of "substantial" Indianisation which was then authoritatively promised.

* * *

WITH Sir Philip Chetwode's defence of the status quo, India is by now fairly familiar, which is not to say that she finds his reasoning convincing or conclusive. However he may camouflage his real

feelings towards these what to him must be inconvenient declarations, it does not seem as if he is inclined to regard them as anything more than mere expressions of pious wishes. He virtually says to the Indian people: "Whatever may have happened at the R. T. C., our aim is very modest. All that we have bound ourselves to do is to Indianise the 15 fighting units marked out for Indianisation and nothing more. And the outturn of the Indian Sandhurst is adequate to meet the requirements of this limited objective." It need hardly be pointed that, whatever decisions the Government of India might have come to on the point, it was behind the backs of the Indian people who can be no parties to them and whose sense of keen dissatisfaction and sore disappointment at them has found repeated and authoritative expression on all conceivable occasions.

* * *

British Government and Indian Defence.

THE upshot of the discussions connected with the work of the Capitation Tribunal was a yearly grant of £1½ million by the British Government towards the cost of Indian defence. The arrangement has never satisfied Indian opinion as at all adequate to the needs of the situation. The recent debate in the Council of State on this subject admirably demonstrated this. The demand embodied in the motion was for a grant from British revenues equivalent to the cost of at least two divisions of British troops maintained in India. Opinions may differ as to the adequacy of this particular demand; but in so far as it seeks to voice the public dissatisfaction with the present arrangement, it is hardly open to challenge from any section of opinion. India's demand derives added force from the fact that none of the Dominions or Colonies are saddled with a similar burden or are required to make any payments of the nature of capitation charges. Precedent too goes to support India's case. On Imperial considerations a British force 10,000 strong is stationed in Egypt; but it is noteworthy that the whole of its cost is borne by the British Exchequer. All that India asks on the same analogy is that the cost of such portion of the Indian army as is maintained out of Imperial considerations should be borne by the British Treasury.

* * *

THE motion was opposed by the Commander-in-Chief and, as expected, failed to secure the support of the majority in the Upper House. It is however fair to add that to the principle underlying the motion Sir Philip Chetwode had not a word of opposition to offer. His opposition was based on considerations of expediency. He did not like the particular form in which the demand was couched nor did he consider the time chosen for putting it forward as opportune. If that was all he had to urge against the motion, there is reason to hope that a better expressed demand would, in more propitious times, secure the support of the Indian military authorities and the Government of India.

* * *

Miraj (Junior) Ryot Sabha.

ONE more State in Southern Mahratta Country, viz Miraj (Junior), has come into line with the democratic spirit of the times by bringing into existence a Ryot Sabha or Representative Assembly. About a year and a half has elapsed since the ruler declared his intention to associate his people with the State administration by this means; but even that long period was found insufficient for the completion of the preliminaries antecedent to the establishment of a duly constituted legislative body.

Its constitution provides for the election of 10 out of its total membership of 18. If it had been decided not to hold any meeting of the Assembly till the elections had been held, its first meeting which was held last week would have been delayed by several weeks, if not months. The ruler therefore decided to dispense with the election procedure and nominated its whole personnel for this session, care being taken to select persons enjoying public confidence. It is to be hoped that steps will be taken to arrange for the election of the popular representatives before it is time for the second session of the Assembly to be convened. The president of the Assembly is to be the Dewan. It would have pleased us better if the right of electing its own president had been conceded to the new body.

* * *

A GLANCE at the figures in the budget presented to the Assembly is enough to impress one with the excessively high proportion which the ruler's personal expenses bear to the total revenue of the State. Out of a revenue of less than Rs. 3 lakhs as much as Rs. 95,000 is set apart for the palace expenses. And to judge from the actuals of last year, the amount cannot by any means be said to cover all his expenses. For it is found that what in reality are the ruler's personal expenses like e. g. repairs to his residences, his subscriptions to clubs, expenditure on his relatives, etc. and should have been met out of his privy purse were probably debited to different departments. Such expenses during last year aggregated to over Rs. 10,000, which is by no means a negligible figure. If the two amounts are added together, the proportion of the palace expenditure to the State revenue will be found to be in excess of 35 per cent. We hope such subterfuges to make the palace expenditure look less formidable than it really is will not be resorted to in the future, and that earnest attempts will not be lacking to reduce the ruler's expenses to the minimum possible.

* * *

Purchase of Indian Stores.

INDICATIONS are not wanting which give proof of an increasing tendency on the part of Government departments to utilise the services of the Stores Department for ordering their require-

ments. Thus we find that the number of contracts placed during 1934-35 through that Department was 8,479 as compared to 8,122 in the previous year. It is noteworthy that as before Great Britain received a lion's share of these orders. While the value of orders placed in Great Britain was £51,433, that of stores ordered from other countries was less than £50,000, the percentage of purchases from countries other than Great Britain working nearly to 9.9. It may be stated that about four years ago India's purchases from countries other than Great Britain were nearly three times as much as in 1934-35. The total value of contracts placed with British firms were thus in excess of 90 per cent. This amazing preference for British stores is sought to be accounted for by the fact that warlike stores have necessarily to be ordered from Great Britain. This explanation is more plausible than convincing, for the purchase of warlike stores cannot have been a happening peculiar to 1934-35 but must have been a matter of ordinary course from year to year. And it cannot be relied upon for explaining what after all is nothing short of undue favouritism to Great Britain.

* * *

THE account of the department's assistance to Indian students in the matter of the provision of facilities for practical technical training is, as usual, far from cheerful. It handled 39 more such applications than in 1933-34, the total number that passed through its hands having been 175. Only 102 out of these were successfully dealt with, while in 21 cases the department found itself unable to secure the required facilities. We fail to see why, with so vast a patronage in its hands the department should find itself unable fully to satisfy the demands of Indian students for such facilities. Why, one wonders, should the Department shrink from making it a condition of the contract that the manufacturing firm should be ready to arrange for the imparting of technical training to Indian students? This suggestion, though repeatedly pressed, does not yet find acceptance at the hands of the authorities. If there are any insuperable obstacles in the way, may not the public be told something about them?

"SMOOTH STEERING" OF THE CONSTITUTION.

WE cannot pretend to have travelled very far on the road which Sir Homi Mody, in his after-dinner speech to the European Association of Bombay, summed up last week in the motto: "Do right, and fear no man," or even in its counterpart: "Don't write, and fear no woman"; but we have made enough advance on that road to write and yet not fear Sir Homi Mody. We may therefore venture to express our sharp dissent from all that he said on that occasion. Before turning to his main theme, however, we would pause for a moment to ask him to point out in what particular respect the Liberal Party's attitude towards the new constitution has "hurled defiance at their annual meeting in December last." Sir Homi seems to think that as he himself delivered the most vehement denunciation of the Ottawa agreements in the Assembly at first and then converted himself into a most ardent advocate for them, other parties too glide easily from one opinion to another. The Liberal Party, however, has not yet

mastered this gentle art of quick-change artistes, and it must confess to a weakness for dogged tenacity in holding firmly to its convictions. We would therefore very humbly request Sir Homi Mody to refer to that particular part of the Liberal Party's resolution which he thinks conflicts with the policy the Party has subsequently adopted.

Ever since Sir Homi Mody announced his intention of forming a Reforms Party expressly for the purpose of combating the wrecking policy, we were on tenterhooks to find out who among the progressives are lured into joining the Party, and we were expecting to see pages of the hospitable *Times of India* filled day after day with the names of those prominent politicians who have vowed to make a success of the constitution, which, according to Sir Homi, in spite of its being made "progressively illiberal" after the first Round Table Conference, nevertheless gives Indians "very substantial opportunities of moulding the policy of the country." We were even

beginning to wonder whether the saviours of the constitution were not so numerous after all. Sir Homi Mody has now proclaimed however that his intentions have been misunderstood. The numbers of those who would make a success of the reforms are not small, but he would not enrol them in a party just yet. He would wait till the elections have been held and then proceed to organise all those who are of his mind into a well-knit party, so that he could march men into the right lobby at the right moment. All this is no doubt very useful and even necessary, but it lacks the element of the dramatic, of which we were led to expect his adventure would be full. Sir Homi thinks that there is no work for him to do in the political field till the elections have been fought and the legislative chambers made up. He then comes on the scene as if out of a machine and orders the members of the legislatures about. His instruction is reserved only for those who have the good fortune of obtaining the suffrages of the electors. We admit that he should not waste himself upon the inferior orders in society, upon the low classes. But might he not depute some people—of course much humbler in rank than he himself—to instruct the electors? They should not be completely deprived of the high privilege of being educated in the Modian political philosophy. It is true that, without his ever bestirring himself, there will be quite a number of members of the legislatures who will be only too ready to place themselves under his command. Sir Samuel Hoare has seen to it that the vested interests will dominate the legislatures. But if he would like to have some of the other fish caught in his net, would it not be well for him to pay just a little attention to the electorates? He thinks not, and there's an end of the matter.

Sir Homi builds on the expectation that "much of the discontent with the constitution would disappear" when the constitution is set going. The one duty of the nationalists would be not to allow the discontent to die down, but to keep it alive and to see that it flames forth as fiercely as possible. He speaks of wrecking the constitution as if it were a calamity to be averted at all costs. There is one other calamity which is no less grave, and that is a "safe steering" of the constitution, which requires as a pre-condition the side-stepping of all questions which bear on the welfare of the masses but which, to be solved satisfactorily, will adversely affect the privileged classes. This if allowed would mean stagnation for the common people, and the freezing of all existing injustices. Sir Homi Mody says, referring to attempts to wreck the constitutional machinery: "It must surely be the business of all who wish to avert so disastrous a development to band themselves together and present a united front to such subversive tactics." We would say of his "safe steering" policy: "It is the plain duty of all who desire progress—social, economic and political—to band themselves together and resist such a disastrous move intended to petrify the present unjust status quo. They may not succeed, and at any rate in the initial stages they are bound to fail. But that is the only course which they can take with honour. Make full use of the new constitution for any little constructive good that it is capable of yielding, but for the rest seek all available opportunities of feeding the spirit of resistance so that the new constitution will be a thing of the past and we shall have a really democratic constitution under which the masses will prosper."

SHOULD INDIANS STAND BEHIND LEAGUE SANCTIONS?

THIS question does not arise as a matter of practical politics, because the Indian people have no place in the League of Nations. As in the case of the Indian States, the federation to be will belong to the Princes, the States' people having no part or lot in it, so in the case of international affairs the League belongs to the Government of India, the Indian people having no part or lot in it. It is true that in all countries it is the Governments that are members of the League, not the peoples; but in all countries except India which have joined the League democratic government of one shape or other prevails, and therefore their Governments represent the people as well. In India, however, the foreign Government that is in control is in no way representative of the Indian people and may on occasion flagrantly misrepresent them. In other countries care is taken to include in the delegation to the Assembly of the League popular leaders to represent independent public opinion, and these leaders can voice views apart from these Governments. In India, however, her so-called delegates, whether official or unofficial,

have to put forward the views of the Government of India, which in the final analysis are the views of the British Government. It may therefore well be that on any particular occasion the sentiments which the Indian delegation may express in the League are flatly contradictory to the sentiments entertained by the public at large.

Conceding this juridical position in full, one may ask: Is not Indian opinion generally behind the economic sanctions which the League has for the moment decided upon inflicting on Italy and to which the Government of India has given its consent? This question is not easy to answer. Indian opinion is unanimous in holding that Italy is guilty of the worst form of aggression against Abyssinia and must be stopped at all costs. The League must employ all its resources in this endeavour and punish the wrong-doer unless it is to be declared bankrupt. Moreover, Indian people who have themselves lost their independence can appreciate the gravity of Italy's attack upon the independence of Abyssinia better than the peoples of independent

countries can. India's sympathies with the fate which Ethiopians have in store are thus far and away keener than those of other countries. This does not mean, however, that India, that is to say, the Indian people would support all the measures which are being considered in Geneva. Indians believe that the League is showing itself much too tardy and weak in invoking sanctions, and that, if they were masters in their own country, they would regard no sacrifice as too heavy if it would avail to check the fascist attack. Even so, their support of the sanctions decided upon by the Government of India, though they are not likely to be too burdensome, is not wholehearted.

In a matter like this it is not enough to say: "Let us first put out the fire that has broken out. Let us give a bucketful of water if we can't give more. But let each do his best, however little that best may be. And let us not raise at this stage any difficult questions as to what Abyssinia's future would be after Italy's attack is repelled. The first duty of all the members of the League is to repel the attack. When that is once accomplished they can take up other questions at a propitious moment." If the League were thinking only of putting an end to aggression and restoring to the country against which aggression is committed all that it has lost, this would be the right course to follow. But the League is not following this path. It is trying to bring about a peaceful settlement, even while enforcing sanctions, and in doing so, it is obviously using all the pressure it can upon Abyssinia to make concessions to Italy—concessions both of territory and opportunities for economic exploitation. The Emperor recently declared that while he would be willing to consider cessions of territory in the Ogaden, he could not contemplate ceding even an inch of territory in the Tigré. This means that the Emperor is being plied with requests to cede territory in the most valuable part of Abyssinia. All such negotiations are unworthy of the League to initiate, much less to carry to fruition. Its only duty in such a conflict is to stop the aggression if it can. If it feels powerless to do so let it confess to its impotence and then let the old imperialist methods come into play. No well-wisher of the League would like to see the League countenance methods which were proper to pre-League days. The failure of the League to prevent aggression would be a calamity for the whole world, but it would be an infinitely graver calamity for it to allow under its own auspices imperialist intrigues to go on. Have not those who take part in sanctions a right to ask that these intrigues shall stop? It is a worse evil to pretend to apply sanctions against Italy and at the same time compel Abyssinia to part with her territory than to admit the League's helplessness when Italy subjugates the whole of Abyssinia.

Indians cannot stand behind England in enforcing sanctions because they know that, as soon as Italy is brought down a peg or two by the show of force, England will be prepared practically to hand

over all that is valuable in Abyssinia to Italy. She is bound by forty year old treaties to do so. Indians are convinced that these treaties, which were never valid for Abyssinia, are voidable even for England under the League dispensation. The League should have set its face against the British-French conversations carried on in Paris on the basis of these treaties. They make for Abyssinia's subjection, despite the lip-service that both England and France pay to Abyssinia's independence. If Indians are to give their support to sanctions against Italy, should they not also be consulted when "peaceful settlement" with Italy will be arranged? But what will happen is that the natural sympathy which they feel for Ethiopians will be exploited now, but they will be pushed out when time comes to settle the terms of peace. While Indians passionately desire to defeat Italy's war of conquest, they also desire equally passionately to defeat the "dirty deal" which England and France have been trying to force upon Abyssinia. These two Powers have been giving a most sinister turn to League politics. The League, as we knew it, stood for Peace and Justice. It is the only League that we value. Under the domination of England and France, however, the League is now following a Peace-at-any-price policy and is giving the go-bye to Justice in the process. Between these two objectives the League must put Justice first and Peace second. If, on the other hand, it tries, as it is doing at present, to stop war by being unjust to Abyssinia Indians have no use for such a League.

We recognise that the position of right-thinking men in England is very difficult. They dislike the Anglo-French plan of Italian exploitation of Abyssinia as much as we Indians do. But they cannot for that reason withhold their support from the collective sanctions which their Tory Government is applying. For Abyssinia must first be saved from total annexation before she can be saved from economic exploitation that will follow. We are not taking into account here the extreme pacifists who have a conscientious objection to the use of sanctions, particularly military sanctions. We are thinking of others who are in favour of the use of the most drastic sanctions, but who also desire to prevent League forms being used, after collective enforcement of peace, for Abyssinia's spoliation by Italy. All that they can do now is to give effective support to sanctions but also to proclaim their opposition to the National Government who wishes to give to Italy by peaceful means all that she desires to secure by war. We in India are in a better position just because of the irresponsibility of our Government. We shall of course proclaim our opposition, like our brethren in England, to the National Government's plan, but we may also withhold our support from sanctions. It is not asked for, and we need not be in a hurry to give it.

THE LEAGUE AND WORLD-GOVERNMENT.

I.—THE LEAGUE AND THE TORIES.

PARLIAMENT has been summoned for Oct. 22, in order to be dissolved, and the elections for a new House of Commons will, it seems, take place on Nov. 28.

The *Manchester Guardian* of to-day (Oct. 12) observes that "this has all come very suddenly, and there is strong reason for believing that it is the result of an intrigue on the part of the Tory caucus."

There is indeed: and the intrigue is not so very sudden a thing either. There is no doubt that the Peace Ballot, arranged last year by the League of Nations Union, has jarred very much the Tory leaders, who, rightly, saw in it an overwhelming national vote of censure on their narrow nationalist foreign policy and an equally decisive, nation-wide endorsement of a sincerely internationalist policy, based on the League of Nations. The great success of this Peace Ballot and the depth of feeling it revealed came indeed as a great surprise alike to friends and foes of the League.

To the true Tory the League—rightly or wrongly—is so much nonsense and pious eyewash. He has never wanted it: he has opposed every attempt made since its birth, to render it more effective. Thus the hue and cry, raised by him, made Mr. Henderson's Geneva Protocol of 1924 abortive. The stubborn resistance at Geneva of the spokesman, briefed by the Tory Party, to wit Sir John Simon, rendered equally abortive the Disarmament Conference, planned and presided over by Mr. Arthur Henderson. Let us admit that to this party it seems that the League can never deliver the goods and that therefore patriotism demands not to give in to what to them are mere humanitarian platitudes incapable of application to practical politics.

To such a party the nation's infatuation for the League must have presented a most vexing problem. Sir John Simon's method of giving in to it with the right hand and taking back again everything (and a bit more) with the left, had been tried, but promised little success with an electorate, which had to be consulted not later than next year. It is at this psychological moment, that it was decided to "re-construct" the Cabinet. Mr. MacDonald was put into cold storage, the leader of the Tories became Prime Minister, and Sir John Simon was replaced at the Foreign Office by Sir Samuel Hoare.

And hey, presto! the Government suddenly seemed converted to a League Policy. The Italo-Abyssinian conflict, which had begun already last November, had been treated hitherto, as had been the Sino-Japanese conflict of 1932: i. e. with a lip-service to League principles, amounting in practice to exactly nothing. Only in March Mr. MacDonald at Stresa had made the sevenfold prostration before Signor Mussolini: a couple of months later, Sir Samuel Hoare began to shake his fist in the best fascist style in the *Duce's* face. The "death-bed conversion" of the Government seemed complete. The League,

the whole League, and nothing but the League! became the cry. Italy's threat to Abyssinia, its broken pledges, its defiance of all international morality, its wanton destruction of collective security, were held up to general execration. Everybody knew for a whole year, that the Italian campaign was timed to commence at the end of September: the nearer the fatal date approached, the greater grew the veritable frenzy into which the British Government seemed to be lashing itself. Before the League had decided anything at all, the British Cabinet resolved upon a most spectacular massing of the whole British fleet in the Mediterranean for all the world, as if Sir Samuel Hoare meant to see justice, international justice, done, even if he had to do the job alone.

Yet, the moment the League, hustled by the representatives of Great Britain, decided to employ sanctions against the breaker of the peace, Great Britain, which hitherto had seemed to be straining at the leash to have a go at that big Italian bully, Great Britain suddenly declares that of course action cannot be taken by herself alone, but by the whole League; that in fact there could be no question of starting straightaway with military sanctions, but that economic sanctions had to be tried first. Then why the former necessity of these spectacular manoeuvres of the fleet in the Mediterranean? Were they perhaps only a manoeuvre for home consumption, to prove the Government's burning zeal for the League to a somewhat doubting Thomas elector?

All the warlike talk, whether in England or at Geneva, has not prevented the outbreak of war in Abyssinia. The massed votes of the League members have not prevailed against the massed forces of Italy, which are occupying mile after mile of Ethiopian territory. The question of economic sanctions is still being discussed at Geneva, as I write: one need not be a prophet to foresee, how it will all end—in words, more words and still more words. Austria and Hungary have already said frankly "no"; Switzerland has done so with a little more circumlocution, and France with "reserves." Yugoslavia is not going to sacrifice 20% of its exports without "compensations"—and where are "compensations" to be found in these hard times of depression all round? Will the outcome of it ever amount to more than a nominal embargo neutralized by wholesale "exceptions"?

Anyhow, collective security, based even on an out and out League policy, seems to be unattainable, does it not? Such a conclusion, if not yet drawn officially, will anyhow surely not fail to sound from all Conservative party platforms during the electoral campaign. And one begins to ask oneself, whether this *reductio ad absurdum* of reliance on the League, was not the very result desired and worked for by Sir Samuel Hoare?

As it is, his party can present itself before the elector as the most ardent champion, that the League has ever had. They can deplore the inefficacy of

the League and show themselves as having come as it were reluctantly to the only conclusion now possible: the necessity of relying on an overwhelming defence force rather than on the League. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, at a Bankers' Banquet on Oct. 1st, rather let the cat out of the bag, when he said:

Unless and until the League has been proved incapable of fulfilling the functions for which it was created we intend to take our part—though no more than our part—in fulfilling our obligations under the Covenant.... The march of events in these last few months has made it abundantly clear to us that the known weakness of our defence has seriously impaired our influence for peace in the counsels of the world.

And so, the Chancellor of the Exchequer clears the ground for a gigantic "Security Loan", which is to be launched after the Elections, whereby on the one hand the British Nationalists will obtain the only security they can conceive—that of outstripping all competitors in the armaments race—; and whereby on the other hand the "unemployed" capital which is accumulating uselessly will be put in circulation and set the wheels of industry going again.

Such will be the election cry. Relying on another khaki-election, on another patriotic war-intoxication of the nation, the Conservative Party leaders hope, that the elector will forget the colossal failures of the National Government, which, abroad, has not been able to prevent Japan's bestriding of the extreme Orient, Germany's "colossal" rearmament, nor even Mussolini's colonial adventure. It is hoped that the Government's conniving at Germany's breach of all her covenants (vide the recent Anglo-German naval pact!), its inactivity on all other occasions, when the League Covenant was violated (by Poland over Vilna, Lithuania over Memel, Japan over Manchuria and Paraguay over the Chaco)—will be readily overlooked in view of its recent zeal for the honour of the League. The Elections will very conveniently take place, before the Government has to declare its new scales of unemployment relief and the public's attention on foreign affairs will, it is equally hoped, take its mind off the "depressed areas" and the still more depressing governmental incapacity in regard to them. The Italo-Abyssinian stunt is equally to shut the elector's eye to the uncomfortable fact that the Government's Ottawa policy, by shutting British colonies to world trade, has let loose the new insistence on Colonies of their own by Powers like Italy, Germany and Japan, who clamour for a redistribution of the world's markets.

Will the Tories really be able, thus easily to get away with it? One wonders: for even the gullibility of the Great British Public must have limits.

The fact remains that for the time being, Sir Samuel Hoare—after his wonderful part of transferring the whole Indian menagerie from Regent's Park to Whipsnade—is still performing before crowded houses of the World's Circus in his daring *salto mortale* through a paper-hoop, with the weight of the whole British Fleet on his shoulders.

II.—HAS THE LEAGUE FAILED?

THIS conclusion indeed is generally forcing itself upon all observers. The *Evening Standard*, for instance, of the 11th Oct. puts the thing quite openly. "The Italo-Abyssinian conflict", says this Tory organ, "furnishes an admirable opportunity for putting the League to the proof, since Italy is particularly vulnerable in regard to economic pressure, and since she has violated her obligations as member of the League in the most flagrant manner. If the League succeeds this time, well and good; but if not, her practical uselessness will have been proved once for all."

On the 14th October Germany ceased to be a member of the League, her two years' notice of withdrawal having run its course on that day. But there is another anniversary, that of the Locarno Pact, which followed two days later, having been concluded on Oct. 16, 1925. This famous Pact was originally entered into by Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy; and its article 10 stipulated that it should come into force, as soon as Germany became a member of the League. Well, Germany is no longer a member of the League: has the Locarno Pact gone?

I think the British Government will certainly repudiate it and in part will strive to get out of all engagements entered into hitherto under the aegis of the League: nay, it will renounce the League itself except for the purpose of utilizing it as an international Telephone Exchange.

The Tory ideal can only be to strike a bargain with fellow-Imperialists like Germany, Italy and Japan, with whom it would form an Imperialists' Club, of which Great Britain would be the President; and to arm for that end to so superlative an extent, that Great Britain would remain on top, however imperialist the world might grow.

The Tory aim, as will be seen, is the negation of all World-Government and acquiescence in the international anarchy which has provoked one war after another, ever since war itself was invented four to five thousand years ago. What has been, will be, say the Conservatives, the Nationalists and the Imperialists of every country: *si vis pacem, para bellum*.

Against this, it would be fatal to invoke merely moral axioms, as that of *ahimsa*, and to exhort all the 200 crores of human beings to an exercise of heroic virtue. Such an attitude is usually praised as being lofty: I confess that it seems to me just silly. Only very few individuals are capable of virtue to a heroic degree: we call them saints and we know that the bulk of humanity is not composed of saints. Moral precepts do not act *in vacuo*: they have got to be applied. Political science must be called in, to devise a practical framework, inside which the practice of virtue will be made easy for the greater number of people, and the practice of vice difficult.

In the realm of international relations therefore it does not suffice to cry, Peace! Peace! A framework must be constructed, wherein the tranquillity of order is rendered practically possible. Woodrow Wilson

and all followers of his ideology had thought that in the League of Nations they had constructed such a framework. The house was built in Geneva, but the great tempest has come and proved that this house was built on sand.

Great has been its ruin. But far from proving that international morality is a chimæra, this ruin has only proved that the Genevan structure was faulty. It was faulty, because it consisted merely of a periodic Conference of Sovereign States; and its fallacy consisted in the belief that such a Conference could produce an authority superior to its members. The fundamental error was that of wanting to explain the superior by the inferior, and unity by its parts. The mere summing up of parts does not create any unity: the assembly of all the limbs and organs of a human body does not produce a man. The Powers-in-Conference remained the Powers; as sovereign, independent Powers they never could concern themselves about the common good of *all* States, but had to look after their own, particular, interests. To blame them for being selfish, is to expect of them the utterly impossible.

The absurdity was to expect a supra-national authority from a conference of nations; to expect an order (i. e. mutual dependence) from units, which insisted on remaining independent; to expect a government of the world by fifty odd entities, claiming to be sovereign. The League inevitably has had to fail, just because it was "of the Nations, national", and not of a Federation, federal.

The government of Poona City is not effected by a conference of Budhwar Peth, Shukrawar Peth and all the rest of the city's quarters; it is not done by expecting Budhwar Peth, as an extra and by way of special kindness, to look after the drains of the whole city area: the government of Poona City is rendered possible by the very opposite. The different Peths have not been asked to do more sanitary work altruistically, but have renounced all sanitary work altogether. A new, a superior, authority has been created by the sacrifice of that autarchy—and it can only be created by such sacrifice.

The problem is really that of the egg of late Mr. Columbus. When did war cease between Gujerat and Maharashtra, between England and Scotland, between Bavaria and Prussia? When they ceased to be sovereign and independent, and when, in some form or other, they coalesced. The world too will be at peace, when the nations of the world will have renounced their claim to independence and sovereignty—and only then. To speak of "a Federation of the World, a Parliament of Man" is not to rave like a hopeless visionary, but to pose most soberly and realistically the *conditio sine qua non* for world order and consequent world peace.

You will say, no nation can renounce its claim to sovereignty; that certainly no Great Power ever will make that sacrifice. I answer that until 1914 I would have agreed with you: but that since then, I am not so sure. Why? Because the Great War has proved conclusively that in modern war the loss is bound to be greater than any possible gain. This

fact is known now-a-days in ever widening circles: and as a consequence, ever wider sections—certainly in England—refuse, ever to engage again in any war whatsoever. When it comes to the point, I think the nations—certainly the British nation—will be far more ready to renounce their "sovereign" claim, than their rulers give them now-a-days the credit to be. The Great War itself, after all, was only brought to an end, by coalescing all the armies of the Western Front under the single command of Marshal Foch: what more signal renunciation of people's sovereignty?

Today, necessity again is smoothing the way for a reversion to that example. Perhaps the renunciation of sovereignty will begin with an amalgamation of the armed forces of the federating Powers: or rather, with their national disarmament and the simultaneous creation of a Federal Defence Force. Such creation does not need to wait, until all the nations of the world federate: it can start at once, with however few, provided it is open to all comers. Why could not Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries and Spain pool their armaments? They form a Western, democratic, bloc, which would provide an admirable nucleus for the progressive federalization of the world.

And just because these Powers are not by nature militarist, the pooling of their armed forces would not necessarily produce a militarist dictatorship. The creation of a Federal Defence Force would inevitably call for the creation of a Federal Government, monopolising the Foreign Affairs of the Federation: a government which would in this case be democratically elected and whose executive servant the Federal Defence Force would be, but which of course in all other respects would leave complete local autonomy to its federal units. In short, these Western Powers would only on a larger scale imitate the example of the 22 Swiss Cantons, which, though autonomous and belonging to quite diverse cultures, languages and religions, form a strong, single whole as the Helvetic Confederation.

May I here add, that these ideas—startling though they may seem at first sight—are not merely fancies of my own. For years they have been canvassed in England and three years ago a society was formed there, *The New Commonwealth*, to advocate this very conception of a World Order by the creation of an International Police Force and of an International Board of Arbitration and Conciliation. The Labour Party at its annual congress last year adopted this policy as a plank in their own platform; this year they have gone further and practically demanded that all colonial affairs too should become a federal subject. But I admit, that so far we have only had gropings in this, the only right direction. The only front rank statesman who has so far dared to say openly that world order is incompatible with national sovereignty is Lord Lothian. Will the Labour Party at the coming elections take all its courage in both hands, and make an equal avowal?

For surely that is the alternative. Either, unchecked course in armaments, war, and the final doom

of Europe: or abandonment of national sovereignty and progressive federation of the world.

Sacrifices are called for in either case: sacrifice of life and treasure in the one, sacrifice of prestige and power in the other. The point to make is not, how to avoid sacrifice, but how to make it for a purpose more noble, more just, and—more common sense, than universal butchery and destruction.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

Fribourg,
12th October.

Reviews.

PROBLEMS OF BIRTH CONTROL.

BIRTH CONTROL IN ASIA. Edited by MICHAEL FIELDING. (Birth Control International Information Centre, London.) 1935. 22cm. 101p. 5/-

THIS is a report of a conference held at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine on the 24th and 25th November 1933. It was presided over by Lord Horder and attended by some distinguished British writers and thinkers, among them being Prof. Carr-Saunders, Prof. Laski, Mr. Harold Cox and Dr. Marie Stopes. The Asiatic countries represented were India, Ceylon, China and Japan—and they were ably represented. The Conference met in three sections and discussed respectively "Population Problems in the East," "The Standard of Living in Asia" and "The Practical Problems of Contraception in the East." The incongruity of holding the conference in London will not escape anyone. But in the present initial stage of the birth control movement in Asiatic countries, this was the utmost that could be thought of. The conference served a very useful purpose. It led directly to Mrs. How-Martyn, Honorary Director of the Centre and the Chief Organiser of the Conference, visiting India and addressing the Indian Women's Conference and various other influential meetings. It has stimulated a good deal of discussion and thought in India. It was announced by the Neo-Malthusian League of Madras some time ago that a similar conference would be held at Madras in December 1935. The Indian Women's Association has again invited Mrs. How-Martyn to address their Conference which meets at Trivandrum next Christmas week.

Much valuable information relating to the state of the populations in India, China and Japan was disclosed at the Conference, for which the reader is referred to the report itself. But it is interesting to know from Mr. Eguchi that in Japan 'heads of families among the rich and poor alike take a serious view of the population problem', that the purposes of birth-control 'are being advocated and explained in the daily press, in magazines and at public meetings' and that the movement has assumed 'a national character'. Mr. Chen Ta said, "Our brief experience in birth-control work in Peiping (university centre) has shown that even the lower classes quite keenly feel the need of family limitation and are usually receptive to the idea of birth-control if it is patiently explained to them." The action of the Mysore State in permitting instruction in birth control in four of its main hospitals since 1930 was enthusiastically praised by Dr. Marie Stopes, who said, "The very first Government clinic in the world was an Indian clinic. It was founded by the Indian Government of Mysore." Apparently she forgot Russia. It

appears however that sufficient propaganda has not been made in the State, as the clinics are reported to be rather discouraging than encouraging birth control!

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das gave it as his opinion that the optimum population for India in its present state of economic development was only half of what it actually is. Mr. P. K. Wattal, in a striking paper, drew attention to the prevalence of unemployment in India as shown by the number of able-bodied non-working dependents. Estimating it at 25 millions, he pointed that the total number of unemployed for all countries not including India, for which the International Labour Office kept figures, was 30 millions. This was apart from the vast seasonal unemployment prevailing in India. "The problem of unemployment is most acute in Bengal where the proportion of non-working dependents to workers is as high as 71 : 29," whereas for the whole of India it is 56 : 44. Mr. Leonard S. - Su gave out the surprising fact that in the coastal and Yangtse provinces where the population is very dense, the standard of living also is comparatively high and famines do not occur; whereas they are common in the inland provinces where the population density is low, 'because of national calamities, aggravated by human inactivities and political oppression'. Answering the objection of lack of funds, Professor Laski said, "When I know that one particular Indian prince in the year 1931-32 spent on the education of the citizens of his State one-eighth of that sum that he spent on the marriage of his son, I think there are still possibilities in India if the women will become insistent about discovering what they are." Regarding the most suitable birth control appliance for the poor and ignorant women of India and China, Dr. Helena Wright and Dr. Marie Stopes recommended the use of a cotton ball dipped in oil or vinegar and tied round the middle with a piece of string.

It is a report which ought to be read by every public worker in this country.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYAH.

EXPERIMENTS IN SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

LAW AND JUSTICE IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By HAROLD J. LASKI. 44p.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S EXPERIMENTS. By S. H. BAILEY. 48p.

(The Hogarth Press.) 1935. 20cm. 1/6 each.

THESE two pamphlets (Nos. 23 and 24) of the Day to Day series make a stimulating study of two of the world's greatest experiments in social reconstruction now being attempted in Soviet Russia and the United States of America. "Law and Justice in Soviet Russia" is a very valuable pamphlet that reproduces the substance of a lecture of Prof. Laski delivered to the Society for Promoting Cultural Relations with Russia on November 9th, 1934. It is the outcome of his enquiries made in his recent visit to Russia. The pamphlet draws in bold relief the contrast between the British and the Soviet legal machinery. The British legal system has now become highly technical and is run by professional judges and professional lawyers. Law is studied as the cold and rigid expression of the force of the State and its teaching in the universities concerns itself neither with research into nor the improvement of the material it deals with. The profession has become highly individualistic in character and is more anxious for the protection of its corporate interests than to assist the public in its search for justice. The judicial decisions in the courts are more controlled

by codes and precedents than by considerations of the social and economic conditions of the victim. The whole of the legal fabric has thus become too rigid to admit any scope for easy amendment.

The Russian legal system, on the other hand, is permeated throughout with one relentless purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In every phase of law, property, contract, tort or crime, its end is a threefold one, of crushing counter-revolutionary resistance, of freeing workers from the impact of what are regarded as the capitalistic habits, of building up a social outlook to work the principles of the communist society. A Russian lawyer is not a mere professional practitioner whose business it is to prove a point for his client but a student of law in a broader sense as one applying a body of principles to a concrete situation from an attitude that tends to assure social judgment upon the result. The simplicity of procedure and the breadth of outlook maintained by judges, not being bound by precedents, make the disposal of cases in the Russian hierarchy of courts a simple and inexpensive affair. Again, no one can study the Russian legal system without being impressed by the importance attached to research. "I predict with some assurance", writes Prof. Laski, "that in this aspect of Russia's legal system, the whole world will go to school to Russia in the next generation" (p. 61). No better homage can be paid to the achievements of the Russians than this. Prof. Laski winds up the discussion with some concrete proposals for the reform of the British system (pp. 41-43), though he himself, knowing too well the experience of the past, cherishes little hope of success.

While Prof. Laski deals with one aspect of social reconstruction, Mr. Bailey gives us a lucid and succinct account of the American melodrama which he could observe at close quarters during his visit from September 1933 to the middle of August 1934. The New Deal of President Roosevelt is neither an economic programme like the Soviet N. E. P. nor a new ideology like the Nazi Kultur-Kampf. It constitutes a series of experiments without any co-ordinating force or logical reasoning except that both these come by way of pontifical utterances of the Washington Government. It has sprung up from a sense of resentful bewilderment of

the American people, when the crazy foundations of the post-war American prosperity suddenly collapsed into a confused mass of huge debris. The heroic efforts of the President are to-day directed towards the immediate solution of such colossal problems. "Relief, Reform and Recovery" spell in brief the policy of the Government armed with dictatorial powers against the bickerings of the vested interests. The Federal Emergency Relief measures were first adopted and then followed the great programme of the National Recovery Administration under which 500 "blanket codes" aimed at "the reconstruction of the nation's industries with a view of speedy recovery of prosperity" were passed. The N. R. A. was further buttressed by a rigid control over Stock and Securities Exchange, banking and such other restrictions on production, prices and currency as to make it possible to lift the nation from the mire of depression. But after assorting the evidence Mr. Bailey observes :

The N. R. A. has so far had the effect not of improving the standard of living of the mass of community and relieving a large measure of unemployment out of rising prices, encouraging industry either to restrict output or introduce further machinization... Exchange depreciation as a method of raising the price level has failed to live up to the expectations of its advocates... The monetary policies of the New Deal have been almost entirely irrelevant to the problem of Recovery.

We believe however that it is too early to draw such a balance sheet against the nation's New Deal. It has however carried the Federal Government far into the economic system as a producer and distributor, a planning authority and the guarantor of social rights. It has engendered a new class consciousness among workers against employers. And politically the effects of the whole scheme on the very fundamentals of the United States constitution are too far-reaching. They have tended to create a new system of "controlled capitalism" in the economic sphere and a "dictatorial government" in place of a strong individualist democracy.

The two valuable studies are sure to be a prelude of further study of the major problems which they raise.

S. G. PURANIK.

TRIBUTES TO MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

GLOWING tributes were paid to the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the services rendered by him to the country when a portrait of his was opened this morning in the Annamalai University Assembly Hall by His Excellency Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras. The portrait was presented to the University by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar.

The portrait is a life-size oil painting of the distinguished educationist, about 5 feet 5 inches in height. The canvas is 7 feet by 5 feet. It is the work of Mr. C. Nageswara Rao, the well-known Bombay artist.

To embody a personality into a portrait, the painter needs not only a sure hand in the wielding of the brush, he must have understanding and keen spiritual insight. Mr. Rao has shown that he possesses both in a rare degree. To look at the portrait he has painted is like being ushered into a living presence. The essence of what all close friends of Mr. Sastri might have come to know of him through years of association, is here conveyed into the eye and the face with a few deft touches of the brush, intelligence, intellectuality, serenity, culture, profound thoughtful-

ness—it is as if these attitudes of character shine out of the canvass at us as we look at this portrait. The artist has fulfilled his art by bringing out the full vigour and beauty of Mr. Sastri's personality as finely as it can be brought out in a picture. The choice of the artist by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar has been thoroughly justified by the result achieved by Mr. Rao.

Having graduated from the Bombay School of Arts, Mr. Rao has made portrait-painting a speciality, and made a name for himself. He has created a portrait gallery of our great national leaders which has already served to make the latter living presences instead of mere names to hundreds of thousands of Indians.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir P. Sethna, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Dewan Bahadur K. M. Javheri, Messrs. K. Natarajan, Jamnadas Mehta, K. F. Nariman and T. Prakasam bear testimony to the striking resemblance the portrait bears to the original.

SIR ANNAMALAI CHETTIAR'S TRIBUTE.

Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, the founder and Pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, in

requesting His Excellency Lord Erskine to unveil the portrait said:

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, I am most grateful to Your Excellency for your kind acceptance of my invitation to unveil the portrait of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. When this University came into being about six years ago, he was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor and I am sure you will agree that no better choice could have been made. It is not always that one gets what one desires and the University had to deprive itself of his kind care and wise guidance in its infant stage as he was called away to East Africa on an imperial mission. Thanks to your Excellency's ready and cheerful assistance, he has now been able to come back to his first love and take up again the task of preparing, by precept and example, the youth of the country for right citizenship.

It is well-known to those who know him intimately that the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri is animated in all his public activities by the glorious vision of a united India as a great and honoured partner among the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is my hope that the inspiring example of a practical life of service and sacrifice will not fail to create in the minds of the young men here a partiality for the ideal of service of which he is such an embodiment, suited of course to the needs and conditions of modern life. A life nobly lived, such as his, will surely call out what is noble in those who come into daily contact with him. I do not now propose to make a recital of the great qualities of our distinguished friend, or enlarge upon his activities and achievements in the public life of our country. Suffice it to say that he has never yet hesitated to obey the dictates of duty whatever be his physical ailments. He has served India whenever called upon to do so truly and nobly as becomes a disciple of his master and servant of India and raised India's national self-respect high in the esteem of the nations by his intellectual vigour, sweet reasonableness and superb eloquence. Sane in outlook, sober in expression, simple in habits, selfless in service, sympathetic to a fault, absolutely incapable of harbouring feelings of hatred, firm as a rock where his convictions are concerned, it is no wonder he has been able to earn and retain the respect and regard even of his political opponents. From Mr. Sastri, the teacher, to the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri, the ambassador of the Empire, Privy Councillor and member of the Order of the Companions of Honour to his Majesty, it is easy to trace the workings of an alert mind, eager and ready to seize opportunities as they come and utilise them for the advancement of the country in every way possible. Whether in the legislatures of the country or in the various conferences of the Empire or at the League of Nations he impressed every one with his intellectual abilities, quiet dignity and indefinable charm. His is a dedicated life and his the supreme satisfaction that comes from duty conscientiously discharged. No man can desire more.

This portrait which Your Excellency is to unveil now will serve to remind the generations of students passing through the portals of this University of the greatness of Mr. Sastri and infuse into them what may be called the "Sastri" spirit, the spirit of renunciation and service of the sanyasin of old adapted to modern life.

Let me take this opportunity of thanking Mr. C. Nageswara Rao of the Andhra Chitrasala, Bombay, who has painted the portrait. I hope you will agree that it is an impressive and faithful likeness of Mr. Sastri.

It is with great pleasure that I now request Your Excellency to unveil the portrait of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

His Excellency Lord Erskine, the Chancellor, unveiling the portrait said:

It is indeed a pleasure to me, gentlemen, to have been given the opportunity of unveiling this portrait of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri to-day. My only regret is that my personal acquaintance with him is so brief that I cannot, from a more intimate knowledge, do better justice to what I regard as a highly privileged occasion. It is not often, I suppose, that one meets and makes a friend and proceeds to the unveiling of his portrait within the hour, but still less often that one can approach so pleasant a duty in the assured knowledge that that friend is worth going far to make and one to whom to do honour cannot fail to be a delight. For who is there who does not know India's Srinivasa Sastri or who is unaware of his richness in statesmanship, in eloquence, in erudition and in character? I do not feel that it is for me to attempt a chronicle of the events of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's public life. That I can safely leave to writers of modern history. Nor do I think that there is any need to enlarge upon his personal qualities, for I fancy that a personality such as his could not have failed to impress each one of you deeply, however short the time that he has been amongst you. After long years of devoted service to India's interests at home and abroad, Mr. Sastri has returned to the sphere in which he first laid the foundation of his career and I would only say that there are no hands to which I would more gladly entrust the task of guiding the education of the youth of this country and no example which I would more earnestly ask you to follow. Of the many services which my Right Honourable friend has performed in the interests of his countrymen, I regard none as more important than this which he has now undertaken. For never have such opportunities been presented to the youth of India as those which open before you now, and what higher responsibility can there be than the training of the youth to seize those opportunities in the spirit of service and self-sacrifice and so ensure that this great country will take her rightful place in the brotherhood of the nations of the world? That is the goal which Mr. Sastri has ever kept before him and the responsibility is one which no one is better fitted to bear than he.

I have great pleasure, gentlemen, in unveiling this portrait of our Vice-Chancellor.

Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar then entertained His Excellency to breakfast in the Oriental Buildings.

Lord Erskine and party left for Madras at 11-25 a. m., by the Shencottah Passenger.—The Hindu.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- EUROPE: THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC ERAS. By A. J. GRANT and HAROLD TEMPERLEY. (Longmans.) 1935. 22cm. 187p. 5/-
- THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. An Essay in Political Agreement. (Macmillan.) 1935. 22cm. 320p. 5/-
- CURRENCY AND COMMERCE. By KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA. (Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co., Bangalore City.) 1935. 22cm. 324p. Rs. 3.
- WAS EUROPE A SUCCESS? By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH. (Methuen.) 1935. 20cm. 116p. 3/6.
- LABOUR'S WAY TO PLAN PROSPERITY. By DAVID GRENPELL. (Labour Shows the Way Series.) (Methuen.) 1935. 20cm. 118p. 2/6.
- THE ROMANCE OF REALITY. By JANET CHANCE. (Allen & Unwin.) 20cm. 138p. 5/-

ESTABLISHED 1911.

The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.

(Registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.)

Head Office: **Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.** (Branches: 28)

Apex Bank of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay Presidency.

WORKING CAPITAL Exceeds Rs. 2,00,00,000

FIXED, CURRENT AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS ACCEPTED.

Terms on Application.

ADVANCES made only to registered Co-operative Societies.

COLLECTION WORK undertaken at almost all important towns in the Bombay Presidency.

Money deposited with this Bank directly benefits the agriculturists and persons of small means.

For further particulars write to Managing Director.

The Industrial and Prudential Assurance Co. Ltd.

The Premier Indian Life Office.

Estd. 1913.

Head Office — **BOMBAY.**

UP-TO-DATE BENEFITS.

LOW PREMIUMS.

BONUS:

Whole Life—Rs. 22-8-0 per Thousand per Year.

Endowment— „ 18-0-0 per — „ -

For Agency apply to—Secretaries and Managers,

Industrial and Prudential Assurance Coy. Ltd.,

Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

SUPREME FOR YEARS SUPREME TO-DAY— QUALITY ALWAYS TELLS



Mysore Sandalwood Oil B. P. quality, the finest in the world, is perfectly blended and milled by a special process with the purest ingredients to make.

Mysore
Sandal Soap

“It's good through and through
to the thinnest wafer”

Available Everywhere.

**GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY,
BANGALORE.**