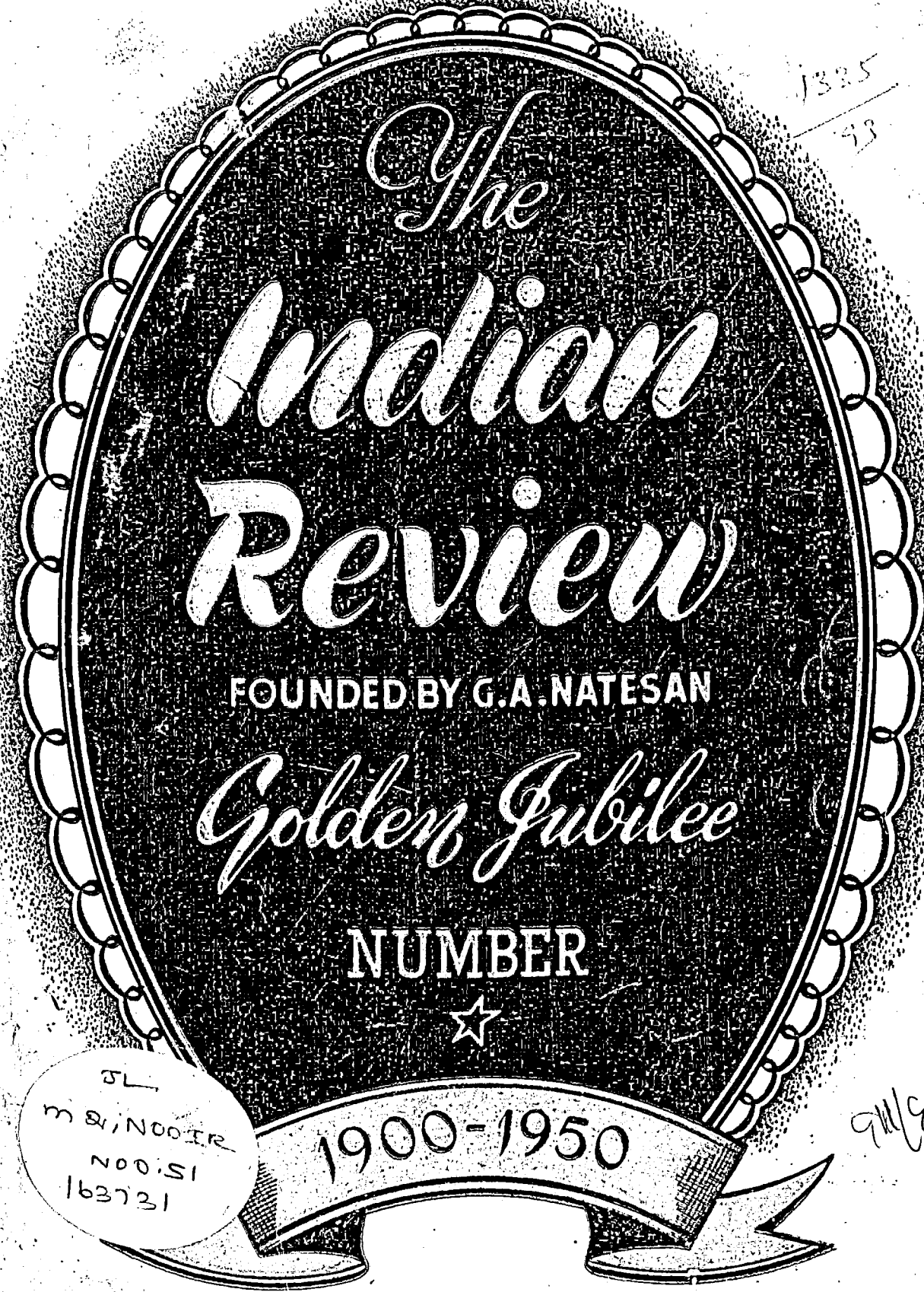


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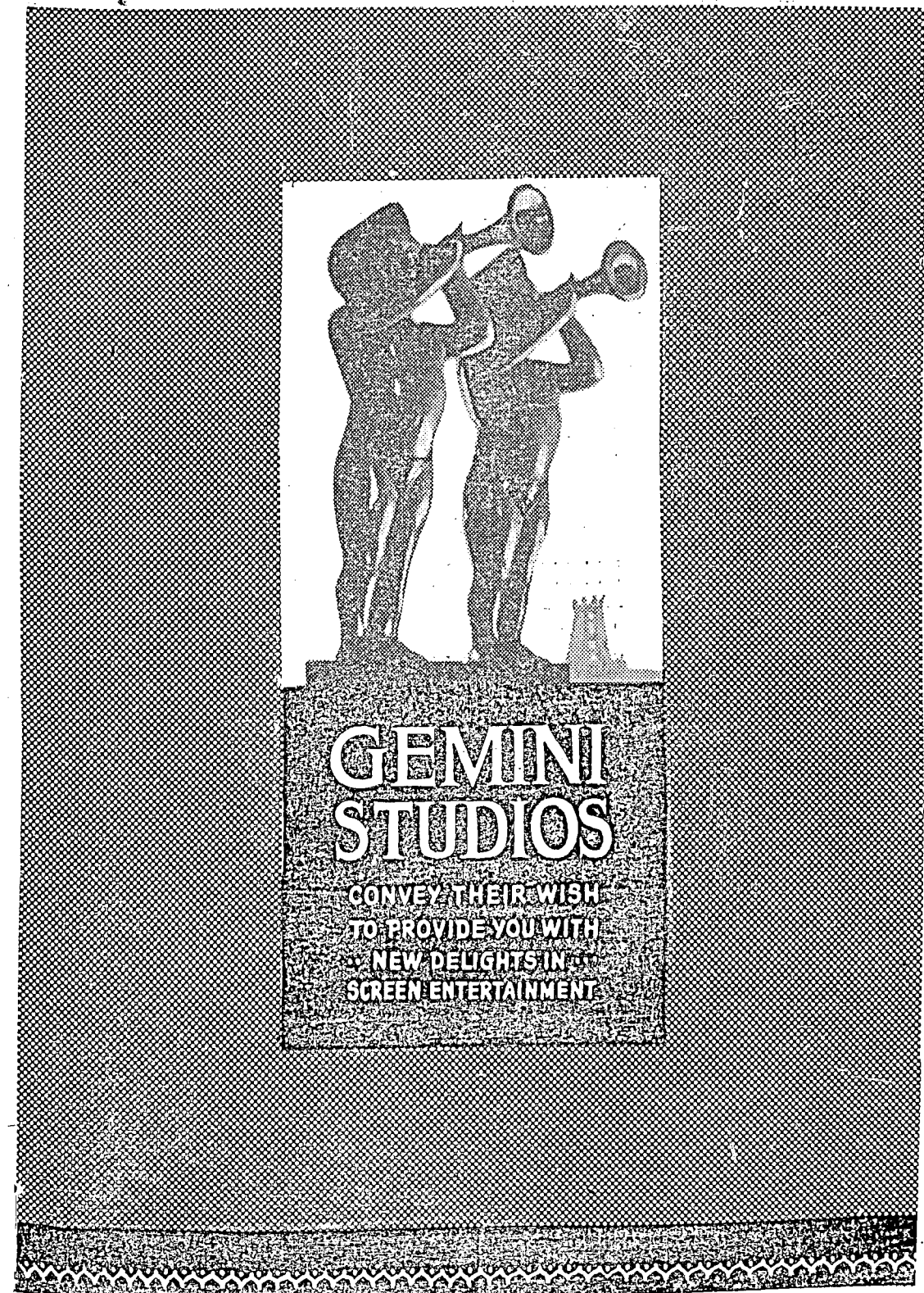
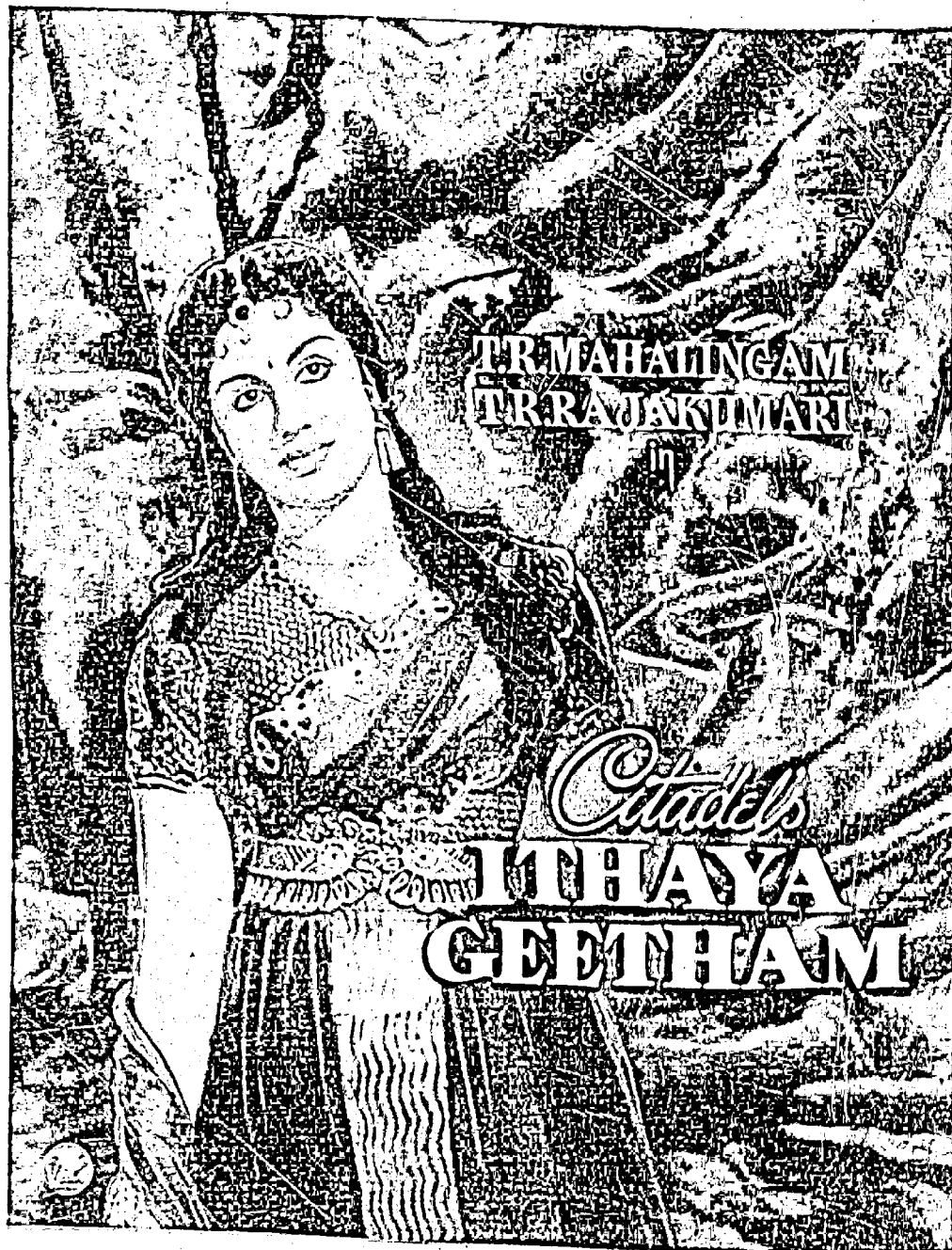
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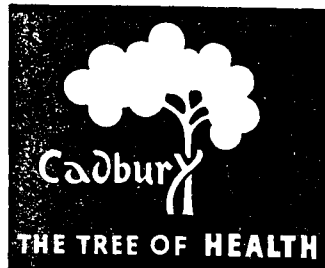
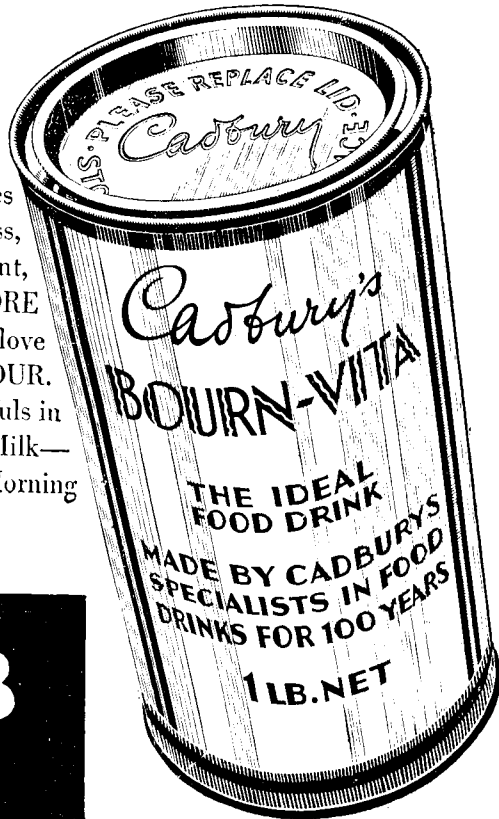
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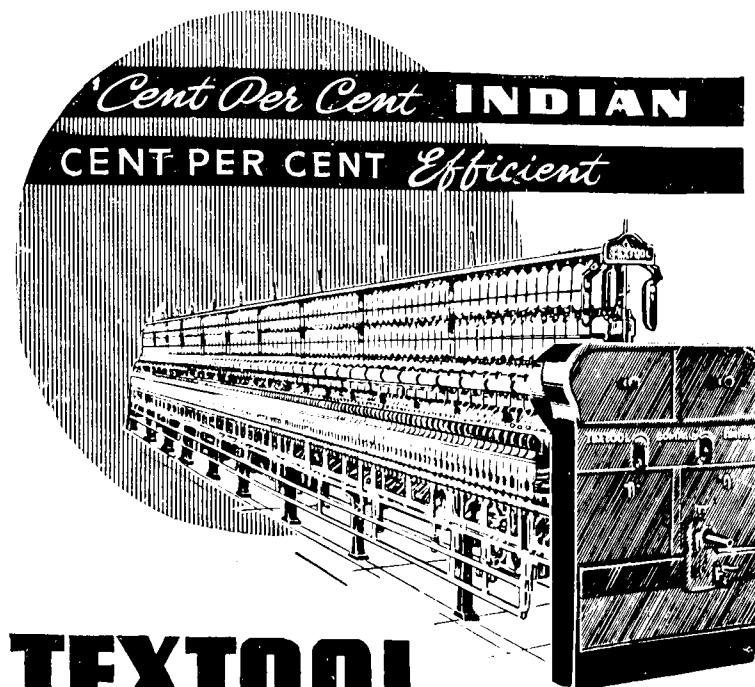
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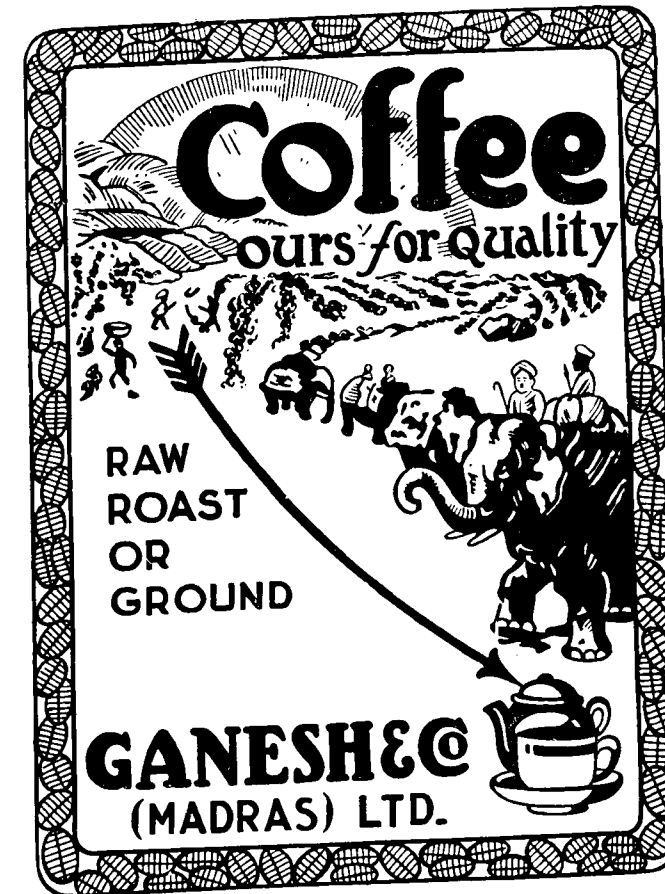
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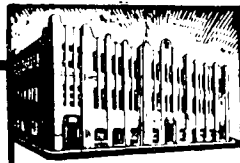
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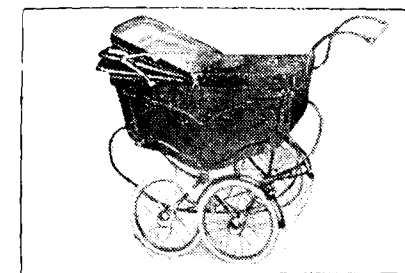


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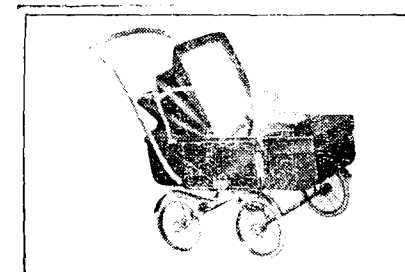
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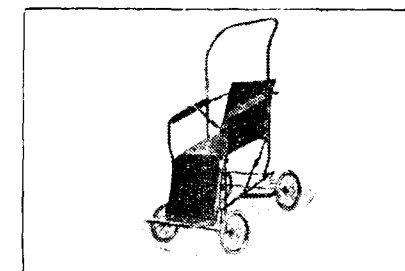
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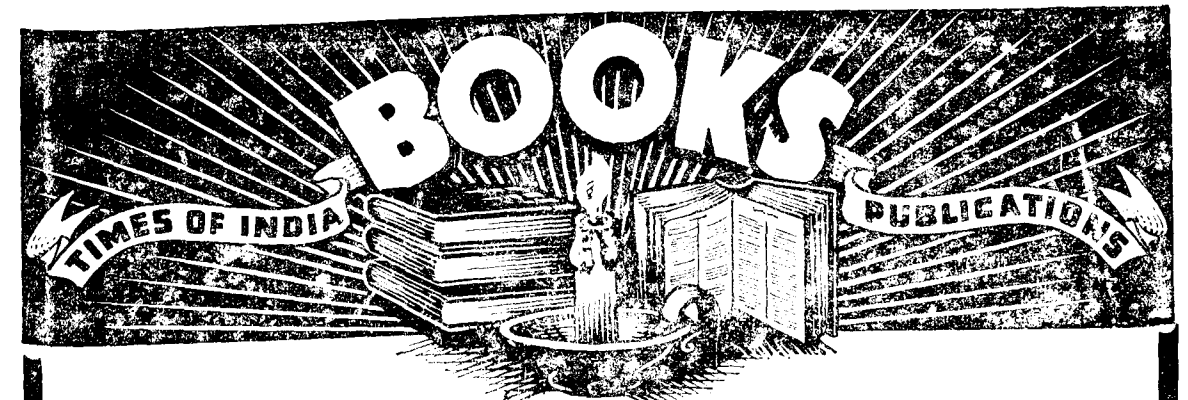
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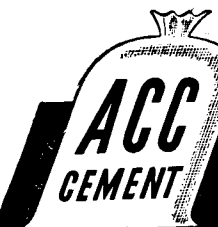
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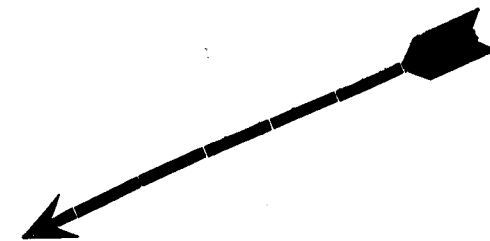
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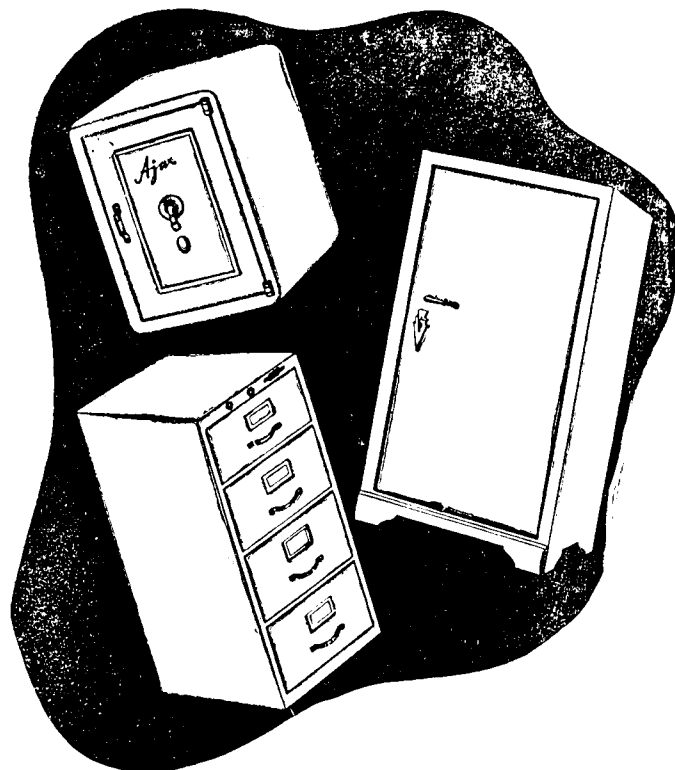
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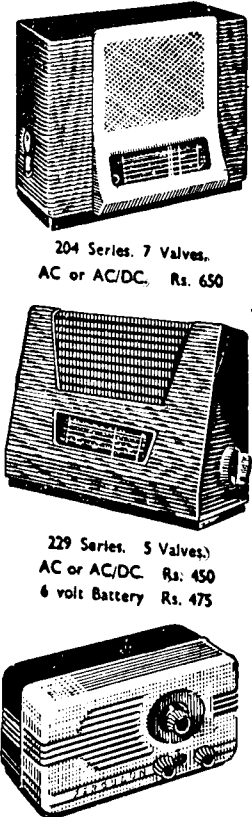
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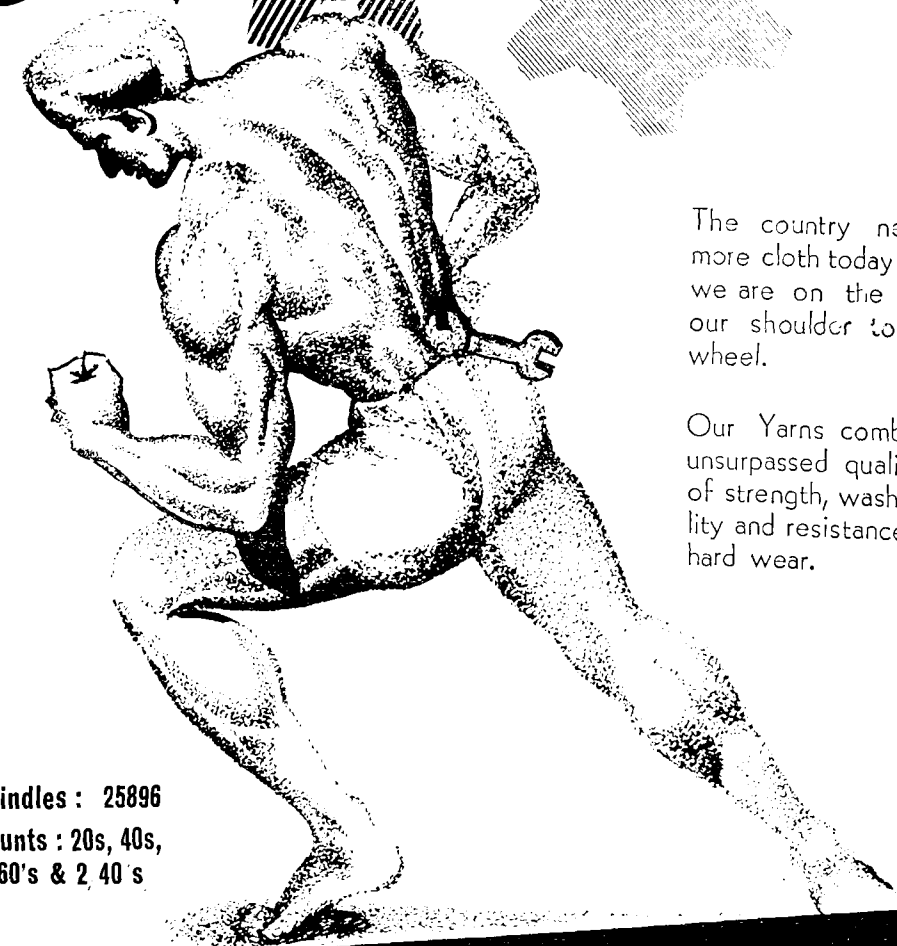
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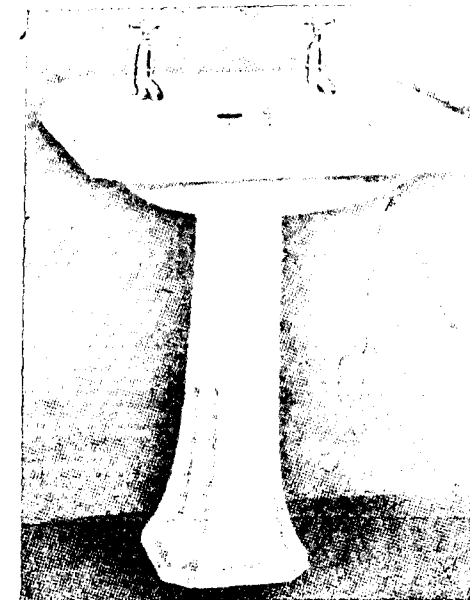
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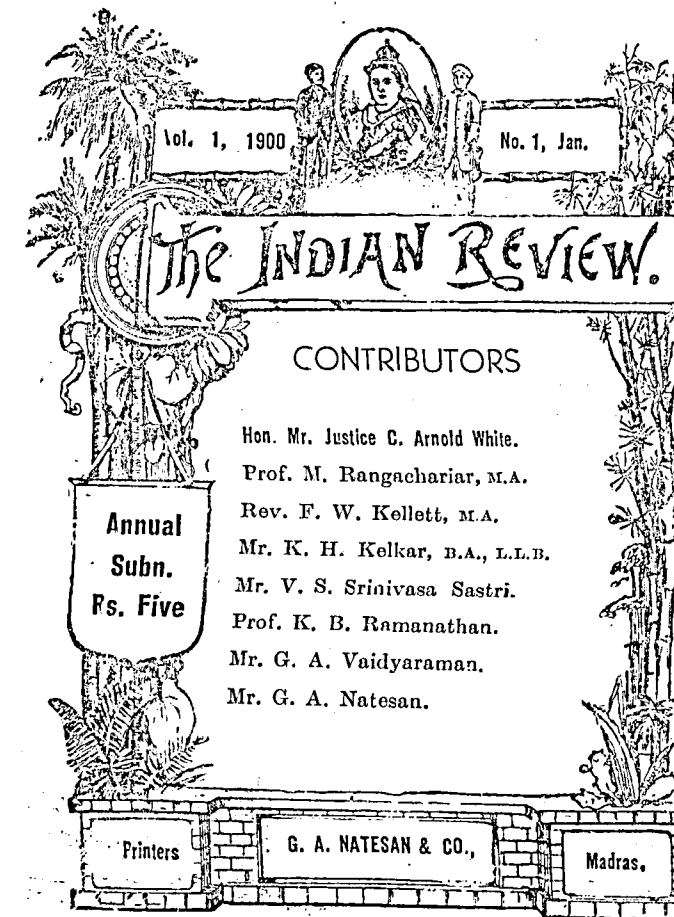
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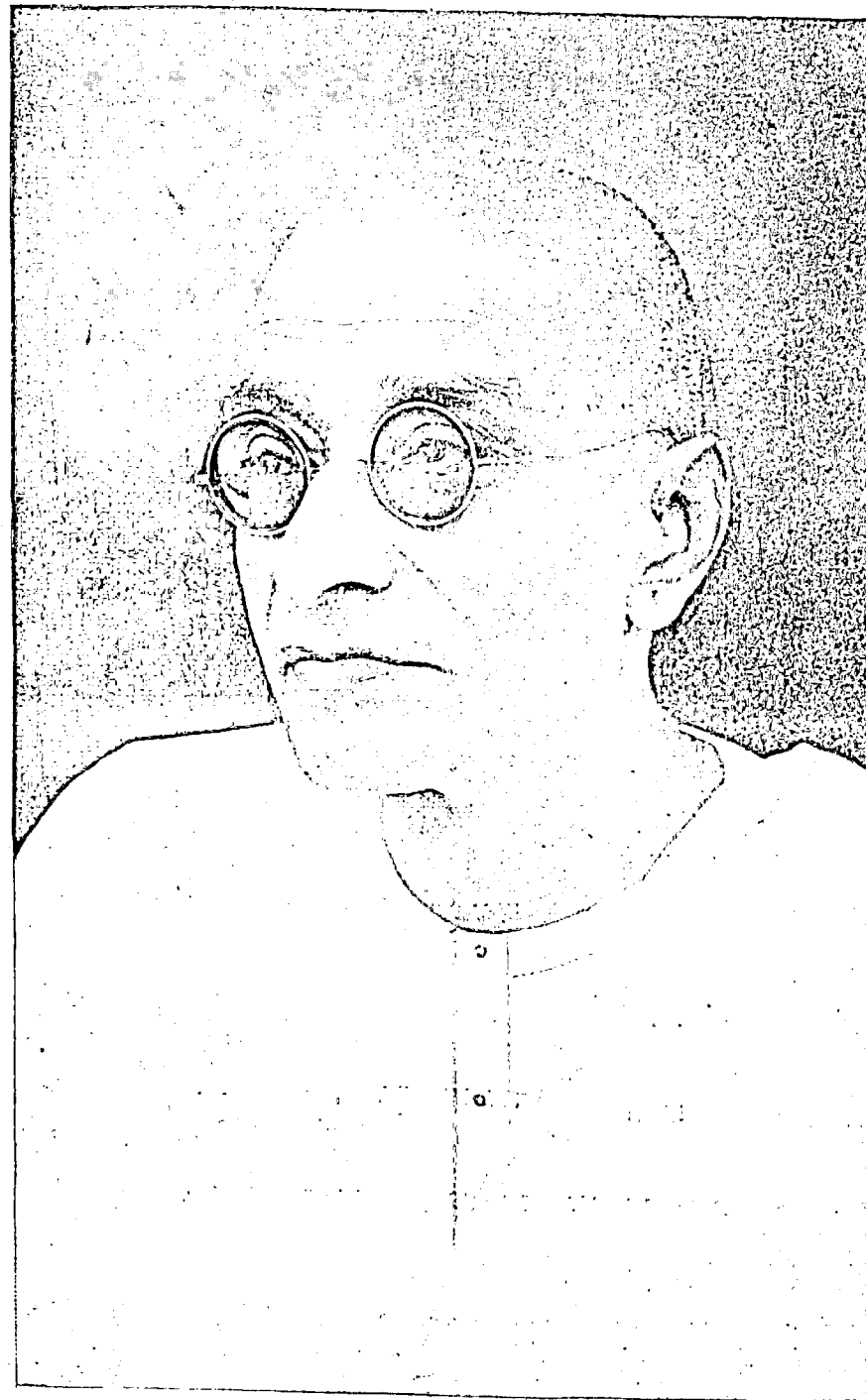
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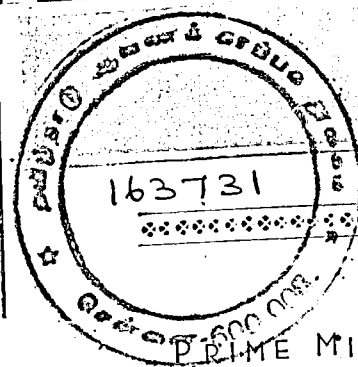
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI

3rd November 1949.



It is sad that G.A. Natesan is not at the office of the Indian Review in flesh and blood to watch the birth of the Golden Jubilee Number of his favourite child, the Indian Review. Fifty years ago G.A. Natesan was young, brave and adventurous when he took his degree in the Madras University and surprised those around him by refusing to qualify for law or apply for a Government job and announcing himself as a printer and bookseller. He demonstrated that national service could be abundantly performed without one being a lawyer and that one could be happy and prosperous and provide for his children as a bookseller and printer. No one was a more prominent public figure than Natesan in the civic life of Madras. He was a tower of strength to the representatives of Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale in Madras and when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the Congress he claimed Natesan in Madras as an intimate and personal friend on whom he could depend even though he could not join a movement which disregarded the law while it conflicted with political aims. It is sad therefore that the Golden Jubilee Number of the Indian Review will issue when G.A. Natesan is not among us. The Indian Review was shaped after the Review of Reviews, so ably conducted by W.T. Stead and this form has been retained in spite of many temptations to adopt a more attractive appearance. But the old subscribers of the Indian Review throughout the world appreciate this conservative attitude. Every one should be glad that an enterprise of this remarkable kind has attained its Golden Jubilee and seeks the good wishes of the people as a dependable monthly cyclopaedia of public affairs with the backing of fifty years of experience through a period of change and struggle in social, political and industrial progress.

C. Rajagopalachari



THE INDIAN REVIEW

PRIME MINISTER,
INDIA.



NEW DELHI

December 26, 1949

MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN REVIEW

— o —

On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the "Indian Review" I send my good wishes. Fifty years is a long time in the life of a periodical, and the past fifty years have seen tremendous changes in India and the world. It is an achievement for any periodical to carry on its work and give its message for this long span of years. I have pleasant memories of Mr. Natesan, the founder and longtime editor of this magazine.

Jawaharlal Nehru



THE INDIAN REVIEW



MADRAS GOVERNOR'S CAMP
GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
GUINDY,

25th November 1949.

I am very glad to learn that "The Indian Review" is to celebrate its Golden Jubilee next month.

Fifty years is a long period, but no period can be considered long enough for a journal which has served in the past, and looks forward to serving in future, the needs of the public so well and on so wide and varied range of subjects.

"The Indian Review" owed its parentage to the late Sri G. A. Natesan who nursed it with meticulous care and attention and set for it a very high standard from its very inception. Among the many eminent and valued contributors to the early issues of the Review can be mentioned such great men as Mahatma Gandhi, Ramsay MacDonald, Prof. Keith, the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and others. The continued success of the journal is to be ascribed to the devoted care of its founder and to the eminence and scope of its contributions. Today at the completion of Fifty years of service, "The Indian Review" can be easily classed as among the very foremost of Indian journals—a record of which any journal can very well be proud.

I would like to congratulate the Editor on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Review and send my best wishes for its future success.

KRISHNAKUMARSINHJI BHAVSINHJI
Governor of Madras.



FIFTY YEARS

—:o:—

FIFTY years ago there were few journals of popular interest in India. Periodical literature was confined to Government publications and the organs of specific Associations. The reading public, not many in numbers, were seldom swayed by national or international crises in the way that our generation is familiar with. They lived a rather secluded life, content to live and move within the orbit of their own immediate surroundings.

With the growth of education, all this has changed. English educated people have multiplied enormously; public interest in the things that matter has become intense, as never before. A generation, quickly responsive to world movements has succeeded the rather self-satisfied people of an earlier era. Education and enlightenment have transformed the insular life of the people who are now astir with abundant self-consciousness. We look with eagerness not unmixed with anxiety to the news of the Communist conquest of China or Stalin's threat to Tito and the cold War between the Soviet and the Western Bloc. While anxious to maintain what our Prime Minister calls Dynamic Neutrality in world affairs we are deeply interested in the control of the atom bomb and other matters vital to national security and world peace, now being debated in the United Nations. This new interest in world affairs is not far removed from our concern in local elections to the Congress Executive or the Legislature.

Among the agencies that have wrought this change, one must assign a large place to the educative influence of

periodical literature. When in January 1900 Mr. G. A. Natesan, just fresh from College, started the *Indian Review* in Madras he could hardly have realised the pioneering nature of the enterprise he set his hands to. Following his lead a multitude of magazines have sprang up both in this and other Provinces, with varying degrees of success. Imitation is an extremely flattering tribute to the worth of what one has done and Mr. Natesan, during the five decades that have passed since the starting of the *Indian Review*, could hardly have failed to be warmed by tokens of such praise, from so many quarters. The idea was to instruct, more than to entertain. Daily papers were few and there was nothing like the craze for news that has since become so pronounced. It was therefore left to the pioneers of periodicals to cater to the needs of the multitude by a judicious synopsis of world events and an honest and intelligent interpretation of local affairs. This the *Indian Review* did to perfection. Indeed the features that Mr. Natesan introduced in his journal just hit the popular needs of the time with such precision that he might almost be said to have possessed what has since been known as the "Harmsworth sense" of uncanny divination of the popular mind. It was an attempt to instruct the public in the things that matter and lead them on to a proper appreciation of political and literary values. This was announced in the letter accompanying the Prospectus issued in October 1899, on the eve of the publication of the first number of

the *Review* in January 1900. The Prospectus referred to the "variety and quantity of literary matter" the journal was to contain, and drew attention to 'some special literary features such as

"Critical reviews of books, Notices of Periodicals of the month, etc."

and added that

the support of several eminent European and Indian Educationists, lawyers and merchants has been enlisted and that all books and periodicals will be reviewed by specialists in the subjects dealt with."

This was no mere publisher's puff. How well these promises have been fulfilled is a matter of common knowledge to readers of the *Indian Review*.

The name *Indian Review* was itself a happy choice—at once apt and adequate. For the *Review* has been consistently Indian, never soaring into a vague and inane cosmopolitanism nor succumbing to the vulgarity of provincialism. During all these 50 years the *Review* seldom deviated from the straight and narrow path the Editor fixed for it at the start—and it has kept true to its motto: *Absit Invidia*. It is a singular record of urbanity, and tolerance of opinions. The *Review* has consistently adhered to two guiding principles: (i.) Never to indulge in personalities however tempting the provocation but to confine itself severely to principles and policies; (ii) and secondly in a country racked and torn by communal strife, never to countenance a communal standpoint in any controversy. These, coupled with free discussion and personal responsibility, are still some of the indelible marks of the *Indian Review*.

II

The very first number which was a modest brochure of 56 pages bound in

green was ushered into the world without the usual apology for a new Journal; and it set the tone and standard of its successors. The editorials dealt with the more important events of the time—The war in Transvaal; the Lucknow Congress presided over by the veteran scholar, administrator and historian, the late Romesh Chander Dutt; and the utterances of that most eloquent of British Pro-Consuls, Lord Curzon. Sir Charles Arnold White, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, wrote a lively account of his "Recollections of the Oxford Union" with the striking opening:

"No one—that is, no one who has not had the misfortune to have been educated at Cambridge—would venture to deny that, historically speaking, the Oxford Union is the most interesting of University Debating Societies."

The rest of the article is in tune with that vivacious opening.

Indeed from the beginning the *Review* was able to secure the services of a team of writers, European and Indian, as competent as they were distinguished. Among the contributors to the very first volume we find the following names recurring pretty frequently: V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (later the Rt. Hon.), Prof. K.B. Ramanathan, Prof. Rangachari, N. C. Kelkar, J. J. and C. W. E. Cotton, G. Subramania Aiyar of *The Hindu* and so on. Romesh Chander Dutt and Mahadev Govind Ranade figure among the greater, though more occasional contributors.

It is a long and impressive array of great names, among officials and non-officials, of different provinces and diverse interests—scholars, lawyers, politicians, reformers, and administrators that adorns the pages of each succeeding volume.

Hindu and Muslim, Parsi and Christian leaders, no less than English and American writers jostle with one another in that picturesque gallery of great figures. To attempt anything like a catalogue of names would be out of place; but consider the names that follow:—Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Alexander Cardew, Sir Frank Noyce, Mr. Eardley Norton, Bishop Whitehead, Dr. Besant and Dr. Berriedale Keith; Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Sir Kailas Haksar; V. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, Mr. Nyapathi Subba Rao, Sir M. Visvesvarayya, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, Sir Md. Iqbal, Sir Abdul Quadir, Sir Syed Raza Ali, and Sir Mirza Ismail; Sir Atul Chatterjee, Sir Marmatha Nath Mukherji, Sir Nripendranath Sircar, and Sir B. L. Mitter; Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Pheroze Sethna, Sir Hormusji Mody. . . . The names are a legion. . . . One of the earliest contributors both in prose and verse was the late Sarojini Naidu, the poetess.

The names are merely illustrative, but enough has been said to show that every sphere of intellectual and public activity has been pooled to give the readers of this periodical the best that has been thought and said during the decades which have elapsed. It is melancholy to think that so many of these veterans are no more to share the thrills of the new age. Their connection with the *Review* was fairly continuous and uninterrupted. The versatile Sir Dinshaw Wacha continuously instructed the readers

of the *Review* in "Current Events" and the mysteries of finance for the best part of 12 years, from Feb. 1904 to Dec. 1916, until completely disabled by blindness. It is a moving story of personal affection and loyalty. And what shall one say of [so many other writers whose devotion to the *Review* was second only to that of the Editor? The impress of their personality and their contribution to the movement of progress could hardly have been in vain. Among these the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar seldom failed the Editor on occasions of momentous political importance. Only think of the ponderous volume of literature the *Review* put forth during the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the Round Table Conference of 1931 and the later efforts of Sir Stafford Cripps down to the throes of that bloodless revolution which wrought the independence of August 1947. The *Review*, along with many other agencies, has done its bit in [preparing the country to take an intelligent interest in these momentous transactions and paved the way, according to its light, for a fuller realisation of the nation's destiny, which happily culminated in the declaration of Independence.

From the beginning *The Review* never aligned itself with any particular party or programme and its pages bear ample testimony to the breadth and catholicity of its outlook. But no periodical, however impartial or judicial in outlook, can afford to be neutral on matters closely affecting the social and political life of the people under a foreign rule.

AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO THE "INDIAN REVIEW"



SIR DINSHAW E. WACHA



MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE



DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJI



SALEM VIJAYRAGHAVA CHARIAR



SIR G. S. BAJPAI



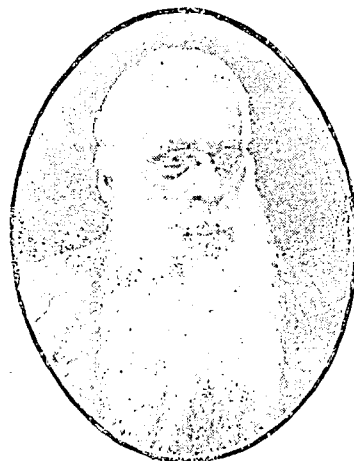
SIR M. N. MUKERJI



G. L. MEHTA



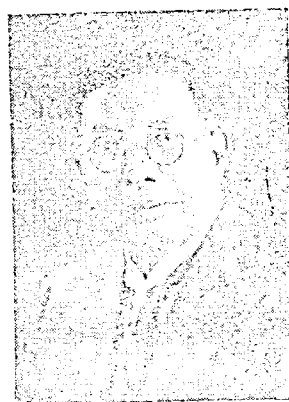
SIR P. S. S. AIYER



A. C. MAZUMDAR



RAJA DALJIT SINGH



SIR R. G. PRADHAN



G. S. ARUNDALE



H. W. NEVINSON

While it claimed to be impartial and independent it has been definitely patriotic and nationalist in its sympathies. Claiming to be free and unfettered in its survey of world events and judgment of men and issues, the *Review* in its first decade and a half definitely reflected the Congress view, which meant the view of the English-educated patriotic Indian. Subsequently when the Congress, in the view of its Editor, took to revolutionary methods the *Review* inclined more to the Liberalism of Sapru and Sastri. But throughout, whether Liberal or Congress, it has always stood by Gandhiji and his ideology even while venturing to criticise certain impracticable items in his programme. This was quite in the true spirit of Gandhiji himself, who, sure of his strength, always welcomed criticism and would not tolerate blind or ignorant acquiescence.

Whether it was in the power of the *Review* to give a lead to the nation in the people's fight against foreign domination or social obscurantism may be a matter for discussion, but there is no doubt the *Review* truly reflected the varying moods and activities of the people in their gigantic struggle for freedom during the eventful half a century that has elapsed and did its bit to guide them through the rugged path of honour and patriotism.

It is said that the oracle of today drops from the tripod on the morrow. But somehow the spirit of Gokhale and Gandhi has been all pervading in Indian political thought, and the pages of the *Review* fairly reflect the varying phases of their thought and endeavour.

III

Fifty years of social and political progress—what a change they have wrought on the life and habits of the people! Wars and revolutions and counter-revolutions have changed the face of the earth out of recognition and the map of the world has been redrawn many times following blood and thunder remedies no less than silent changes in the fortunes of our race. India herself has witnessed changes of far-reaching significance. Our social life, no less than our political, has undergone a transformation that must make us pause and consider—whether it has all been an upward march or a downward descent, or at best an endless pursuit in a vicious circle.

Our politicians, who had petitioned and prayed in the most approved constitutional way for such crumbs from the tables of the high and mighty as a few appointments in the Services or a token representation in the Councils, turned a new leaf under the inspiration of Gandhi and the vision of Swarajya or full-fledged independence. The old demand for Simultaneous Examinations and one or two seats on the Executive Council went the way of all old things. It was no longer a question of how few Indians could be entertained but how many foreigners could be dispensed with. The old order had changed yielding place to new. It was a far cry from Gokhale's modest proposal for "Provincial autonomy" and a Cabinet "of six members, three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians," to the Quit India demand of the Gandhian era.

Most wonderful of all, the methods of our fight for freedom have been novel, and not unoften derided by the more aggressive nations of the West as puerile and lacking in a sense of political realism. Curiously enough these methods have not failed us during many a trying and stormy time in recent history.

Never in all history had there been a leader of such transcendent gifts, so forbearing, so patient and yet so wise and heroic, wielding an influence over the hearts of his countrymen such as no pomp or power of kings could have exerted.

Gandhi's non-violent technique would appear to have heralded a new approach to political and social problems, an approach that must compel attention in the future as we realise more and more that the old methods are failing us. Sure enough the attempt to impose the virtues of vegetarianism on a carnivore is by no means easy and has not succeeded so far in history. But as Gokhale said in another context:

"It may be that the history of the world does not furnish an instance where a subject race has risen by agitation. If so we shall supply that example for the first time. The history of the world has not come to an end, there are more chapters to be added; therefore we must not be discouraged by the lessons which some people profess to draw from history."

Events have moved fast since the last war. And now at the end of an eventful period we find ourselves transported to a new world. India is no longer a subject country and the "Quit India" demand found its fulfilment on Independence Day in August 1947. An extraordinary combination of causes and circumstances has contributed to this

great denouement. We may leave it to history to assess in what proportion the credit for this achievement should go to Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent technique, the revolutionary tactics of the I.N.A. under the inspiring leadership of Subhas Bose and the sudden awakening of British justice and magnanimity. It was undoubtedly due to the cumulative effect of all these and to the pressure of world events which made the freedom of India the keystone of the United Nations of the World.

Another date that will go down in world history as even more memorable is the 30th January 1948 when Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation and the Architect of our Freedom, died the death of a martyr at the prayer meeting in Delhi when he fell down with hands folded as in a last gesture of farewell to the world he loved and served so well for half a century. It was as if the Sun had been suddenly blotted out of the heavens.

"The glory has departed" said Pandit Nehru, "and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark."

O good grey head which all men knew,
O voice from which their omens all men drew,

O iron nerve to true occasion true,
O fall'n at length that tower of strength
Which stood four square to all the
winds that blew.

It is for us now to show by our efforts that Gandhiji has not lived and laboured and died in vain and that the freedom that we have won is not the freedom of this class or that, but of the whole nation, irrespective of caste or colour, and that it means sufficient

food and raiment and shelter for the needy, a living wage for all, real happiness and prosperity for the common man and abounding opportunity for every citizen to rise to the full height of his stature.

IV

It is hardly possible that a journal should have been conducted over such a long span of years without some errors of omission and commission; "articles admitted which might as well have been left out, opinions expressed which have a crudish look in the mellow light of years, phrases dropped in the heat or hurry of the moment which one would fain obliterate."

A sensitive Editor has therefore much to regret on an occasion like this when he has to look back over a long stretch of years. The ghost of the rejected Mss. which might have made a difference in the fortunes of Editor or author, and the memory of a discordant phrase that had caused a sleepless night must make him modest and wary in his judgments. The causes for which the *Review* has stood have not all borne fruit nor its prophecies always fulfilled. The partition of India like the partition of Bengal was a thing obnoxious to this journal but all its denunciations have proved unavailing. The *Review* has fought many a losing battle. And then as John Morley aptly said:

"The disparity between aim and performance, the unfulfilled promise, the wrong turnings taken at critical points—all these things rise up in private and internal judgment against anybody who is not either too stupid or too fatuously complacent to recognise facts when he sees them. But the mood passes. Time, happily, is merciful, and men's memories are benignantly short."

But on the whole the *Review* has persistently stood for whatever could give freedom and variety to thought and earnestness to our pursuit of progress and general well-being.

Rapid changes in political and social outlook, in fashions and manners, not to speak of the ever shifting panorama of intellectual interests and curiosities could hardly fail to be reflected in any record of contemporary thought and affairs. It is with this view that the *Review* has always encouraged young writers and sought the co-operation of College professors in close touch with the new generation and aglow with the enthusiasm of youth and new trends. The files of the *Indian Review* bear ample testimony to the silent transformation in the life and thought and aspirations of the people. Nor will the discerning reader fail to recognise the changes in style and diction. There was a time when Burke and Macaulay and Gladstone set the standard of writing for Indian publicists who swayed to the seductions of their redundant rhetoric. Their sonorous periods and longwinded sentences so faithfully reflected in the speeches of Surendranath Banerjee and Bepin Chandra Pal cast a spell over our journalists and orators who played the "sedulous ape" to perfection. Each age has its own style. But Shaw and Lytton Strachey have not lived in vain; and bred in an atmosphere of disenchantment and resolute realism a more simple and matter of fact style has taken the place of the dithyrambs of the 19th Century. A wise Editor recognises the change and thrills to the new music "in startling tones of unknown Song" as there are new worlds of thought to be traversed and new fields to be fought and won. He will therefore pray with Edmund Gosse, a poet who was also a prince of critics:

New arts, new raptures, new desires
Will stir the new born souls of men.
New fingers smite new fashioned lyres
And O, may I be listening then!

HAIL AND FAREWELL, G. A. N.!

BY DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

President, Indian National Congress

FIFTY years ago when I passed out from the Christian College I attended an annual meeting of the Old Boys' Association of the College.

Dr. William Miller, the great Educationist and Missionary of the city of Madras was the principal of the College and our professor for Shakespeare. He spoke at the Old Boys' Day and incidentally, in a tone of utter pride and self-satisfaction referred to one of his old boys—not very old at that time, who had started a Printing Press and was contemplating the starting of a monthly magazine as well. The Old Boy was G. A. Natesan, who was already popular with the student folks of the day and who was indefatigable in his activities—mostly connected with literary and debating societies. He had graduated recently and his competitor—rather a collaborator in the field was (afterwards Sir) A. P. Patro whose son is the Commissioner of Police in the city of Madras today. Both of them were behind all literary and historical and Debating Societies and were prominent at all public meetings. It did not matter if Mr. G. A. Natesan went late to a meeting. It did not matter if hundreds of spectators were standing round in addition to thousands seated; he would relentlessly



work his way through them all to the platform. Who is this pushing young man?—people asked. And instantly came the answer—"Oh, he is the Editor of the Indian Review—Mr. G. A. Natesan—don't you know". The essence of the remark was in the last sentence. It was a defect of equipment, a sign of backwardness, a mark of ignorance not to know by sight at least so well-known a man. He was slim, with his dhoti worn tidily and folded correctly, his long short coat or if you please, his short long coat and his quadrilateral or trapezoid turban. Dr. Miller was proud of him because he was such a contrast to the young graduates of those days, who, however brilliant, were keen on Government service or the Legal profession. Even (Sir) A. P. Patro was a Law student in 1900—but here was a youth of parts and promise, of energy



DR. WM. MILLER

and activity, of hope and confidence, of vision and vivacity who would not touch the trodden path but cut his way across ups and downs, across brush and hawthorn, across byeways and high-ways on to his destination,—he himself knew not what, but he knew the direction. It was not North to Law, East to Medicine, South to Engineering or West to Teaching. It was not Government service high up in the Heavens, nor

JANUARY 1950]

HAIL AND FAREWELL, G. A. N.!

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the bottomless abyss below of despair and melancholy. It was a direction all his own,—one leading to the widest diffusion of knowledge about national problems among the people, the development of public opinion, the unification of India, and its liberation from foreign thralldom. It may be that he did eat fire and vomit brimstone. It may be that he did not leap one foot high and fall one yard low. "One step is enough for me O, Lord", was his motto. "Festina Lente" was his policy and he had the support of elders like V. Krishnaswami Iyer, the rising star of the legal firmament. Ere long he had a printing press of his own. He was a full-blown printer and publisher and dozens of slim little books came forth from his press, mostly biographies of the national leaders of the day from Dadabhai Naorojee to Gokhale.

It was about this time that the (Right Honourable) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri resigned his Headmastership of the Triplicane High School, from which place he had unsuccessfully tried for the Principalship of the P. R. College, Cocanada. With Sastriar, Mr. Natesan shared a deep sympathy for the Social Reform Movement of the day—which was sponsored in 1902-3-4 by Dr. C. B. Rama Row. Two schools of thought had already come into being—those who pursued "national lines" and those who upheld "rational lines." The former was led by Professor M. Rangacharya M.A., whose talents were prodigious, whose erudition was profound, and whose personality was towering. He was a scholar and savant of rare merit who had successively taught every subject as Professor for the B.A. classes in the

Madras Presidency College and in the Government College of Rajahmundry. Mathematics, Physics, Philosophy, History and English Literature were equally familiar to him and he was the leader for several years in matters of Social Reform during the first decade of the twentieth century. Mr. Natesan had a wide circle of literary friends and fellow-workers which was always enlarging. K. B. Ramnatha Iyer, M.A., B.L., L.T., of the Pachayappa's College was one of them attached into this solar system. He was in charge of the literary side of the *Indian Review* and contributed "Foreign News" to its pages.

The journal thus started by Sri Natesan began to gain in influence and popularity and held its own through the turbulent times of Vande Mataram. When at Surat the Congress split and the Madras leaders invited the first Convention Congress to Madras under the leadership of Sree V. Krishnaswami Iyer, that giant amongst men who had scrupulous regard for truth, and honoured others for their differing convictions, who gave out of his abundance with both hands freely to a multitude of good causes. Mr. Natesan was a prominent character in the session and to my sorrow if not shame, I remember how I caused his defeat in the elections to the Subjects' Committee, elections introduced for the first time into the Congress Constitution—not because of any personal bias but because I said that out of the 12 elective seats in addition to the ex-officio ones which went to the office-bearers almost all from Madras, six should go to the northern and six to the southern districts on the lines

already in vogue for the elected seats to the Legislative Council of the day. This event created a mild sensation, for Mr. Natesan was a popular leader. But Mr. Natesan served the Congress steadfastly, though he left the Congress when the Congress ceased to be in Moderate hands. It was about this time that Sree Natesan made friends with Gandhi who attended the Madras session as a delegate from South Africa and who popularized the Transvaal problem in India. Natesan became his friend and confidant, his representative in India and agent for South African work—a mission which he continued to fulfil till Gandhi took up the Congress.

Of Mr. Natesan's Municipal and public activities little need be said for he soon became a Councillor and remained so far a period of over 25 years. He was the Father of the Corporation when he passed away though towards the end he sought relief from Municipal duties. Very early he bought 60, Thambuchetti Street, and after dwelling for 16 years in it, he moved over to Mylapore to a fashionable quarter and a commodious mansion. He had very early bought his office premises in Sunkurama Chetti Street and developed a huge Book-shop. I once travelled with him when he was returning home from a session of the Council of State to which he had been nominated from Delhi to Madras and these fifty-two-hours' fellowship in the train revealed the real man in him. He was generous at heart, hospitable to a degree, sincere in his friendship, and outspoken in his views. He was an intense nationalist but believed in the

necessity of honourable compromises in this world of perpetual adjustments. He had won alike the good-will of Government and the people and must be regarded as one of the chief builders of the city and civic life of Madras. His advice was always eagerly sought by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. I remember how he spent a few hours in quiet repose with him when the Police caused him some unrest by not arresting him soon after he had resigned the Ministry on October 26, 1939, on the outbreak of the Second World War. In days when party tends to become factions and differences of opinion and tactics tend to be obscured by malice and ill-will, it is no small compliment to Sree Natesan that he should have won alike the confidence of all parties. Whether he was a nominated member of the Council of State for years or an elected member of the Corporation for decades, whether he was Editor or public man, he maintained scrupulously his high sense of dignity and decorum in social and public life and his career is one worth studying in detail not merely by his sons and friends but by posterity. He was one of glorious band who built up Indian Nationalism, though his contribution may not in recent years have attracted the wider publicity of the contributions of those who had a more spectacular and sensational time of it. All the same, like the bricks which lie in the foundations of an edifice with its rising plinth, imposing walls and towering spires, and which support them all, he and his colleagues who had been dubbed Moderates were patriots who laboured hard in the early days to build up the Congress organization and along-side of it to develop the beginnings of democratic Government in this ancient land and to rid it ultimately of foreign domination. Sree Natesan led a strenuous and well-filled life and died full of years and honours.

"And how can a man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods?"

A PIONEER OF POPULAR CULTURE

BY THE HON'BLE MR. B. G. KHER

Premier, Government of Bombay

SOCIAL education has been defined as 'education for adult men and women which will give them the minimum essentials of knowledge, appreciation, habits and skill to enable them to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of citizenship



in a democracy'. Education in this country was so long confined to a fortunate few. The level of general knowledge was very low. Even University graduates rarely learnt anything beyond a couple of plays of Shakespeare and Mill, Burke, Morley or Carlyle with a smattering of modern history and literature of England, and the word education was almost synonymous with knowledge of English. The main object of receiving education was not attaining knowledge but of securing employment. The British Isles were the axis round which revolved all our interest in the field of literature, philosophy and politics. With but rare exceptions our

educated people admired Scotland's Lake District scenery, they heard the songs of the skylark and the thrush neither of which they had cared to see, they were thrilled by the stories of Stuart and Tudor Princes and Princesses and held up the British system of Government as the ideal. Naturally even for reading outside school and college we selected books written by Englishmen for Englishmen. Adult education in India at that time was confined to novels of Dickens, Scott and Reynolds, dramas by Shakespeare and Sheridan and essays by Macaulay, Addison, Carlyle, Mill and Spencer. Educated people rarely gave a thought to Indian literature—that is to say literature written in Indian languages and it was a fashion to relegate to rubbish, books in English written by Indian authors. Even acknowledged masters like Ranade, Surendranath Banerji, Sastri, Gokhale, Pherozshah Mehta and Dadabhai Nowroji were read in newspapers alone.

Against this background we can very well understand what type of books whiled away the hours of leisure and recreation of an average educated man. All the training he received for "shouldering the heavy responsibilities of citizenship" was largely confined to the articles of political leaders in newspapers and books written by the leaders of the liberal school of thought in England. While this was good enough so far as it went, the snag was that it did not go far enough. In England and in Europe new forces, the importance of which the Liberals in England had not yet been able to assess fully, were rising. Few leaders in the western

world had enough foresight to understand the full significance of the rumblings in Asia—the vast continent which was taken for granted as a preserve for colonial exploitation, despite the rude shock given by Japan. Leaders in India were striving to lift the political movement for the emancipation of the country from the plane of a constitutional upper class movement to that of a mass movement embracing the people as a whole. For the success of their efforts an enlightened middle class was essential. Apart, however, from a few political newspapers which did excellent work by way of building up an enlightened and politically conscious public, there was great need of popular books which could provide general knowledge, create self-confidence, especially in the section of the public which was under the spell of western civilization by putting before them the achievements of Indians in various fields of life in their proper perspective. Amongst the pioneers of this work was the firm of Shri G. A. Natesan of Madras. This firm came out with a series of books on political, religious, historical and social subjects which not only because of their novelty but more because of the simple and interesting manner of the presentation of subjects of burning interest contained in them and their cheap price, got a grip over the mind of the reading public. A glance at their catalogue would give an idea of the wide range of the interesting subjects on which the firm was the first to enlighten the public. We find in the catalogue sketches of the lives of famous Parsis and famous Indian Christians, pamphlets on Indian Home Rule, Congress Presidential Addresses, Indian National Evolution, Indian Tales of Fun, Folly and Folklore,

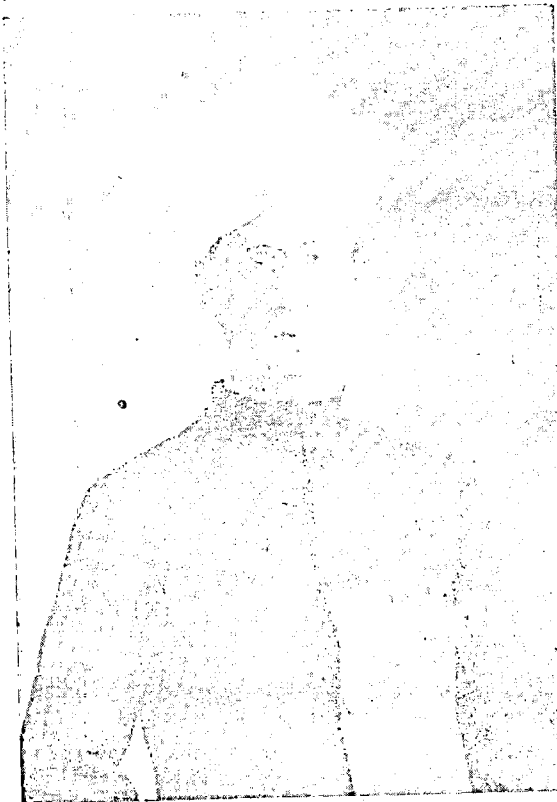
books on Sakuntala and Maitreyi, on Sri Rama, on Jesus Christ and Sankaracharya, the Epics in abridged form and so on. There were others on the three Great Acharyas, North Indian Saints, Chaitanya to Vivekanand; Famous Battles of Indian History; Malabar and its Folk, speeches and writings of Dr. P. C. Ray, of Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Raja Ram Mohan Roy; Poetical works, Popular classics, Junior classics and so on—what a wealth of variety in instruction and entertainment! Most of them were priced at Rupee one or one and a half! No doubt for a population hungry for literature on topics of the day or topics of interest to self-respecting Indians Natesan's was a veritable school of adult education. It is indeed difficult for a population which has hundreds of publishing houses competing to serve a wide reading public such as Pelican, Penguin, Nelson etc. to realise the full value of the service rendered by Natesan in the pioneering days of Indian publications.

I am no expert in the publication line. On this occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the *Indian Review*, I want to pay my tribute to the valuable pioneering work done by it in providing an excellent means of adult education when the very concept of adult education was yet unknown in this country. I send my good wishes.

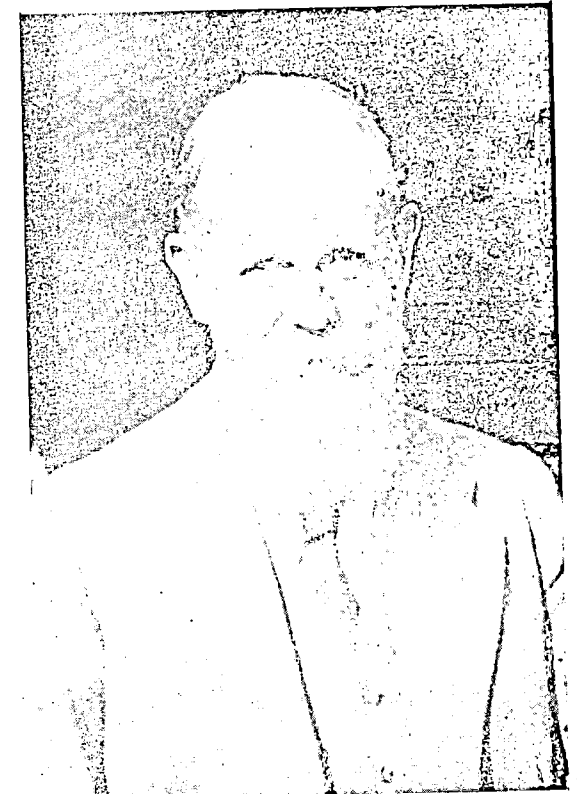
ONCE MORE!

Counsel: "Now Sir, did you, or did you not, on the date in question, or at any time, previously or subsequently, say or even intimate to the defendant or anyone else, whether friend or mere acquaintance, or in fact, a stranger, that the statement imputed to you, whether just or unjust, and denied by the plaintiff, was a matter of no moment or otherwise? Answer, did you or did you not?"

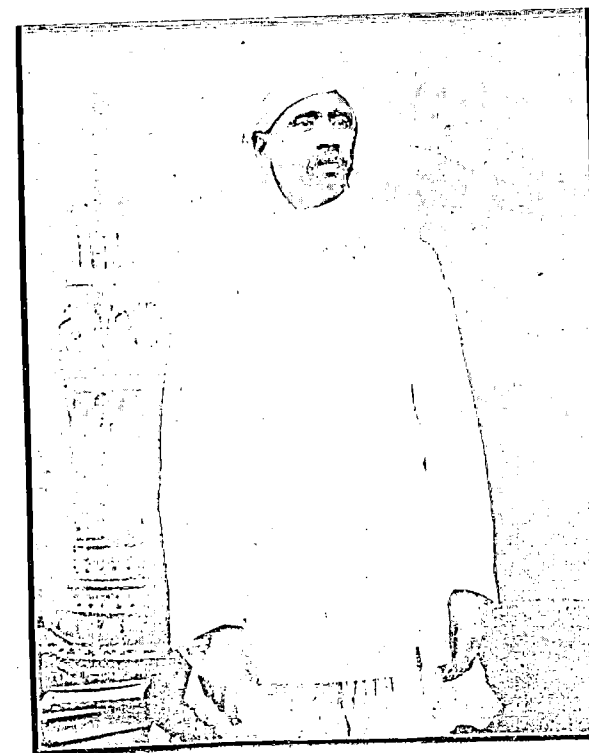
Defendant: "Did I, or did I not what?"



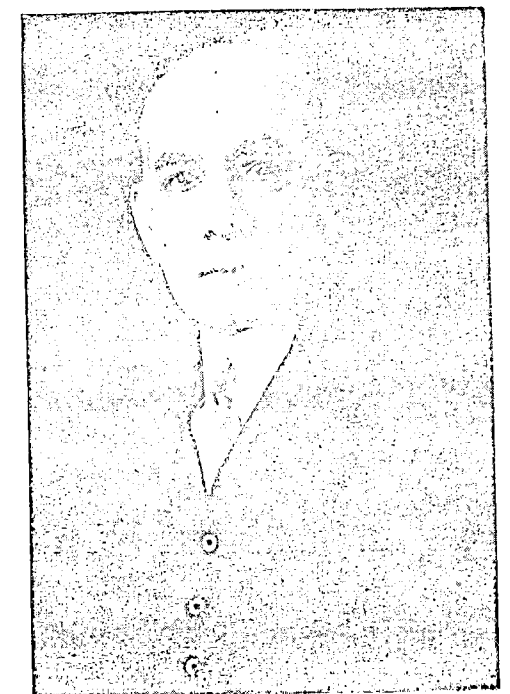
DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN



DEENABHANDU ANDREWS



PROF. D. K. KARVE



SIR B. L. MITTER

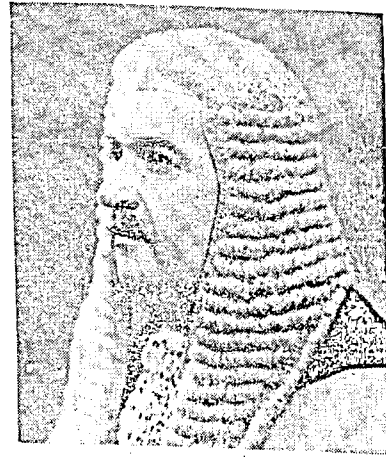
AMONG CONTRIBUTORS TO THE "INDIAN REVIEW"



SIR KAILAS HAKSAR



G. K. DEVADHAR



SIR B. J. WADIA



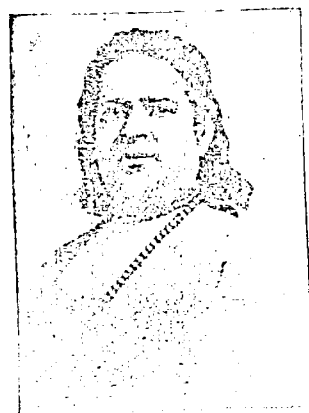
DR. S. P. MUKERJI



SIR N. N. SIRCAR



YONE NOGUCHI



BABA BHARATI



LORD SINHA



V. P. MADHAVA RAO

PEACE, THE TRANQUILLITY OF ORDER

BY THE MOST REV. LOUIS MATHIAS

Archbishop of Madras

THE International gathering of Pacifists early this (December) month at Santiniketan is an event of considerable significance. Delegates belonging to widely differing religious persuasions and of



various walks of life from almost all countries of the world, assembled for the first time in India to discuss ways and means to promote the cause of pacifism and to banish war once for all in the

settlement of International disputes. These representatives are conscientious pacifists who hold that even resistance to a war of aggression is unjustifiable on moral grounds. Nowhere was the voice of a national leader heard with greater force and effectiveness than in India, for Mahatmaji had always been an unflinching advocate of non-violence and ahimsa. It seems to be singularly appropriate that a meeting of this kind should have been held at the spot hallowed by the labours and the memory of the poet-pacifist Rabindranath Tagore, two years after India attained her nationhood.

Reading through speeches and messages, one feels that the approach to the problem of peace does not give the correct lead. It is true that Shri Manilal Gandhi echoed the voice of his revered father at the session on December 4th, when he declared that, "without the grace of God and

without humility we can do nothing." Shri Acharya Kripalani also struck a similar note when he emphasized the need for "the observance of the moral law" and the "use of right means to obtain our ends." The end, namely attainment of a just and lasting peace, is devoutly wished for by all classes of people throughout the world. No one likes war: the last two wars have given an idea of the terrible destruction of life and property by means of the modern weapons of war, including the atom bomb. A German proverb says: "A great war leaves the country with three armies—an army of cripples, an army of mourners and an army of thieves". Thinking people are asking if we cannot find a peaceful and humane solution to settle International disputes than the old and brutal method of destruction.

The Pacifists have noble aims and desire to attain them by right methods. With their aim the whole world may be in agreement; but, whether the means proposed are such as would lead us to the desired goal is a doubtful proposition. Mere desire for the progress of humanity, a feeling of sympathy towards fellowmen and an effort to reduce pain and suffering can never offer a sanction for the laws of God nor for the fundamental distinction between truth and error, right and wrong and good and evil. It is only the principle of justice and of charity based on the immutable laws of Almighty God that can serve as a basis to educate the world in the philosophy and arts of peace. Public welfare and the amenities

of civilised life can have no guarantee of stability when right is subverted and virtue despised and ridiculed.

The pursuit after peace and happiness is a natural craving of human nature. An ideal of life based on tranquillity of order, amity, brotherhood and mutual co operation is not something new. In this respect men differ from one another not only in their conception of what peace and happiness mean but also in respect of the means to attain the same. Such a conception is logically quite different in a man who believes in God and in things that belong to the spirit and conversely in a man who is a materialist to the very marrow of his bone. In the mind of the materialist, the shortness of life and the eagerness for pleasure will determine his behaviour. Whether he likes it or not, material pleasure will be the *summon bonum* of his life. He will be an opportunist at heart and none will be able to say how long he will be law-abiding and follow the path of peace.

Materialism has a destructive influence which poisons men's minds and hearts. It exalts the passions of men instead of teaching them to control and subdue such passions. It is a school of thought that wants to command respect through the false assumption that it is a logical corollary of science, or the consequence of human search for truth. It is a negative doctrine that simply denies the existence of spiritual or supernatural things, and feels so sure of itself that it does not take any pains to prove its premises. It aims at the destruction of its most powerful foe: Religion. There is scarcely any important movement against orderly life

within the boundaries of a country, or against international peace in the comity of nations, that cannot be traced back to materialism. Should such a movement succeed awful are its devastating effects in the moral and temporal life of the unfortunate country which becomes its victim. Religion will be persecuted. Licence will take the place of liberty and those who today fight for right and liberty guaranteed by law, will openly deny such rights and liberties to others and they will suppress with a ruthless intolerance freedom of conscience and of expression.

Materialism is responsible to such a large extent for the evils that afflict mankind at the present day that it seems to overshadow all other destructive influences which bring misfortune to and hatred between men and nations. Materialism is in itself a potential cause of war. This is the real danger of democracies. Abusing the freedom granted by the democracies, materialists will grow in strength and spread with impunity their propaganda until they feel that they are strong enough to crush democracy and introduce in its stead their totalitarian methods. This was and is the way, Nazism and Fascism of yesterday and today's Communism, have imposed to realize their goal.

The unbeliever or the materialist cannot be a pacifist at heart. The more a man believes in God and in the spiritual values, the more he loves peace and works for it. Mahatma Gandhi, that matchless embodiment of serene imperturbability has exerted a powerful influence on his fellowmen, because he pinned his faith on peace and non-violence, and "non-co-operation"

with evil. But he died a martyr to his creed of non-violence on the altar of non-violence at the hands of a violent assassin.

What is this peace desired alike by all men? The greatest minstrel of peace as understood by Christians was Saint Augustine. In his word "The City of God" he wrote:

"Such is the good of peace, that in this mortal world, nothing is heard of with greater joy, nothing coveted with greater desire, nothing is more welcome when it comes. . . . Thus the peace of the body is the well-ordered organisation of its parts; the peace of the irrational soul is the well-ordered repose of its sensual desires; the peace of the rational soul is the well-ordered agreement of thought and action; the peace of the body and soul together is the well-ordered life and health of the living being; the peace of mortal men and God is the well-ordered obedience of living in faith under the eternal law; the peace of men is the well-ordered concord; the peace of the home is the well-ordered concord of its residents, in giving commands and in obeying them; the peace of the city consists in the well-ordered concord of the citizens, both commanding and obeying; the peace of the Heavenly City is the perfectly ordered and completely concordant association of those who enjoy God and cherish one another in God. *The peace of all things is the tranquillity of order.*"

Order is, therefore, a primary requisite of a good society and according to Saint Augustine himself, order is precisely the disposition of both equal and unequal things which gives to each of them its proper place. Peace is the very condition of liberty. It is the anchor of our soul, preventing us from drifting into the unfathomed waters of the unchartered seas of *laissez-faire* in thought and action. Man needs tolerance towards intolerance. Absolute equality among nations is not

possible. Order demands that some nations be great and others small. The achievement and maintenance of peace demands that the nations, through their leaders recognise this essential inequality and respect each other.

"The sword" said Pope Pius XII, "can impose peace. It cannot create it." It is a matter of moral rectitude and goodwill. Distributive justice among the nations must be at the base of their mutual relations. It is here also a matter of giving on one side and receiving on the other. But peace has its beginnings above all in the hearts and minds of men. As the great Angelic Doctor of the Catholic Church Aquinas says.

"If it is indirectly the work of justice in so far as justice removes the obstacles to peace, it is directly the work charity, since charity according to its very nature, causes peace. Love is a unitive force. . . . and peace is the union of the appetite's inclinations".

We Christians are, according to the words of Pope Pius XI, convinced that "unless we are willing and ready to accept the fundamental principles of Christianity, unless we are prepared to observe the teachings and obey the law of Christ, then true peace, the peace of Christ, is impossible, whether in public or in private life." This subtle thrill of peace should stir and captivate our minds and inspire us all, with an intellectual and spiritual stimulus to peace amongst all men.

I am writing these words a few days before Christmas—a feast which announced to the world the joyous tidings of peace to men of goodwill. If only leaders and statesmen realize their moral duties towards God and their neighbours and inculcate them into the minds of the people as a whole, the causes of war that lead to war can be eliminated, if not altogether suppressed. Peace is the greatest blessing men can have. Let us hope that the efforts at Santinikatan will help in promoting mutual good understanding and harmony among the different nations of the world.

A National Savings Movement for India

BY SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, K.C.S.I.

THE devaluation of the rupee and the rise in prices have drawn pointed attention to the economic problems facing the country and the Finance Minister has announced an Eight point Programme for meeting the situation. Intensive campaigns for increased production and



for savings figure prominently in this programme. The object of this article is to deal, in broad outline, with the latter subject—a drive for savings on a nation-wide scale.

A well-known economist has said: "In any industrial society it is estimated that economic health can be maintained only if 10 to 15 percent of the national income is being invested in fresh capital development." All Governments in India are committed to programmes for bringing about an appreciable increase in the standard of living of the people within as short a time as possible: and it may be said without exaggeration that with the achievement of this objective is bound

up the security of the State. These programmes—reconstruction of agriculture and development of cottage, small-scale and large-scale industries—call for large capital outlays. A fair proportion of these must come from internal savings and it is only if the internal economy demonstrates its soundness in this manner that foreign capital can be attracted on reasonable terms. The present national income of India is estimated at between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 6,000 crores and the aim should be, to begin with, to secure savings to the extent of about Rs. 300 crores a year (5 to 6 percent of the national income)—increasing steadily as the national income increases.

In 19th century England, most of the capital needed for industrial development came from successful businessmen. These derived large profits which were re-invested in industries. As taxation came to be employed as an instrument of social justice and tax levels on higher incomes increased, the investment habit spread among the middle classes. The extent of the shift that has taken place can be judged from the following figures. The number of persons who retained incomes of £ 6,000 and over a year after paying income-tax fell from 7,000 in 1938-39 to 45 in 1945-46 and the number who retained income from £ 250 to £ 500 after paying income-tax rose from 1,820,000 in 1938-39 to 5,225,000 in 1945-46. The two processes began many years ago, though in recent years taxation rates have risen steeply on larger incomes.

A similar change is taking place in India. In the 19th century and the

early years of this century much of the capital needed for industries came from successful businessmen and to some extent from the upper middle classes in large cities. In the last few years, the taxation of large incomes has brought about a reduction in the numbers of such persons and in the margin of their savings.

This article is not concerned with the question whether the policy actually followed for taxation of large incomes is sound. It is concerned with the facts as they are. In his speech on the budget last year the then Finance Minister pointed out that a person with an income of Rs. 10 lakhs paid Rs. 8.99 lakhs in taxes and a person with an income of Rs. 30 lakhs paid Rs. 28.37 lakhs. He added that, in that year, there were in India 415 persons with incomes of Rs. 2 lakhs and over and that these had an aggregate income of Rs. 19 crores of which they paid Rs. 11.66 crores in taxes; they were thus left with Rs. 7.34 crores of which only a portion could be available for new capital development. It is not possible to say that these figures correspond absolutely to facts: they are almost certainly under-estimates. No information was given about the income groups between Rs. 2 lakhs and Rs. 10,000. Among these, the investing habit is widely prevalent. There also are the sums expended on permanent agricultural improvements through the co-operative movement and in other ways and those that will be saved under the compulsory schemes recently started. Even after allowing for these, there will be a large gap to be made up to reach the target we ought to aim at. The deficit

thus remaining will have to come from classes of the population who are not in the habit of saving and to whom spending power is now passing. In the same speech the Finance Minister said that there were 1,75,436 persons on incomes ranging from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 10,000 a year with an aggregate income of Rs. 95 crores who paid Rs. 5-86 crores in income-tax. We have, however, no analysis of the groups comprising this middle class and the manner in which the rise in the cost of living has affected each of them. Those in receipt of fixed incomes, like Government servants, have been hard hit and they are covered by the compulsory savings schemes: but it is possible that other sections comprised in this category can be brought within the scope of a national savings movement. Then again, there is evidence that landholders and tenants—the large and medium ones—are now receiving a larger share of the national income than before, due to high prices of food grains. What precisely the extent of this is it is not possible to say as no systematic studies have been made of this subject. Formerly these landholders and tenants invested their savings mostly in land. Owing however to proposals made in the last two years for fixing a maximum limit on individual holdings, it is likely that such savings as are made are now spent on unproductive purposes. Another class may also be singled out for mention. Industrial labour has benefited by increases in wages and it is desirable—and essential from many points of view—to encourage the savings habit among them. Efforts made in this direction in an area in

Western India from 1943 onwards have shown striking results. It must, however, be emphasised that as conditions vary widely in different parts of India, the classes to whom increased purchasing power is passing will not be the same all over the country: they will differ from region to region and in the same region there will be changes with changes in economic conditions.

There can be no doubt that the change in the distribution of income to which attention has been drawn has become a permanent feature of India's economy and that the tendency will be for large inequalities in income to disappear. The levels may vary from time to time and the process may take a longer or shorter period but the trend will be steadily in this direction. The aim of a campaign for national savings should thus be (i) to study continuously in every region the changes in the pattern of distribution that take place from time to time and (ii) to inculcate the habit of saving among classes to whom increased incomes accrue. It is not the intention of this article to suggest what detailed organisations should be set up, but some general remarks can be made. Firstly, the intensive efforts needed for ensuring that the campaign reaches the remotest areas in the country can only be made by Provinces and States. Secondly, there should be, for each local area like a tahsil, a joint organization of officials and non-officials which would establish close contact with all classes of the population and utilise all agencies available—the co-operative movement, branch banks, postal savings bank etc. These local organisations should be linked up with similar district and provincial organisations. Thirdly, the Central Government should agree to

pass on to Provinces and States a definite portion of the investment in their areas for development schemes in which they are interested. The Central Government will guide the whole movement and regulate policies and possibly also come to arrangements with labour organisations for spreading the movement among industrial labourers.

More than anything else, there should be a nation-wide realisation of the vital need in the country's interests of a drive for savings. It follows inevitably that all Governments in India should ensure the conditions of stability and security under which alone efforts on such a large scale will become possible.



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

From an article on "The War in the Transvaal"

On Wednesday October 4, the Boers seized all the week's shipment of gold from the Transvaal mines, giving the total value at £800,000 and promising indemnity to the banks concerned. Finally on Monday the 9th October, the Boers presented their now famous ultimatum to the British Agent.

(Here follows the substance of the ultimatum)...

When the ultimatum was received in England all parties in Parliament closed their ranks and declared that it was not such as any civilised power would tolerate. The reply, however, sent by the Colonial Secretary, is characterised by great dignity and reserve. It expresses regret that President Kruger should have taken the serious step involved in addressing a communication of such a nature to Her Majesty's Government, and announces that "Her Majesty's Government has no further communication to make to him at the present moment."

The time fixed in the Boer ultimatum expired in the afternoon of Wednesday the 11th October, and from this date the two nations have been at war.

The Place of Administrative Law in the New India

BY THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE P. V. RAJAMANNAR

Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Madras.

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THOUGH it would certainly be rash to predict the exact shape of things to come in the India of the Future, I think one can venture with some confidence to affirm that it would be a country in



which national life is more orderly, organised and planned than it has ever been. Increased efficacy of mechanical inventions, advanced facilities for transport and communication and co-ordination of economic factors in different parts of the country, all these are bound to lead to an intense and intensive activity, commercial and social. Specialisation will be a common feature and not an exception.

One obvious requirement for the success of intensive specialised economic and social activity would be a method to overcome the proverbial delays in deciding disputes which appear to be inevitable in a recourse to the ordinary Courts of the land and to provide for a speedy, final and satisfactory solution of disputes. It is here that administrative law and delegated legislation will come to occupy a prominent place in all activities of the India of the Future.

In spite of the great work done by the concept of the reign of law for the maintenance of the liberties of the individual subject, it apparently brought in its train features in the administration of Justice which necessarily led to delay, formalism, rigidity and paradoxically at times to a negation of justice. It is impossible to dwell at length on the different aspects of the rule of law and the defects of a system of legal administration entirely founded on it. But it is

necessary to touch in outline some at least of the salient defects of such an administration. The rule of law has often been relied upon as being the foundation of a doctrine of equality of all litigants in the eye of the law. But is it not the cry of the common man the world over that there is one law for the poor and another for the rich, or the more serious cry "justice is only for the rich and none for the poor". The complicated machinery of the Courts of the land and the enormous expense entailed by legal proceedings justify to a great extent this criticism. Law's delays and the law's expense do certainly exist though the fault cannot be laid at the doors of the Judges or the Lawyers. In fact, the fault is really of the system. Then again, there is also the justifiable criticism based on the rigidity of the legalistic rules applied in the administration of justice, sometimes, if not often, without regard for the rule of equity of the cause. How often have not eminent Judges said that no doubt a particular course is equitable but unfortunately it is not in accordance with law. A system of complicated rules with subtle exceptions and highly technical procedure is bound to fill the mind of an ordinary citizen with suspicion and uncertainty. This uncertainty itself sometimes works great hardship because varying interpretations by a hierarchy of appellate tribunals will completely bewilder a lay man. As an American writer exclaims "what is the law? It is what a superior Court Judge may decide to-day, the Court of Appeal within six months, the Supreme Court in a year and the Privy Council in two years". Due variations in time for India may be made. That is fine for the lawyers but it certainly is not fine for the masses.

If the legal system in vogue has not satisfied the common man in the pre-war world, undoubtedly it would be found hopelessly inadequate and ill-suited to the problems and situations of the economic life in the post-war world. All

the defects which I have just mentioned would be exaggerated a hundredfold and almost certainly the system would find itself not being able to inspire confidence in or render real assistance to the nation.

It is not difficult to envisage that to meet the new demands, legislation itself will under the new order substantially change its character. Much less time of the great legislative bodies will be taken up with the drafting of long Acts and debating at great length clause by clause detailed provisions. In the future, the functions of such large and full assemblies will, I expect, be only to approve or decide upon the general principles leaving details to be filled in by smaller and more competent and specialised bodies. Here is an outline of procedure suggested by one of our leading writers on political thought. "A Government wishing to legislate on a particular subject should in the first instance introduce and pass rapidly into law an enabling Bill clearly laying down the general substance of what is wanted and referring to a special commission either standing or *ad hoc*, to work out all details. The detailed measures thus drafted should then go to a conference representing public bodies chiefly concerned, *e.g.*, regional or provincial councils or bodies responsible for the conduct of nationalised industries and services or recognised institutions in charge of education or public health or whatever the subject matter of the Bill may be".

Necessarily, detailed administration and enforcing of such legislation must be in the hands of special bodies or boards or committees composed of persons who have intimate knowledge and experience of the departments of national activity in respect of which a particular legislation has been undertaken.

Indications have not been wanting even from some time preceding the beginning of the Great War of an attempt to stress the importance of maintaining within the larger administrative spheres, smaller units of local self-Government for direct control of important services. The Electricity Board,

Board of Education, Board of Trade, Agricultural Marketing Committees and other similar councils have been established and have been functioning.

A survey of legislation in England and particularly during the last quarter of a century will show to what extent Governments have already attempted to meet the demands of a new order. Several administrative Boards have been set up under the supervision of the Ministers; some of which have also been given the right to make their own laws for the detailed administration of several departments of national activity entrusted to them.

Such trend in legislation has not escaped severe criticism at the hands of eminent Judges, lawyers and public men. Lord Hewart, C. J., characterised it as the New Despotism. In a recent issue of the *Canadian Bar Review* a learned writer laments on the encroachment on the traditional reign of law which according to him is being re-placed by a system operating without science, careless of right legal principles and outside the jurisdiction of our established courts, a negation of a reign of law. He draws rather an alarming picture of the rapid development of administrative law and delegated legislation. Here is an extract from his condemnation.

"What do we face if administrative Boards and Commissions continue to submerge the general and well-understood principles of law under thousands of regulations administered and enforced by them without special science, without professional draftsmanship, without lawyers presiding over and appearing before them, without appeal to the Courts of His Majesty, without precedents and without any ordered and scientific reporting of decisions, each an independent quasi-judicial unit, independent of the other, administering its own particular brand of regulations, imposing fines, interpreting the law, putting us to expense and loss and even in jail, controlled by no fundamental legal principles and knowing no precedents except those of its own making even

assuming that it chooses to follow them".

That is one side of the picture. But one cannot brush aside the growth of a system from out of the spontaneous development of a new outlook and a new approach simply because it may not coincide exactly with present notions and age-long traditions. After all, the rise of administrative law and justice even in countries like England and America has been inevitable because of the extension of the functions of Government to one new sphere after another. In many fields like Public Health, Housing, Town-planning, Unemployment Insurance and Education, the Public Administration of Social Services for the common good has superseded "the old and unregulated individualism of the first three quarters of the 19th Century". It is easy to imagine the large volume of work involved thereby on account of the several pieces of consequent social legislation. If all the judicial work in respect of and arising therefrom had been thrown on the existing judicial bodies, they would not have coped with it. In England for instance, the unemployment insurance scheme alone gives rise every year to tens of thousands of separate cases in which claims are contested. If all these cases had to be determined by the ordinary courts of law, the judiciary would have to be expanded considerably; and even then, the law's delays would be something enormous. Then again, as a result of what I may call the socialisation of public services like Education, Insurance etc. the old standards have been found hopelessly inadequate to the new circumstances—standards of fitness for human habitation, standards of medical service, standards of sanitation, standards of conditions of employment, standards of educational needs. It will be almost ridiculous to look for such standards in the musty volumes of the Law Reports. A determination of these standards requires expert knowledge and social experience in particular fields.

As I already stated, it does not serve any purpose to simply decry the growth of administrative tribunals which really

have come to stay. In future India they are bound to increase in number as well as in strength. Inevitably socialisation of services will increase beyond measure and the municipal and social activity of the State will compass almost every field of national life. This phenomenon, I am presuming, is certain. This extended State activity will necessarily call for Tribunals to adjudicate upon disputes arising in several departments and covered by different enactments and it would be foolish to expect that such tribunals can be the regular judicial courts of the land.

It is better therefore to find out generally the advantages and disadvantages of these administrative tribunals and in planning the Government of the Future to so devise ways and means as to retain the advantages and get over the disadvantages as effectively as possible without destroying the efficiency of the system.

The advantages of administrative tribunals have been summed up by Professor Robson thus in his book "Justice and Administrative Law." "Cheapness and speed with which they work; the technical knowledge and experience which they make available for the discharge of judicial functions in special fields; the assistance which they lend to the efficient conduct of public administration; and the ability they possess to lay down new standards and to promote a policy of social improvement." On the advantages of cheapness and speed I need not dwell. These qualities appear to be absolutely essential for a satisfactory working of new schemes which will be inaugurated in the future. Many of these schemes are likely to trench on the private rights of citizens either because they involve compulsory acquisition of property or unavoidable damage to or injurious affection of property. There are also likely to be disputes in the working out of the details of the scheme, in the approval of plans, in the fixing of standards and in the allocation of burdens. The different claims and disputes arising out of these new ventures will require speedy and cheap determi-

nation. Otherwise the machinery will get clogged and there will be a stalemate.

One advantage of great value in the system of administrative justice and delegated legislation is greater flexibility with which the administrative tribunals will be able to discharge their functions than Courts of law. Chief Justice Hughes gives as the primary justification of the delegation of legislative power "flexibility and practicality." For one thing, administrative tribunals will not suffer from being tied down to a precedent if a better conclusion is possible in the light of subsequent knowledge.

It has often been said that another advantage possessed by these tribunals is that they can decide unhampered by rules of law, evidence and procedure. In theory no doubt there is much to be said in favour of this feature. How often do we not find a Judge saying that equity would require a particular decision but as he is bound by the rule of law he had to decide otherwise or again a Judge saying that though he is convinced of the existence of a fact, yet on the evidence on record and in strict accordance with the procedural rules the fact has not been proved. But at the same time it must be remarked that it is this feature that is likely to lead to abuse and injustice.

Professor Robson sums up the disadvantages attached to administrative justice as "lack of publicity which attends the work of most tribunals, the air of mystery and secrecy in which their deliberations are shrouded, failure in most cases to give reasons for the decision or to publish reports of decided cases, the denial of a hearing in the majority of instances and the poor quality and insufficient amount of the evidence on which decisions are often based." I have no time to deal at great length with each one of these disadvantages. In England opinion has been sharply divided on some of these features which have been explained as really no disadvantages, but appear so because we are inclined to look at things prejudiced by traditions of "the rule of law."

In future India whatever party or parties may come into political power I see the inauguration of vast enterprises, industrial and commercial, the undertaking of great schemes of national welfare in the matter of industries, Public Health, Education, and Labour. And the new extended state activity must be departmentalised if it is not to run to waste in the sands of procrastination. Neither the present administrative machinery nor the present judicial equipment will be adequate to meet the needs of the new situation consequent on new legislation which is bound to be undertaken to effectually put into operation any large schemes such as I have mentioned above. I feel that within the following departments of national activity, Administrative Law and Justice and Delegated Legislation must be resorted to. They are Railways, Public Health and Sanitation, Unemployment Insurance, Education, Transport and Communications and Labour conditions. I find that in respect of some of these departments there are already beginnings of a scheme of administrative justice. But the system must be considerably developed.

It is impossible to have any system which is fool-proof. In India, where political and administrative activity is still in its infancy, one is bound to commit mistakes. But they do not matter. What really matters is the effort, the continuing effort, to remedy defects as and when they occur or are revealed. Further, it is also necessary that we should benefit by the mistakes made and discovered in other countries and not simply to copy wholesale a system obtaining in another country however highly developed it may be in matters political. Keeping in mind the peculiar difficulties which beset India I must mention one danger to which the system of administrative justice may subject, i.e., the likelihood of political interference from the Government for the time in power with the determination of the administrative tribunals. The late Professor Dicey was obsessed by the fear of this danger even in

England. Sir F. Pollock was also apprehensive on the same ground. In any system to be evolved this danger must be eliminated as far as possible.

As it is, it is too soon and premature to work out in detail a scheme of administrative justice covering all departments of national service. I shall content myself with throwing out a few suggestions to be considered when the time for the establishment of such tribunals arrives.

1. As far as possible an attempt should be made to insist on separation of judicial and administrative functions of all the specialised bodies. I would even advocate the members of the Administrative Tribunals who have to exercise judicial functions to be officers chosen by an independent commission, independent of the party in power.

2. The hearing before these tribunals should be open to the public and unless inexpedient there should be a right of hearing if it is desired by the party.

3. Tribunals should be required to give reasons for their decisions.

4. There should be provision for a right of appeal in important matters to a superior administrative tribunal.

5. The decisions of these tribunals should be open to review by a Court of Law, though on very limited grounds, for instance, complete lack of jurisdiction, bias, pecuniary interest and failure to observe the fundamental canons of natural justice, which term I agree is very vague but vague terms often act as safety valves.

6. Lawyers should not be barred from appearing before such tribunals.

No doubt, much will depend upon the personnel chosen to fill these tribunals and particularly so in the beginning. I hope and believe that when the occasion comes, men and women of India will rise to it and work successfully even a complicated political machinery with which they have not been familiar before.

Dr. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA

I continue to look into "The Indian Review" regularly, as I have done these last 50 years; and it has been to me a matter of profound regret and sorrow that your revered father did not live long enough to bring out the Golden Jubilee Number of the "Indian Review", which you now propose to do, and to which effort of yours I wish success from the bottom of my heart.

With my kind regards and good wishes,

PATNA
Nov. 6, 1949.

Sachchidananda Sinha

Europe and Russia—An Essay on Soviet Diplomacy

BY PROF. M. RUTHNASWAMY, M.A.

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AS I went about from place to place in Europe last year the question I heard on everyone's lips was "Will there be a war soon." The international



situation during all those months was tense enough for that question to be framed and to agitate men's minds. The battle of Berlin had already commenced before I left India last July. The battle over the Danube was to commence during the latter part of my visit in September. I use the word

battle deliberately. To the question "Will there be a war" it would be oracularly true to say there won't be a war for there was one already. It was not merely a war of nerves that the Russians were waging over Berlin, the Danube, and the other questions that they were called upon to concern themselves with, by their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. There was an economic war going on over the "blockade of Berlin". One of the incidents of a state of war is the prohibition of free intercourse between states. That prohibition prevailed between Russia and her satellite States and Western Europe. Not only was the Iron Curtain difficult to pierce. There was a Satin Curtain behind which the allied powers were trying to set up Western Germany and which it was impossible to lift and pass through without official permission, impossible to get for any but those proceeding on official business. And there was war within half a dozen States in Eastern Europe. Now that the World War II is over and the danger of Nazi and Fascist invasion are past the totalitarian one-party governments in power in Poland, Yugo-

Slovia Czechoslovakia, Hungary have begun to persecute religion and to trample under foot the rights and liberties of those that do not belong to the party in power as did the Nazis in Germany and Fascists in Italy before the war. And elsewhere, in Italy, and in France the Communists were bent on producing disorder as they could fish to the profit of their party, in troubled waters. There was war in practice if not in formal and regular shape all over Europe, so that the question whether there will be a war in Europe was rather otiose. It is like asking a diabetic whether he is suffering from diabetes just because the carbuncle has not appeared.

Formal, full-dress war there is not and will not be for another year or two. For none of the possible parties is prepared for it. The U.S.A. will not think of it lest her post-war prosperity be imperilled. Russia has not recovered from the ravages of war—the German invasion has so badly damaged it that it will require another year or more before it can think of another war. And why should Russia resort to war, when she can get most of the things she wants without war? One of her major objectives is to weaken the moral and economic condition of the Western powers, and this she does through the Communist parties in these countries—who keep these countries in a constant condition of disorder and thereby reduce their productivity and delay if they cannot altogether prevent their economic recovery. And then there is the diplomatic technique of the Soviet government which gives one hope that there will not be war in the near future. A reading of the former U. S. A. Secretary of State Byrne's Memoirs and observation of the tactics of Soviet representatives at meetings of Security Council or the U. N. O. gives one the impression that the real objective of their diplomatic *démarches* is not what they ask for at any particular moment in such strident and intransigent tones but something else quite remote and quite different from what they are making the

whole world think they are after. Time after time Byrne has reported that when Soviet representatives at the conferences that he attended were foaming at the mouth over some claim that they made the world understand they would either get conceded or perish in the attempt, they were really after something else the whole time, and which once granted they soft-pedalled their demands over the original question. It may be that while they were crying *Non possumus* over the Berlin blockade they were really after something more important to them *viz.*, Russian participation in the control of the Ruhr. It may also be that when Vyshinsky was so violent and insulting—and all this violence and vehemence is done to order from Moscow—over the International Commission of the Danube, he was really after something else, perhaps a Russian outlet into the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. So it would seem that the only way to put an end to Soviet intransigence is to put all the questions and claims that the Soviet is interested in into a pool and to consider them and decide on them as a whole. Take all the claims and demands of the Soviet together in their relationship to one another and in their relationship to the rights and liberties of others and the peace of the world and give Russia what is due to her. For, as a Vatican diplomatist told me, even Russia has to be dealt with in justice and equity—so much for the alleged Vatican hostility to Russia. Russia required warm-water outlets for her trade and commerce and the other powers must set about conceding it with due regard to the rights of others in the neighbourhood and with due precautions for the peace of the world.

There was another shrewd observation made by this Vatican diplomat and which gave me a clue to Soviet diplomatic technique—and that was that each people must solve its problems in its own way. For instance, he said, the French would solve their problems in the French way by means of febrile agitation, by periodical revolution. It is no use asking them to solve their problems by the English way of compromise, by the parliamentary method. And, following this advice, when I thought of the Russians my memory

went back to some exhibitions of Russian ballet—dancing that I had seen where there was much violent throwing about of hands and feet and bending and straightening of knees with angry facial expressions but the whole of this performance ending in peace and quiet. The methods of Vishinsky at diplomatic gatherings reminded me of the Russian dance. It is the Russian way of doing things, and it seems to me that if the other parties at these diplomatic gatherings keep their temper and show their strength which must be supported by strength on the home front rearmament, economic efficiency and all-round preparedness, Russian diplomacy will end like the Russian dance in peace and quiet. Russians may be violent at times and in places but in the end Quiet flows the Don.

THE FIRST NUMBER



Jan 1st 1950

Dear Sir

I enclose with

the first number

I trust it will

be of use to you

Yours faithfully

Sir Arnold White

SIR ARNOLD WHITE
(Chief Justice, Madras)

DEVALUATION

BY DR. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER, K.C.S.I.

IN language, whose implications are obvious, Pundit Nehru has explained in Canada, that, normally, India would not have had to devalue, but that she had to do so because the Rupee was linked to the sterling. In his own language, even the sterling balances themselves have been subjected to various absorptions and adjustments. It is clear, that although the decline of the sterling was proceeding apace, never-the-less, the actual decision as to devaluation came upon India as a shock. It need not have done so.

As early as the 23rd of May 1949, Mr. Winthrop W. Aldridge, Chairman of the Chase National Bank of New York, stated at a luncheon given by the Pilgrims at the Savoy Hotel, that when the Marshall Plan came to an end, the countries of Western Europe and their overseas territories would be faced with substantial annual dollar deficits, if their standards of living were to be maintained at their present levels. He added that the deficit could be met only in three ways, viz., firstly increased exports to the U. S. A.; secondly by increased travel from the U. S. A.; and thirdly by increased American investments in or loans to Western European countries and their overseas territories. He insisted on political stability as a condition precedent to the last programme—such stability involving (a) the elimination of the threat of Communism; (b) arranging that the nation, which wanted the debt, must have its external economy in balance. In other words, the exchange rates of its currency *vis à vis* the American Dollar must have a realistic relationship to the price levels existing in both countries and must be such that it could be maintained in practice.

Following this line of thought, Lord Elibank, in a letter to *The Times* in June 1949 propounded a definite plan for currency devaluation so as to bring about a parity basis with the dollar and an increase in the price of gold. It is manifest, therefore, that both in America and in Europe the currency developments

that have taken place, were regarded as inevitable and were definitely foreseen.

Nevertheless, when the United Kingdom balanced its last budget, the Chancellor of the Exchequer asserted not only that its overseas trade position was good, but that there was not the



slightest idea of devaluation, and in fact the English papers began to lecture to other countries about the virtues of thrift and planning. This was a political gesture but very soon thereafter, the Continental press began to blame Britain for its bilateral pacts and the overvaluation of the sterling and its selfishness in not helping to reduce Europe's trade deficits.

At the Washington Conference, the full extent of Great Britain's difficulties was perceived and Mr. Snyder in his directives suggested the stock-piling of commodities and the relaxation of the Marshall Plan by giving greater freedom to the United Kingdom to buy goods outside the dollar area. In addition, the encouragement of the investment of American capital was also envisaged. This arrangement was finalised on the

12th of September. In the Commonwealth Conference, cuts in the dollar imports and an export drive were recognised as inevitable.

Almost overnight after the Commonwealth Conference, the deterioration of the economic position of the United Kingdom and the countries associated with her was recognised and proclaimed and the people of the sterling area assumed a mental attitude, which in the language of John Ruskin, may be described as a hesitation between ungrasped hope and unfronted fear.

In dealing with this question, we are apt to concentrate on England and India without reference to American developments. In order to appreciate the situation, the following facts cannot be ignored.

After the end of the last war, 15,000 million dollars were invested by the U.S.A. abroad in oil fields, mining and public utilities. Taking this in conjunction with the Marshall Aid Plan, it has been pointed out that from 1952, when the Marshall Aid Plan will end, 2,000 million dollars will become available annually for commercial investment. In dealing with such investments, we may bear in mind a statement made quite recently by the American National Association of Manufacturers which laid down, that before U.S.A. makes any investments, it is necessary to insist on treaties whereby the borrowing countries agreed not to introduce any measure prejudicial to private enterprise or discouraging business incentive. The *Wall Street Journal*, analysing the whole position, went so far as to suggest the obliteration of the Sterling.

It is thus clear that America, from the point of view of its own self-interest and to preserve its economic, industrial and financial stability and maintain its wage levels must find investments abroad. So far as England and countries allied with England are concerned, such investments were contemplated in connection with the realisation that the sterling was overvalued and must be devalued.

As a reaction against this American trend of thought, the *New Statesman* has argued that it is fantastic to believe that increased exports to dollar areas will close the gap when Marshall Aid ends and it is pleaded that instead of seeking closer inter-dependence with the New World, every economic consideration demands lesser dependence upon and lesser imports from U.S.A.

The Atlantic Pact, not having eventuated in any effective political and economic union, England, notwithstanding the assertions of Sir Stafford Cripps, found itself at the end of its tether and had to devalue. The gold and dollar deficit of the whole sterling area, calculated at the old rate of exchange of 4.03 dollars to the pound was 133 millions in the 3rd quarter of the year. Marshall Aid amounted to 71 millions and the gold and dollar reserves on the 30th September amounted to 351 million pounds at the old rate of exchange as against 471 millions in the first quarter. These figures demonstrate the imperative necessity for devaluation of the pound.

In his very candid speech during the Devaluation debate, Sir Stafford Cripps has made three points clear, viz.,—(1) that England's imports have risen and exports have gone down; (2) that an austerity regime is indispensable, and (3) it would be a very difficult job to repay her sterling creditors. In fairness, however, it should be added that a non-official commentator has emphasised that the last portion does not necessarily refer to past indebtedness.

Linked as we are to Sterling, India had, perhaps, no alternative but to devalue although opinions will vary as to whether India acted wisely in announcing a devaluation before finding out what other Commonwealth countries were doing. It may be remembered that the Canadian dollar has been devalued by only 10 per cent, whereas Pakistan has declined to devalue her rupee. In any case, we are now confronted with a devaluation of 30½ per cent—one dollar being now worth 4.76 rupees as against 3.309 rupees before devaluation.

What are the results? Our sterling assets which have already been seriously depleted are now worth only 70 per cent of their previous value in terms of the dollar, which is in fact the only valid international currency. We must further realise that our cash balances has dwindled from 310 crores to 108 crores. This state of things has made borrowing difficult and obviously, India cannot resort to inflationary methods of printing more notes. The terribly discouraging response to the Tender of Treasury Bills is a serious pointer. In addition, the expected budget surplus of 49 lakhs has turned into an anticipated deficit of not less than 50 crores, to which must be added a further liability of 15 crores due to the integration of State finances and the undertaking given by the Government of India consequent thereupon.

We are also faced with a combined expenditure in the Central and Provincial spheres aggregating to 600 crores. The actual Civil expenditure of the Central Government has been 50 crores more than the budgeted figure of 136.5 crores. The defence expenditure has been 36 crores more than the previous year. No wonder that the grandiose and too often unco-ordinated schemes of the Provincial governments have had to be curtailed and Sardar Patel has had to give an award reducing expenditure by 80 crores!

In this connection it may be remembered that the basically sound industrial scheme adumbrated by the Government of India for making this country more or less self-sufficient in the matter of steel involved in the starting of steel plants costing 90 crores to be imported from America. The steel plant will now, necessarily, cost between 120 to 130 crores owing to devaluation. Even assuming that we, by means of self-denying ordinance, curtail our imports from the U. S. A. in the shape of new plants and machinery, it cannot be forgotten that we have, during the last few years invested very largely in American motor cars, machinery and industrial plants of various types and that our aeronautical schemes were largely based on American supplies. We are, therefore, necessarily dependent on America for replacements, spare parts and technical

personnel, all of which will have to be paid for at enhanced cost.

Nextly, the Pakistan policy of non-devaluation has to be interpreted in relation to the fact that our imports from Pakistan have been in the order of 100 to 110 crores and our exports 70 to 80 crores, the adverse trade balance being more than 30 crores. With the U.S.A. our adverse trade balance has been 34 crores and with the United Kingdom 38 crores. Although programmes are being announced almost daily for bringing about self-sufficiency of India, in the matter of jute, cotton, wheat and hides, which are the main Pakistan imports, yet it is doubtful whether such a self-sufficiency can be reached within the next three or four years. In this connection it may be remembered that the cost of manufacturing jute is 35 per cent of the cost of the manufactured article. The policy of self-sufficiency in these commodities is somewhat belated and indeed India has been utilising a portion of its jute and cotton areas for the production of food grains, so much so that the Cotton Committee has recently insisted on the importance of maintaining and enhancing the cotton acreage.

One of the relieving features of the food situation is that in the matter of rice, wheat and sugar, the acreage required for self-sufficiency is not markedly above the average. The big gap really arises with food grains other than rice and wheat, raw cotton as well as raw jute and tobacco. The pronouncements repeatedly made in India not to import food grains after 1951 have struck many persons as hasty and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has evinced wise realism in asking U.S.A. to send one million tons of wheat to India to be kept as a reserve so as to bring down prices. Obviously this must be on a lend lease basis, because India cannot otherwise afford to pay for wheat at the enhanced dollar prices. It goes without saying that India will not and cannot agree, as in other cases of lendlease arrangements, to the use of naval and air bases and similar facilities.

The dangers of devaluation in the absence of nationally regimented self-sacrifice, such as has been a marked feature in the U.K. are (1) The level of wages may rise with devaluation. Indeed the late lamented Sir Ardeshir Dalal foresaw this in a recent speech, when he referred to the fall in real wages of the workers and people with fixed income. (2) If there be such a rise in the level of wages, there will, in all probability, be a rise in the price of manufactured articles, inevitable in conjunction with higher labour costs. Such an increase of price may militate against an effective export drive without which the effects of devaluation cannot be neutralised. A higher cost of living may coincide with the higher price of imported goods and of locally manufactured articles. Hence arises the inescapable need to control food prices even at the cost of resiling from previous undertakings given to cultivators as to minimum prices. There also arises the need for austerity in the matter of the use of imported articles.

As a background to all these circumstances, is the higher price of American essential capital goods and the difficulties of switching over from American to European supplies. Further, as the British themselves can only meet their crisis by exporting to dollar countries at any cost, India may find it increasingly difficult to get supplies from England. In sheer self-interest England will have to concentrate on producing goods for export to dollar areas in preference to goods for sale to sterling areas. Moreover, human nature being what it is, if India declines to buy from America and the U.S.A. competition is thus eliminated, British and European manufacturers may be tempted to dictate their own terms and increase their prices, this course of conduct leading to a speedier liquidation of the sterling balances.

One of the remedies, which is apparently being pursued, is the utilization of the surplus gold of Hyderabad. But, as has been clearly pointed out, India cannot ignore the need to keep a sufficient metallic reserve

as backing for currency. Manifestly India cannot buy gold from Dollar countries and Australia will not sell gold as her balance of payments is strained. Sir Stafford Cripps has already announced that he is against unregulated exports and so far as one can see, England will not favour the exchange from sterling balances to gold. Further, we see that France and Italy are asking for U.S. gold to stiffen their currency.

There is one more item which may be mentioned in passing namely the computed value of evacuee property which was estimated at 1,000 crores and which is now worth only 666 crores. In the appraisalment of our import and export position, in relation to devaluation, we may note that in June 1949, we imported food grains to the extent of 46 crores from the dollar area and 67 crores from the sterling area. The imports from the dollar area are the following items, which are not easy to replace. They are lubricating oils, manilla hemp, timber for bobbins and ship building, chemicals, drugs, medicines, electrical and other machinery, aeroplane parts, motor trucks and motor spare parts, tyres and tyre-making articles, all these aggregating to 20 per cent of our imports. In dealing with this question we must remember that our exports must increase by 40 per cent in order to earn enough dollars for balance of payment. i. e., so as to pay more for the value of imports.

It was with reference to all these considerations, that the Reserve Bank in its latest report gave the warning that the Indian prices and costs are still very high despite the anti-inflation programme; that there is no sign of revival of investment and that some industrial shares have actually approximated to the pre-war level; that in industries like iron and steel we are unable to utilize even our installed capacity; that there is a decline of textile and sugar production and a shortage of capital goods and technical personnel and that whereas government loans in England are over-subscribed, Indian loans are not very successful. They insist on larger production and larger exports though they fully realised that our exports are by

nature inelastic, consisting mainly of manufactured jute, textile goods, tea and manganese.

Remembering that all devaluation is inflationary in character, the inescapable and indispensable programme for India must comprise rigid price control, the attraction of fresh capital and the release not only of hidden accumulations, but an adoption of compulsory saving on the part of agriculturists and workers who have specially profited by the recent industrial development and the progressive rise in wages. Finally, we must imitate the very strenuous tightening of the belt and eschewal of luxury products on the lines so triumphantly demonstrated in England.

When all this is said, there still remain two alternatives. Is India to proceed with a big programme of modern mechanized agriculture and industrial development even at the risk of importing American plant and personnel at enhanced prices, or is India to place a full stop on her development programme so as to

live within her present means and await events? The answer from the long term point of view is surely in favour of the former alternative. That alternative involves far-sighted rationalization of industry and centralised planning with a view to develop those resources and in those localities which can best conduce to all India progress which will not merely subserve local interests or satisfy local political or electioneering ambitions. For a time we may have to borrow heavily, even on seemingly unreasonable terms, to pay for our imports of capital machinery for mechanised agriculture and basic industries like shipbuilding, machine tool manufacture and steel and chemical plants. Such investments will repay themselves in the long run and India's fundamental economic position is sound. Finally, the complementary character of the import and export positions of India and Pakistan necessitate a speedy settlement of their differences without which there is bound to be an economic set back in both the regions.

THE REVIEW AND ITS FOUNDER

BY THE HON. MR. P. S. KUMARASWAMI RAJA

Premier of Madras.

THE *Indian Review* was born at the beginning of this century. In those early days, it was not easy to start a



magazine of the calibre of the *Indian Review*. So far as South India is concerned, the *Indian Review* could indisputably take the credit of its being the first journal of its kind. This novel adventure in journalism

in those days could be attributed to the many-sided attainments and the youthful enthusiasm of Mr. Natesan. His special

training in journalism, which he underwent on the completion of his collegiate career, would seem to have caused an urge in him for embarking on journalism independently. Necessarily, he had to face difficulties in the beginning; but being a man of courage and vision he faced those difficulties and succeeded. The *Indian Review* made a steady progress and became a popular organ, ventilating its views on politics, literature, culture and various problems, social, economic, educational etc.

The variety of articles and subjects in his journal, catering to the variety of tastes and views of the readers, would speak well of his versatility and journalistic acumen. His affability is reflected in his possession of a large circle of friends of different nationalities whose valuable contributions stand as a unique feature of his journal.

" IN FREEDOM IT FOUND ITS GOLDEN JUBILEE "

K. S. K. K. K.

I am very happy to send my warmest greetings to the *Indian Review* on the happy occasion of its Golden Jubilee. We salute it in pride and gladness for it deserves the nation's heartiest greetings and sincerest gratitude. For the *Indian Review* has been one of our National Institutions.

The young generations of today should know the proud history of this journal. In the dim days gone by when even to recite or read certain passages from the Gita was sedition, the *Indian Review* under the guidance of the great pioneering spirit of Shri G. A. Natesan, took courage in both the hands and ventured on this hazardous and what to many must have seemed, a very doubtful voyage. The mission was to impart political education, stimulate the youthful minds and educate the unlearned. Politics was taboo. To think aloud, to speak through the pages of a journal, to discuss in a literary forum, was still a daring act. And the *Indian Review* did it effectively and successfully. Month after month, year after year, the *Review* unfolded itself like a book of revelation. Men with doubts, with a question mark, with troubled minds, waited with bated breath for this wise journal to speak to them. It braved all the political storms, the many national ups and downs. Today it stands as a great national institution, happy that it served and served well the country and the people. It is in the fulfilment of our dream of freedom the *Indian Review* must find its greatest satisfaction, more than in any tribute that anyone can pay to that pioneering soul Shri G. A. Natesan. For in freedom it found its Golden Jubilee. Effort and achievements can never be measured in years or decades but in the striving for the goal itself. That goal is nearly reached and the *Indian Review* and all who had a hand in its success may feel justly proud of their contribution to that realisation.

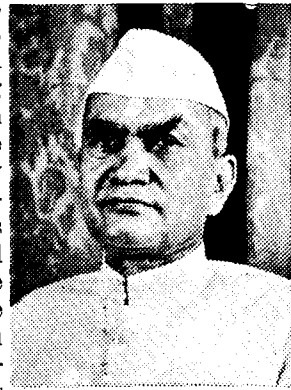


THIS QUEER WORLD

BY H. E. DR. K. N. KATJU

Governor of West Bengal.

SOMETIMES I feel as if we were living in a strange world of make-believe. We profess one thing and do exactly the contrary. Life seems to be so full of contradictions. On the one side you hear wonderful stories of iron lungs being rushed across the seven seas with which lives of young children stricken with polio may be saved and they may be restored to normalcy after years of sustained skilful treatment; on the other side in the same breath you hear stories of organised assassinations and liquidations



(so it is euphemistically put) of masses of human beings on one pretext or another. International law has been endeavouring for the last four centuries to humanise warfare but now we have the scientists' contribution which enables belligerents to exterminate and maim for life not only combatants but innocent civilians, men women and children in thousands and hundreds of thousands in the twinkling of an eye. Societies for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals have shed genuine tears of tortured sympathy at the sight of pain caused to animals taking them in units, but now under the stress of economic difficulties and the search for food a new problem of men *versus* monkeys and cows, parrots and sparrows, has come to the fore and the latter stand the fearful prospect of total or partial extinction. It is really a queer world and it is no wonder that many old concepts make no impression on many minds. All talk of non-violence in thought and word and deed seems to be so futile if it is limited to the conduct of human beings towards one another. And then again as between man and man, old philosophies and systems of morals and ethics are

losing their hold because it is contended that they are mere adjuncts of a particular set of economic doctrines. Different economic doctrines, it is urged, beget moral and ethical codes of their own. In the conflict of ideologies words have evidently lost their meaning. Instead of illuminating the mind or the intellect they engender darkness and obscurity. The same sets of words are being used by different people to express completely divergent and even contradictory ideas. Everybody swears by Democracy. The conception of Democracy, however, varies from country to country and from speaker to speaker. Simple folk cry for clarification of ideas and, I believe, all decent men everywhere clamour for a little more precision of thought and accuracy of expression. Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, Fascism fill the air with a babble of tongues and noise over-powering. Each offers the panacea for all ills and a sovereign remedy for the cure of all maladies in the body politic. Each seems to be agreed on a demand for one world with the mental reservation that that one world should be of the pattern of his choice.

We in Asia seem to be experiencing the full blast of these loud and mutually contradictory preachings, and the task before the coming generations is verily one of the noblest and also the hardest imaginable. On their right choice of belief and action may depend the welfare and happiness of humanity in this vast country.

REMEMBER IT IS MY FIRST CHILD

Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta.

12th Sept. 1928.

I am glad to hear that you are working up the business well. Remember it is my first child G.A.N.

(From a letter to his son Manian Natesan)

G. A. N.—SOME HAPPY MEMORIES

BY MR. H. S. L. POLAK

It has been a happy and a sad fact that many of my closest Indian friends have been several years older than myself. Happy, because I have learnt (or tried to learn) so much from their more mature experience. Sad, because most of them have now passed on, leaving me bereft and rather lonely; for so many of my own age, or a little younger, have come to regard me, incorrectly, as an "ancient of days," living in retirement.



Among my earliest Indian friends was G. A. Natesan, whom I met during my first visit to India in 1909 as a solitary pioneer on the South African Indian question. My three Indian colleagues had been imprisoned, as passive resisters, at the instance of the Transvaal Government, in the hope that thereby the delegation to India might be prevented from leaving South Africa. My tour had been arranged, at Gandhiji's instance, by G. K. Gokhale. It was Gokhale who, through the Madras members of the Servants of India Society, and especially V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, introduced me to G. A. N.

In those days, hospitality to an Englishman in a Brahmin home was somewhat difficult; so Natesan arranged for my accommodation, as his guest, first at the Y. M. C. A., and later at a nearby hotel. Here I noticed that I was under very close observation by some fellow-"guests." I discovered, too, that, whenever I took a "gharry" to pay a visit, someone always travelled ("unseen") at the back of the vehicle. I mentioned these things to G. A. N., who told me that I was evidently under police surveillance as a "suspicious character".

He had already asked me to let him publish a book, entitled "The Indians of South Africa: Helots Within the

Empire", that I had written, and also a monograph on Gandhi (later incorporated as a Preface to "Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi"). It was the first material published in India on that great man.

When I told G. A. N. of my hotel and local travel experiences, he said that he had discovered that some of the police had been surreptitiously trying to obtain from his printing-house some pre-publication "proofs" of my MSS. As I expressed strong resentment of these underhand police-methods, he suggested that I should consult V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, his close friend, who had just been appointed to the Governor's Executive Council. G. A. N. took me along to see him, and when I explained what had happened he asked me humorously why I should expect to be treated differently from a British member of Parliament. I could not quite see the connection until V. Krishnaswami explained that during a recent visit, Keir Hardie, M. P., had undergone a similar experience to mine. He then advised me to write to the Chief Commissioner of Police, informing him that I had nothing to conceal and that, if he would send a senior police-officer to interview me, I would gladly give him all necessary information. I did so, after showing G. A. N. the draft of my letter, and had no further cause of complaint. Indeed, shortly afterwards, I was granted an interview by the Governor to whom I explained the South African situation, and who expressed his warm sympathy.

G. A. N. was one of the first prominent Indians to interest himself specially in the problems of Indians overseas, and he organized and became the active secretary of a public body in Madras concerning itself specially with those problems, and the "Indian Review" became the vehicle of much valuable information to the Indian public on the subject. He was also the principal organizer of the first public meeting that I addressed on the South African Indian question in Madras. It was presided over by Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar, and its most eloquent speaker was Mrs. Annie Besant.

I owe to G. A. N. many introductions to Indian friends, mostly in public life—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Sir Mirza Ismail, the present Governor-General ("C. R."). Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami, Aiyer, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri and others, who were, then and later, very helpful to me in my tours. When I mentioned V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's name to him, he rejoiced for Sastri was one of his oldest and closest friends.

I recall most gratefully how very helpful G. A. N. was when I was suddenly called to Colombo to receive and help the landing and return to Madras of a number of Transvaal Indians (nearly all Tamils and Telugus) who had been unlawfully deported from South Africa as passive resisters. Natesan did everything possible to arrange for their comfort and hospitality in Madras, until I was able to take them on to Bombay and eventually back to Durban. Before their departure, he arranged a public meeting, and I still remember his embarrassment at having to deliver a speech in Tamil—the first time, he told me, that he had done so in his mother-tongue, instead of in English!

My contacts with the South Indian press were greatly facilitated by the introductions that he gave me to their distinguished editors, British and Indian. My natural hesitancy soon disappeared as they gave me the freedom of their columns, in order that I might make the South African Indian position and the quality of the Indian leaders there better understood and appreciated.

On a later visit to Madras I had the privilege of enjoying the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Natesan, and so learnt something of the beauty of family life in South India. Natesan's publishing-house introduced me to much that I have since treasured in the Dravidian culture, of which I had hitherto been unaware.

Though, after 1917, my visits to India were shorter, and were professional and not political, I could never go to Madras without renewing the affectionate relations with G. A. N. and learning his views on social and political developments in South India and on Indo-British relations. It was a

great pleasure to be able to welcome and entertain him on what was, I believe, the only occasion that he visited England.

It is a matter of gratification that, so soon after his passing, the Golden Jubilee of the magazine that he founded and which has contributed so much to the cultural values of Indian public life, is being celebrated. None of the many honours paid to him during his lifetime can exceed that which can now properly be paid to his memory and work by his surviving contemporaries, Indian and British. They recall him to-day with loving affection and warm admiration. May the professional and public standards that he set survive, must be the prayer of the New India.

"WHEN I WAS YOUNG"

By MR. M. K. VELLODI, I.C.S.

Chief Minister, Hyderabad

The *Indian Review* is one of the first periodicals in the English language that I read when I was young. Since then I have continued to read this very interesting and informative Magazine whenever opportunity offered. Several Magazines and periodicals have come into existence since the *Indian Review* was born but none of these except with rare exceptions has to my knowledge lived for any length of time. The reason is obvious. Mr. G. A. Natesan and, after him his successors have put their best into this business and never lowered in any manner the very high standard that the Magazine had set in its very first Number. The contributors to this Journal include practically all the great names in India during the last half a Century. Liberalism is today a word that is often used to denote a somewhat feeble political philosophy but history will put that right and in the progress of liberalism in this country, the *Indian Review* has occupied a foremost place. I wish all prosperity to this enterprise.

MAY IT GROW FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH

By HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI

(Finance Minister, Madras)

I am delighted to find that the *Indian Review* is completing its Golden Jubilee in January next. I am painfully reminded of the recent death of the Founder-Editor, Sri G. A. Natesan, who was in the public life of the Province for a long time and who unseen and in an unostentatious way helped Indian nationalism to grow. His ability, sound judgment and wise statesmanship brought him to the top of Indian journalism. *Indian Review* is continuing the good work under the able management of his sons.



When we look back, the fifty years preceding the Golden Jubilee were replete with vast changes in all spheres; from subordination to an alien rule we have emerged triumphantly after the inauguration of the Republic. We must congratulate ourselves on the leadership we had during these years; giants among men with their spirit of self-sacrifice moulded the country into a mighty State. Even in the educational field we have made tremendous progress, though unfortunately illiteracy is still the badge of the majority. While we derive great satisfaction at what has been achieved we have yet to cross many a hurdle and progress in many more directions before we can truly be a powerful state. Consolidation of what has been achieved and an eagerness to produce more must be our mission and motto. The hey day of communalism has gone leaving in its trail much bitterness and misery. The dangers that I envisage are from communism and provincialism. Communism is too wide a sphere which blazes on the imagination of the people as a world movement. On the contrary provincialism grips our outlook and narrows it down to small territory jeopardising the prestige and authority of the Central Government. Both are to be avoided in order to ensure a steady and solid progress, political, economical and social. There is hope in the future, but hard work also is in store for us.

I am sure the *Indian Review* will be alive to the needs of the country and give its dispassionate comment and criticism in a progressive and constructive manner. May it grow from strength to strength and guide us through our difficult times.

A TRIBUTE TO A PUBLISHER

BY DR. C. JINARAJADASA,

President, The Theosophical Society

It is a long gap of time between 1901 and 1950. Yet it was in 1901 that I met Mr. G. A. Natesan for the first time. I had come from Ceylon to the



annual Theosophical Convention, held at Adyar, and friends took me to see Mr. Natesan. I was delighted to make his acquaintance and feel something of his enthusiasm for his work. It was much later, in 1914 when I settled in India, that I got to know in fuller detail concerning the work that Mr. Natesan was doing on behalf of the Indian public and Indian culture.

The *Indian Review* has always been remarkable—it was the first, of the kind—to give an all-round view, first, of what was happening in India particularly, by giving summaries of articles in the principal Reviews, and later a general survey of the principal world events. When I have been away from India I have been glad to see *The Review* and to know what was happening in India, the States, etc.

But I think a work that will never be forgotten is what Mr. Natesan has done for the dissemination of texts with translations of various important works in ancient Indian literature. One of the first actions along this line was to get permission from Dr. Annie Besant to print her translation of *The Bhagavad Gita* with Sanskrit text, paying her no copyright, though the work had been copyrighted. I know that Dr. Besant, knowing Mr. Natesan's philanthropic activities, was only too glad to give him the opportunity of a cheap edition of the *Gita* with the Sanskrit, to be put on bookstalls at railway stations, originally for four annas. I can imagine

that nearly a lakh of copies of this gem must have been distributed.

Then in addition we know later what he has done to bring condensed summaries of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* the *Bhagavata Purana*, the work of Sankaracharya, etc. This popularisation, at moderate cost, of these great works even in condensed form, has very greatly helped to strengthen the awakened movement of Indian culture.

Perhaps not less important is the work that Mr. Natesan did to give the biographies of various principal Indian leaders. These have been most valuable, not only for the general public, but particularly for students, who without these works would not be able easily to get at the biographical facts required for purposes of study.

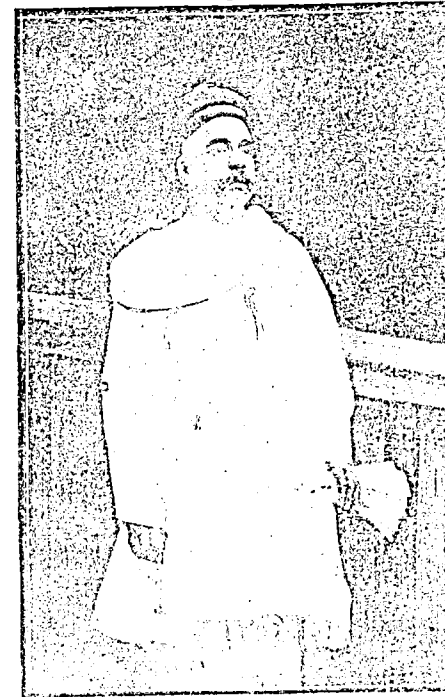
Mr. Natesan has earned the gratitude of many generations for the work that he has done to strengthen the revival of the life of the Motherland.

DR. SIR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

(Indian Ambassador, Moscow)

I am glad to know that the *Indian Review* started by your father, the late Mr. G. A. Natesan, will complete 50 years by the end of this year. It is a remarkable achievement for an Indian monthly journal. Your father spent a good deal of his time and attention on the maintenance of high standards in the journal and it is now for you to keep up the standards and enhance, if possible, the usefulness of the journal. I hope the journal will have a prosperous future.

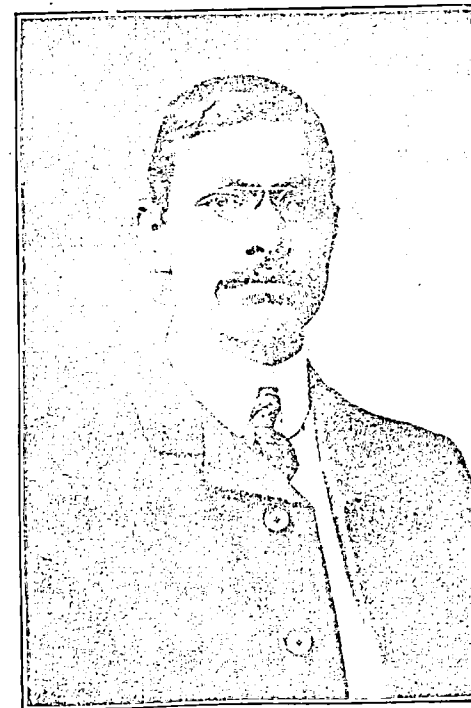
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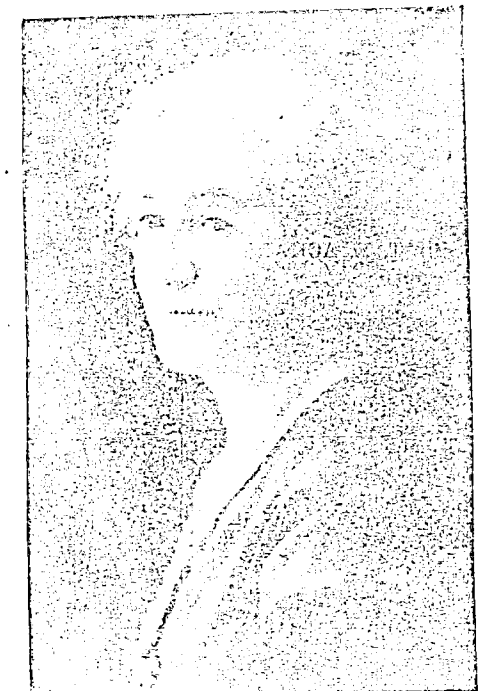
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S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR



MANOHAR LAL



MARGARET COUSINS