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EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

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CONTENTS

The Situation and the Remedy

By Mr. G. A. Natesan

The Congress Decision and After

Nationalism and Religion

By Swami Aseshananda

Exploitation of Conquered Europe

By Mr. Kanwar Jogendra Singh

Adult Education and Literacy

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Sources of Maratha History

By Rao Bahadur Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari

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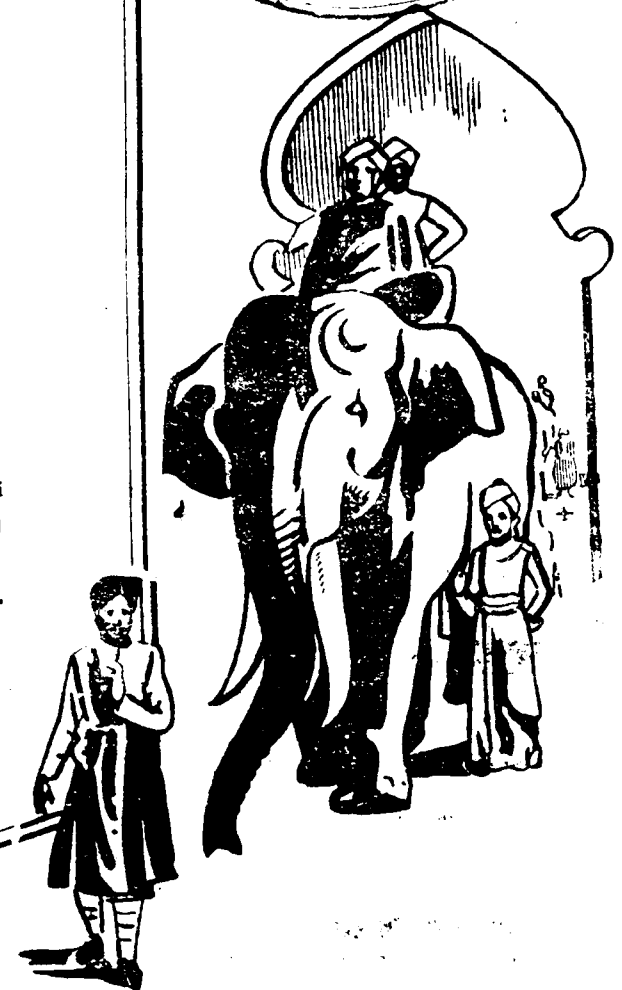
Christian Attitude to India & the War

Indian Affairs

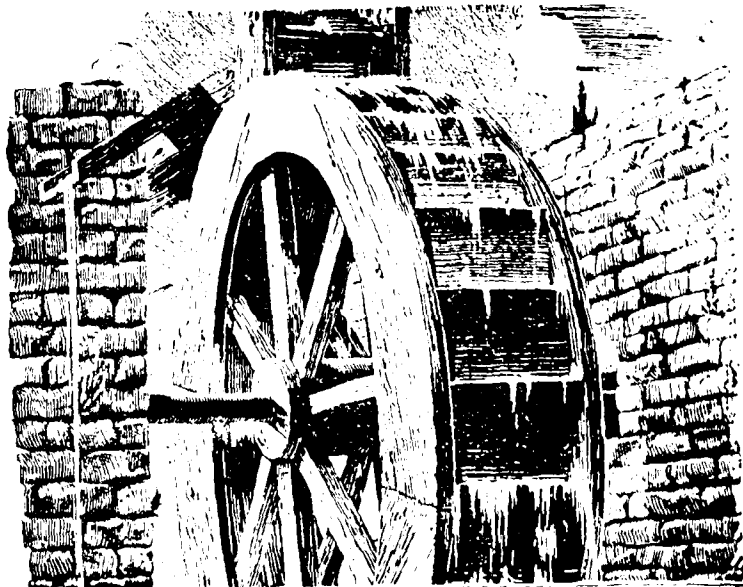
By "An Indian Journalist"

Foreign Affairs

By "Chronicler"

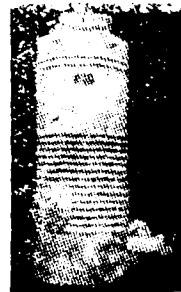
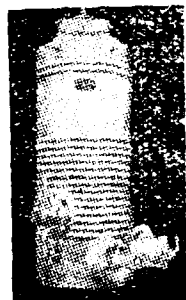


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Vol. 43]

SEPTEMBER 1942: DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 9.

PAGE	PAGE
THE SITUATION AND THE REMEDY	The Indian Social Problem ... 182
By Mr. G. A. NATESAN ... 149	Japan and the Modern World ... 182
THE CONGRESS DECISION & AFTER	BOOKS RECEIVED ... 182
NATIONALISM AND RELIGION	TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS
By SWAMI ASESHANANDA ... 157	The Cripps Mission ... 183
EXPLOITATION OF CONQUERED	India's International Status ... 184
EUROPE. By Mr. K. J. SINGH. ... 160	Scorched Earth Policy ... 184
ADULT EDUCATION AND LITERACY	The Aryan Heritage of India ... 185
By Mr. M. H. SHAH, M.A. ... 163	Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit ... 186
SOURCES OF MARATHA HISTORY	War Marriages ... 186
By Prof. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI. ... 167	Salaries of Public Officials ... 187
BUDDHA FIGURES IN INDIA	Don'ts of First Aid ... 188
By Mr. S. C. CHANDRA, M.A. ... 170	INDIA IN PERIODICALS ... 187
CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO INDIA	INDIAN STATES
AND THE WAR ... 173	Aid to Cottage Industries ... 189
The Archbishop of Canterbury ... 173	Grow More Food Campaign ... 189
The Metropolitan of India ... 173	Highest Title for Dewan of Mysore ... 189
Dr. E. Forrester Paton ... 174	Aeronautical Engineering ... 189
Christian Leaders' Appeal ... 174	Mysore Ban on Radios ... 189
National Church Council's Appeal. ... 174	Bhadravathi Works ... 189
INDIAN AFFAIRS	Baroda's Finances ... 190
By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST" ... 175	Archaeological Finds ... 190
FOREIGN AFFAIRS	Travancore's Civil List ... 190
By "CHRONICLER" ... 179	Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer ... 190
DIARY OF THE MONTH ... 180	Convocation Addresses ... 190
THE WORLD OF BOOKS	Devanagari Script ... 191
Germans Beyond Germany ... 181	Foreigners Act Ordinance ... 191
An Approach to the Ramayana ... 181	Regency Council for Kolhapur ... 191
Mira and Mahavir ... 181	Kolhapur Maharani's Assurance ... 191
	Gwalior Industrial Conference ... 191
	INDIANS OVERSEAS
	Natal Indians ... 192
	Transvaal Indians' Appeal ... 192
	Death of Mr. J. B. Pandya ... 192
	Relief for Evacuees ... 192

(Contd. on page 4)

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[SEPTEMBER 1942



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CONTENTS

Contd. from page 2)

	PAGE		PAGE
QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE		LITERARY	... 497
Sir T. B. Sapru's Suggestions ...	493	PERSONAL	... 497
UTTERANCES OF THE DAY		MEDICAL	... 498
Pt. Nehru on British Attitude ...	493	HEALTH	... 498
Rajen Babu on the Last Struggle ...	493	CURRENCY AND BANKING	... 499
POLITICAL		RAILWAYS	... 499
Dr. Latif and Mr. Jinnah ...	494	ART AND DRAMA	... 500
Sir Shadi Lal on Govt. Policy	494	SPORT	... 500
EDUCATIONAL		SCIENCE	... 501
New Secondary Schools in Bombay.	494	FILM WORLD	... 501
Degree Thro' Gramophone ...	494	AUTOMOBILES	... 502
LEGAL		AVIATION	... 502
Students' Revolt and A.-I. C. C. ...	495	INDUSTRY	... 503
Income-tax Appellate Tribunal ...	495	AGRICULTURE	... 503
INSURANCE		LABOUR	... 504
The Oriental's Business Out-turn.	495	GENERAL	... 504
United India Life Assurance Co. ...	495	PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS	
TRADE AND FINANCE		Home Grown Vegetables ...	459
Price Control Policy ...	496	Britain's Libraries in War Time ...	469
War Supplies from South India ...	496		
WOMEN'S PAGE			
A British Woman's Appeal ...	496		
First Woman Officer of U. S. Navy.	496		

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INDEX TO ADVERTISERS IN THE "INDIAN REVIEW"

: o :—			
	PAGE		PAGE
Advaita Ashrama	... 14	Parry & Co. Ltd.	... 8
Anglo-Indian Drug and Chemical Co.		Rane Ltd., Madras	... 16
	4TH COVER	Richardson & Cruddas.	INNER CONTENTS 11
Bangalore Mills.	INNER CONTENTS ... 7	Sherman, Dr.	... 19
Bharat Book Depot	... 19	Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd.	... 17
Buckingham & Carnatic Mills	... 13	Simpson & Co., Madras.	2ND COVER
Calcutta University.	INNER CONTENTS 6	Spencer & Co. Ltd.	INNER CONTENTS 9
Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works	19	Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.	... 6
Central Bank of India.	READING MATTER 379	Times of India Press	... 10
Cook, Thos. & Son	INNER CONTENTS 13	Titagbur Paper Mills & Co., Ltd.	3RD COVER
Curzon & Co.,	... 20	Travancore Government	... 4
Gannon, Dunkerley & Co. Ltd.	... 14	United India Life Assurance Co., Madras	1
Govt. of India—"Don't believe rumours".	18	Water Supply Specialists	... 16
Do. "Japanese words are friendly".	15		
Do. "Defence Loan"	... 11		
Hindusthan Standard	... 8		
Indian Tea.	FACING READING MATTER ... 16		
Kashmir Govt. Tourist Bureau	... 5		
Kerala Soap Institute	... 17		
M. & S. M. Ry.	... 15		
Madras Mail	... 12		
Mysore Government Soap Factory	... 2		
Do. Sandalwood Oil Factory	... 9		
Nalanda Year Book	... 13		
Narsu's Manufacturing Co.	... 7		
National Insurance Co. Ltd.			
	INNER CONTENTS ... 3		
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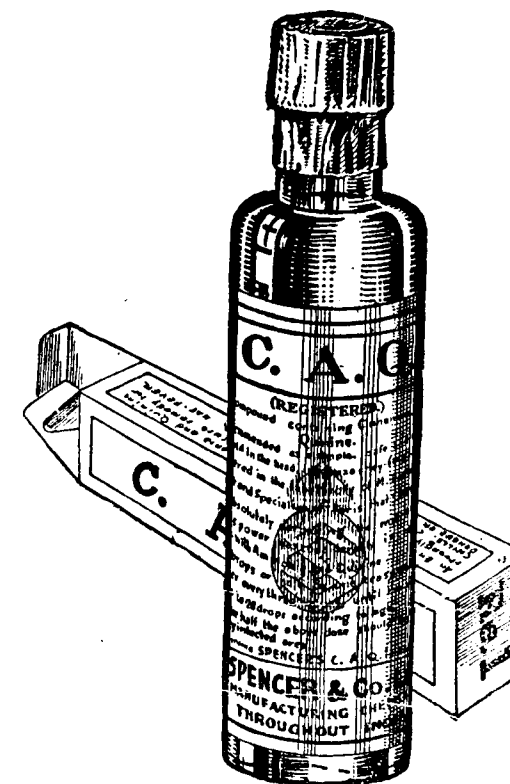
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MONDAY	...	5	12	19	26	2	9	16	23	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27
TUESDAY	...	6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28
WEDNESDAY	...	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	...	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	29
THURSDAY	1	8	15	22	29	5	12	19	26	...	5	12	19	26	...	2	9	16	23	30
FRIDAY	2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	...	6	13	20	27	...	3	10	17	24	...
SATURDAY	3	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	...	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25	...
MAY					JUNE					JULY					AUGUST					
SUNDAY	31	3	10	17	24	...	7	14	21	28	...	5	12	19	26	30	2	9	16	23
MONDAY	...	4	11	18	25	1	8	15	22	29	...	6	13	20	27	31	3	10	17	24
TUESDAY	...	5	12	19	26	2	9	16	23	30	...	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25
WEDNESDAY	...	6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	5	12	19	26
THURSDAY	...	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27
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MONDAY	...	7	14	21	28	...	5	12	19	26	2	9	16	23	30	...	7	14	21	28
TUESDAY	1	8	15	22	29	...	6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	...	1	8	15	22	29
WEDNESDAY	2	9	16	23	30	...	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	...	2	9	16	23	30
THURSDAY	3	10	17	24	...	1	8	15	22	29	5	12	19	26	...	3	10	17	24	31
FRIDAY	4	11	18	25	...	2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	...	4	11	18	25	...
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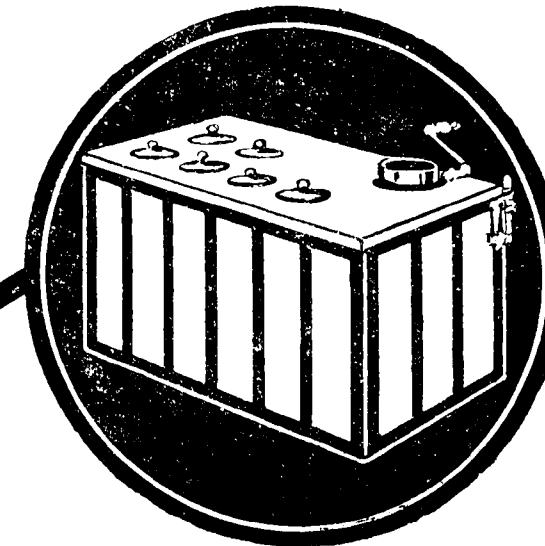
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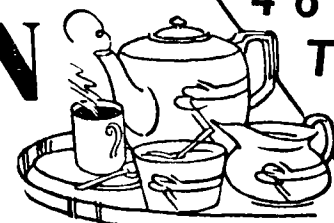
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 43.]

SEPTEMBER 1942

[No. 9.

THE SITUATION AND THE REMEDY

By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

—O—

THE situation in India has worsened. Events are drifting dangerously towards a catastrophe and will prove disastrous if left unchecked in time. The British Government's persistent refusal to respond to the demand made by the Congress, the Muslim League and other political parties for guaranteeing Independence to India and the formation, during the period of the war, of a National Government reserving only the direction of the Army and Navy under its control, the irritating statements of Mr. Amery made from time to time, the Congress threat of Civil Disobedience, the precipitate arrest of the Congress leaders, the numerous Ordinances issued by the authorities including the severe restrictions on the freedom of the Press, the provocative pronouncements of some of the Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the outbreak of violence in different parts of the country resulting in the destruction of public and private properties, the damage to the Railways, arson, sabotage, the student and labour

strikes—these and other unfortunate happenings have led to a deplorable situation. There are thoughtful men who fear a situation more dreadful still. For, if the Congress committed a blunder in threatening Civil Disobedience, the Government committed no less a blunder in arresting the leaders and precipitating the crisis, even before Gandhiji had time to negotiate with the Viceroy. It is, of course, the duty of the authorities to put down lawlessness and disorder, but, that will have no lasting effect unless it sets itself boldly to examine the root cause of the trouble and take forthwith steps to infuse confidence in the minds of the people. In the statements made by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons and in the *communique* issued by the Government of India, stress has rightly been laid on the necessity for prosecuting the War with India's whole-hearted help, and it is because I feel—as one who has been from the very beginning feeling and acting in the conviction—that India's freedom is

bound up with the success of the Allies, the destruction of Nazism and the wiping out of the Japanese menace, that I say that the attitude of the authorities will defeat the very purpose they have in view and impede war efforts to the extent which the Government cannot afford to neglect at the present juncture. It must not be forgotten as the *Manchester Guardian* rightly warns;

To-day there is no space between us and the abyss. We need all the resources still at our disposal, all the helpers we can summon to our aid, and not only the question of safety but honour too.

The Labour organ, the *Daily Herald*, realises the gravity of the situation and quite pertinently observes:

Even if it yet turns out that the detention of its brains has paralysed the whole Congress body, it does not finally dispose of the Indian problem. For Britain needs the active co-operation of the Indian people freely and enthusiastically given as partners certain of ultimate equality of status. There is neither virtue nor profit, in reluctant collaboration.

I recall in this connection Lord Halifax's words when, as Viceroy of India, he addressed the European Association at Calcutta in these words:

However emphatically we may condemn the Civil Disobedience movement, we should, I am satisfied, make a profound mistake if we underestimate the genuine and powerful meaning of nationalism that is to-day animating much of Indian thought; and for this, no complete or permanent cure has ever been or ever will be found in strong action by Government.

These words are as true to-day as when they were uttered in 1931.

This War must be won at any cost, and the Axis powers must be crushed. The freedom of India is long overdue

and Britain has much to gain from a free India. Conciliation and courageous statesmanship alone will save the situation.

It is vital, says the *News Chronicle* that one more urgent effort should be made to find some way out of the present impasse. India's discontent has not yet given place to despair. But this situation may worsen at any moment. Let us ignore British *am-ur-propre* and past failures, go back to where we were when the Cripps proposals broke down, and try once more to discover a compromise which will be generally acceptable. Is it quite beyond our powers of statesmanship to secure to Indians a Government of their own to which we can hand over the full conduct of their affairs?

It will be true political wisdom to follow the advice of the Dean of Canterbury that

Britain must make the next move. I think we might invite all the Allied powers to join in the guarantee to India that we are really sincere this time to give the people of India after the war the constitution they desire.

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THE CONGRESS DECISION AND AFTER

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[In accordance with our usual practice, an attempt is made in the following pages to give a succinct account of the discussions in the A.-I. C. C. meeting at Bombay. As the debate and the resolution adopted at the Session have aroused considerable interest and led to a great deal of controversy, this precis of its proceedings prepared from the A. P. I. reports to the Press will, it is hoped, be read with interest.—Ed. I. R.]

THE A.-I. C. C.

It will be recalled that the Resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Wardha on July 14, deferred decision on the action to be taken by the Congress, "should the appeal fail" to evoke adequate response from the Government. The Wardha resolution concluded with the words:

As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose, the A.-I. C. C. will meet in Bombay on the 7th of August, 1942.

The A.-I. C. C. meeting was, therefore, looked forward to with more than usual interest. Both the Government and the public alike were waiting to know the lead which the A.-I. C. C. would give on the issue.

The Working Committee met at Bombay in the first week of August, prior to the meeting of the A.-I. C. C. on the 7th. Gandhiji was there guiding the members in framing the fateful resolution to be placed before the full Session of the A.-I. C. C. After prolonged discussions, day after day, the Working Committee adopted the following resolution, which was released to the Press on the eve of the A.-I. C. C. Meeting.

THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION

The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese people its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom.

INDIAN FREEDOM A VITAL ISSUE

This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question; for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A Free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources into the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subjects and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises of guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The A.-I.C.C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the

trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The Provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command together with its Allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of all the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong.

The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly, which will prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a Federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for the co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of of, and prelude to, this freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial power.

WORLD FEDERATION

While the A.I.C.C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a World Federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a World Federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a World Federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a World Federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must

inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

NO DESIRE TO EMBARRASS ALLIES

The Committee regretfully realises, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards World Federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations.

APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength, and of the justice of their cause.

The A.I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations.

GANDHI TO LEAD THE STRUGGLE

But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity.

The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction, for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji, and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji,

and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committee can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, whilst the A.I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A.I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

While the Wardha resolution concluded with an ultimatum that Congress would be forced "to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920", in case of failure of the present appeal to Government, the A.I. C. C. resolution attempts to meet the criticisms levelled against the Congress by Government and other public bodies. It lays down in clear terms that "on the declaration of India's independence, a Provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations". This is in answer to the fear expressed by some that Indian freedom might mean access to Japanese aggression.

The resolution makes it clear that the Provisional Government would be a composite one representing all important sections of India, charged with the definite duty of defending India against aggression. The resolution provides for the retention of foreign soldiers in India, armed defence by the people as well as resistance by non-violent methods.

Another improvement on the Wardha resolution is the attempt made to remove the misapprehensions of the Muslim League that once India is liberated, there would be rule by the majority community. The resolution suggests that India's future constitution should be a federal one with a large measure of autonomy for the federating units and with residuary powers vesting in these units.

The revised resolution, in short, tells the world what exactly is the Congress demand. It retains the operative part of the Wardha resolution, appealing to the United Nations to liberate India from British domination for winning the war, failing which the country would vindicate its inalienable right to freedom and independence by resorting to direct action. It vests the Congress leadership in Gandhiji.

Opening the A.I. C. C. proceedings on the 7th, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, pointed out that on the failure of the Cripps mission, the only course open to them was to take the decision reached at Allahabad, *viz.*, that for the effective defence of the country against foreign aggression the only course was to have the reins of Government in Indian hands.

The menace of aggression to India was ever increasing and the danger which was only a distant one a few months ago, was fast approaching them. In the face of such danger, it would be a calamity to allow the people to become sullen and down-hearted. The Congress wanted to see that every Indian youth took part in resisting aggression. If the people of India were indifferent and sullen, the responsibility was not that of the Congress but that of the British Government.

The Congress President explained that the "quit India" demand did not mean the physical removal of all the Britishers from India.

It only meant the transfer of political power to Indian hands. After the demand had been originally made by Mahatma Gandhi, both Pandit Nehru and himself had gone to Wardha to discuss the matter with Gandhiji, who made it clear to them that it only meant the transfer of power.

GANDHIJI'S EXHORTATION

After the Maulana, Mahatma Gandhi addressed the meeting, outlining his plan of action and appealing to the people to adopt non-violence as a policy. He maintained that Congress represents the whole country:

Another point I want to impress upon you is your great responsibility. Members of the A.I. C. C. are like members of a Parliament. The Congress represents the whole of India. The Congress from its very inception has not been of any particular groove or any particular colour or caste or of any particular province. It has claimed, ever since its birth, to represent the whole nation and on

your behalf I have made the claim that you represent not only the registered members of the Congress but the entire nation.

Discussing his attitude to the war and the British people for whom he said he had no hatred at all, he observed:

This is a crucial hour. If we keep quiet and don't play our part, it would not be right on our part. If it is only Britain and the United States who fight this war, and if our part is only to give monetary help, whether given willingly or taken from us unwillingly, it is not a very happy proposition. But we can show our real grit and valour only when it becomes our own fight. Then even a child will be brave. We shall get our freedom by fighting. It cannot fall from the skies. I know fully well that Britishers will have to give us freedom when we have made sufficient sacrifices and proved our strength. We must remove hatred for the British from our hearts. At least in my heart there is no such hatred. As a matter of fact, I am a greater friend of the British now than ever was. The reason for this is that at this moment they are in distress. My friendship demands that I must make them aware of their mistakes as I am not in the position in which they are, on the brink of a ditch, and are about to fall into it. Therefore, even if they want to cut off my hands, my friendship demands that I should try to pull them out of that ditch.

At a time when he was about to launch the biggest struggle in his life, he would harbour no ill-will towards any one, least of all the British.

It may be that in a moment of anger they might do things which might provoke you. Nevertheless, you should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens you may take it that you will not find me alive, wherever I may be. Their blood will be on your head. If you don't understand this, it would be better if you reject this resolution.

Gandhi held that "the British are not going to fail. I don't consider them a nation of cowards. I know that before they accept defeat, every soul in Britain will be sacrificed".

Concluding, he asked them to fight for true democracy by non-violence. "Once you understand these things," he said, "you will forget differences between Hindus and Muslims".

The resolution that is placed before you says that we don't want to remain frogs in a well. We are aiming at world federation. It can come only through non-violence. Disarmament is only possible if you use the matchless weapon of non-violence. There are people who may call me a visionary but I tell you I am a real *bania*, and my business is to obtain Swaraj. If you don't

accept this resolution I won't be sorry for it. On the contrary I would dance with joy because you would then relieve me of the tremendous responsibility which you are now going to place on me. I want you to adopt non-violence as a matter of policy. With me it is a creed, but so far as you are concerned I want you to accept it as a policy. As disciplined soldiers, you must accept it *in toto* and stick to it when you join the struggle."

PANDIT NEHRU'S SPEECH

Following Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, who moved the resolution, said that the conception of the resolution was not narrow nationalism but had an international background.

The resolution was in no sense a challenge to anyone. If the British Government accepted the proposal, it would change the position for the better, both internal and international, from every point of view. The position of China would be improved. Whatever change might come about in India, it must be for the better. The A.-I.C.C. knew that Mahatma Gandhi had agreed that British and other foreign armed forces stationed in India might continue.

This, he maintained, was in order not to allow the Japanese to come in.

SARDAR PATEL'S SPEECH

Seconding the Resolution, Sardar Patel declared that for three years Congress was scrupulously adhering to their policy of non-embarrassment, but this attitude was not appreciated by the British. Congress could wait no longer.

If America and England were still thinking that they could fight their enemies from India without the co-operation of 40 millions of people, they were foolish. It must dawn on the people that this war was a people's war and they should fight for their country and their freedom. As long as this feeling was non-existent, no amount of propaganda through the newspapers and the radio could rouse the people to a supreme effort.

Sardar Patel warned the people "that the fight that was before them was going to be a tough one".

AMENDMENTS AND DISCUSSION

When the Committee re-assembled on the 8th, a number of amendments to the Working Committee resolution were moved. The President ruled out of order Mr. Balakrishna Sarma's amendment which sought a postponement of the present struggle. Mr. Saxena, Dr. Subbarayan and a few communists brought in other amendments.

After all the amendments had been moved, the Committee proceeded to a general discussion on the resolution.

Pandit Nehru, replying to the opposition, reiterated the offer of co-operation outlined in the official resolution and said:

This resolution is not a threat. It is an invitation. It is an explanation; it is an offer of co-operation. It is all that. But still, behind it there is a clear indication that certain consequences will follow if certain events do not happen. It is an offer of co-operation of a free India. On any other terms there will be no co-operation. On any other terms, our resolution promises only conflict and struggle.

Putting the amendments and the main resolution to the vote, Maulana Azad explained the various efforts made by him to bring about a communal settlement. If the Muslim League was willing to negotiate, he would persuade the Congress within 24 hours to start negotiations.

The Congress President then put the various amendments to vote. Three amendments were withdrawn and the remaining were all rejected by overwhelming majority, only 12 members voting in their favour. The original resolution was then put to vote and was carried with overwhelming majority, only 13 members voting against. The Congress President then declared the resolution passed amidst loud and continued cheers.

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed the House for 120 minutes in English and Hindustani.

GANDHIJI'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

I take up my task of leading you in this struggle not as your commander, not as your controller, but as the humble servant of you all; and he who serves best becomes the chief among them. I am the chief servant of the nation, that is how I look at it,

declared Mahatma Gandhi addressing the audience in English towards the end of his speech. He added: "I want to share all the shocks that you have to face."

Mahatma Gandhi then called on all Indians to begin to feel as free men. He asked the princes to act as trustees of their people and called on newspapers to suspend their publication. He declared: "We shall make every effort to see the Viceroy before starting the struggle."

Our struggle is now to start. But before launching the movement, I will address a letter to the Viceroy and wait for his reply. It may take a week or fortnight or three weeks.

Concluding, Gandhiji said: "I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die."

Winding up the proceedings, the Congress President announced that he was sending copies of the resolution to President Roosevelt, to China and to the Russian Ambassador in London.

If all their efforts failed, then it was for Indians to take a determined step forward with the determination that in this struggle they would venture ahead, no matter what happened to them, whether they sink or swim, whether they win or lose.

THE GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

Immediately following the passing of the Resolution by the A.-I. C. C., the Governor-General-in-Council published, on August 8, a resolution expressing regret at the Congress resolution and determination to meet the "challenge" contained in it.

The Governor-General-in-Council has been aware, too for some days past of dangerous preparations by the Congress Party for unlawful and in some cases violent activities directed among other things to the interruption of communications and public utility services, the organisation of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of Government servants and interference with defence measures including recruitment.

The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wise counsels might prevail. They have been disappointed in that hope.

To a challenge such as the present, there can be only one answer. The Government of India would regard it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities to the people of India and their obligations to the Allies, that a demand should be discussed the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally and would paralyse her effort in the common cause of human freedom.

THE ARRESTS AND ORDINANCES

On the morning of the 9th, Mahatma Gandhi (with Mahadev Desai), Maulana Azad the Congress President, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and other members of the Working Committee were arrested under the Defence of India Act. Then followed the arrest of Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Pyarilal the Mahatma's Secretary, and prominent leaders of the Congress throughout the country. Thus in the

course of a week, everybody who was anybody in the Congress was rounded up and put in jail.

The arrest of the leaders and imprisonment of many Congressmen led to local conflicts with the authorities and troubles began to manifest in different ways. The closing of shops and restaurants was forbidden by a New Defence of India Rule. By another addition to the Rules, the Government of India empowered the Provincial Governments to supersede the local authority in enforcing law and order and for the maintenance of supply and services essential to the life of the community. Yet another order of the Central Government prohibited the

printing or publishing, by any printer, publisher or editor, of any factual news (which expression shall include reports of speeches or statements by members of the public) relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Congress Committee or to the measures taken by Government against that movement, except news derived from official sources, or the Associated Press of India, the United Press of India, or a correspondent regularly employed by the newspaper concerned and whose name stands registered with the District Magistrate of the district in which he carries on his work. The source of the information shall also be stated in the newspaper publishing such news.

Explaining the limits within which reports of the civil disobedience movement may be published a Press Note, dated August 10, New Delhi, says:

The declaration of various Congress Committees to be unlawful associations renders liable to prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act any one who assists their operations. It follows therefore—and this is a matter with regard to which in the circumstances no previous warning to the Press or consultation with Advisory Committees was possible—that the editor of any newspaper who supports or encourages the mass movement sponsored by the bodies referred to above, or who opposes the measures taken by the Government to avert or suppress that movement, will be guilty of an offence against the law. Moreover it is undeniable that the publication of factual news, both by the selection of events reported and by the manner in which they are displayed, can do even more to advertise, and thus support the movement than editorial comment thereon.

The severe restrictions on the publication of news led to the suspension of many papers in English and Vernacular throughout the country. Fourteen papers in Bengal and seven in Madras stopped

their publication from the 20th. The *Hindustan Times* of Delhi, the *National Herald* of Lucknow followed suit. More than thirty newspapers ceased their publication from the 21st.

THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE

The situation, as we write, is growing worse. There are frequent reports of mob frenzy and incendiarism, of *lathi* charges and police firing. Rioting and hooliganism occurred in many parts of India, with the result that in several towns the police had to open fire on mobs which were doing damage to property. In Bombay, the situation continued serious, and the Governor in a broadcast warned the people that the Government would take the sternest and strongest measures possible to meet the situation and to maintain order. The Government thereupon introduced whipping as a punishment for rioters.

Similar acts of arson and rioting took place in other parts of the country, followed by strikes and *hartals* and what is more, tampering with the means of communication and transport. Condemning these acts of violence Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said: "Repression and mob frenzy, which Mahatmaji would not have approved, but which they think he approves, are moving in a vicious circle, and bitterness grows apace." And he added: "Those who do not want the Axis in India cannot be happy over the present situation, which is rapidly growing worse." This is true. These manifestations must be deplored by all who value and desire freedom and security.

The venerable Pandit Malaviya truly voiced the feelings of the more responsible body of his countrymen when he said:

Those people who are indulging in acts of violence and disorder are not only doing great disservice to the country, they are betraying the trust imposed on them by Mahatma Gandhi.

But when all said, repression is no remedy. It only adds fuel to the fire. What is wanted is constructive statesmanship, prompt and generous. Alternate doses of repression and concession, which have so often failed in the past, will fail again.

NATIONALISM AND RELIGION

By SWAMI ASESHANANDA

CRITICS contend: "India cannot attain her liberation so long as she is not a nation. It is an impossible task to unify the Hindus and Muslims, the Sikhs and the Christians and forge them into a nation." The stupendous difficulty of bringing about unity among these hangs heavy on the socialists, who consider religion as a stumbling-block in the way of the realisation of their immediate goal of complete independence. They have planned to scrape up religion altogether from the body-politic and cast it off as a tattered garment. They cite the example of Bolshevist Russia where religion has been knocked on the head. But is this an effective solution? What was good for Russia might not be good for India. To experiment it here, in an altogether different atmosphere, will be like performing an operation on the head in order to cure head ache, just because an operation was effective to cure stomach ache. The operation may be, to all intents and purposes, beneficial but the patient may not survive the ordeal. The socialists may be well-intentioned in their motives, but the method adumbrated by them is not suitable as it runs counter to the genius of the race.

History will bear witness to the fact that ardent and strong religious feelings of different denominational faiths cannot and do not obstruct the building up of a nation if wisely and impartially handled by the administration in power. Take the case of England. Under Queen Mary, did not the Roman Catholics burn the Protestants alive although both paid allegiance to Christ and took his name

and Muslims is nothing in comparison with the bitter hatred and rancorous feelings that were raging between the two groups of the Christian faith during the reign of Queen Bess. The Protestants took advantage of the opportunity and pressed the Catholics to death by an incessant increase in the weight of stones which crushed them ultimately to the last man. In North Ireland, the chivalrous performance of breaking heads was heard of not very long ago. But did all these gross and cruel enactments prevent England from growing into a nation? Does not the England of to-day pride herself as the champion of Democracy and of Freedom? Nature is everywhere almost the same. Its law is universal. What is applicable there is also applicable here. Why should riots here stand in the way of nationalism any more than riots there? Is it sound logic to say that India cannot attain to unity and grow into a nation with her diverse customs and creeds while the same has been practicable in Europe in spite of its shedding rivers of blood, and in China, in spite of her long spell of slumber due to opium intoxication?

Sympathetic critics have held that religious differences in India are more superficial than real. They have been exaggerated and stressed too much by propagandists and vested interests. Deep down there is a fundamental unity which has lived through scores of centuries from the days of the great Moghul Emperor, Akbar, even to our present times. This core of unity is the bed-rock on which the two great civilisations have met, shared their mutual joys and sorrows and

An unbiassed mind will declare without any reservation whatsoever, that points of unity are far stronger and much greater than points of division. In times of supreme trial, when floods, famine or earthquake have worked untold havoc, philanthropic bodies have vouched that every necessary help came to them from all quarters, unsought and in the utmost spontaneity. Then the doling out of charity was not restricted to the particular community of the donor. Large heartedness overstepped all bounds of exclusiveness. In a national crisis, it could be seen that Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians had totally obliterated from the tablet of their minds all religious differences and had rendered unstinted succour to every one in need. This will unmistakably set at naught the theme of wishful thinkers and self-seeking diplomats that religions in India are a deadweight and a hindrance in her onward march towards the goal of freedom. Why should it be so? Are not all religious branches of the same tree which draws its vital sap from One Universal God.

A true Hindu is a brother to a true Muslim. Religion and patriotism have no quarrel between them. They go hand in hand. In order to be a pious Muslim or a devout Hindu, none need forget or turn his back against the land that has given him birth. On the contrary he must rise up in indignation against those who disfigure the fair name of religion and use it as an instrument for national disruption. He must be ready to shed the last drop of his blood and to sacrifice his all for the service of his motherland and to wipe away the last vestiges of communalism fomented by small minds. For, he considers himself

as an Indian first and an Indian last, and what does it matter to him if one worships in a temple, one in a mosque and another in a church? The soul of India is alive and virile. Its task is to show the world torn asunder by greed and rancour, that Indian nationalism will create and not destroy, will feed and not feed on other nations. On the attainment of her long overdue liberation, she will surely discharge her duty of bringing peace to the war-worn nations. It is refreshing to note that men like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald concur with us. A charming and graphic description he gives in his book "Awakening of India", which should clear the mist from the eyes of uncharitable critics and prejudiced minds. It should point out to them the proper perspective. As the facts were gathered from his personal knowledge and personal experience, they are entitled to our serious and reverent attention.

It was the evening of a Matrupuja. The mother Goddess had been dwelling in the midst of the people for some days and this night, with music and procession, she was to be taken down to the Ganges. Lights were in every house. Band after band passed us. They made merry; the hearts of women were sad, for the Goddess is a welcome guest to them. The torches glared, the bands of music shrieked, the crowds shouted and bustled and over all shone the Mother, the Giver of Life, in her gaudy paints and draperies. In India to-day it is always 'the Mother', and it was her festival that bade us farewell.

When one thinks over all these extraordinary impressions of things new, weird and mysterious, he seems to be drawn below the superficial differences seen at the silversmiths' corner in the bazaar of Bombay. These differences are the light split up into its fragments iridescent, many coloured, glancing on the surface of things. Beneath there is unity, a blending of differences in a co-ordinating idea. Even the Mahomedan who lives away from the borders becomes enchanted with India and assimilates something of the spirit of the Vedas. The great mosque at Ajmere, open as it is to the foot of Muslim and Hindu alike, symbolises the real mind of India. So too at Rampal, the ancient capital of Eastern Bengal, one sees Hindu images in the verandah of the mosque and in

similar places of worship throughout the country, the "common altar" is not unusual. The Mother they all worship is India—the India which stretches from the Himalayas to the southernmost part of Ceylon. That is the India of their religion, the India within whose borders are the sacred shrines scattered far apart, north, east, south and west, but all sacred to the people. Every Indian holds the Himalayas in religious reverence. The crowd on the banks of the Ganges at Benares represent every phase and race of Hindu life. Hail O ye Ganges, Jamna, Godavari, Narmada, Sindhu and Kaveri. Come and approach these waters, is the prayer of the northern Hindu who, perhaps, will never see one of the sacred rivers but to whom the land to which they belong is a sacred

personality. The Buddhist in Ceylon breathes precisely the same prayer because he too grasps the same sense of national unity. The land embodies his religion as the image of his God embodies the cult of his worship. The life below is that of a united India—a religious as well as geographical unity and that life will continue to strive for political expression. India is a vision of the Hindu faithful, as Heaven is a vision of the Christian saint.

We will add one thought more: "India is also the dream, the earthly paradise of devout Muslims, the true followers of the Holy Prophet, Messenger of Peace."



HOME GROWN VEGETABLES

The girls in this picture are officers in Britain's Women's Army Auxiliary Territorial Service. This army of women who take over administrative and clerical duties in military camps all over Britain is now over one hundred thousand strong. The women pictured here are taking a course in gardening, and when they return to their camps, they will see to that fresh vegetables are grown by the A. T. S. in the camps to which they are attached.

EXPLOITATION OF CONQUERED EUROPE

BY MR. KANWAR JOGENDRA SINGH, M.A., LL.B., F.R. Econs.

THE Germans of the Hanseatic League dominated the trade and commerce of Europe during a period which lasted for some centuries and which had its culminating point in the 14th century. They exploited the economic weakness of all the neighbouring peoples who were considered sufficiently backward, murdered rivals, aided bankrupt monarchs, and developed a highly organised exchange system for the benefit of their own trade. As Germany under Hitler rose from the ashes to become once again a Great Power with a large planned economy, the organisation of her foreign trade displayed all the characteristics of exploitation initiated by Hansards. A German writer in *Der Vierjahresplan* for November 1939 explicitly declared: "All the countries from Scandinavia through Greater Germany, Switzerland and Italy, down to Turkey, must re-acquire the old Hanseatic basis of life." The Hanseatic conception of neighbour's backwardness formed the theme of innumerable declarations of responsible Nazi leaders. Dr. Ley announced on 31st January, 1940: "A lower race needs less food, less clothes, and less culture than a high race," and Dr. Funk himself declared on July 25, 1940, that the 'New Order' must assure for the German people a maximum of economic security, a maximum of consumption and a maximum increase in the standard of living. The economic programme of the 'New Order' seeks to attain these objects by a complete control of the trade and commerce of the subject races. Europe today is trading to perpetuate its own enslavement. Such meagre reports of a reliable character as have come out of

Europe during the past year have told repeatedly of heavy exploitation of the Continental resources by a ruthless enforcement of the trading arrangements that have been imposed upon the occupied territories from time to time. In many respects, the present conditions on the Continent are of an emergency character and, in detail, largely transitory. Fundamentally, however, they are an advance exemplification of the pattern of the international trading system and general economic structure which Germany would set up if it were in permanent control of the European continent.

The German trade policy is primarily designed to exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of Europe with a view to feeding an ever expanding German war machine. The policy appeared in an embryonic form during the pre-war trade drive in South-Eastern Europe when Germany drained away all real wealth of the Balkan market and settled the balance in unessential manufactures and obsolete arms. Since 1938, the resources of all Europe have been added to Germany's war potential. The pre-war deficiencies in such crucial materials as iron ore, bauxite, and copper have been largely made good. Coal stocks have been vastly increased by the addition of Polish, French and Dutch supplies. The industrial capacity of the Reich has been enlarged by the addition of at least sixty highly developed heavy industrial regions and the Germans' absolute control has enabled them to rationalize and adapt production in all these areas to suit German ends. During 1941, the trade policy aimed at complete economic absorption of the

occupied countries and practically all territories were incorporated into the customs areas of the Axis powers. The entire foreign trade of subject countries was channelized towards Germany, 'both as a market and a source of supply.' The exchange clearing system facilitated the process of drawing off for German use the domestic products of the other countries and of the stocks of imported goods on hand. Germany's requirements from the occupied countries took precedence over all other and with this end in view exports to Germany were made a first charge on the whole production, to the extent of imposing severe rationing on home-grown food. The fact that during 1941, Germany dispensed with the formalities of negotiating trade-agreements with the nominal governments of the countries under its control indicated the total collapse of the economic independence of Europe. Close German supervision over the negotiations for trade agreements between various parts of European countries had been observed during the latter months of 1940. This intervention has now been carried further. Trade agreements on behalf of the occupied countries during these days are negotiated by German officials, who even dictate undertakings which other countries are to carry out.

The effect of the trade programme of the 'New Order', as briefly outlined above, is clearly discernible in the economic miseries of the occupied countries. In addition to political terrorism and national humiliations, these countries have to bear the financial burdens arising out of the trade with their conquerors. The mounting credit balances being built up at the Reichbank by most of the

countries involved apparently represent the formal record of the uncompensated and very often involuntary shipments of their goods to Germany. In the absence of published statistics of exports and imports, the unofficial reports of the acute shortages in most of the European areas, even of products of which the particular country is itself usually a surplus producer, afford practical confirmation of the genuine sufferings brought out by the 'New Order'. A Norwegian correspondent recently pointed out in the *Economist* that there is an acute shortage of food (including fish) and raw materials in Norway owing to compulsory exports to Germany. The countries of South-Eastern Europe are facing an increasing scarcity of home-grown food and of imported raw materials. Hungary has resorted to bread cards; Rumania is experiencing breadless days again and again while Switzerland has resorted to the rationing of dairy products. The Russian campaign has further added to the troubles of occupied countries as they have to meet the intensified demands of the German war colossus with their progressively dwindling resources. In Norway during last winter all blankets were requisitioned for the German armed forces without making any concession for even the minimum needs of the population.

The long-range trade programme of the Nazi Government aims to establish a German supremacy not only on the Continent but on all countries that could be influenced by political pressure. Neutral countries are being increasingly asked to give trade concessions to Germany. The revised commercial agreement between Switzerland and Germany, announced at Berne in July 1941, is

reported to have carried a provision that, if "present difficult circumstances continue", the clearing balance (normally about 50,000,000 Swiss francs) might be increased by advances on the part of the Swiss Government to exporters to Germany, upto a total of 400,000,000 Swiss francs by the end of the year, with a probability of further Swiss advances being required in 1942. An agreement concluded with Sweden in September 1941, enables Germany to have an advance in merchandise to the amount of 100,000,000 crowns, to be repaid by German deliveries in 1942. In certain negotiations during 1941 with neutral countries of Europe, Germany has succeeded in holding down the unit prices at which the principal products of these were to be valued for the purpose of clearing account, while the prices of German goods remained materially advanced. According to a notable Swedish economist, while the export prices of Sweden's foreign trade during 1941 with Germany remained constant at a level of 40 per cent. above the August 1939 figures, import prices continued to rise and were as high as 160 per cent. above the pre-war level.

Europe was quite self-sufficient in food-stuffs upto 1939. This autarky has now entirely disappeared owing to one-sided trade arrangements with Germany. The collective clearing system centering at Berlin works in accordance with the discretion of the German economic authorities. The present political helplessness of Nazi-controlled European countries, and their practical seclusion from the alternative of trade with overseas countries are allowing Germany to proceed successfully with the planned economy of the 'New Order'. Germany's attitude

towards subject races is purely that of a ruthless master towards a slave, and never before in history a slave-keeping race possessed such a highly organized programme of extreme exploitation as is maintained by the Nazi Germany. The projected international division of labour planned by Nazi Government is another weapon of feeding Germany at the expense of the conquered nations. All subject races are being deprived of arming themselves against Germany. Industrial production among them has been replaced by agricultural production while most of their productive installations have been controlled by the occupying authorities. The standard of living of the subject races has been drastically reduced. Germany's chronic shortage of man power has been eased by the addition of workers of every European race partly on forced labour basis but far more widely on the ordinary basis, of a living wage. Discontent or revolt is at once met with repression and reprisals.

At present, exploitation and oppression are tempered by a desire to obtain the collaboration of the subject races in the economic war front directed against the Allies. Should this consideration cease to operate, the trade of Europe, and of other adjacent areas that can be brought under control, will operate under the sole leadership and direction of Germany. The programme of 'New Order' has changed the face of European economy beyond recognition. A victory for the Allies now would not be a victory of the type of the last Great War. Nazi shadow has fallen very heavily over the rest of Europe. The free-trade ideal might, therefore, at best be a Utopia to Europe for many years even if the Allies succeed in gaining a speedy victory over the Nazi Germany.

ADULT EDUCATION AND LITERACY

By MR. M. H. SHAH, M.A.

THE recent publication of census figures for 1941 has, along with the increased millions, also revealed where we are in point of literacy, which is the hall-mark of progress and strength of the population.

NAME OF THE STATE OR PROVINCE	STRENGTH OF LITERATES	LITERATES PER MILE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
Travancore	2,894,416	477
Cochin	503,900	354
Baroda	652,975	229
Bombay Presidency	4,067,700	195
India	3,88,800,000	121
Gujarat States	119,100	82
Western India States	717,200	146
Bengal	9,722,000	161
Madras	6,420,900	130
Mysore	918,915	129
Central Provinces	1,909,686	144
Assam	1,231,700	113
U. P.	4,728,297	84
Gwalior	296,849	74
Hyderabad	1,111,245	69
Kashmir	264,195	66

The figures in the above table indicate the position of important British Indian provinces and Indian States in this matter. It is clear that in India, only about 12 per cent. of the total population is literate. The general significance of word 'literacy' is the ability to read and write and therefore when we say that 12 per cent. of the population of India are literate, we imply that of the total population of over 388 millions only about 47'82 millions are literate. This is but a trifle. This illiteracy of the huge block of population is rather alarming and it behoves every Government not to spare any efforts in stamping out illiteracy from India.

ILLITERACY: A DANGER SIGNAL

Illiteracy is a great danger to the social, economic and moral progress of mankind.

If only very minor sections of the community receive education, while the

general mass remain illiterate, a wide gulf between the educated and uneducated is created. That is what has actually happened in India. The result is that there is an intellectual arrogance on the part of the upper classes and dislike on the part of the ignorant and undisciplined populace. Secondly, a persistent continuance of illiteracy among the masses is incompatible with political advancement. Many of the illiterates are voters and need education to understand the value of franchise. Thirdly, if the education of the children is to be complete and satisfactory, it is necessary that the parents of these children should be educated; for they must be in sympathy with the new things their children learn in the school. Fourthly, if the bulk of the population is uneducated, there will not be the educational atmosphere in the society. Such an atmosphere is very necessary for the healthy growth of a nation, because the life of a community has a deep and profound impression upon the growing children. Last but not the least are the economic interests of the nation. Education and economic interests go together. Educated men have better facilities of improving their economic condition than uneducated men. To sum up, all social and economic problems break on the bed-rock of mass ignorance.

THE PROBLEM

Illiterates could be divided into two blocks—illiterate children and adult illiterates. If no new illiterates are to come into existence, every child of school-going age should receive instruction. But this has not been done in India, where greater percentage of children of school-going age

idle away their time or help their parents in their occupations. This has created a huge block of adult illiterates. It sometimes so happens that children receive education but later on when they grow up, they lapse into illiteracy as a result of the lack of facilities to keep their knowledge intact. Therefore the problem of illiteracy resolves into 3 main issues, satisfactory solution of which is sure to redeem India from illiteracy. They are:

1. Provision for the education of every child of school-going age.
2. Provision for the education of adult illiterates.
3. Provision for the maintenance of literacy standard attained.

What is the way out? Several solutions have been offered and various remedies tried. It is not possible to do justice to all of them in such a short compass as this article and, therefore, I have restricted myself only to Baroda—a place well known for interesting experiments in education.

EDUCATION TO BE COMPULSORY

The credit of starting a campaign against illiteracy first in the whole of India goes to Baroda, where a system of compulsory and free education was introduced as far back as 1893 in Amreli, one of the districts of the States; and by 1906, the system was extended to the whole of the State. This accounts for the fact that at present about 86 per cent. of the total number of children of school-going age are under instruction in Baroda State. The remaining 14 per cent. do not receive instruction because of utter neglect on the part of their parents, the economic struggle and such other reasons.

Under this system of compulsory and free education, free instruction is provided

to every child and thus illiteracy is nipped in the bud. Not only that but fines are also imposed for not sending to school the children of school-going age. That primary education is free and is not to be paid for and that fines would have to be paid if advantage of free education was not availed of, go a long way in goading the parents to educate their children.

ADULT LITERACY CAMPAIGN

The second important measure adopted in Baroda and in almost all the big Provinces and States of India is Adult Literacy Campaign. In those parts and those times, when compulsory education is not enforced, the greater percentage of children remain illiterate. These children, when they grow up, create a huge block of adult illiterates.

Generally all men above 25 years and all women above 21 years are considered grown-ups and adults. Therefore, Adult Education means the education of all men and women above 25 and 21 years respectively. There are, however, two kinds of these adults—those adults who know reading and writing, *i.e.*, literate adults, and those adults who do not know reading and writing, *i.e.*, illiterate adults. In other countries, adult education means continuance of education of people who have already become literate and who have kept up their literacy, but in India the problem is entirely different. Less than 18 per cent. of the population is really literate. Of this 18 per cent. really 1 per cent. can be said to have real capacity to read and write and even of them very few have the inclination to study.

With a view to educate these adult illiterates, Baroda State launched a vigorous

campaign all over the State in May 1939. Adult education classes were first started in Amreli—the district where compulsory education was first introduced. At first only 3 classes were opened but as soon as instructions were issued by the Government to the school teachers, good progress was recorded. A fillip was given to this work owing to the financial help given by local boards, village panchayats, municipalities and leading citizens towards running expenses of the classes.

The total number of classes conducted during the year 1939-40 was 341, of which 297 were for men and 44 for women. The total strength of the classes was 3,292, out of which 2,781 were men and 512 were women. Of the total number of classes, 278 classes—242 for men and 36 for women—were examined and 2,084 entrants—1,786 men and 298 women—were liberated from illiteracy.

From the inception of the literacy campaign till the end of July 1941, the total number of classes conducted is 1,795. In all 26,457 adult illiterates attended these classes and out of them 9,861 have been successful in attaining the literacy standard fixed by the State. Of the remaining 16,596 illiterate adults, 12,978 have left the class, without reaching the literacy standard, and 3,618 are still attending the classes to acquire literacy.

Adult classes conducted in backward areas or in areas of concentrated efforts are paid a monthly contingency grant of Rs. 2 to 4, and over and above this an yearly lump sum of Rs. 50 per every batch of 50 persons rendered literate. At other places the work is considered to be honorary, but schools or centres doing good work become eligible for prizes ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 250 per annum,

Generally these classes are conducted in the evening in school buildings. Primary school teachers form the major portion of the workers in these classes. In spite of the repeated efforts by the officers of the education department, the public response in the matter of organisation of finances of this scheme is not adequate. The Government is also considering the question of devising ways and means of extending increased public co-operation in furthering the campaign.

MAINTENANCE OF LITERACY STANDARDS

Last but not the least is the provision against the lapse of new adult literates as well as literate children into illiteracy owing to the lack of facilities of using their powers of reading and writing. A committee has, therefore, been appointed to examine the question of preparing suitable literature for the newly made literates and to explore all the possibilities in this connection. A detailed scheme about the preparation of such literature is also worked out.

THE ROLE OF LIBRARIES

The village and town libraries also play a very important part in maintaining literacy standards once acquired.

In fact, at the end of several years of experience of compulsory education in Baroda State, it was found that a boy or a girl who has passed fifth standard vernacular lapses into illiteracy within a few years unless he or she gets opportunities of continuing to read books.

The Government, therefore, adopted a policy of providing with a library, every village where there is a school, the help given by the Government and District Boards in each case being equal to the contribution raised by the village. For annual expenses, the Government gives

a grant equal to the contribution raised by a library. With this object libraries in the district receiving Government grants are grouped in three classes determined by the amount of maximum grants. District libraries receive upto Rs. 700, town libraries upto Rs. 300, village libraries upto Rs. 100, provided an equal amount is raised by the libraries. The mahila and children's libraries receive grants on the basis of village libraries and reading-rooms receive upto Rs. 50. Since 1934, every year fifty new libraries are established.

During the year 1940-41, there were 1,501 libraries in total, of which 46 were district and town libraries, 1,270 were village libraries, 18 were libraries for females, 12 were children's libraries and 156 were reading-rooms. These libraries served 82.6 per cent. of the total population of the State, town population being served to the extent of 100 per cent. and village population to the extent of 78.27 per cent.

TRAVELLING LIBRARIES

Mention must here be made of 'Travelling Libraries' specially designed to meet the needs of those areas which have no libraries at all or whose libraries do not contain certain books required by particular readers.

The Country Library section, as it is called, has a travelling library with a stock of 28,687 volumes. A travelling library consists of a wooden box, containing from 15 to 30 books and is made strong enough to withstand hard wear. These boxes are despatched free of charge to any library, or school or in fact to any responsible body of persons or person who undertakes to distribute the books in his locality. Even the freight both ways is borne by the department. Some of

the books are termed fixed sets and contain books on a given subject, such as Agriculture, Bee-keeping—others are selected as being suitable to a particular class or grade of readers—others again contain books by a particular author. Collections may, however, be made to meet the varying requirements of a particular locality. During the year 1940-41, this section circulated 17,850 books among 8,840 readers by sending out 565 boxes to 375 centres.

The problem of illiteracy has been solved in many of the countries of the world with the help of one or the other of the agencies mentioned above and 90 to 100 per cent. literacy has been secured. In Russia the literacy percentage stood at 58.4 in the year 1928, but the literacy campaign brought it to 90.0 in the year 1932. In England, the Adult school was established as early as the year 1798 A.D. and by the end of the year 1935 A.D. nearly the whole of population was made literate. In Germany, Spain, Italy and China, favourable results have been obtained. So India may follow suit by taking a leaf out of the experience of those countries and then hope to be free because literacy is the foundation of liberty.

CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.

SOURCES OF MARATHA HISTORY

THE POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE *

By RAO BAHADUR PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

THE official records of the Central Government of the Marathas preserved in the Peshwa Daftar, Poona, and made available to the scholar by the untiring labours of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, come to an end about the close of the first Anglo-Maratha War. After this date the stream of official records begins to dry up; but as has been pointed out, English records come to the forefront just then. These English records preserved in the Poona Residency begin practically from the appointment of the first English Resident at Poona in 1786, and they contain a rich and varied mass of historical and economic information and also duplicates of the more important despatches sent to the Governor-General by the Residents with the Scindia, the Gaekwad, the Bhonsle and the Nizam. The Government of Bombay having completed the monumental *corpus*, named 'Selections from the Peshwa Daftar', have now published the English Records in their possession, necessarily as a valuable supplement to the Maratha Series and constituting in several respects a complement to the English Records preserved in the Bombay Secretariat. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, the evidence in the English Records is far

more accurate and wide-spread than in that of the Marathas, and it embodies a broader survey of Indian politics as well as a deeper and more intelligent criticism of character and policy than could be gleaned from the Maratha letters and sources.

The first two of the six volumes that are reviewed here deal with the tangled years of the English alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas in their war with Tipu (1790-92), and the subsequent relations of the allies that led to the declaration of an attitude of neutrality on the part of the English, while their two quondam allies began to fight; the third book deals with the anti-Peshwa attitude of the Nagpur Bhonsles who were cleverly roped in by the English and who, even in the general revulsion of feeling, following the conclusion of the Treaty of Bessin by the Peshwa and in his combination with the Scindia, did not whole-heartedly support his allies. They first bring out clearly the great military talents of Lord Cornwallis, which have been relatively hidden in the background of Anglo-Indian historical literature against the bright field of Wellesley's subsequent decisive triumph over Tipu, as well as the outstanding diplomatic ability of Sir Charles Malet, then Resident at the court of Poona, who proved himself more than a match to the astuteness and cunning of Nana Fadnis.

We learn further that the apparently futile diplomatic moves of the English and their allies in the fateful years that ended with the Maratha triumph at

* Volume III. The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 1790-93. Edited by N. B. Ray.

Volume IV. Maratha-Nizam Relations, 1792-95. Edited by V. G. Dighe.

Volume V. Nagpur Affairs, 1781-1820. Edited by Y. M. Kale.

Volume VI. Poona Affairs, 1797-1801 (Palmer's Embassy). Edited by G. S. Sardesai.

Extra Volume. Selections from Sir C. W. Malet's Letter-Book, 1780-84. Edited by Raghubir Singh.

Volume VII. Poona Affairs, 1801-1810 (Close's Embassy). Edited by G. S. Sardesai. Government Press, Bombay.

Khorda were really based on Shore's perception of the serious consequences that were bound to result from any close alliance with the shifty and weak-kneed durbar of Hyderabad. The immediate cause of the Nizam's defeat is explained in a letter by Kirkpatrick, the then British Resident at Hyderabad.

We also learn from the fifth volume how the abundant correspondence of the British Residents at Nagpur formed a sort of compensation for the relative lack of material relating to the activities of the Bhonsles found in the archives of both Poona and Nagpur. Again we read from the letters published here that "the low morals to which even high Indians were then reduced made it easy for the Britain to use their spy-system to the greatest advantage" and that the moral decay which had early set in the Nagpur State was a powerful factor contributing to the complete destruction of the political importance of the Bhonsles from the date of their defeat at Argao.

The masterly reports of Sir Richard Jenkins, the famous Nagpur Resident, and of others afford instructive reading and give numerous side-lights on the devastations effected by the Pindaris, the impotence of the State troops, the etiquette, etc., prevailing at the Bhonsle Durbar. The Pindari inroads into Nagpur territory are treated in a separate section. We note with interest that Jenkins tried, as early as 1811, to obtain a reliable history of the origin and the early history of the Pindaris, who were mentioned in some of the earliest accounts of the Marathas as attached to their armies and even in the still earlier stages of the Deccan history.

The volume on Palmer's Embassy is equipped with an adequate chronological table of the Poona Affairs, which should enable the student to follow clearly the topics discussed by Palmer and to supplement the information contained in Martin's *Despatches of Wellesley*. The main interest centres in the long-drawn negotiations which the Governor-General was pressing upon the Peshwa with the aim of arriving at a subsidiary alliance and in the ultimate forcing of the Peshwa into compliance and resort to British protection on their own terms. Side-lights are furnished on the fleecing of the citizens of Poona by the infamous Sarzerao Ghatge, on the plots to depose Bajji Rao and on the numerous rebellions of chiefs and officials, all of which constitute a mass of dark clouds which gathered over the Maratha nation's horizon "with the certainty of Fate in a Greek tragedy".

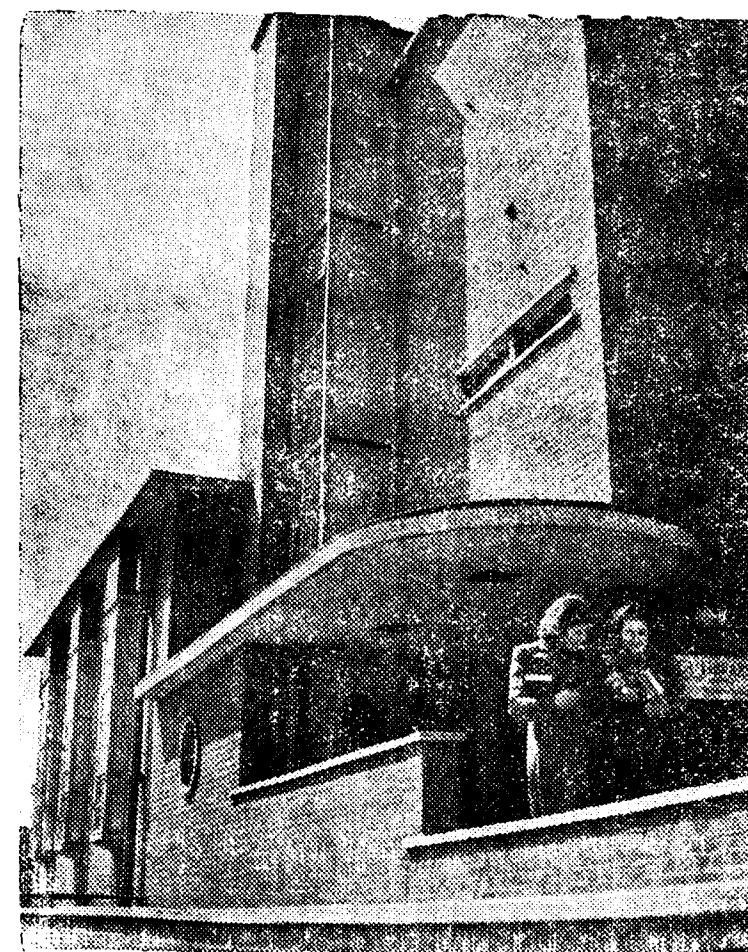
The Extra Volume containing a selection from the manuscript letter-book of Malet, who in the course of his Residentship at Cambay, came to be connected with the negotiations for a treaty between the ex-Peshwa, Raghoba, and the English to whom he applied for help. Malet was, in one sense, partially responsible for the conclusion of the Treaty of Surat in March 1775; and credit is here claimed for his having preserved 'Raghoba's person, jewels and several grants of territories to the Company. Likewise, Malet helped in securing the renunciation by the Gaekwad Fateh Singh of the *chauth* of the city of Cambay.

Malet, as pointed out by the painstaking and thorough editor, Dr. Raghubir Singh, who acquired by purchase the manuscript letter book, which is the basis of this volume, was a severe critic of

Fateh Singh Gaekwad and of his oppressive and high-handed rule and was against the latter's position being strengthened in Gujarat. He advocated a forward policy for the English in the province and even proposed the acquisition of places round about Cambay.

Volume VII of the Series deals with Major Barry Close's Embassy to Poona in the years 1801-1809. Close had gained reputation in the Fourth Mysore War

and later in the reorganisation of that kingdom in conjunction with Diwan Purnayya. Perhaps, Close's most remarkable service in the course of his long tenure as Resident was in preventing an outbreak of the combined forces of the Scindia and the Holkar supported by others at a moment (1805) when every prospect seemed encouraging for a renewed Maratha outbreak.



BRITAIN'S LIBRARIES IN WAR TIME

This picture shows the modern architecture and clean lines of a typical branch library run by the local authority at Kenton, near Harrow, in Middlesex. Thirteen thousand five hundred people are registered subscribers to this library. Every year 250 million books are lent by British Libraries.

Buddha Figures in India and Ceylon

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY MR. S. C. CHANDRA, M.A.

EARLY ANICONIC ART OF INDIA

IN early Buddhist art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and Amaravati to some extent, Buddha is not represented in anthropomorphic form but wherever his presence was needed it was indicated by symbols. This was due to the peculiar bent of the Aryan mind which did not as yet favour the anthropomorphic shape of their gods. But there was a strong element of anthropomorphism in the religious beliefs of the non-Aryan and pre-Aryan population of the country, and as a result of the contact with these people, the tendency to image worship was gradually gaining ground. The symbolic form of the god is just a step prior to his anthropomorphic form and with the emergence of the doctrine of "bhakti" or the devotional cult of a personal god, images begin to appear more and more in worship and came to be established in the religious beliefs of the Indian people as a whole. The fusion of the non-Aryan, pre-Aryan and Aryan tendencies brought about a change in the psychology of the Indian mind and the image occupied its place in the art of the country.

In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., Buddha image appears simultaneously in the Hellenistic art of Gandhara on the one hand and the indigenous school of Mathura on the other. The Gandharan Buddha image has been taken to be the first in point of date so far as extant remains are concerned and on this account some scholars have sought to deduce a theory of Hellenic origin for the Buddha image. But, as already

observed, the tendency towards image worship was already gaining ground in India, even without the Hellenic inspiration, and as Dr. Kramrisch says: "Under no circumstances can priority lay a claim for the Gandharan Buddha as the originator of the Buddha image, it may have been due to the accident of preservation." This point will be made clear when a comparison is made of the two examples, one from Gandhara and the other from Mathura. Racially and psychologically the two types of Buddha image, one from Mathura and the other from Gandhara have different origins. The Buddha image from Gandhara, whether seated or standing, follows the Hellenistic notions of plasticity and form, and has been inspired by the same standard of ideal beauty. Thoroughly realistic in form, it wholly differs from the Indian standard of the ideal man who is his "devata". The drapery with a volume of its own covers the whole body from the shoulders down to the feet and has been worn just like a Roman toga. The facial type, the treatment of the hair etc. are all in accordance with the Hellenistic notions. But this Hellenistic art has been employed to serve an Indian faith and as such it follows the Indian tradition, verbal or plastic, in every essential of its iconography. The conception of the seated yogi in cross-legged attitude is Indian; such is also the case with reference to the different stances, attitudes and poses. The ideas of the *usnisa* and *urna* are supplied by the Indian ideal of the superman. For these reasons the Gandharan Buddha may be said to be

stylistically Hellenistic and iconographically Indian. "The Gandharan sculptor did not make an Appollo into a Buddha but a Buddha into an Appollo." The Mathura Buddha, which is a direct evolution of the early primitive trend of India, set the standard for all future Buddha images, while the Gandharan Buddha, which was an exotic adaptation of Indian notions by syncretistic craftsmen of Gandhara, could not long survive but died a natural death. Sir John Marshall's view that Hellenism could never make a lasting hold in India amply shows that Hellenism, but for a few motives and but for the impetus which it gave to Indian art, did not in any way alter the ancient artistic trend of India. The Greek ideal of beauty and intellect did not awaken any sense of response in the Indian mind which to all intents and purposes followed up her own indigenous trend, and it was this ancient trend worked or transformed according to Indian notions that survived for all future times, irrespective of extraneous influences which were always surface currents but never penetrated deep enough to alter the general flow of Indian art. On the other hand, the early Kushana Buddha type from Mathura is characterised by the following peculiarities. The sculpture is in the round or in high relief and always in mottled red-sandstone of Sikri, the head shaven, no moustache, the right hand held in *abhaya mudra*, the left often clenched and rests on the thigh in seated figures or in standing figures support the folds of the robe; the elbow always being at some distance from the body, the breasts prominent, the drapery arranged in schematic folds moulds the flesh very closely. All these features are to a

great extent contrary to what is found in Gandhara. Vogel aptly remarks: "It cannot be derived from any known class of images in Gandhara. The Mathura Buddha is essentially a product of the Indian school; it follows up the ancient tradition of pre-Kushana Yakshas and Yakshis."

MATHURA AND SARNATH:

Mathura lays all the stress and importance on the physical side of her figures and hence we have the stolidly built unspiritual Buddha type. To this heavy stolidity of the Kushana type, Gupta artists added a refined restraint and inner spirituality. Gupta art is a logical outcome of Kushana art by physical refinement and inner spiritualism. The Gupta Buddha is no longer the world conqueror (*chakravarti*) but what he is concerned with is the conquest of the mind. Whereas the Mathura artist laid all the stress on the physical get-up of the figures, Gupta artists did their all to portray the Buddha figures as spiritual conquerors. This was done by doing away with the massive weight of the figures as well as by the sight turned to the tip of the nose, as indicated by the drooping upper eye-lids. The early figures (Bodh Gaya image of Trikamala) betray the ideal of a grim resolve for such inner conquest, but gradually in the later images, e.g., Sarnath, the figures get relaxed and they sink deeper and deeper into spiritual bliss. The undulating lines of the body portray a subtle movement of life underneath.

THE SARNATH BUDDHA

This classical type is the main source of all later forms both in and beyond Indian boundaries. The Gupta type is characterised by its refinement, by a

clear delineation and definition of the features, by curly hair, absence of *urna*, greater variety of *mudras* (the *mudras* are no longer dead symbols but serve an artistic purpose and fulfil the idea for which they are introduced). The role covering one or both shoulders is extremely diaphanous and clearly reveals the figure, the yoga-like glance with the gaze of the eyes fixed on the tip of the nose. Scarcely any trace of Hellenistic plasticity is apparent. *The smiling face of the Buddha no longer ill fits its head but essentially conveys the ideal of Buddha the Enlightened One.* In Mathura during the first and second centuries the discrepancy between the Buddhahood and Buddha image had been insurmountable; now the Buddha figure signifies the reality which is hinted at by its name. The Gupta trend of Sarnath, which was the prolific centre of Gupta art, had its repercussions on the East Indian art tradition.

THE GUPTA SCHOOL

The Eastern Indian version of the Gupta school is characterised by a warm sensuousness. The Sultanganje copper Buddha, which is the typical type of East Indian Gupta figure, shows this sensuous emotional trend in the nervy manner in which the pointed finger tips are bent slightly backwards, deeper shadows round the eyes and the lines that are more drawn from the nostrils to the mouth. This emotional version of the Gupta art of Sarnath had also her influences in Assam.

In South India, the Amaravati Buddha figures reveal an extension of the earlier indigenous school but modified to some extent by extraneous influences. The mode of wearing the drapery covering

one shoulder only with its curved folds and the heavy volume at the bottom as a result of the tucking up of the robes over the forearm are typical distinguishing features of this school. In the Amaravati Buddha figures, the face as a spiritual physiognomy is yet unknown. There is no enlightenment in any of them. They are one of this plane and quite befitting the vibrant and tense atmosphere of Amaravati.

The Buddha figures of Ceylon show an extension of the artistic trends of the Indian mainland. In the standing Buddha figure from Anuradhapura, we notice the peculiar characteristic of the Vengi school (e.g., drapery, ornaments, etc.) but with an admixture of the primitive art tradition of India. In the seated Buddha figures from the same locality the Mathuran tradition of bulk and heaviness is associated with the impress of spiritualistic sense and soft and subtle sensuousness of modelling of the Gupta school.

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Christian Attitude to War and India's Demands

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[During the last few weeks the situation has deteriorated in India. The 'quit India' slogan of the Congress has provoked a stern challenge by Government. Mr. Amery threatened that the police and the courts would deal with the situation promptly and firmly. Leaders of Christian thought feel that this is not exactly the way of peace by which any lasting settlement could be brought about. The Metropolitan of Calcutta sounded a note of warning. Following this, other leaders of the Community have expressed themselves in favour of settlement by conference and negotiation. A wise Government, as has been said, "will be looking beyond its police and the troops to the possibilities of restoring real peace to India." This is urged by Christian leaders in India.—ED. I. R.]

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

THE Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to *The Times*, makes plea to Christian people to "remember India in their prayers". The Archbishop writes:

I think it is not prominently in the minds of many people that the Indian Congress will meet again on August 7, when the decision reached may have a great effect upon the relationship between a large section of Indian opinion and this country. To many of us it seems that what is most needed is not a new political device but a new temper of mind and a new spiritual approach. I write to ask that Christian people will, at this time, especially remember India in their prayers.

THE METROPOLITAN OF INDIA

I

Dr. Foss Westcott, the Metropolitan of India, in a statement on the present Indo-British relation, suggesting that the assistance of the trusted allies who have co-operated in the present struggle for world freedom should be sought to avert a disaster, says:

I have read with profound regret the utterance of the Secretary of State regarding the present political situation. I deplored the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, because it departed from the principle of conference to settle disputes between men of goodwill, and adopted the threat of coercive action to enforce their views upon those with whom they had a controversy. Is it the method of peace to answer threats of coercion with similar threats? Among determined men that way leads to war and the danger has arisen that two great nations will be engaged in a struggle which will exceed in bitterness and agony anything that has gone before. Is it too late to avert a disaster whose consequences on the wider conflict, which is at present being waged, cannot but be of the gravest character?

Is the meaning of the Cross which we as Christians claim to follow, to be lost upon us, and the way of redemption through sacrifice to be disregarded? I recall a critical situation 18 years ago when religious fanaticism had led to great riots in many places in north India and

the danger of civil war rose above the Indian horizon, but at that time a great Indian leader by his personal sacrifice and urgent call to prayer brought the warring parties together in conference, where, under the guidance of the spirit of God, hatred and antagonism were overcome by mutual understanding and goodwill and reconciliation was achieved. My appeal is to that great body of my fellow-countrymen who, heirs of national freedom themselves, believe that this is the rightful possession of every nation on reaching maturity.

Britain through a century and more has been building up a great nation from the diverse elements of India's vast population. The time has come to place the coping stone upon this noble edifice and surely it should be laid in the cement of mutual goodwill and fellowship.

When honest disputes arise between men of goodwill, recourse is had to arbitrate. An independent mind free from inherited prejudices is better able to see where the just solution lies. Is such a course impossible for the present crisis? We have sought and found trusted allies to co-operate in the present struggle for world freedom which, unaided, we could hardly hope to have achieved. Is it not in the path of wisdom to seek similar assistance in no less grave situation?

II

In a statement to the press on August 10, the Metropolitan says:

That we best serve her (India) by helping to make of her a self-governing nation, I am convinced. That is the Government's declared policy.

The question at issue is when and how at this point. The Congress resolution with its threat of mass civil disobedience has been passed. The Government has felt compelled to take drastic steps to counteract the organisation, which it believes is being perfected for putting that threat into execution. But alongside of this has been the postponement of civil obedience for a week and Mahatma Gandhi's declared willingness to visit the Viceroy and to take part in the proposed conference suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Surely these facts constitute the strongest ground for summoning such a conference of the real leaders of the people at the earliest possible moment. That force has been employed must not be allowed to rule a conference out of court.

Dr. E. FORRESTER PATON

Dr. E. Forrester Paton of Christu-Kula Ashram, Tirupattur, has issued a statement to the Press supporting the appeal of the Metropolitan. He says:

The urgency and the gravity of the present situation in India has prompted me to write this open letter to my fellow Britishers. Naturally, we may feel somewhat resentful at the demand of the Congress for the immediate withdrawal of the British power from India, and we may object that this is an impossible time to make such a demand. But if we consider it with an unbiased mind, we shall see that the demand is both just and also clearly in line with the ideals for which the allied nations stand. Indeed, this should have been done long ago, at the very least, at the beginning of the war. For those who are enjoying the profits of British rule in India to plead that Britain must protect the country from civil war and anarchy and continue implementing our old treaty obligations to exploiting Princes, is unconscious self-deception, and, sometimes I fear, even conscious hypocrisy. When the majority of thinking and public-spirited Indians say that foreign rule must go we as liberty loving people must be at once prepared to withdraw, and do so in the quickest and most friendly way possible. Only then will a sense of reality come upon the scene and Indians will be set to carve their own destinies even as the Chinese have done and risen to real nobility in doing so.

But we may argue: "Why should this demand be made at this time when India is in danger of invasion?" "Cannot India wait for the promised independence six months after the end of the war?" There are two cogent reasons against such delay. First, there is no honest man who can tell what may be the position six months after the war, or what new exigencies may have developed before that time. The second and far more important reason is that the whole world needs just such a proof that Britain is willing to divest herself all of imperial interests wherever these interests conflict with the express desires of the majority of the people affected. It will show the people of subjugated nations and especially the "coloured races" that our ideals of racial equality and freedom are not mere talk but what we are in dead earnest about them. Above all, the rust in India itself would, I believe, be dramatic in uniting the nation behind the allied cause. During peace time it is not unlikely that Hindus and Muslims might want to haggle and fight with one another but when faced as they are to-day by common danger, they would be drawn into common action with one another and so be led to find a working basis for unity. In this way, I trust that the new India will be born and that she will be a true and willing ally of Britain. I do not doubt that this would involve big difficulties and much upsetting of plans and policy, but for the man of faith, that which is right and just, is always the most practical thing, because, in doing it we bring ourselves into line with God's plan for the world.

CHRISTIAN LEADERS' APPEAL

An appeal to leaders of all parties in India to meet, discuss the present political situation and arrive at a settlement honourable to India is made in a statement prepared by a number of Christian leaders signed, among others, by the Rt. Rev. Stephen Neill, Bishop of Tinnevely, the Rev. R. V. Asirvadam, Archdeacon of Palamcottah, the Rev. Canon G. T. Selwyn, Mr. Daniel Thomas, Chairman of the Municipal Council, the Rev. Canon I. Gnanayutham, doctors, teachers and lawyers. It says:

We believe that a speedy and successful termination to the war, and a satisfactory peace settlement after it, cannot be hoped for unless the resources of India are now thrown wholeheartedly into the struggle.

But such whole-hearted participation in the war is possible only if India is at peace within her own borders, and shares a common outlook with the other allied nations. Instead of this we are faced at the present time by serious communal disagreements and growing tension between the Government and important sections of political opinion. This situation fills us with apprehension and dismay.

We are convinced that the possibilities of the method of agreement by frank discussion and conference have been by no means exhausted, and that immediate recourse should again be had to this method. We earnestly hope that leaders in all the parties concerned, and all who have it in their power to influence in any way the destiny of India, will set themselves to reopen the doors of conference and discussion, with a firm resolution to forget past difficulties to be prepared for bold experiment, and not to slacken their efforts until a solution has been reached which is honourable to India and satisfactory to all who are interested in the peace of the world.

NATIONAL CHURCH COUNCIL'S APPEAL

The Executive Committee of the National Christian Council adopted the following resolution on August 6:—

The Committee are deeply distressed over the existing deadlock and growing bitterness and misunderstanding and we plead for a solution through the re-establishment of goodwill, mutual respect and trust. We urge the Congress to take no action which will endanger such a solution. We also urge the Government to make a fresh approach to the problem of securing India's complete freedom. We appeal no less urgently to all other political parties. Failing a settlement, there cannot but be a great addition to the sum of anger and hatred in the world, leaving for future generations a heritage of resentment. We are convinced that by some method not yet fully explored, possibly that of a conference or arbitration a way out of the present dangerous situation can be found.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

A Deplorable Situation

NOT Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar only but men of peace and goodwill everywhere deplore that their "words have fallen on deaf ears" and a situation fraught with the greatest danger to the country has been brought about by ill-timed threat of mass action on the one hand and Government's precipitate action on the other. Time and again, we have repeated in these columns that mass civil disobedience, however non-violent in intention, will ultimately lead to the grossest abuse culminating in the worst forms of hooliganism. And so it has been. By the mass arrest of leaders of the Congress—including Gandhi and Nehru and the Congress President—on the conclusion of the A. I. C. C. meeting, the Government have precipitated a crisis which was not entirely without prospects of settlement by negotiation. Reports in the Press give alarming accounts of the nature of the reaction, by no means creditable to the civic sense of the elements concerned. Lathi charges and firing have been resorted to. It is all in the old vicious circle—repression followed by mob frenzy in an unending circle. Where will all this lead to—and in such a time as this when the common enemy is at our doors, waiting to pounce upon the country at an opportune moment?

It is all so grim and sad, especially when we realise that the Congress itself—as evidenced by the resolution and the speeches of its leaders—is no whit behind the Government in its anxiety to safeguard the country from Japanese aggression. Unfortunately, Mr. Amery who, as Dr. Sapru has observed, has done more than anyone else to jeopardize Indo-British relations, is still at the helm repeating his shibboleth of "unflinching" and "resolute" action, as if he were dealing with an enemy people. British prestige in India has never been so low as in his regime, which has done great harm to Indo-British relations.

But men of peace and goodwill are yet on either side, anxious to bridge the gulf, and it should not be beyond the

capacity of statesmanship to retrieve the situation. One cardinal point which the Government seems to have missed is that Gandhi himself has rescinded very much from his original position. The resolution adopted by the A. I. C. C., says Mr. Rajagopalachari,

contemplated fullest co-operation in armed resistance against the Axis if a transfer of power takes place by agreement on the basis of independence. Gandhiji believed that there was ample opportunity for exchange of ideas with the Viceroy before starting his campaign. But Government's precipitate action prevented negotiation and adjustments and has created a most unfortunate and dangerous situation. In spite of this, I believe a calm examination by British statesmen of the Congress position will not be impossible or useless.

It was common knowledge that Gandhiji was anxious to meet the Viceroy to find a solution for the deadlock and strengthen the defence of this country and so of the allied cause. Even at this hour it is possible to arrest the situation which is bound to deteriorate, if it is not met with a due sense of proportion. The Congress threat of mass action was certainly injudicious. But as the Metropolitan of India says in his moving appeal:

Alongside of this has been the postponement of Civil Disobedience for a week and Mahatma Gandhi's declared willingness to visit the Viceroy and to take part in the proposed conference suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Surely, these facts constitute the strongest ground for the summoning of such a conference of the real leaders of the people at the earliest possible moment.

The fact that force has been employed must not be allowed to rule a conference out.

The Late Mahadev Desai

The country has been deeply moved by the sudden death of Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's Secretary, while under detention in prison, on August 15. After a brilliant academic career, Mahadev Desai was practising as a lawyer for a time. But when Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa, he threw himself completely into his service, working with him as his political and private Secretary, and always in close attendance on him in the Asram at Sabarmati and Sevagram, sharing the austere life of his master. A man of wide culture and keen intelligence, he relieved the Mahatma of

much of the routine work of a public leader of Gandhi's eminence and popularity. Few Secretaries could have so successfully discharged the arduous duties that devolved on him with such cheerfulness and competency. His writings first in *Young India* and then in *Harijan* exercised a profound influence on thousands of readers as did the writings of Gandhi himself. Desai was an adept at interpreting the subtlest thoughts and movements of the Mahatma's mind. He shared the Mahatma's ideas and opinions on all things, lived the same simple and stoic life and had the scholar's instinct to seize his thoughts and weave them in words of perfect brilliance. For a quarter of a century, he identified himself so completely with the Mahatma's life that he could rarely be said to have had a separate existence or ambition. It was an adventure in self-abnegation, the like of which had never been known since Socrates and Crito. No wonder that Gandhiji's bereavement is irreparable, while the rest of the country has lost a fine character and a noble patriot.

Mahadev's affable manners and charming disposition won him friends everywhere. Amidst all the distractions of a political struggle, his interest in literature and the ancient classics was always sustained. It is sad to recall his interest in the Sanskrit-English publications in which the Editor of this *Review* has of late been specialising. Only a few days before his death, he asked for the latest of these classics—and he would not have had time to finish it before he has been cut off so suddenly in the prime of life. And yet he could not have wished for a different end than to die in the course of a national struggle and in the immediate presence of the master whom he loved so well and served so faithfully:

Yet, O stricken heart, remember O remember

How of human day's he lived the better part.
Took his fill of music, joy of thought and

[seeing
Came and stayed and went, nor ever ceased

[to smile.
Came and stayed and went, and now when all

[is finished,
You alone have crossed the melancholy stream.

Yours the pang, but his, O his, the
[undiminished

Undecaying gladness, undeparted dream.

Government Communique on Congress "Documents"

We cannot congratulate the Home Department of the Government of India on the unauthorised publication of private talks among members of the Congress Working Committee on the eve of the Allahabad Session of the A. I. C. C. Meeting. The way the so-called "documents" were obtained by a Police raid on the offices of the Congress, as yet not declared unlawful, was itself reprehensible. But to broadcast the notes of private talks on the eve of a momentous Session of the Committee was to say the least anything but decent. If the authorities thought that the so-called "revelations" would discredit either Gandhi or the Congress, they were woefully mistaken. If anything, the frankness of the talks, the earnestness of the members and their readiness to envisage the problem from every point of view has had an effect, the very reverse of what the Government had expected. On the other hand, one cannot sufficiently deplore the short-sightedness of the Department in rushing to broadcast news which, if only the Congress itself had released, would have been banned without ceremony. Every one is aware of the enemy propaganda, which is eager to make the most of domestic differences. Time and again our propaganda has countered the enemy lies that India is pro-Axis. What then is the sense in making it known that Gandhi and some of his colleagues are so inclined? What will be the reaction of the masses to such statements? Apart from the impropriety of the thing, it is difficult to believe that so silly a scoop should have been attempted by any responsible body. As the newly started Muslim Daily of Calcutta, *Morning News*, has pointed out:

The torpedo intended for the Working Committee has elements of the boomerang in it. . . . The publicity given was wrong, politically immoral and administratively unjustified even as a war emergency. Unauthorised versions of the utterances of public men and exchanges of ideas and arguments in private conversations, if published under the authority of the Government, will make public life impossible. Congress spokesmen have acquired reputation for their outspokenness. Government will be well-advised not to stoop to methods not in keeping with the decencies of public life. Such things are not done among men of honour.

The Muslim League

The hope that the Muslim League would do something to resolve the deadlock that has persisted so long has proved illusory. As usual, the League Council met soon after the Congress Committee in Bombay. But its decision seemed to be no more than the customary denunciation of Congress activity. It does not require much astuteness nor bravery at this time to condemn the doings of the Congress. Everybody agrees that civil disobedience will be disastrous. But what does the League propose to do, now that the Congress has gone into the wilderness? It has no constructive programme. Those among the Muslims who are engaged in war effort are doing so in spite of the League. The League itself for all its tall talk, is sitting on the fence, doing nothing and obstructing every move for unity or concerted action. The lofty declaration that it is willing to consider any proposals for setting up a Provisional Government . . . , "provided the demands of Moslem India are conceded" takes us nowhere. This is certainly not the sort of initiative that is expected of any responsible party. The League Council has taken two thousand words to repeat this old story. As the *Statesman* points out:

The resolution as it emerges from the meeting is much longer than the earlier forecast, but less satisfying.

No wonder that even Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who had to tear himself away from the Congress with a view to bring about unity between the Congress and the League is reported to be extremely unhappy over the tone and substance of the Muslim League's resolution at Bombay and the failure on the part of the League to take a bold initiative at a critical moment.

British Comments on India

British comments on the situation in India are so ill-informed and ignorant that one wonders how at such a distance and with so distorted a vision they could be of any help in resolving the present deadlock. And yet advice is never lacking and we have columns of dissertation on what should be done. No wonder that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member-Designate to the War Cabinet, speaking at a party in Delhi the other day, had,

according to a press correspondent, some "hard words to say against those 'living 6,000 miles away. He hoped to be able to apprise the people in London' with the true position in India." There is certainly great need for this, especially from one in so responsible a position as Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar occupies in the counsels of the Government. On the eve of his departure from Karachi, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is reported to have said at a Press Conference that he certainly felt certain that the statements and comments in London showed a lack of sense of reality of the Indian situation.

His assurance is, therefore, most welcome:

I shall certainly place before the authorities in England all the facts that I have gathered both from official experience and public contacts. . . .

I will present a faithful picture of what is happening in India to-day. The viewpoints of the Congress, the Muslim League as also of the other political parties in regard to the present position. I will bring to the notice of the authorities what India feels about the Atlantic Charter. I will press for a definite declaration about India.

We trust it will not all be in vain.

Shaw on Britain's Blunder

Bernard Shaw is always outspoken and his observations on current affairs are bound to be refreshing. We have had a lot of claptrap propaganda even from persons whom we expect to be free from bias. Shaw's comments on the Indian situation are refreshingly free from such bias. He has some pungent things to say of Britain's mishandling of the Indian problem; but he is sure that all will be well in the end. Thus in a message to the meeting of the India League in London, Shaw points out:

It is unfortunate that the Government should have started their Indian negotiations with a blunder but this was to be expected. Governments always begin that way.

The blunder was to give Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals which, as they had to be adopted unanimously by a Cabinet composed of Ministers of opposite opinions on the subject, meant nothing more than what Pharaoh might have offered to Moses. But all will pass away as it did in Ireland; meanwhile, the mischief it has done must be put up with. It will end as it always does, with India getting more independence than she would have been willing to accept if the whole business had been properly handled at first.

We hope so.

Newspapers in Travail

Even in normal times the conditions under which newspapers work in India are stringent enough; but since the war began, newspaper offices have been flooded with a constant stream of orders, notifications and restrictions which have made their lot altogether irksome. The press in general has accepted them as unwelcome, through perhaps necessary, consequences of war conditions. But the recent restrictions and regulations have been so rigorous and uncalled for that many papers have begun to think they could serve no good purpose in continuing under such extraordinary conditions. What is one to think of the advice regarding the size of types to be used as headlines, or the limit of three columns assigned to news of civil disturbances or the compulsory registration of reporters who have to work only with the good graces of district authorities? Of course, war conditions demand that the Editors should co-operate with the Government in seeing that nothing that may be of advantage to the enemy leaks out or that nothing is done to impair the morale of the country. Except for these specific limitations, newspapers must be free to be guided by their own sense of responsibility. Unhampered they have always proved of great help to the State. But the extraordinary restrictions recently imposed on them have struck them with a sense of frustration.

And the suspension of a large number of newspapers has created a fearful situation. Such suspension will drive the discontent underground and what is worse give room to false rumours and alarms which it must be the business of Government to counteract. It cannot be done without the whole-hearted co-operation of the press, especially in war time. In this connection the London *Daily Express* published not long ago a word of advice which the Government of India would do well to heed at this juncture. It ran:

Don't quarrel with the newspapers.
Don't pursue a vendetta against them.
Make use of this great arm of democracy for the purpose of sustaining, guiding, strengthening and fortifying the struggle.
Make friends with journalists. They are important to you. Use them.
Do not embitter and embarrass them.

As we go to Press, it is learnt that the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference has successfully negotiated with the Government and evolved a formula which may result in Government's withdrawal of the regulations.

It is hoped that in the interest of the Government itself, and especially in war time, nothing will be done to impair the helpful function of the press and that newspapers will be encouraged to resume their publications forthwith. For the stoppage of papers will result in more damage to the cause which the Government and the people have in common than even the indiscretions of an irresponsible newspaper or two might do.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer's Resignation

When it was announced that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer had been offered and had accepted a place in the Viceroy's Council and that particularly as Information Member, more than one intimate friend of his doubted the wisdom of his accepting the appointment. For every one knows that the Department of Information has been more or less an appendage of the Home Department, the control and censorship of the press being virtually in the hands of Sir Reginald Maxwell. It must have been a job for Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to wrestle with Sir Reginald. And if the press reports are to be believed, no wonder that the present press ordinances, the suspension of the various papers and the arrest of newspaper men under his very nose, drove him out of office.

Before accepting the appointment, Sir C. P. said in a press interview: "My main, if not, my sole endeavour would be to help in bringing about a reconciliation of the various elements in the body politic that are now following divergent, if not antagonistic, paths." He has now publicly avowed there is little doubt that he had 'failed' in that endeavour.

And so the mission of reconciliation has been a failure. It is good he has returned straight to Travancore, the field of his activity for some years where his dynamic energy and personality had manifested themselves so fruitfully.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

H. R. H. The Duke of Kent

NEWS of the death, while on active service, of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, youngest brother of H. M. the King-Emperor, was received on August 26 with profound sorrow throughout the United Nations.

The Duke of Kent was on his way to Iceland in a Sunderland flying boat, which crashed in North Scotland, His Highness and all members of the crew being killed.

His Royal Highness, who was an experienced pilot, had flown many thousands of miles on official duty since, the outbreak of the war. During last year, he covered more than 15,000 miles, and in July last he made a secret flight to Canada to inspect the Air Training scheme, one of the branches of his many activities. He also visited the United States. Since the outbreak of the war, he had been particularly interested in the welfare of the Royal Air Force, with which he had been most intimately connected.

The Second Front

Mr. Churchill's return to England after his historic visit to Russia was followed by reports that he and M. Stalin had thrashed out arguments about a "Second Front now" as against a Second Front at some future date—probably in 1943—and had reached an agreement, satisfactory to Russia, Britain and the United States. According to a Press correspondent, Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill had ended their talks covering the world-wide scope of the war by a friendly agreement after a period of detailed discussions.

Brazil Declares War

Brazil has declared war on Germany and Italy. This follows the sinking of five Brazilian ships by Axis U-boats recently.

An official *communiqué* issued by the Brazilian Government states:

In face of the acts of war against our sovereignty, we recognise that a state of war exists between Brazil and the aggressor nations of Germany and Italy. A diplomatic communication has been sent through appropriate channels to these two countries.

Japan is, however, not included in the Brazilian declaration of war.

Nazi Assault on Stalingrad

The Red Army has hurled whatever reserves are available in a supreme effort to stem the Panzer avalanche, which a few days ago forced the Don south-east of Kletskaya and reached an area north-west of Stalingrad. The situation of the Volga metropolis is growing graver hourly, with a synchronized air "blitz" threatening to reduce the city to the fate of Sebastopol. The destruction of 92 German planes within two days of the launching of the Nazi offensive at the approaches to Stalingrad indicates the magnitude of the air battles.

General Zhukov's forces have stormed a German stronghold on the Moscow Front and are now attacking the very heart of it. Rzhev is a well-fortified base and the Russians have been trying to take it for the past four months. Their success in breaking through now removes a serious threat to Moscow.

The Threat to the Caucasus

Persia and Iraq have been united into a new Command under one Commander. This was disclosed on the 24th August by the War Office in the announcement of a Persia-Iraq Command.

The reorganising of the Commands in the East is further proof that the Allied military machine is being geared up for great tasks ahead, says *Reuter's* military commentator. General Sir Maitland Wilson becomes Commander-in-Chief in Iraq and Persia, thus relieving General Alexander, the new Middle East Chief, of all responsibility in these areas. The very wise move also relieves General Wavell of preoccupations in his rear.

U. S. Successes in Solomons

The Americans are well established in the Solomons. They have captured six islands.

The U. S. Navy Department announces that the Japanese were annihilated or captured wherever they attempted to regain territory. It is further disclosed that at least 74 Japanese planes of various types have been destroyed in the Solomons fighting so far.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- July 26. Fall of Rostov is announced.
 July 27. Nazis claim the fall of Bataisk south of Rostov.
 July 28. Allies' reported withdrawal in Egypt.
 July 29. Pacific War Council meets.
 July 30. India Debate in the House of Lords.
 July 31. V. D. Savarkar resigns president-ship of the Hindu Maha Sabha.
 Aug. 1. Metropolitan's appeal to Britain to end the political deadlock.
 Aug. 2. Moscow appeals to Allies to open Second Front.
 Aug. 3. Japs held in E. Chekiang.
 —Gandhiji arrives in Bombay.
 Aug. 4. Gandhi attends Working Committee Meeting in Bombay.
 Aug. 5. Working Committee releases draft resolution for A.-I. C. C.
 Aug. 6. Sir Stafford Cripps in a statement assures that promise of Self-government will be carried out at the end of hostilities.
 Aug. 7. A.-I. C. C. meets in Bombay.
 Aug. 8. A.-I. C. C. approves Working Committee's resolution.
 Aug. 9. Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Azad and members of Working Committee arrested in Bombay.
 Aug. 10. Disturbances in Bombay, Poona, Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow. Police open fire in several places.
 Aug. 11. Congress Resolution delivered to Chinese and U. S. Envoys at Delhi.
 Aug. 12. Nazi advance in Caucasus.
 —H. M. S. Eagle, British Aircraft carrier, is sunk in Mediterranean.
 Aug. 13. U. S. A. Government instructs the American troops in India not to take part in internal troubles.
 Aug. 14. Allies' landing in Solomons.
 Aug. 15. Mahadev Desai, Private Secretary to Mr. Gandhi, dies of heart failure.
 Aug. 16. Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League meets in Bombay.

- Aug. 17. Churchill-Stalin talks at Moscow.
 Aug. 18. Gen. Alexander is appointed to succeed Gen. Auchinlech, Commander-in-Chief of Middle East.
 Aug. 19. The *Free Press*, *Indian Express* and allied papers suspend publication.
 Aug. 20. Muslim League Executive asks British Government to guarantee Pakistan.
 Aug. 21. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar resigns from Viceroy's Council.
 —Nationalist papers in Calcutta suspend publication.
 Aug. 22. Brazil declares war against Germany and Italy.
 Aug. 23. Pandit Malaviya condemns hooliganism.
 Aug. 24. Standing Committee of Editors' Conference meets at Delhi.
 Aug. 25. Duke of Kent is killed in action.
 Aug. 26. Dean of Canterbury urges negotiations with Congress.
 Aug. 27. Churchill's assurance to Egypt.
 Aug. 28. Standing Committee of Editors' Conference at Delhi adjourns after evolving a formula for withdrawal of existing restrictions.
 Aug. 29. Nazi reverses in the Caucasus.
 —Russians bomb Berlin.
 Aug. 30. U. S. successes in the Solomons. Six islands captured.
 Aug. 31. Calcutta papers resume publication following Editors' Conference Standing Committee's appeal.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S HEALTH

The following information is published in a Bombay Government *communiqué* dated 30th August regarding Mr. Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee, who were recently detained under the Defence of India Rules:—
 "Mr. Gandhi is in a private house, where he is supplied with everything necessary to secure his comforts and the kind of food he requires. His wife is with him and also certain companions including his own medical adviser.

The members of the Working Committee are also accommodated in suitable quarters and are supplied with all necessary conveniences. They are in the charge of an officer of the Indian Medical Service. All these persons are permitted to correspond with members of their families on personal matters and are provided with newspapers.

The health of all is good."



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

GERMANS BEYOND GERMANY (ANTHOLOGY)
 Edited by Vilem Haas. The International Book House, Bombay.

This book is dedicated to the memory of President T. G. Masaryk. It does not claim any political or propagandist aspiration though the Editor is a Czechoslovakian, and only analyses the German mind as revealed in the writings of great thinkers like Goethe, Kant, Novalis, Heine, Schopenhauer, Lassalle and Nietzsche, *sine ira et studio*. The extracts given show that German greatness is real, as also German insanity and that German political life has lagged far behind German intellectual life, though both have sprung up from the same intellectual root. Nazism can claim an intellectual tradition going back to Martin Luther; and National Socialism to the Francophobia and storm and stress of the 18th century in which Goethe grew up: Schopenhauer anticipated Nazism in the struggle against the Judaeo-Christian Church and for a new Aryan original religion. The German people have always regarded themselves as a Chosen People, and German classicism has always toyed with the notion of a better world. Metternich prophesied the coming German National Revolution, and there have been several waves of emigration of German intellectuals since the national rising against Napoleon as in the days of 1848-49, 1914-18, and since 1933. Some of these were Wagner, Marx, Eugels and now Einstein and Freud. Comment is needless.

61

AN APPROACH TO THE RAMAYANA. By C. Narayana Menon, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Published by the Benares Hindu University Press, Benares.

Many and varied are the approaches to the Ramayana, according to the whims and fancies, taste and culture of the reader. There is, however, one approach which the Ramayana itself suggests in the first four *sargas*. One should conclude that that must be the proper approach. Mr. Narayana Menon, rightly, has emphasized it and justified it. The Ramayana is, above all, an inspired poem and Valmiki is the inspired poet. The response of the reader will be to the poetry of it, attuned to the heart of the poet. All else will be an illusion and variety. The living truth of poetry is superior to the dead truth of history. "Our response to literature does not depend on the shifty findings of research," not to speak of the dry bones of textual criticism. The Ramayana is in essence a tragedy. The incident of the hunter killing one of the loving pair of Krauncha birds in the introductory *sargas* clearly indicates it. It is tragedy, true to life, that evokes sympathy and admiration and fills the heart with reverence and spirituality.

MIRA AND MAHAVIR. By N. V. Thadani. Published by the Hindu College, Delhi.

The author discourses on the subject of Belief in God in the form of a dialogue between two young persons—a college educated young man and his simple but godly young sister,

SELF-EXPRESSION AND THE INDIAN SOCIAL PROBLEM. By Satya Dass. Published at Sharma Niwas, Chatterji Road, Lahore.

This is a bold challenge to all modern lethargy and decadence. The author visualises a world in which there is perfect self-expression as the most-effective means to self-realisation, which is the ultimate purpose of man's life on earth. He seeks to co-ordinate the various activities of body, mind and soul—the coach, the coachman and the traveller within and suggests needed reforms under various heads: caste, temple administration, rituals, priesthood, social usages and idolatry.

JAPAN AND THE MODERN WORLD. By Sir John Pratt. Oxford University Press.

A welcome addition to the series of Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs is this study of Japanese foreign policy by Sir John Pratt based on a long career in the consular service in China. Sir John describes the special characteristics of Japanese nationalism and the nature of her so-called New Order in Greater Asia. He traces the course of Japan's relations with Great Britain from the Alliance of 1902 to the hostilities of 1912, and shows how Japan has drifted into a war from which it is now difficult to see any end but complete ruin.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT IN CHINA. By Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek. Translated by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Chinese Ministry of Information, Calcutta.

CHINA'S AIR RAID EXPERIENCES: A Symposium. Chinese Ministry of Information, Calcutta.

REPORT ON THE MARKETING OF GROUND-NUTS IN INDIA AND BURMA—Agricultural Marketing in India. Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi. As. 8.

AGRICULTURE AND ANNUAL HUSBANDRY IN INDIA, 1938-39. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

HYDERABAD STRUGGLE: An Essay in interpretation by Abdus Salam. 27, Ghogha St., Fort, Bombay.

INDIA AND AMERICA. By Sir Shanmukham Chetty, K.C.I.E. Hawarden, Coimbatore.

AKHAND INDIA. By K. M. Munshi. Translated into Tamil by Kodimudi Rajagopalan. Sakti Karyalayam, Madura.

AN INTRODUCTORY SALES COURSE FOR LIFE INSURANCE AGENTS. By Hargopal Singh Gaiid. Insurance Consultant, Aryanagar, Lucknow.

LEASE LEND: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS. By Sir T. E. Gregory, D.Sc., and W. M. Yeatts, C.I.E., I.C.S. Government of India Press, New Delhi.

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION. By Shriman Narayan Agarwal. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

BRASA (Indian Men of Letters Series). By A. S. P. Aiyar, M.A., I.C.S. The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: THE MAN AND HIS TIMES. By Y. G. Krishnamurti. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay. Rs. 4-4.

DEAD ANIMALS TO TANNED LEATHER. By Satish Chandra Dasgupta and G. R. Valmikiar. Go-Seva Sangh, Gopuri, Wardha. As. 8.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BRITISH INDIA. Vol. II. Manager of Publications, Delhi. Rs. 20-4.

GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA. By Sir John Pratt. Oxford University Press.

WAR AT SEA TO-DAY. By Admiral Sir H. Richmond. Oxford University Press.

WHO MUSSOLINI IS? By Ivor Thomas. Oxford University Press.

GREECE. By Stanley Casson. Oxford University Press.

BARODA BY DECADES, 1871-1941. By M. H. Shah, M.A. Foreword by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K.C.S.I. The College, Baroda.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN HISTORY AND INDIAN INDOLOGY. Vol. II for 1939. By Braz A. Fernandes. Bombay Historical Society, Bombay.

GERMAN GEOPOLITICS. By H. W. Weigert. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE CRIPPS MISSION. By R. Coupland. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

NALANDA YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO IN INDIA. Special War Edition. Nalanda Press, 204, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta.

INDIAN TRADE. By B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu. Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



THE CRIPPS MISSION

"The Cripps Mission was an event of the utmost political significance in India. It is difficult to maintain that it is now in the limbo of history," says *Current Thought* in its Notes of the Quarter. The mission marked the culmination of the series of declarations from 1917 with regard to the political goal of India.

The British Government have always tried to assuage political discontent by declaring the goal of India; the interim arrangement leading to the goal has ever been disappointing and unsatisfactory. The Cripps mission clearly demonstrated that the British Government would not part with power, but that they would go on making promises. The Reforms Act of 1919 contained promises; the Act of 1935 continued the promises, but the constitutional arrangements devised by the Acts of 1919 and 1935 had no inherent power to lead India on to the road of self-government as the constituent powers of the constitution were left in the hands of Parliament. The Cripps mission came with all the promises for the future, but it gave no scheme for the interim arrangement. There is no surprise that the mission failed; the surprise was that the mission did not involve any departure from the old game of the British Government, that the promises were to be thrown in now and then without altering the basic issue of political adjustment.

According to the writer, the political effects of the Cripps mission were the following: (1) Stiffening of the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi; (2) the significant dissociation of Mr. Rajagopalachari from the Congress Working Committee; (3) the insistence of the Moslem League for the Pakistan.

First, the Cripps mission was a revelation to Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhi's political creed favoured British connection and postulated that the Hindu-Moslem unity was the basic structure of the citadel of Swaraj. The Cripps mission definitely established that the British Government had no desire to transfer powers to Indian hands and that they wanted to

put off the consummation of India's political goal on various puerile pleas. This came as a shock to Mahatma Gandhi. He has since then been advocating that the British should withdraw from India in an orderly manner and that there can be no Hindu-Moslem unity so long as India is not freed from the yoke of British rule.

Secondly, after the failure of the Cripps mission, Mr. Rajagopalachari sponsored a resolution recommending to the A. I. C. C. to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation.

It was rejected by 120 votes against 15 votes. Mr. Rajagopalachari resigned first from the Congress Working Committee and later on from the Congress organisation, to preach his living message and faith to the people unhampered by the whip of Congress organisational discipline. Mahatma Gandhi criticised the stand of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari: "He yields the right of secession now to buy unity in the hope of keeping away the Japanese. I consider the vivisection of India to be a sin. I am firmly of opinion that there is no unity whilst the third party is there to prevent it. It creates the artificial division and it keeps it up."

Thirdly, the Muslim League does not favour the transfer of all power and authority to the Central Government to be set up on the basis of India being a single national unit.

After the Cripps proposals were published in India, Mr. Jinnah presiding at the annual meeting of the Moslem League in Allahabad in April 1942, observed: "One thing I want to announce in clear words. Rest assured that our aim is Pakistan, and whatever the proposals of His Majesty's Government may be, if they are such that we cannot achieve Pakistan, we will never accept."

Thus the Congress struggles for a free and united nation and establishment of a democratic state; the Hindu Mahasabha stands for the unity and integrity of Hindusthan; the Moslem League declares its readiness to fight any measure which seeks to torpedo Pakistan.

INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS

In the current number of the *Asiatic Review*, Mr. K. Kuriyan, discussing the present and future prospects of India, rejects the hypothesis of sovereign independent India as an unattainable ideal. The only practicable alternative to sovereign independence, he says, is Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth and he contends that an effective international status for a united India is attainable on that basis. The cohesive force binding the Empire together would supply India with the "steel frame" within which internal solidarity may be achieved progressively. It would also supply the necessary external security vital to her national survival.

It seems to me, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the Dominions are States complete in every sense of the word and with completely sovereign Governments. On the other hand, these autonomous units are entitled to the full benefits of the system of collective security which the Commonwealth provides. Such a status, when fully achieved, would give India the international status that Canada or South Africa at present enjoys, which ensures the practical advantages of sovereignty without its perils.

Discussing the implication of Dominion Status, the writer goes on to say that the present war has shown that the Dominions are in fact fully developed States and their Governments are not subordinate to the Government in Westminster. A similar status is possible for India. As to her international status, he says:

So far as the future is concerned, the idea of a sovereign independent India may be summarily dismissed as incompatible with her national integrity. Equal partnership in the British Commonwealth alone can simultaneously ensure the ordered government of India as a single political community and provide her with the opportunity of making her own contribution to the peace and progress of the world. In the last analysis, ability to accomplish this double task would be the hall-mark of statehood and, therefore, of international status in the kind of world envisaged by the Atlantic Charter, and a united India could wish for no higher destiny consistent with her own national integrity than to be able to accomplish it.

SCORCHED EARTH POLICY

Scorching the earth is an important weapon in defensive economic warfare aimed at preventing the enemy from getting possession of the resources of the area where fighting has occurred or is imminent. Numerous commercial bodies in India have, however, expressed their strong disapproval of it. In the *New Review* for August, Mr. R. Krishnamurti discusses the peculiar conditions in India militating against its adoption.

It is urged that destruction can proceed only in those countries where the direction of war, being in the hands of the representatives of the people, makes for the identity of the executors of that policy and its sufferers. This is a vital consideration, and the lack of such identity would impair the quality of defence itself; but will even a National Government be justified in destroying resources without organising adequate relief?

Two other considerations are set forth. Scorched earth, they say, is understandable in a socialist economy when the productive resources are owned by the State and not in one in which the means of production, being set up by private enterprise and capital, forms the basis of livelihood of the population.

On this principle, the considerable public assets in any community can be destroyed without injustice. But the answer to this is simple. The needs of national defence are supreme, and no rights of private persons or bodies can stand in their way subject to the State provision of due compensation and relief for the classes and masses affected.

Then it may be said that only those assets should be destroyed which are essential military requirements and not the rest. The difficulty lies in demarcating military from non-military requisites.

It is more important that the most essential category of war industries and other producers—goods industries should not be allowed to fall into enemy's hands.

The conclusion emerges that the destruction of civilian requisites is dangerous, the shifting of productive equipment as war industries is essential, and the destruction of transport facilities and immobile assets in war industries is not unwarranted.

THE ARYAN HERITAGE OF INDIA

It is a mistake to think that India before the advent of the Aryans was steeped in barbarism. There were non-Aryans with a distinct civilization of their own. The Dravidians, for instance, had a fairly developed civilization. But the Aryans changed the Dravidian civilization in the same way as the Greeks changed the Aegean civilization, observes Mr. S. B. Mukerji, M.A., in the course of an article in the *Prabuddha Bharata*.

After the initial clash was over, the Aryans settled down to a peaceful existence. They gave up their nomadic habits and developed a culture hitherto unknown in India and in many respects unique in the history of the world. Its vitality is unrivalled; its catholicity unparalleled. Since the time of the Aryan settlement, countless hordes have swept over the fertile plains of India, but the tenor of Indian life and culture still continues Aryan, though in course of centuries that have passed by, she has borrowed much from foreign conquerors. But what she has borrowed, she has absorbed and assimilated.

The Aryans have enriched Indian life in various ways and have so influenced it that we cannot think of the one without the other.

In the first place, they were the first to think of India as a political whole, and it was under them that the political unity of the country was achieved for the first time.

The second contribution of the Aryans to Indian life is a sublime spirituality that has elevated the borrowed non-Aryan elements in the course of that grand synthesis—Hinduism.

By far the noblest Aryan contribution to Indian thought is syncretism. The loftiest spiritual idealism that ever flashed across human mind and inspired man is to be found in the *Rig Veda*.

Honour to womankind is another immortal legacy of the Aryans to India. And then the caste system, another peculiarly Aryan institution. The system,

in its present form is undeniably condemnable. But we should not forget that first it originated at a time when there was a necessity for it.

Another institution peculiar to India was the hermitages with which the country was dotted in days gone by. These were neither city universities nor celibate monasteries of Christian Europe. These hermitages were the most powerful and most beneficent factor of Aryan influence.

It was the Aryans who, again, developed the institution known as Ashrama. The life of an Aryan of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaishya caste was normally divided into four parts called Ashramas.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Aryans gave India her speech, and almost all the principal dialects of present-day India are of Sanskritic origin.

India has forgotten much that the Aryans taught her. Yet the fact remains that the Indian culture to-day, though a synthesis of all the cultures that have followed in the wake of foreign invasions, is predominantly Aryan.

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MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRIT

It is common knowledge that Muslim rulers of India were great patrons of learning and fine arts. But it is not so commonly known that many of them literally patronised Sanskrit learning and culture. Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, writing in the *Modern Review* for August, gives instances of Sanskrit scholars, who received liberal patronage from Muslim rulers. Some of these Muslim rulers themselves were scholars of no mean standing in their day.

Their courts were adorned with many Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, the chroniclers of the time, including the patrons themselves, are quite silent about them. Many valuable records of the scholarly achievements of these scholars and poets are irreparably lost to us, and the surviving literature also is available only in manuscripts scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences, many Muslim rulers of India were prone to extend their best supports to the development of Hindu culture and civilisation. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India.

It would, therefore, be interesting to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Muslim rule in India. The writer recounts the lives and literary activities of three celebrated scholars who flourished under Muslim regime—Bhanukara, Akbariya-Kalidasa and Jagannatha Panditaraja.

Of the Mahomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are: Shabbuddin, Nizam Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar, Shah Jehan, Muddafar Shah, Malla Shah and others.

WAR MARRIAGES

Lonely, bored, tired and anxious our soldier's womenfolks are nevertheless fighting a splendid battle in the home front, this is the upshot of an article in the *Magazine Digest* by Nadya Navak.

The soldier boy departs to a new life, one filled with adventure, the hazards of life and death, the challenge to courage.

Behind him, he leaves a woman to face months, and perhaps years, of life without her man. Sometimes she is only a kid of 18, a War Bride; sometimes the mother of a family; sometimes a lonely widowed mother.

For them there remains a heroism of an unsensational sort, which has not been fully recognized by the public: to face loneliness and new responsibilities; to adjust themselves to greatly reduced standards of living; to face emergencies of debt and sickness alone; to conquer grave disciplinary difficulties in the prolonged absence of the father.

For war changes human relationships. Personal and family life are disorganized, sometimes beyond hope of repair. Nothing can be the same afterward.

After the last war, men came back almost as strangers to their wives—some crippled, irritable, neurotic, depressed by their terrifying experiences or anxious about their economic rehabilitation.

Millions of women did not experience the fulfilment of marriage. Divorce rates soared, moral standards were questioned, thousands of war babies never knew their fathers.

The present war finds women building aeroplanes, handling air craft guns, servicing engines, filling administrative positions.

Nevertheless social workers, judges of the family court, psychiatrists and army captains are beginning to feel perturbed about the aftermath. Already a considerable disruption of family life is evident—juvenile delinquency is on the increase; abnormal sex conditions are manifesting themselves. Will war marriages survive the strain of war? Will illegitimacy increase? Will children forget their fathers in the most formative period of their life? Upon the answers to these questions depends the stability of family life in the aftermath of the war.

Of course, one of the outstanding questions of the day debated in millions of homes is the question of war marriage; for love matures quickly in the abnormal situations created by war.

SALARIES OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

In no modern country is the scale of salaries for public servants so high as in India, observes "a Journalist" in the current issue of the *Hindustan Review*. There is also nowhere in the world such an aristocratic race of the civil servants as in India with privileges and perquisites galore:

At present, a British I. C. S. official begins life in the country with a remuneration of Rs. 600 a month rising in the course of 20 years to a salary of about Rs. 2,600 a month. Apart from this princely salary, they are given furloughs and pensions, etc., on an extraordinarily liberal basis. A British Civilian in India is entitled four times during his official life in this country to first-class return passages to and from England for himself, his wife and to some extent to his children. He had to contribute formerly 4 per cent. of his salary towards the £1,000 annuity which was assured to him on retirement. The Islington Commission evidently thought this was an unfair arrangement and made the annuity exclusively a charge upon taxpayers of India. It is not to be thought that Rs. 2,600 is by any chance a limit to which a civilian may aspire to. Secretaries of the Provincial Government draw Rs. 2,750 per month. A Commissioner of a Division gets a monthly salary of about Rs. 3,200. The Chief Secretary and Member of Board Revenue gets about Rs. 3,750 a month. Secretaries to the Central Government receive a monthly salary of Rs. 4,000. The Members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General-in-Council have an income of Rs. 6,666 per month. Some civilians, who are lucky enough, are even promoted to Governorships of provinces and draw in that capacity a salary of Rs. 10,000 per month.

Now the chief criterion of the salaries of the public servants in any country is that they should bear some relation to the paying capacity of the country. In other words, the salaries should have some relation to the economic prosperity of the people. Compare and contrast with these considerations in mind, the salaries of public officials in India with those of U. S. A., the United Kingdom, France and Japan. After an examination of the salaries here and elsewhere, the writer points out to what unconscionable level salaries have been raised in India. To take only the example of the United

Kingdom, one of the richest countries in the world:

The per capita national income of Great Britain is about Rs. 1,240. The Indian per capita income, which on a generous estimate, could be put at only Rs. 80 is just about 1/15th of the per capita income of Great Britain. The Revenue Receipts of Great Britain are nearly 800 per cent. of that of the Government of India. In spite of the fact the standard of living and per capita income in Great Britain are far higher than that in India; salaries of public servants in the former country are lower than that in India. A Civil Servant of the Administrative Class (highest class) starts his official career at £275 a year or about Rs. 340 a month which is only a little above half the salary given to a British Indian civilian at the start. Generally, the maximum salary a British civilian could draw in England is that given to an Assistant Secretary in a Department at Whitehall and which is about £1,500 a year. In short, a Civil Servant of the highest class in Great Britain, normally in the course of 38 years of official life, is expected to earn only about Rs. 1,700 a month, a salary which an Indian civilian normally gets in the 12th year of his service in India.

The British Prime Minister, who rules over a wide Empire, which in fact is the biggest Empire now in existence or probably was in existence, receives half the salary of the Viceroy of India which is Rs. 2,56,000 per annum not including allowances. Leonard M. Schiff in his book "Present Conditions of India", estimates that while out of every 1,000 rupees collected, the Viceroy draws one rupee; out of every 10,000 rupees collected in England, the British Prime Minister gets one rupee. On this basis the Indian Viceroy gets ten times as much as the British Prime Minister. While most of the Cabinet Ministers get only about Rs. 5,555 per month in England, a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council gets as much as Rs. 6,666 per month or a little over 20 per cent of the British Ministers' salary.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

WHY INDIA HELPED BRITAIN IN THE LAST WORLD WAR. By Dr. H. C. Mookerjee. [The Modern Review, August 1942.]

THE FIRST ANGLO-NEPALESE TRADE PACT. By D. R. Regmi. [The New Review, August 1942.]

TAX RELIEF AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN BRITISH INDIA. By J. P. Niyogi. [The Calcutta Review, July 1942.]

POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE MARATHAS. By "A Student of Indian History." [The Hindustan Review, July 1942.]

THE INDIAN POET'S POET. By K. Chandrasekharan. [The Aryan Path, August 1942.]

STUDIES IN THE RHYTHM OF OLD INDO-ARYAN VOCABLES. By S. M. Katre. [Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol III, No. 3.]

DON'TS OF FIRST AID

In many cases it has been found that untrained first aid proves even worse than no first aid at all. So the next best thing to knowing what to do is knowing what not to do. The Calcutta *Municipal Gazette* offers certain important "don'ts" based on an article in an American magazine.

Never move an accident victim until the nature and extent of his injuries are known. Neglect of this rule causes more serious damage than any other mistake. Don't even lift the victim's head to give him a drink of water; if his neck should be injured, that slight movement might sever the spinal cord. When a person cannot open and close his fingers, his neck is probably broken; when he cannot move his leg, his back may be broken. Moving victims of such injuries requires so much skill that even doctors dread it. But if no further harm is done, the injury often may be treated successfully.

Keep the injured person flat on his back until a doctor or a trained first-aider can take over. Don't let anyone stampede you into moving him. If he is in the middle of the road and obstructing traffic, place your car where it will divert passing cars. If he is jammed in a car, leave him there unless the car is on fire and you can't put the blaze out.

If a person is unconscious, don't try to arouse him by shaking, as excited bystanders often do. Loss of consciousness usually indicates some kind of injury, possibly skull fracture or brain concussion. Don't make an unconscious person drink anything, you may choke him to death. The wind-pipe is protected by a trap door called the epiglottis, which closes automatically each time one swallows; during unconsciousness it may fail to act.

Don't assume just because you detect the odour of alcohol that an unconscious or semi-conscious person is drunk; he may have injured his head or suffered a stroke of apoplexy.

Don't forget that an accident victim suffers from shock. In severe shock, the victim is listless or unconscious, the eyes have a vacant expression, breathing is irregular. Severe shock often causes death; prompt care may be a life saver.

The procedure is simple.

Heat is most important; cover with blankets, coats or newspapers. If possible apply hot water

bottles under the armpits and between the thighs, where they are near the large arteries. *Keep the injured person flat.* If he is conscious give a stimulant—hot tea or coffee, or a tablespoonful of aromatic spirits of ammonia in half a glass of water.

Never give any sort of spirits to an accident victim. Brandy or whisky is the first thing the most untrained laymen offer at accidents. First-aid instructors make this suggestion. "Drink it yourself." Don't administer any stimulant after a head injury; it may be fatal, or until severe bleeding is checked.

Don't try to change the position of an injured elbow; you may further damage an injured joint. Fix it in the same position with splints until a doctor can take charge.

Don't apply oil or greasy ointments to deep or extensive burns. The grease will have to be removed at the cost of the great pain and further shock before the burn can be medically treated. And don't tear bits of burned clothing from the injured area. Safest emergency measure, if one must be applied before the doctor arrives, is gauze or freshly laundered cloth (never absorbent cotton) soaked in slightly warmed sodium bicarbonate solution.

In severe burns, the first treatment should be for the shock.



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INDIAN STATES

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Hyderabad

AID TO COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The scheme which H. E. H. the Nizam's Government are considering, as the Finance Member announced recently, to increase aid to cottage industries in Hyderabad, to enable them to meet military as well as civilian demands is timely and well-conceived, says the *Mail*. Some of these industries and handicrafts come down through generations, represent a high degree of skill and deserve encouragement and guidance so that they may further improve their products, adopting new styles and patterns to satisfy present-day tastes. Such, to mention only a few, are Bidri ware said to date back to the days of the Bahmani dynasty of the Deccan, Warangal carpets known from the time of the Moghul Emperors, the filigree work of Karimnagar, the Paithan saris, gold lace and *pagri*. While all cottage industries receive aid from the Industrial Trust Fund, the Fund being utilised for investments in large-scale industries and the profits therefrom devoted to supporting small industries, the largest amount of help has naturally been given to hand-loom weaving, the most important of the cottage industries.

GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

The Government have decided to launch forthwith a "grow more food and fodder" campaign in the Dominions and have for this purpose made an initial grant of Rs. 11 lakhs. This amount will be spent on the furtherance of measures designed to replace as far as possible cash crops (cotton, castor-seed, etc.) by food crops and fodder. Food crops whose cultivation is particularly to be encouraged under the campaign are jowar, millet, wheat, gram and rice.)

62

Mysore

HIGHEST TITLE FOR DEWAN

At a special Birthday Durbar held recently in the Palace, H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore conferred the title of Pradhana Siromani on N. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Mysore. The title, which is the highest to be bestowed, is stated to be worth Rs. 5,000.

T. Thumboo Chetti, Private Secretary to the Maharaja, gets the title Amatya Siromani, while Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, Law and Information Minister, is decorated with the title of Rajamanthrapravina.

AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING

A capital grant of one lakh of rupees and a recurring grant of Rs. 15,000 by the Mysore Government for the institution of aeronautical and automobile engineering sections in the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on condition that 80 per cent. of the seats on these sections is reserved for Mysoreans were accepted by the Governing Council of the Indian Institute of Science at its meeting recently.

MYSORE BAN ON RADIOS

The Government of Mysore have passed the Wireless Telegraphy Apparatus (Vehicles) Order under the Defence of India Rules stating that no person shall, except under the authority of a permit granted by the Director of Industries, have in his possession or under his control any wireless receiving apparatus installed in any vehicle.

BHADRAVATHI WORKS

In the Mysore Legislative Council, Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, Minister for Law, said that the entire output of the Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravathi has been placed at the disposal of the Government of India for defence purposes under the Iron and Steel Control Order.

Baroda

BARODA'S FINANCES

At the Budget Session of the Dhara Sabha on July 13, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Dewan, referring to the financial position of the State, said that it might be regarded as satisfactory. "We are working however," he said, "right up to the limit of our resources. The war has affected certain sources of revenue, as, for example, Customs; it has resulted in increase in other heads like income-tax, railways, etc."

The budget estimates of the State for 1942-43 show receipts of Rs. 272'48 lakhs and Rs. 272'13 lakhs on the expenditure side. The budget provided Rs. 40'05 lakhs for education, Rs. 8'29 lakhs for agriculture, Rs. 9'95 lakhs for medical and sanitary departments and Rs. 10'45 lakhs, for miscellaneous which included all expenditure with the war. The normal expenditure for the Army including pensions and gratuities was fixed at Rs. 22½ lakhs a year, but in 1942-43 owing to the war this expenditure would be exceeded, necessitating a general contribution from the revenues.

"The policy of His Highness' Government," Sir V. T. Krishnamachari added, "is to make increased allotments for nation-building departments."

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

Recently several interesting Jain sculptural relics belonging to the early Mughal period were unearthed at Vadli, a village near Patan in North Gujarat by the Archaeological Department of the State. Out of the 56 relics which have come to hand, 36 bear inscriptions, the earliest dated Vikram Samvat 1421, i.e., 1364 A.D. Besides they have a very high artistic value.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE'S CIVIL LIST

The Report on the Administration of the Government of Travancore for the year 1116 M. E. (1940-41) shows an all-round improvement in the administration of the State. A feature of the report is the statistics given regarding the Civil List, which was 8'76 per cent. of the total revenue some 50 years ago and has been cut down by the Ruler, who treats the revenues of the State as public funds in the strict sense of the term, to 3'39 per cent. during the year.

The report shows that Hinduism is the predominant religion in the State, the Hindus constituting nearly three-fifths of the population, the Syrian Christians one-third and the Muslims one-fourteenth.

The report also gives an account of Travancore's War Effort following the lead given by H. H. the Maharaja.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, who resigned his office as Member of the Viceroy's Council on 21st August, has returned to Travancore to resume his Dewanship.

On the eve of his departure, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, in an interview, said:

I am now returning to Travancore after a brief spell of office in the Central Government. Speaking in Trivandrum just before I left for Delhi to assume the position that I have relinquished, I said that my main, if not my sole, endeavour would be to help in bringing about a reconciliation of the various elements in the body politic that are now following divergent if not antagonistic paths. I added that if I succeeded, I should have done my bit for my country. If I failed, I should feel at least that I had tried hard. There is little doubt that I have failed.

CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvathi Devi of Travancore will deliver the convocation address of Andhra University at Guntur on December 12.

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore will deliver the convocation address of the Annamalai University shortly.

Kashmir

DEVANAGARI SCRIPT

Some of the Hindu public bodies of the State recently requested His Highness' Government to declare their policy with regard to the students who were receiving their education in Devanagari script and make it clear whether there will be any bar on such students entering the Government service. It appears that the reason which tempted the Hindu public bodies to approach His Highness' Government with this request was that Urdu has been what is described as the Court language in Kashmir. The following reply received from the Deputy Chief Secretary to the Kashmir Government will be read with interest:

I am directed to say that there need be no apprehension that children taking up the Devanagari script in the schools will be debarred from entering Government service. It may become necessary in due course for Government to consider whether, in the peculiar conditions of this State, they should not require every person who enters Government service to be or become familiar with both the scripts. They will in due course and at the proper time take this question into consideration.

FOREIGNERS ACT ORDINANCE

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has promulgated the Registration of Foreigners Act (extending) Ordinance, 1942, in the State, according to which the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Act and the rules and orders made thereunder shall apply to, and in relation to, any person who was at birth a subject of any State in Europe, excluding His Majesty's dominions in Europe, or a Japanese, Chinese or Thai subject, as they apply to, and in relation to, foreigners as defined for the purposes of that Act. The ordinance comes into force at once.

Kolhapur

REGENCY COUNCIL FOR KOLHAPUR

The following press *communiqué* has been issued by the Government of India:—

His Excellency the Crown Representative has decided that the minority administration of the Kolhapur State should be entrusted to a Council of Regency, and has been pleased to declare that Her Highness Maharani Tara Bai Sahiba, Senior Maharani of Kolhapur, shall be the Regent of the Kolhapur State and President of the Regency Council. Her Highness has expressed her readiness to undertake these responsibilities with effect from Tuesday, July 14th, 1942, and the New Constitution will come into force on that date.

THE MAHARANI'S ASSURANCE

The assurance that Her Highness will try her best to maintain the sacred traditions of the *Gadi* and make her people happy has been given by the Maharani of Kolhapur, in reply to a message of congratulation sent by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, on her acceptance of the presidentship of the Council of Regency.

Gwalior

GWALIOR INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

Inaugurating the Gwalior State Industrial and Commercial Conference, H. H. the Maharaja Scindia said: "I am keenly desirous to see the industries and crafts of the State always marching on steadily on the road to progress." He stressed the need for a large production of war material and emphasized that the unfailing remedy for cementing cordial relations between labourers and capitalists lay in the proper education of not only the poor slum-dwellers but the mill-owners as well.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

NATAL INDIANS

Speaking recently at a reception accorded to him by the Natal Indian Association at Pietermaritzburg, the High Commissioner for India, Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, said that the Indian community had a record in the development of Natal, of which they had just reason to be proud. "I feel that brighter days are in store for you," he added.

His effort, said Sir Shafa'at, would be to cultivate every element of the population to carry on his work on the basis of Indo-European co-operation, and it would be his endeavour to work out the doctrine of this co-operation in all its ramifications as long as he lived in South Africa.

He went on to speak of the gigantic strides India has made in the march towards Dominion status. The time was coming when nobody could withhold India's demand to be a self-governing country with all its implications—her own navy and army.

India is resuming in 1942 the tradition of her brilliant past. I have complete faith in my motherland. India has been rapidly industrialised. The intellectual front has truly been laid of India's Dominion status.

Alluding to the fact that this must affect South African Indians, Sir Shafa'at said: "You are linked up with India spiritually and with South Africa politically. You have been receiving in some measure India's support. When she attains Dominion status, your status in this country cannot remain without any modification."

TRANSVAAL INDIANS' APPEAL

More than 2,000 Transvaal Indians, at a meeting recently, passed a resolution against the arrests of Indian leaders, calling up the United Nations to urge the British Government to release them and allow immediately the formation of a free National Provisional Government for India as demanded by the Indian Congress.

Kenya

DEATH OF MR. J. B. PANDYA

The Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Pandya, Indian Member of the Governor's Executive Council, Kenya, who was in India, died of heart failure at Bombay on August 3.

Mr. Pandya was formerly President of the East African Indian National Congress and also was representative of the East African Government in the Eastern Group Conference in New Delhi.

General

RELIEF FOR EVACUEES

The Hon. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member of the Government of India in charge of Indians Overseas, was entertained by the Servants of India Society at a tea party, at Madras, in the premises of the Society, on August 5. A large number of distinguished citizens of Madras were present.

Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao of the Society referred to the evacuees problem. Replying, Mr Aney dealt with charges of racial discrimination in the treatment of evacuees and said that a scheme for dealing with the problem of evacuees would shortly be put into operation and this would remedy to a great extent the present difficulties.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

SIR T. B. SAPRU'S SUGGESTIONS

Sir T. B. Sapru in a statement condemns the Congress decision and proceeds to offer the following concrete suggestions:—

1. The British Government must unequivocally declare that India will have the fullest measure of self-government within a year after the war and the unhappy impression created by the withdrawal of the Cripps Declaration must be removed. It would be dangerous to use vague phrases in this respect.

2. Meanwhile, His Majesty's Government should declare that in all matters of policy, the Viceroy will be guided by the collective advice of his Council, subject of course to a scrupulous co-ordination between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in matters affecting the protection of India against the enemy. It is no use parrot-like referring to the limitations of the present constitution or the requirement of the statute. Here is such a thing as moral influence and convention without which no constitutional statute can be effectively worked and no dangerous situation met. That moral influence should be forthcoming and the conventions allowed to be born.

3. The Home and the Finance portfolios should be transferred to Indian hands. The statute nowhere provides that certain portfolios must be held by Englishmen and certain others by Indians. All that the statute requires is that there must be three men who have put in 10 years' service under the Crown in India. I am certain that three Indians of the requisite statutory qualifications can be found today and we on our part should accept them without being too meticulous about the phrase 'National Government'. If a change in the personnel of the Government or a reshuffling of portfolios can achieve the end, Government should not object to it.

4. Official Advisers in the Provinces should be abolished and Coalition Governments should be established.

5. The proposal to start civil disobedience should be definitely abandoned and instead of anybody contributing directly or indirectly to internal strife, our thoughts and energies must be directed to the resistance of the enemy.

6. Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Savarkar and the leaders of other parties should jointly call a conference to discuss—

(a) A settlement for the period of the war; (b) and to set up machinery for the framing of a constitution for the future.

7. The Government of India should render active assistance to those who may call such a conference.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

PT. NEHRU ON BRITISH ATTITUDE

"'Struggle—eternal struggle'—that is my reply to Amery and Cripps," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spiritedly criticizing the latest statements of Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps on the Indian situation, while addressing a public meeting at Allahabad in celebration of Tilak Day.

"India's national self-respect cannot be a matter for bargaining," he added. "I am filled with sorrow and anger to note that I for years wanted some settlement because I felt that Britain was in trouble. They had their suffering and sorrow. I wanted my country to move forward step in step with them as a free country. But what is one to make of such statements?"

Pandit Nehru continued:

As far as the British Government was concerned, there was no doubt that it had made it impossible for us to settle anything. If there was any doubt in any mind, there were the statements made by Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Amery to remove that. At this rate our opposition will continue for thousands of years. Our concern was and remains not to hurt our friends—Russia and China.

RAJEN BABU ON THE LAST STRUGGLE

"The no-rent campaign of Bardoli and the last individual civil disobedience movement will pale into insignificance before the coming struggle if the 'Quit India' demand is not conceded by the British Government," observed Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressing an emergency meeting of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee at Patna.

Explaining the implications of the present Wardha resolution, Dr. Rajendra Prasad emphasized

that it was not going to be mere jail going this time. It was going to be something more drastic, perhaps resulting in the worst form of repression, shooting, bombing, confiscation of property—all these were possible. Congressmen, therefore, had to join the movement fully conscious that they might be exposed to all these. The new plan of action included all forms of Satyagraha based on pure non-violence. This was going to be the last struggle for the independence of India. They could face all the armed might of the world with non-violence, the greatest weapon in the armours of Satyagraha, he declared.

DR. LATIF AND MR. JINNAH

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in the course of a statement to the press, says some harsh things about Mr. Jinnah's leadership. After arguing that the Congress is sincere in its attempt to negotiate with the League for a settlement, he goes on to add that Mr. Jinnah's arguments only go to confirm the view held by the Congressites that Mr. Jinnah was never serious about a settlement with the Congress. For aught I say, it is clear to my mind from my talks with its leaders that the Congress on its part appeared sincerely anxious to settle its differences with the League. Who can say that with the outstanding differences composed, the Congress and the League would not have jointly undertaken to rally the people of India for the defence of the country by forming an interim popular Government, even within the framework of the existing constitution, if nothing better was possible during the duration of the war.

Now that the Congress has left the scene, what is the path the League is to pursue to improve the political situation in the country? That is the question uppermost in every mind. Will that body still continue to sit on the fence or will it attempt to redeem its name for constructive statesmanship.

SIR SHADI LAL ON GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

The Right Hon'ble Sir Shadi Lal, former Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court and Privy Councillor, in the course of a statement says:—

Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the All-India Congress Working Committee have been arrested. This was not entirely unexpected, though it was thought that the Government of India would be wise in not taking such step.

There can be no doubt that Indians, high or low, realise the racial distinction between Europeans and Indians and feel that the Indians are treated as inferior persons. The Government have not so far taken steps to remove this grievance.

The arrests now made by the Government will not improve the political situation in the slightest degree. The action of the Government cannot but bring into prominence the discrimination which is made between Europeans and Indians.

INDIA IS ONE

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London, made this frank observation, replying to a reception by the British Council in Liverpool:

India has differences, but what country in the world is without its differences? Ours is a vast country and, therefore, it is natural we should have many languages. But please remember that Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds.

NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay have decided to encourage the opening of Lokashala for the education of those who have completed their primary course and cannot afford an English education.

Instruction in them will be through the medium of a regional language. English will not be taught. These institutions will thus come into the category of secondary schools. A special Lokashala Examination will be held and the standard will conform generally to that of the School Leaving Certificate Examination.

DEGREE THRO' GRAMOPHONE

A student of Princeton University, says a New York despatch, has won the gratitude of his examiners by a new method of presenting his thesis for a Doctorate in Geography.

Instead of having it typed, he had it recorded on the gramophone and supplied a booklet of maps and drawings to illustrate his thesis at which the examiners could look while they listened to the records.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN U. S.

The Agent-General for India in the United States has reported that the United States authorities have agreed to afford facilities to Indian students, who have completed their education there, to obtain employment for the duration of the war. Indian students normally return to India on completion of their studies, but at the present time a good number of them have expressed a wish to take up employment in war industries there.

DR. LAKSHMANASWAMI, VICE-CHANCELLOR

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Madras University has appointed Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Acting Vice-Chancellor, to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University from August 18.

Dr. B. T. Krishnan, Professor of Physiology, Medical College, has been appointed to act as Principal of the Medical College, vice Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar.

STUDENTS' REVOLT AND A.-I. C. C.

"It is manifestly wrong to identify the activities of the All-India Congress Committee with a students' revolt against authority. A students' revolt may be a consequence of those activities—a consequence which might well have been anticipated—but there is no real foundation for the inference that this unfortunate consequence was a part of the programme of the All-India Congress Committee."

With these remarks, Mr. W. O. Newsam, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Chittoor, set aside, on appeal, the conviction and sentence imposed upon five persons (three of whom were students) by the Divisional First Class Magistrate, Chittoor, under Section 17 (1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, following certain speeches made by them at a public meeting at Chittoor on the 10th of last month.

INCOME-TAX APPELLATE TRIBUNAL

Representations have for some time past been made to the Government of India by commercial and other bodies and also on the floor of the legislature, expressing dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements under which the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal is under the control of the Central Board of Revenue.

In order to allay any misgivings that may have arisen in the minds of the public in the matter, Government have accordingly decided that with effect from May 30, 1942, the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal should be the administrative control of the Legislative Department.

RIGHT OF APPEAL TO PRIVY COUNCIL

The question of extending the appellate jurisdiction of the Federal Court so as to bring cases which now go in appeal to the Privy Council before the Federal Court seems to have been shelved for the duration of the war, says a Press Correspondent.

MR. JUSTICE BYERS

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. A. Byers, I.C.S., at present Additional Judge of the Madras High Court, has been appointed Puisne Judge of the High Court.

THE ORIENTAL'S BUSINESS OUT-TURN

The Chairman, Sir 'Purshotamdas Thakurdas, addressing the last general meeting of the shareholders and policyholders of the Oriental Life Assurance Company, observed:

"The amount of new business completed last year at 97,067 Policies assuring nearly Rs. 816½ lakhs shows an increase of 1,308 Policies assuring nearly Rs. 67½ lakhs as compared with the new business of 1940, and I think you will agree that this is a not unsatisfactory result considering the situation which arose towards the end of last year in the attack on Malaya by Japan and subsequently the Japanese attack on Burma, which had the natural effect of causing great anxiety among the people of this country as to possible further developments and a natural hesitation on their part to enter into fresh commitments.

Our total Premium Income last year was Rs. 384 lakhs as compared with just over Rs. 372½ lakhs in 1940, showing an increase of about Rs. 11½ lakhs."

UNITED INDIA LIFE ASSURANCE CO., LTD.

The report of the Directors of the United India Life Assurance Company, Limited, Madras, for the year ending December 31, 1941, shows that 5,859 new policies, amounting to Rs. 1,17,51,097, were issued during the year. The total assurances in force in the books of the Company on 31st December 1941, including bonus additions, amounted to Rs. 6,71,82,877, of which Rs. 4,65,625 is re-assured. The Policyholders' Trust Fund at the end of the year stood at Rs. 1,57,88,477 as against Rs. 1,37,71,400 at the beginning of the year. The total amount of claims paid during the year amounted to Rs. 9,62,142. Since the Company was established, a sum of Rs. 71,44,529 has been paid by way of settlement of claims.

The Directors recommend payment of a dividend to the shareholders at the rate of Rs. 6 per share free of income-tax for the year, which works out at 12 per cent. per annum on the paid-up capital.

PRICE CONTROL POLICY

"There will be no lack of policy of determination on my part to use price control as an instrument for alleviating public hardships," observes the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Commerce Member to the Government of India, in the course of a letter to a resident of Bareilly. Mr. N. R. Sarker says:

I entirely agree with you that the question of price control is one of the most important and vexed problems that confront us to-day. I fully realise that it should be adequately tackled. I shall give my most serious consideration to the problem immediately on my assumption of the portfolio of Commerce and to do what I can to remove the hardships from which the public is now suffering.

There will be no lack of policy or determination on my part to use price control as an instrument for alleviating public hardships. There is, however, one great difficulty in effectively pursuing a price control policy in our country; for control of prices without proper rationing is extremely difficult to achieve. But in our country a policy of rationing is extremely difficult to pursue inasmuch as there is no sharp line of demarcation between producers and consumers. However, as I have already said I shall not spare myself in making the price control policy as effective as is possible under the prevailing circumstances.

WAR SUPPLIES FROM SOUTH INDIA

A meeting of the Madras Advisory Committee for War Supplies was held in Fort St. George, with Sir Hugh Hood, Adviser, in the chair.

Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, Controller of Supplies, South India, in reviewing the progress made in respect of War Supplies, informed the Committee that

orders to the value of nearly of Rs. 1½ crores had been placed in South India during the two months of May and June, 1942. This included an order to the value of nearly 50 lakhs placed with a Rubber Factory in Travancore which had shown remarkable development. Scientific instruments and components for guns and revolvers were being increasingly manufactured in South India.

IMPORT OF RICE

In order to encourage rice merchants to import fresh stocks, the Government of Bombay are purchasing 50,000 bags of rice and tenders have been invited by the Director of Civil Supplies.

A BRITISH WOMAN'S APPEAL

Miss Marjorie Sykes of the Women's Christian College, Madras, writes:—

The silence of the British community in India on the arrest of Congress leaders, and the arrangements for the control of the press, may give the impression that the measures adopted by the Government of India meet with unanimous approval among us. This is not the case. Many of us view with deep distress the precipitation of a tragic crisis which, we believe, might have been avoided by a more patient and sympathetic approach to the central demand of the A. I. C. C.—real responsibility for real leaders.

Matters are too grave now for time to be wasted either in recrimination or in standing on one's dignity. The only way out of the morass of bitterness and suspicion is to take the noble risk of trusting India with real and immediate responsibility. The recent statements of the Metropolitan and of Mr. Rajagopalachariar published today (August 12) point a way forward. I appeal to my fellow-countrymen in India to urge upon the Government by every means in their power that this way forward should be taken without delay.

FIRST WOMAN OFFICER OF U. S. NAVY

The first woman officer in the United States Navy, Dr. Milidred H. McCaree, 42-year old President of Wellesley College, the American Women's University, was recently sworn in by Col. Frank Knox, Secretary for the Navy, at the Navy Department. She took oath as Lieutenant Commander of the United States Naval Reserve and Director of the newly formed Women's Reserve 'Waves.' Dr. McCaree will head thousands of women officers and about 10,000 volunteers for shore work.

WIVES OF FAMOUS MEN

The average man craves a companion for his leisure, not a lovely picture to contemplate.

Wives of the world's most famous men are seldom beauties, but they have the intelligence, poise, humour and championship that make any woman a desirable wife. These are attributes that soften into the gentle charm of old age.

PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH ESTATE

Momentous issues face the Standing Committee of the All-India Editors' Conference which has been scheduled to meet on August 21. The country is passing through a time of unprecedented crisis, says *Roy's Weekly*. A war within the war has developed. Simultaneously with launching their blitz against the Congress, the Government have also opened a second front with the Indian Press. The exposition of the law as resulting from the ban on the Congress and the threat implied against the Press for contravention thereof leave no doubt that the Government propose to give no quarter to the Fourth Estate. The registration of correspondents with the District Magistrate has introduced a new menace to the freedom of the Press. For it effectively removes a valuable source for newspapers of information that was not standardised or doctored.

GOVERNMENT'S SECRET CIRCULAR

Closely following the publication of seized Congress documents by the Home Department of the Government of India, a sensational document, purporting to be a secret circular issued by the Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Secretaries to all the Provincial Governments, providing talking points and directions to counteract Congress propaganda was sold at the A. I. C. C. pandal recently and bears an introduction by Mahatma Gandhi.

NEWSPAPERS IN INDIA

As a protest against Government's restrictions on the Press, several dailies in India suspended publication during the third week of August. Fourteen newspapers in Calcutta including the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindustan Standard* ceased publication. The *Indian Express*, the *Free Press* and five other papers ceased to appear from the 20th. The *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, stopped with its issue of the 18th as also the *National Herald* of Lucknow.

ACTING EDITOR FOR THE STATESMAN

Mr. I. M. Stephens, C.I.E., Assistant Editor of the *Statesman*, has been appointed Acting Editor. Arthur Moore, the Editor, is going on leave preparatory to his retirement next year.

JINNAH'S ROLE

The *Hindustan Times* recalls how Mr. Jinnah once finished a speech which Lord Willingdon would not permit the late Tilak to proceed with it. It says:

We are indebted to the *Bombay Chronicle* for the following extract from a speech which the late Lokamanya Tilak was to deliver at the War Conference convened by the Governor of Bombay in June 1918.

"I must impress upon the attention of Government the popular view that Home Rule and home defence must go together. Pressure, official or unofficial, and pecuniary inducement may, perhaps, secure for the occasion the Persian hordes who accompanied Xerxes, the then satrap of the East, to Greece. But the enthusiasm of the Greek citizens, who defeated these hordes, cannot be purchased by money. For that purpose, the hearts of the people must be touched, and these can only be touched by granting them Home Rule."

Tilak withdrew from the Conference without delivering his speech, as Lord Willingdon, the Governor, who presided, would not let him proceed with it. It then fell to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who had also been invited to the Conference, to press the same theme home in his best argumentative style notwithstanding impatient interruptions from the Chair. That Home Rule is yet to come, and Mr. Jinnah has developed other interests. But he may yet see the fruition of his own gallant efforts of the good old days.

NOMINATIONS TO CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

The Governor-General has decided to nominate Sir Muhammad Usman, Sir J. P. Srivastava and Sir Jogendra Singh to the Council of State and Sir Edward Benthall, Dr. Ambedkar and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to the Legislative Assembly. He has also decided to transfer Sir Firoz Khan Noon to the Legislative Assembly and to appoint Sir Muhammad Usman to be Leader of the Council of State.

DR. B. C. ROY

Dr. Bidan Chandra Roy has been granted the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the University Training Corps from the date of his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

ANTI-MALARIA UNITS FOR WAR AREAS

In consultation with the military authorities six anti-malaria units have been raised for the investigation of local malaria conditions in the war area. A detailed study is essential for the planning of proper measures of control in these areas.

The duties of the units include the identification of mosquitoes, the incrimination of the local malaria carriers by dissection, the study of their bionomics, the study of malaria among the local inhabitants by spleen and blood examinations, the determination of the species of malaria parasite locally present and of the period of the year during which malaria transmission takes place.

Four emergency courses in malaria have been held at the Malaria Institute of India, Delhi, for training military personnel in anti-malarial methods.

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN BOMBAY

Pending the conversion of the Government Medical Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad into Medical Colleges, the Government of Bombay has decided to institute a State Medical Faculty to hold examinations leading up to the registrable medical qualifications in Allopathy.

This step has been taken following the decision of the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Bombay, not to change its attitude regarding the introduction of a revised course for Licentiate.

SEVEN STITCHES IN THE HEART

One of the most rare and difficult operations in medical history has saved the life of a 17-year old war worker who had been stabbed in the heart. Seven stitches were inserted in the heart after the surgeons had cut away three ribs to reach it. The blood which spouted from the main heart chamber was later poured into the veins in the patient's arm.

AMERICAN MEDICAL EQUIPMENT

"I do not think there is a unit in England, North Ireland, Australia and elsewhere where we have American troops, without full medical complement," a high army medical authority declared. By autumn, all doctors of requisite physical standard under 45 will be called up for duty.

VITAMIN B

Either vitamin B deficiency has become more prevalent of late or its prevalence has been more manifest. It seems to have something to do with the war, observes the *Statesman*, and, perhaps, doctors will say whether errors of diet or anxieties are the causes. In Canada vitamin B white bread has been in use for several months. The Canadian Trade and Commerce Department, bravely disporting in unaccustomed fields, writes: Mental depression, lack of morale, fatigue and irritability, stealthy fifth-columnists in our war activity are said to be attributable in large measure to deficiency of the B vitamins. It might be a good thing to have some of that bread in this country. Meantime the vitamin B deficiency may be made good by medicines or injections. And just when the patient fears that he may have come to rely on these methods, a change of air, routine or some other event enables him to keep fit without medical attention. But few would seriously contest modern knowledge of vitamins. As for the Canadian white bread, people well knowing that important properties were in wholemeal bread and unpolished rice have continued to eat deficient foods because they like the look of them. So it would be useful to know how to combine good looks and dietetic virtue.

ELECTRIC SHOCK FOR EPILEPTICS

Success continues to be reported in the U. S. A. for the electric shock treatment for epileptics. Patients are given shocks of 100 volts or over through the brain in order to provoke seizures.

Two New York psychiatrists, Dr. Lothar Kalinowsky and Dr. Foster Kennedy, are recommending the method.

When the starting button is pressed, the tandem tone arm swings over and plays the top side of the bottom record in the stack. This record has been dropped to the turntable. When the top side has been played, the tandem arm swings clear while the direction of the turntable is reversed. The tone arm then rises far enough to make contact with the bottom side of the record.

As each record is played, both sides, it is dropped gently into a felt-lined compartment. A carefully ground sapphire point replaces the needle.

SIR JAMES ON BANKING SYSTEM

Sir James Taylor, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, addressing the annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Bank, held on Monday, August 10, observed:

"The banking system of the country continues to sustain the impact of war conditions with remarkable resilience and in spite of panicky withdrawals from a few banks in December last, the deposits showed a large increase over the year."

As regards commodity prices, Sir James said they fluctuated widely during the year and have on balance shown a sharp rise. India's staple commodities of export such as cotton and jute have not shared in this rise owing to the loss of export markets in the Far East, though Government's efforts to increase food production in substitution of cash crops may be expected to lead to an increase in the price of these commodities in the near future.

Dealing with repatriation of sterling debt, Sir James Taylor said: "India's favourable balance of accounts increased very largely during the year and the consequent accretions of sterling facilitated the Government of India's scheme for the repatriation of their remaining non-terminable debt. With the steady increase in the net refunds by the Secretary of State, these purchases of sterling are resulting in an accumulation of sterling assets, the utilisation of which has been engaging our close attention."

Sir James said that the possession of these surpluses should not only be very useful to the country after the war by enabling it to make purchases of outside materials, which would be necessary for post-war reconstruction but should also, by putting it in a position to make such purchases, help most materially in international post-war reconstruction.

GROWTH OF NOTE-ISSUE

The growth of the note-issue has been very pronounced since September 1941. During the first 24 months of the war, it increased by Rs. 90 crores only. But in the nine months between September 1941 and May 1942, it has grown by nearly 175 crores.

ADVICE TO RAILWAY WORKERS

An earnest appeal to railwaymen to stick to their posts notwithstanding danger, hardships, inconvenience and risks is made by Mr. V. R. Kalappa, M.L.A., President of the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, in an interview.

Mr. Kalappa, who recently returned after meeting the Railway Board at Delhi along with other representatives of the Railwaymen's Federation, says that the bombing of Vizagapatam and Cocanada and the threatened invasion of India throws a heavy responsibility upon railwaymen, who rank in importance next to the military, not only for the defence of the country but also for transport, which alone can maintain the country's economic equilibrium.

"The Railwaymen's Federation also feels that it cannot ignore the economical and psychological factors, which are operating today and which call for just and equitable treatment by the railway administrations and has, therefore, submitted certain suggestions to the Railway Board," added Mr. Kalappa. The suggestions include the grant of a further instalment of dearness allowance to the level of the existing cost of living and the extension of the grant to those getting Rs. 150 per month on such railways as are declared to be within the danger zone; the evacuation for workers' families should be facilitated by the grant of two months' wages in advance and other concessions and an extra allowance amounting to 25 per cent. of the wages for the staff working under war conditions within the danger zone.

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE TO EMPLOYEES

In view of the recent rise in the cost of living, the Nizam's State Railway, it is announced, have increased the dearness allowance to their employees. Under the revised scheme, those serving in the headquarters are to receive Rs. 10-8 a month if the pay is Rs. 180 or below, and those serving at Warangal, Kazipet, Bezawada and Aurangabad Rs. 8-12 a month if the pay is Rs. 90 or less; and those serving elsewhere Rs. 7 a month if the pay is Rs. 60 or less.

VULGARITY IN ART

All mannerism is vulgar, and if it is confined within the narrow limits of local provincialism, it tends to create more ugliness than mere imitation of great masters, observed Mr. Asit K. Halder in a recent broadcast from Lucknow. But it is wise to guard against one misconception about what is vulgar in art. Simple ugliness need not be the cause of vulgarity in art. Look at the deformed cripple or the dwarf. Both may repel us at sight, but an artist could immortalise them with his brush and canvas. The dwarfs in Ajanta paintings and also of Velasquez' work will remain as immortals for ever. Similarly, in painting a landscape an artist could with his magic wand turn the ugliness of a factory chimney into a work of fine art. Caricature by itself is not vulgar. A comic expression is not devoid of aesthetic appeal and could be compared with the "character" in an image or in a portrait in a serious work of art. But if it is tied too much to any ulterior motive as is done, for example, to help temporary national propaganda, then its object would be reduced to utter vulgarity. To an artist, art is an aesthetic pursuit and not a means of livelihood.

TUBLU AND BUBLU

"Autolyeus", writing in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, describes a "fascinating and thoroughly well organised entertainment" given at the Cambridge Theatre in London, by the India Committee for aid to Soviet peoples. He says:

It was conducted on vaudeville lines, but the result was "something as little like our music-hall as the strange and curiously poignant sounds produced from lute-like Indian instruments are like our Western notions of music".

There were, I gather, many ritual dances, a little play by Tagore, and a contribution from China in the pleasing shape of Miss Christina Chan, who was excellent at mime as well as dancing.

But the high spot of the evening was a turn by two tiny Indian boys "Tublu" and "Bublu" who were so enchanting that the interval revealed them perched on the knees of the Russian ambassador in his box.

SPORT

LOSS TO HOCKEY

Hockey administration in Britain has lost one of its greatest workers by the death in London of Miss W. A. Baumann. For more than 15 years, she was honorary secretary of the All-England Women's Hockey Association.

Miss Baumann did much to develop women's hockey and its governing body between the wars. She was one of the officials in the memorable visit of an English team to the United States in 1936, and she also toured South Africa.

GAMES

In games, though there is opposition, there is no hostility, says Pigou. The moment hostility comes in, the game is spoilt. Each player wishes to win, but he does not wish, in winning, to disappoint his opponent, still less to hurt him. The reason why boxing, for all its excellences, is a worse game than lawn tennis, is just that a player, unless his skill is very great indeed, may hurt his opponent.

ENDURANCE IN SWIMMING

Robin Chatterji, of Allahabad, has established a new endurance swimming record with hands and feet tied at the D. A. V. College Swimming Bath by completing 60 hours and 50 minutes in the water—17 minutes better than the previous record held by Santosh Kumar, of Calcutta.

THE PASSING OF A GREAT WRESTLER

Over 10,000 people, including municipal councillors, attended the funeral of Pratapsingh Pardeshi, well known Poona Wrestler, who died recently in Poona. Pardeshi had over 400 victories to his credit and took an active part in social and municipal activities.

MISS JEAN MOIR

Miss Jean Moir, athletic and attractive daughter of the President of the W. I. F. A., stood first in the recent Individual Jumping event at the Bombay Gymkhana Mud Sports.

SCIENCE

BOMB BLAST ON GLASS

Secret experiments by South African scientists have resulted in an important discovery, which will greatly minimise the effect of bomb blast on glass windows as well as danger from flying splinters. It is stated that the method is inexpensive and yet so effective that glass will withstand a blast when only 70 feet from the explosion of a 500 pound bomb. This result has been achieved by two Capetown University officials, George Stewart, senior lecturer in Civil Engineering and Professor Walker, Professor of Geology. The secret experiments were carried out on the outskirts of Capetown.

AIR-CONDITIONED ALLIED TANKS

The Minister of Production, Capt. Oliver Lyttleton, announced in the House of Commons recently that a panel of experts had been formed and had already commenced work to investigate the improving of ventilation in tanks by the use of refrigeration or air-conditioning. He added that the panel would have the benefit of advice in reports from the Western Desert.

ALUMINIUM FROM EARTH'S CRUST

Some years ago, Mr. Charles Hall, a science student, sent an electric shock through the clay as it lay in the crucible. Although this showed no result for a long time, he was getting nearer. For one day, when a transmitting substance known as cryolite was mixed with the clay and sand—presto!—the clay melted away and aluminium emerged.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

The thirtieth session of the Indian Science Congress will be held in Lucknow from January 2 to 8, 1943. His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, has consented to be the patron of the meeting. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (now under detention in jail) will preside over the Session.

TORCH BATTERY

There is an easy way in which to make a torch battery last longer. Just fit a 3.5 volt bulb to the torch instead of the normal 2.5 volt bulb. When a torch is used frequently this method of economy would, it is claimed, add 50 per cent. to the life of the battery.

FILM CAREER

You are wrong if you think that a film star leads a life of ease and comfort and that a film career is all fun and no work. "Every day in my life," says Husn Banu, "is crammed from minute to minute with activity, animation and anxiety."

Now busy playing the leading role in a national picture *Jawani-Qasam*, she says, she goes through her daily life with a fiercely automatic animation.

Fighting against time, she is up at 5 a.m., when she begins her day with music practices, then a hurried bath and follows an equally hurried breakfast. Before she can think of anything else, it's time to dash for the Studio.

Till 9-30 it is all a breathless course, yet her day's work has not commenced. She looks over the scenes for the day, fixes her lines in her mind and gets into the right mood to face the camera.

The first scene over, Husn Banu is allowed a brief rest, when the technical crew and the scene-shifters scramble about the stage for the change-over. Work on the set resumes. So through the whole day. Back home, she cannot think of anything other than sleep. But the next day's line to be looked up.

CHAPLIN AT WORK

Charlie Chaplin starts his work in quite the same manner as other creative artists in other fields. He mulls an idea in his mind for many months. Then, finally, he gets into the studio for actual production. As the picture progresses under Chaplin's directorship, he repairs to the cutting room at the completion of each sequence. He runs every foot of film through the "movieola" (a sort of miniature projection-machine universally used by film editors), and assembles the footage with the aid of his film-cutter. Charlie is his own supervisor and editor, even at this stage.

Charlie writes the major portion of the music for his pictures; he did so for *City Lights*, for *Modern Times*, for *The Great Dictator* and for *The Gold Rush*, which is ready for early release through United Artists.

TYRE RATIONING

The Tyre Rationing Order, published by the Government of India, brings the sale and acquisition of tyres under strict control.

No person may purchase a new tyre or tube except by securing a permit from the competent area rationing authority. In most cases this will be the same authority as that from which petrol coupons are obtained.

Owing to the urgent need to conserve rubber for vital war purposes, permits will be issued only in respect of vehicles which it can be shown are essential to the maintenance of war production or the health and safety of the community. With the exception of grant tyres as fitted to commercial vehicles, permits are also required to acquire retreaded tyres or to have tyres retreaded.

CANADIAN WOMEN DRIVERS

Should the need arise in Canada for women to replace men as operators of motor vehicles, it will be found that a surprising number of mechanically inclined women are preparing themselves for such an emergency war-time service, according to Mr. Wallace R. Campbell, President of the Ford Motor Company of Canada. He states that during the past year more than 11,000 women have enrolled in the Women's Auxiliary Motor Service, which provides a course of instruction in the care and operation of motor vehicles.

MOTOR CAR LIGHTING RULES MODIFIED

The Government of Madras have decided to modify the lighting restrictions, which came into force since March last in so far as they relate to motor vehicles. The main difference between the new and the old regulation is the increase in the diameter of the semi-circular aperture from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 2 inches and the raising of this aperture to the centre of the lamp.

PRODUCTION

A car of the Ford type takes 800 man-hours to produce. A Liberator bomber requires 400,000 man-hours. The average auto has about 12,000 parts, while one of these bombers has over 100,000 *plus* half a million rivets and several miles of wiring.

HOW PARACHUTES ARE TESTED

Dummy parachutists, it is said, were dropped on Crete by the Germans in order to waste the defenders' ammunition; they are also used regularly in America on the vitally important work of testing parachutes. They are not dropped from planes, however, as observation of what happened would then be difficult.

A Connecticut firm of parachute manufacturers has constructed special apparatus for the testing of products. The contrivance is not unlike the aeroplane roundabout sometimes seen in amusement parks.

On the top of a 50 ft. tower erected on a hill, the dummy, with parachute attached, is fastened to rigging and made to revolve at speeds varying from 70 to 300 m.p.h. At a given moment the parachute is automatically released bringing the dummy down to earth.

AEROPLANES THIRTY YEARS AGO

The phenomenal development in the science of aeronautics is evident from the following:—

The aeroplane must carry two persons having a combined weight of 360lb. and with sufficient fuel for a flight of 125 miles.

It must have a speed of forty miles an hour in still air, and if it makes fewer than thirty-six miles, it will be rejected.

It must make an endurance flight of at least one hour continuously in the air and must return to the starting point and land without injury.

If the aeroplane meets the requirements of the Government, the agreed price is £5,000 and £500 more for each additional mile of speed up to forty-four miles an hour.

Those were some of the conditions laid down by the U. S. Government when, in August 1908, Mr. Orville Wright handed over his aeroplane for a trial.

NEW TRANSPORT PLANES FROM U. S.

Four-engined stratosphere planes able to carry 57 soldiers or 32,000lbs. of cargo over a distance of 4,000 miles, flying at an altitude of 30,000 feet are now coming off the assembly lines of air-craft factories in the United States.

PAPER-MAKING AS VILLAGE INDUSTRY

"Paper-making—a Village Industry" is the title of a small booklet published by the Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu.

The author of the booklet is Sjt. A. Krishnan and he describes in simple style all the processes involved in paper-making. It is clear from the booklet how easy it is to start this cottage industry in every village by ordinary labour.

"India," says J. C. Kumarappa in the preface, "used to import over two and a half crores worth of paper, paste-board, pulp, etc. This war has thrown us on our own resources for many things of every-day need. When we import articles that can be made in India, we are exporting employment in our own land. If this two and a half crores of goods can be manufactured in cottages, it will relieve in a measure the pressure on the land and employ large numbers of men and women."

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at Bombay, repudiated the charge that during the last three years the Commerce Department had been pursuing a *status quo* ante-policy. He would claim that in spite of all the limitations, his Department had done much to develop industries in the country. One instance was the ways and means discovered to produce in Travancore and Asansol aluminium a commodity essential for the manufacture of aeroplanes. Within six months the necessary amount of aluminium would be available in the country. Sulphur, which was essential for all chemical industries, was also being produced here. For all this he did not take credit for himself. The scientists had done more for industrial regeneration of the country than all the politicians put together including the speaker.

TENT MANUFACTURE

It is estimated that some 500,000 workers of all classes—tailors, *mochis*, rope-makers, supervisors and other staff—are now directly employed in the manufacture of tentage in India.

CONTROL SCHEME FOR BOMBAY

To ensure a good harvest even during famine years, a scheme for the construction of dams or *Tal* works (earth embankments with masonry weirs), with provision to drain off the surplus water through cross valleys or *nallas*, has been in hand in the Deccan districts of Bombay.

The construction of low dams has proved to be an effective and successful control measure. It reclaims land in the *nalla* beds and catches and spreads the rain water and slit over considerable areas by way of flooding. A good harvest is thus ensured even during famine years.

AGRICULTURE DIRECTOR'S SCHEME

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the scheme proposed by the Director of Agriculture for introduction in the current year of improved paddy seed and better cultural practices in the rice cultivation in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of acres in the South Arcot district at a net cost of Rs. 30,000, and in about 3 lakhs of acres in the Krishna district at a net cost of Rs. 48,000. The scheme will be spread over a period of two years.

AGRICULTURAL SEEDS FOR EUROPE

Plans for supplying the needs of Europe in agricultural and vegetable seeds after the war were discussed by the Allied Relief Committee on Agriculture, sitting in London. Already the people of some of the occupied countries have been reduced to eating their own seed corn following extensive German requisitioning. It was at first expected that the needs of agriculturists could be satisfied from the existing production but in some cases it might be necessary for special types to be grown. The problems of distribution are also being considered.

RICE RESEARCH

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the opening of a rice research station in Chingleput district at a cost of about Rs. 33,000, of which Rs. 15,000 will be non-recurring expenditure.

ALLOWANCE FOR WORKERS

The Government of Bombay have revised the rates of dearness allowance granted to whole-time daily rated staff with effect from July 1.

If the average cost of living index in Bombay city for three consecutive months is 143 or above, the staff will be paid an allowance of 3 annas and 3 pies for a working day, subject to maximum of Rs. 5 a month in Bombay city, and of 2 annas and 9 pies for a working day, subject to a maximum of Rs. 4 a month in the mofussil.

Only those whose wages calculated for a full month do not exceed Rs. 69 a month in Bombay city and Rs. 49 in the mofussil are eligible for the concession.

The daily rated staff in Bombay city, whose earnings exceed Rs. 69 but not Rs. 74 a month and those in the mofussil whose earnings exceed Rs. 49 but not Rs. 63 a month, however, will be granted such allowance as is necessary to make their total earnings equal to Rs. 74 and Rs. 53 a month respectively.

The allowance will not be admissible to those whose rates of pay have been increased since the war.

LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT IN U. S.

Dr. John Steelman, Director of the United States Conciliation Service, praises the distinguished co-operation record between labour and management. Dr. Steelman says that of the pledge of labour and management of continuous production 99.9/10 per cent. were successful. It is always possible, of course, to have strikes in a democracy. However, the production powers of free men are so much greater than those of slave men that the small amount of time lost by strikes is repaid many times over by the free spirit and will to work which are found in this democracy.

U. S. A. NEW WORKERS RECRUITED

To fill the gaps caused by call-up of men and allow for expansion of United States war industries, 10 million more workers will shortly be required. According to the House of Representatives Appropriations Committee, between 7 and 8 millions of new workers will be recruited from peace-time industries.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

We are indebted to the *Indian Social Reformer* for the following extracts culled from Dr. Rushbrook Williams' annual publications while he was Director of Information in India:

The experience of 1919 seems to have taught him (Gandhiji) one thing and one thing only, namely, that the rock upon which his scheme was in gravest danger of splitting was the readiness of the masses of his countrymen, when stirred by deep emotion, to resort to brutal and unreasoning violence. Accordingly, between the summer of 1919 and the autumn of 1920, he devoted himself to the ceaseless inculcation, among all those to whom his influence could penetrate, of the doctrine of non-violence. Only when he allowed himself to be convinced, against the opinion of the wisest and most prudent in India, that this work was accomplished, did he prepare to launch out upon the movement of national regeneration which he had for so long contemplated. —*India in 1921-22.*

During 1922 as throughout 1921 anarchical crime was noticeable for its absence. It would be premature to conclude that the old party of anarchy in Bengal has either disappeared or has abandoned its designs. But the spirit of modern India is changing, and young idealists can now find an outlet for their energies in directions more profitable both for their country and for themselves than the organization of anarchical outrage. The idealism characterising some aspects of Mr. Gandhi's movement must certainly not be deprived of its share of the credit for the achievement of this state of affairs. —*India in 1922-23.*

The earlier stages of the non-co-operation movement, with its emphasis on non-violence, placed a considerable obstacle in their (terrorists') way. Mr. Gandhi's ideals and personality captured the imagination of the emotional middle class youth . . . to whom the terrorists have always looked for their recruits. —*India in 1924-25.*

LATE SIR F. YOUNGHUSBAND

The famous soldier explorer of Tibet, Sir Francis Edward Younghusband has died after a short illness aged 75.

Over forty years ago, he led a British expedition to the forbidden and then unknown city of Lhasa, the capital of Tibet and by his tact overcame the hostility of the Lamas and won their friendship for Britain. Thereafter he became British Commissioner in Tibet. Earlier, Sir Francis Younghusband, who was a man of slight stature, carried out a series of perilous explorations in then unknown Manchuria and Turkestan. After his return to Britain, he formed the Mount Everest Committee, which organised the first Everest expedition.

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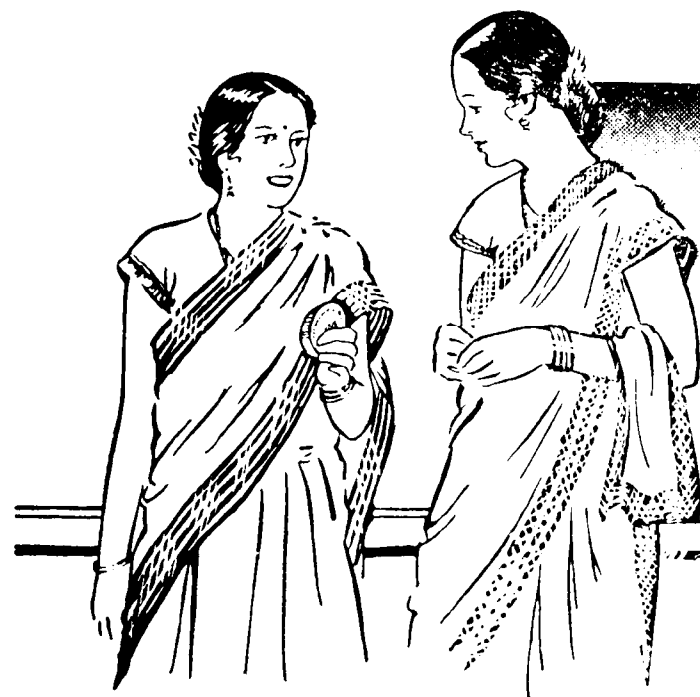
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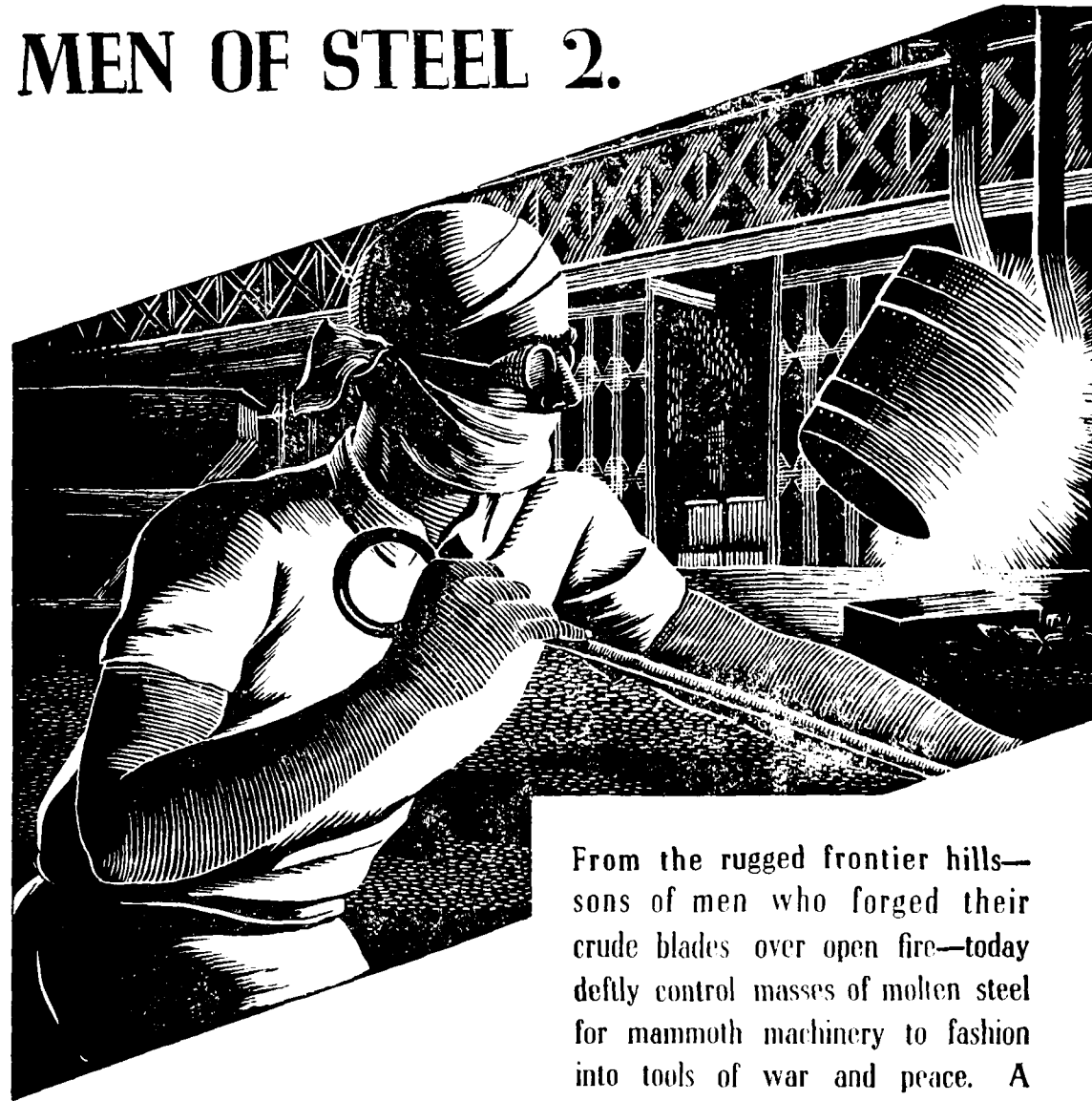
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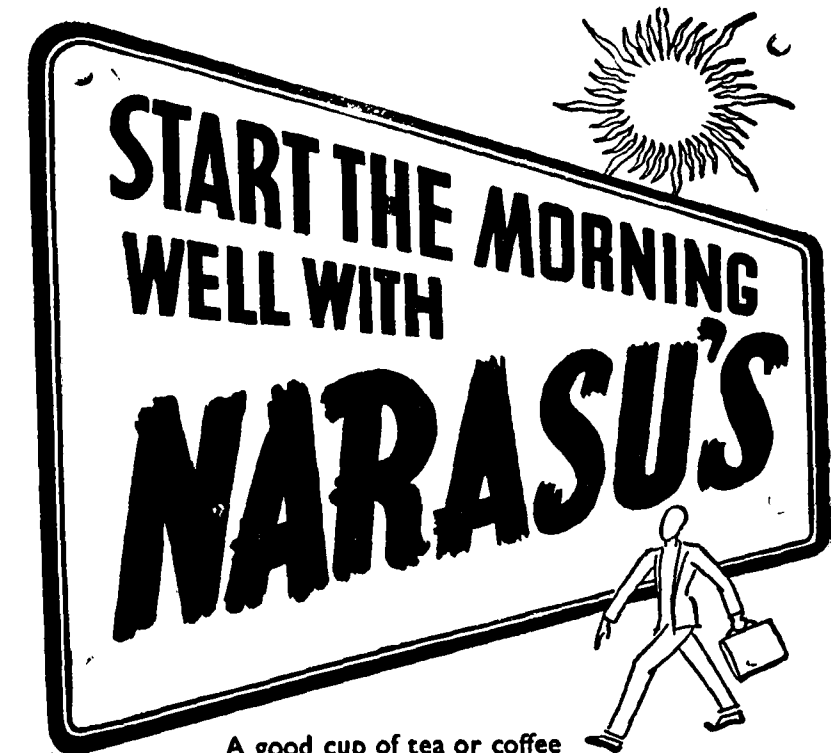


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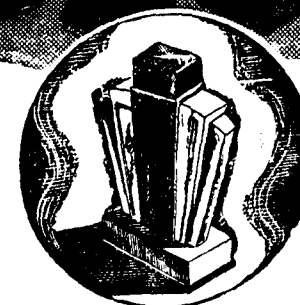
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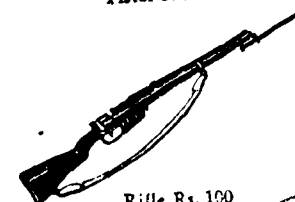
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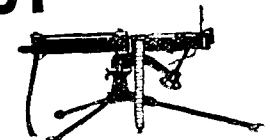
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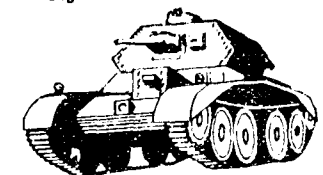
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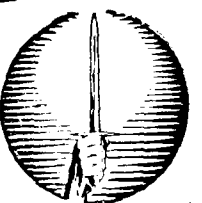


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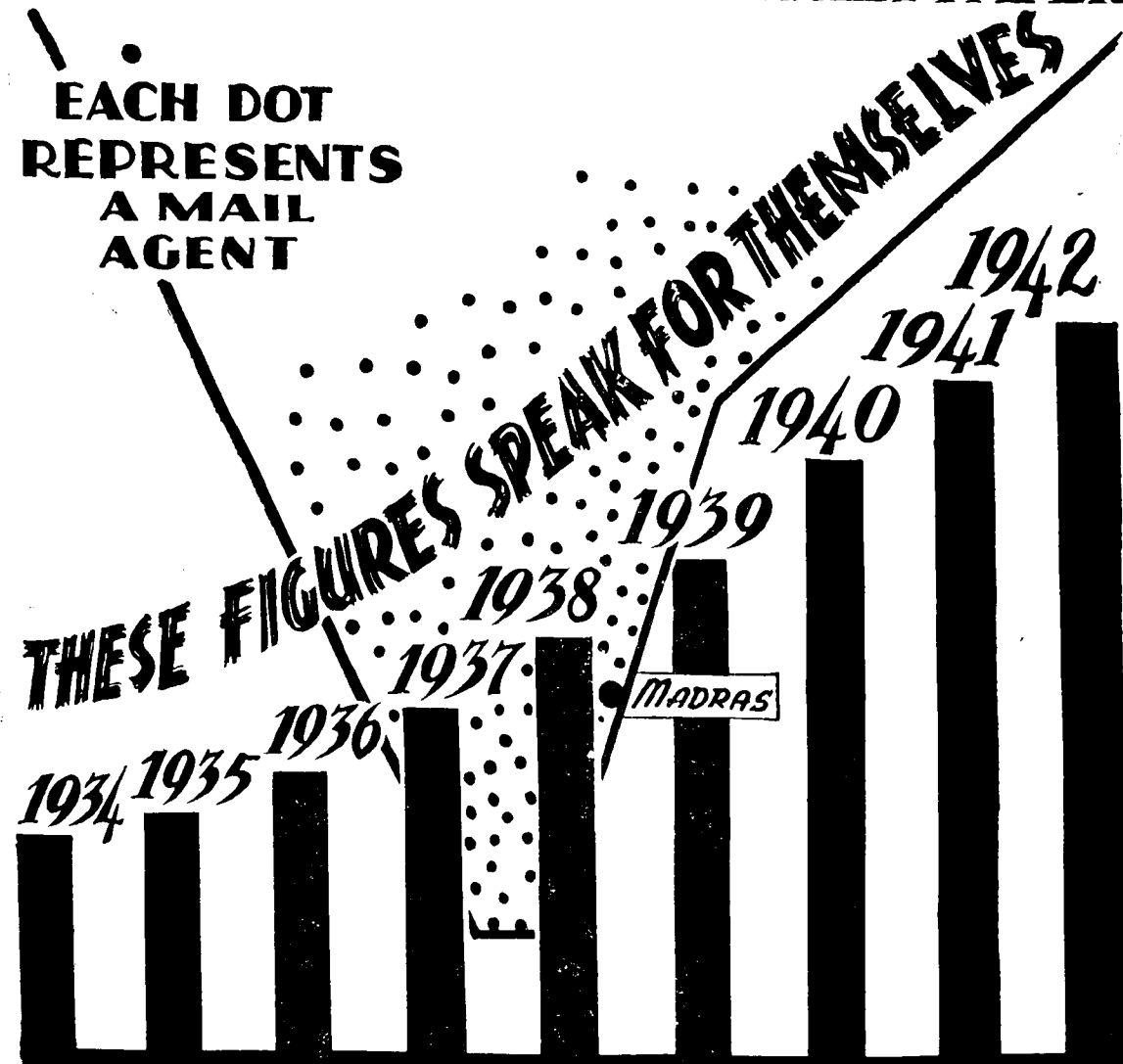
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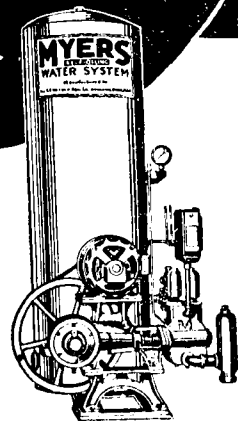
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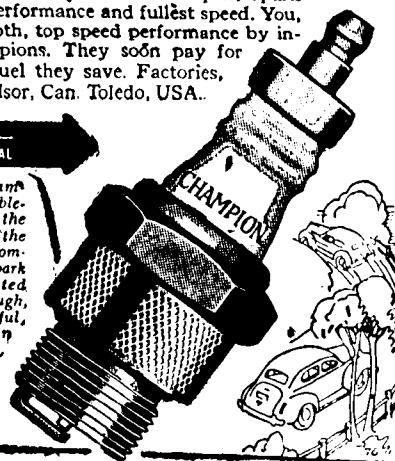
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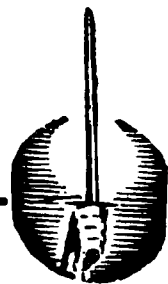
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The anxious times we live in prohibit celebrating this Diamond Jubilee in a manner which would have been befitting the occasion in peace time. Nevertheless, we of the Titaghur Paper Mills are justly proud to-day of our achievement.

The production of pulp and paper in this country has established an indigenous industry of paramount value in our present hour of need.

We are conscious of a deep sense of gratitude to the loyal customers whose co-operation through difficult years made it possible for us to realize our ambition.

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487