

THE
INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

(151)

1944
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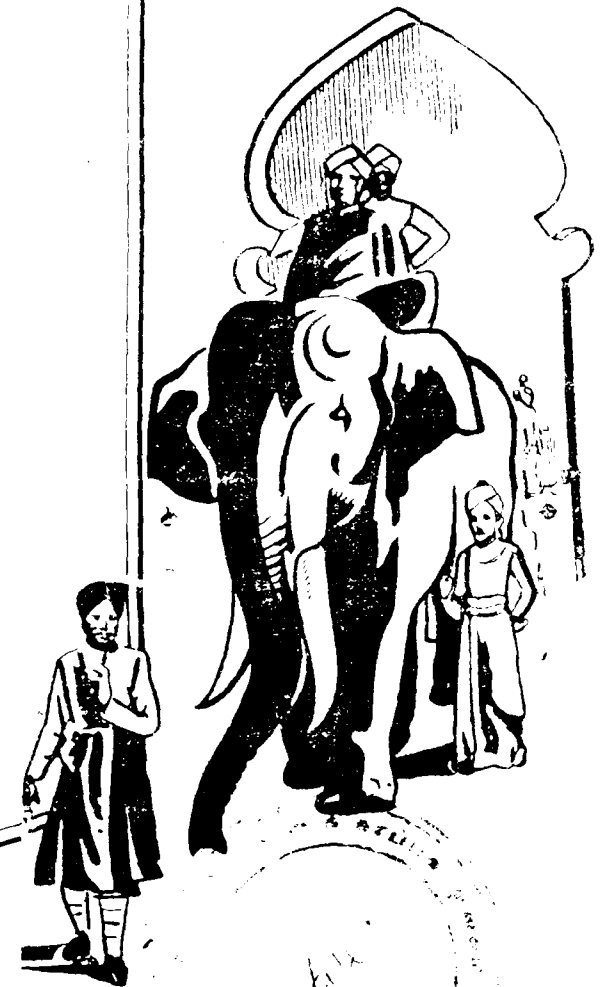
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The Indian Review

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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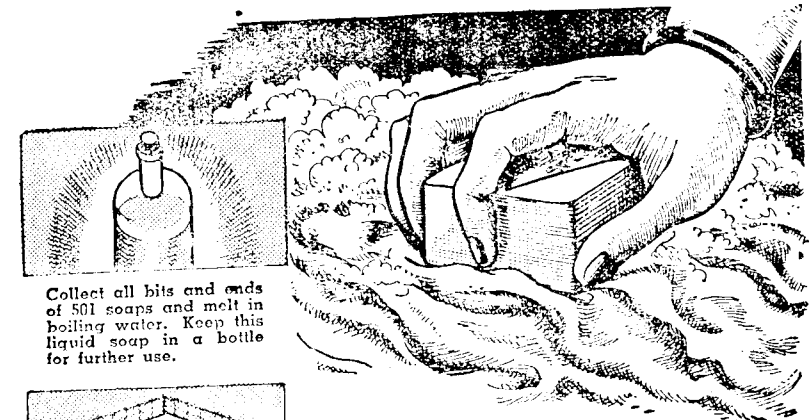
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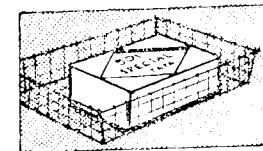
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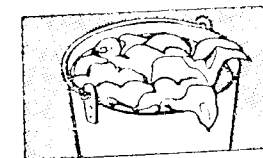
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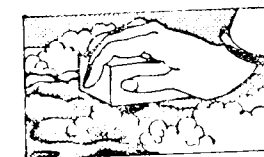
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the cups
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wait on each
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 45.]

APRIL 1944

[No. 4.]

LEGISLATIVE POWERS IN INDIA

BY HON. SIR B. L. MITTER, K.C.S.I.

THE Indian Constitution, which is in operation, is federal in structure. It is the smaller federation of British Indian Provinces with the Central Government and not the All-India Federation envisaged by the Government of India Act of 1935. Despite the efforts of Lord Linlithgow, the bigger Federation did not materialise, by reason of the reluctance of the States to join it. In the first place, the concept of three branches, namely, the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial was there, but these three were not independent of one another. The Legislative field was largely dominated by the Executive, the Legislature holding a subsidiary place. In India, the Legislative authorities are two—the Legislature and the Head of the Executive, the Governor-General in the Centre and the Governor in the Province. The Legislature, again, is fettered in various ways. So far as the Central Legislature is concerned, its constitution has not changed from the old system. It is composed of elected members, official members and nominated members. Therefore, it cannot be said that it reflects the will of the people. The Provincial Legislature is entirely elected, but the election being on communal franchises, alternative ministries are impossible. Hence, when a ministry having the support of the majority in a Legislature went out of office, no other ministry could take its place and the Governor had to assume all the legislative powers in his own hands. The Constitution has thus broken down in five Provinces and they are being governed under Section 93.

As regards the power of the Governor-General (the Governor has similar power in the Province) to make laws, it is as wide as that of the Legislature and is free from some of the disabilities of the

Legislature. He can make and promulgate Ordinances for the peace and good government of British India whenever he thinks that an emergency has arisen. No one can question his judgment on this point, nor is he bound to disclose the nature of the emergency. By an Ordinance he can alter, amend or repeal any law passed by the Legislature, but the Legislature, without his consent, cannot touch an Ordinance. Still more drastic is the Governor-General's power to make law by what is called Governor-General's Acts. Whenever he is satisfied that for the purpose of enabling him satisfactorily to discharge his functions, acting in his discretion or in exercise of his individual judgment, legislation is required, he can recommend to the Legislature an appropriate legislative measure. If the Legislature passes it, well and good. If not, he puts his signature on it, and it becomes Law. The Governor-General's discretion and individual judgment cover very wide grounds of administration, including peace and tranquillity of India, financial stability, minority and service interests, etc. Thus, the head of the Executive not only carries out laws, but he makes laws and his law-making power is larger than that of the Legislature. The only control to which he is subject is that of the Secretary of State.

The power of the Legislature to make laws is fettered in many ways. The fetters may be classified under two heads: (1) previous sanction of the Governor-General or the Governor and (2) absolute prohibitions. Under the first head, no legislation can be initiated without the previous sanction of the head of the Executive. This includes all matters in which he has to act in his discretion, and any Bill which repeals, amends or affects any Act relating

to any Police Force, or which affects criminal procedure relating to European British subjects, etc. Under the head of absolute prohibition are matters relating to the Crown or which affects the Army, Navy or Air Force. The prohibition extends to the protection of British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom and Companies incorporated in the United Kingdom. This rests on the principle of reciprocity and the gist of the provisions is that Britishers and British Companies must be treated on the same footing as Indian nationals and Indian Companies are treated in the United Kingdom. If any concession or privilege be given to, say, an infant industry, the same concession and privilege must be given to similar British industries

operating in India. The coastal traffic of a country is generally reserved to the nationals of that country. But under the reciprocity provisions, if Indian shipping be allowed to engage in the coastal traffic of the United Kingdom, British shipping must be given the same right in Indian waters. These provisions have been claimed to savour of partnership between the United Kingdom and India. It may be observed that unequal partnership always operates to the detriment of the weaker party.

In the Indian Constitution, the Executive dominates the Legislature and Legislative powers are fettered in many ways. Democracy, which postulates government according to the will of the people, has no place in the Indian Constitution.

WORLD GOVERNMENT

By HAROLD E. STASSEN

(*Ex-Governor, State of Minnesota*)

LIKE the Great Wall of China, the walls of American isolation have crumbled forever. Throughout America—North, South, East, West, and Middle West—the people are determined to drive through to complete victory in this war—victory for the arms of the United Nations and for our principles, cost what it may. This fact is well recognized.

What is not so well recognized but is nevertheless equally true is that the people of America, including the Middle West, are determined to follow through to win an enduring peace in a stable world.

The people of America had loved ones at Pearl Harbour, on Bataan, at Guadalcanal. They now have sons in North Africa, over and under the seven seas and in European skies. They know there is no place in the world of tomorrow for a hermit nation. There remain some voices from the past, but there is a rising tide of public opinion which no one can sweep aside.

In view of this, the people are sincerely searching for the way, the means and the methods whereby America will assume in the peacemaking a degree of responsibility equal to her position in world affairs.

We need a new and higher level of government to serve mankind. It should not take the place of national government. It should have very limited powers

specifically delegated to it with all other powers reserved by the individual nations. The individual nations should continue to maintain their own constitutions, their own traditions, their own citizens, their own flags. But the advance of the other sciences clearly calls for an advance in the science of government. Once again it is time for "we the people" to establish a new and higher level of government if people living together are to have peace and progress instead of anarchy, conflict, tragedy, and war.

The beginning of such a government can arise out of the joint actions that are required now in the conduct of the war. Out of the joint action on food, of temporary administration of liberated areas and later of Axis territories, on military operations, on transport and ferry commands and production commissions—gradually specific mechanisms for joint action can develop. Over a period of years definite governmental machinery can evolve for managing those problems of tomorrow's world which cannot be handled by any one nation or small group of nations, however powerful they are.

I propose the eventual development of a single-house Assembly or Parliament as the basic body of government for the United Nations of the world.

This United Nations Parliament would select a chairman of a United Nations Council. The chairman would select seven members from the Parliament to sit on the Council subject to confirmation by the Parliament. The Council would be the executive branch of the United Nations Government, responsible and accountable to the legislative branch.

The United Nations Government would have seven major functions, each under the direction of a Councilman:

1. To establish temporary governments over the Axis nations and the liberated nations and trusteeships or territorial administrations in undeveloped or disputed areas. The temporary governments of Axis nations would proceed with total disarmament of those nations and legal punishment of their criminal leaders. In the liberated nations the temporary governments would function only until the people could choose governments of their own.

2. To administer international airways and airports. This would involve establishment of uniform air traffic rules and controls, co-ordination of weather data, maintenance of air fields, maintenance of flight aids facilities and ways, and perhaps the fixing of uniform rates for freight and passenger transport.

3. To administer the gateways to the seven seas. Development of air traffic will not diminish the use of the oceans but will merely add a new factor to a widening range of total travel, transport, and communication.

4. To increase trade between the peoples of the world. This we must do if general living standards are to be improved gradually and if countries with high living standards are to maintain and advance them without fear of aggressors. The emphasis should be on increasing trade rather than on freezing it universally or arbitrarily.

5. To increase the literacy and improve the health of the people of the world. Academic and scientific freedom should be fundamentals in a program to achieve this, and the great universities and medical centres of the world should have a definite part in the respective projects.

6. To establish a world code of justice. This should begin with a few basic laws enacted by the Parliament emphasizing

human rights, protecting minorities, and preventing religious persecution. There should be a United Nations Court, its membership nominated preferably by the Supreme Courts of member nations.

7. To create a United Nations Legion consisting of units of air, naval, and mechanized land forces made up of citizens of the United Nations. This would not supplant the armed strength of individual member nations—at least until such a step evolved naturally from experience with and confidence in the ability of the United Nations Legion to enforce the code of justice, support administration of airways and seaways, and insure disarmament of outlaws and aggressors.

The individual citizen would find his relation to government—city, state, and national—changed little or not at all by establishment of a new government at a world level. The United Nations Government would take over by express delegation of power from member nations some functions which even now can be achieved by national governments only through international co-operation. What is developed thereafter would depend on our experience with government on a world level. If we found that a United Nations Government could accomplish desirable objectives which nations could not accomplish individually, we—or our children or grandchildren—could expect that such a government would be increasingly accepted and used. We should simply be applying on a larger scale the lessons we have learned in our local, state, and national communities.

Our successful government in the United States of America was developed in this manner after an unusual period of frank public discussion which evoked many proposals and objections and counter-proposals. Before and during the War for Independence, from about 1772 to 1776, this search for methods of joint action, this unceasing public debate, continued. The Articles of Confederation, projected in 1777 and ratified in 1781, were our first national attempt at a constitutional structure.

Under the Articles great difficulties arose. The states were slow to ratify. Commercial and other rivalry tore the states apart. At last, in 1787, the Articles were abandoned and the draft of the Constitution itself was completed and ratified by the states.

These precise facts of America's own early history show that the U.S. Government did not spring forth full blown, that even its foundation was not laid in one year or two or ten, but that it grew out of many discussions and trials and proposals.

So today we Americans would be futile perfectionists if we assumed that we must have unanimous agreement to strike out on an effort to improve government. There are many obstacles and difficulties. But the task demands the earnest, searching attention of leaders of many nations and of various parties and branches of government in our own United States.

We must develop a roof to shelter the family of nations from war, from aggression,

from social, political, and economic maltreatment by the maldeveloped members of that family. We must find a way for the people of the various continents to live together in an orderly society. That is the road to peace and to the progress of man.

We have developed a world-wide vision to win this war. We are striving for a common front among men of like objectives. We must keep our sights equally high to win the peace. We must remind ourselves over and over again that brave men die in vain upon the battlefield because of what happens *after* a war as well as because of what happens *during* a war.

THE BOMBAY INDUSTRIALISTS' PLAN

BY MR. P. R. SRINIVAS

(Editor, *The Indian Finance*)

THE publication of a plan of economic development for India by eight leading businessmen from Bombay is an event. It is different from its fore-runners, not in the principles underlying it nor even in its outlines or details, but in that it is not a mere expression of opinion which stops from where it proceeds. It is an event, in the sense that it will lead to more events. Lord Morley said of Rousseau's "Social Contract" that it is not words, but deeds. Something similar may be said of the Bombay Plan. The press, daily and periodical, cannot be content with just reviewing it as a mere pamphlet. To the signatories, it is the beginning of purposeful action. It is more than probable that they have blueprints of new business activity based on parts of the plan coming into execution as part of public policy. The Government of India, whatever its composition or complexion, can ill-afford to ignore the Plan. Lord Wavell has already gone so far as to make specific reference to it in the following terms:

We welcome constructive suggestions; and my Government is examining with interest the plan recently propounded by eight prominent businessmen. The views of the authors of this plan on the objects to be achieved are in principle the same as those of my Government—we must work for a substantial increase in standards of living and social welfare.

We may, on examination, differ on the methods to be employed, their relative importance in the plan as a whole, the part to be played by the State and by private enterprise, and the financial practicability of development on the scale contemplated within the time suggested by the authors; but our aim is similar and we welcome any sincere contribution to the problem that sets people thinking and makes them realise both the possibilities and the pitfalls ahead of us.

It is this eventful character of the Bombay Plan that the public in India must seize on. Economic planning in a country like ours is necessarily too complicated and vast for any one to say the last word on it. The priorities to be assigned to the various objectives of the Plan and the pace of progress, not to speak of issues which belong to the highly controversial terrain of social ideology, will alone have to engage the attention of specialists for a comparatively long time to come. But I believe I make no dangerous forecast when I say that all subsequent discussions of economic planning will centre round the Bombay Plan, much in the way in which discussions of basic education have centred round the Wardha Plan.

I don't mean to pay any extravagant compliments to the authors of the Bombay Plan. Indeed, it must be remembered that nothing more than the germinal idea of the Wardha Plan has been retained in the Wood and Abbot Report or the more

comprehensive plan of national education drawn up by Mr. Sargent, the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India. And in the case of the Bombay Plan, there is, in fact, nothing strikingly inventive. But the eight industrialists of Bombay have done what it has not occurred to the wildest Communist or the most humanitarian of Congressmen to do. They have measured the difference between what is and the minimum of decent requirements in the economic sphere, in terms of goods, of money, of capital, outlay and of public expenditure. They have stated it in the simplest terms and with the simple faith that, staggering as are these figures, what they indicate is not beyond our reach. This simple faith, when it is unstated and unobtrusive, is more powerful than the most powerful or the most persuasive of arguments. For the first time, the whole nation is beckoned to its task of economic uplift. We are used to much rhetoric, often of the forensic kind. We are used to arguments of the most subtle and the most theoretical kind. But we have never been told that, for the people to be better fed, better clothed, better housed and enabled, in every way, to live better lives, we need so much more food, clothing, housing, schools, machines, etc., etc.

The essence of the Plan, then, is a series of sums in simple arithmetic. The starting point is the calculation which shows that "in order to secure a minimum standard of living a per capita income of Rs. 74 (as against Rs. 65 in 1931-32) at pre-war prices is essential." The next step is to recognise, that, given our present demographic trends, a threefold increase in our total national dividend within a period of 15 years, would in effect, mean a per capita income of Rs. 135, representing a doubling of 1931-32 figure. The authors of the Plan envisage a change in the contribution of industry, agriculture and the services to the total national income from 17.53 and 22 per cent. respectively of the present time to about 35.40 and 20 on completion of the Plan. They contemplate a division of their 15-year plan into three five-year plans and one may easily guess that the pace of progress is not the same in all the three stages.

By these methods, the leeway to be made up in every line of production is

estimated to a nicety. The proportion between capital investment and yield obtaining at present in different types of industry is taken as the basis of estimating the requirements under recurring and non-recurring expenditure. And it is thus that the Bombay Plan has come to be known as the Rs. 10,000 crore plan of economic development for India.

The exact apportionment of this vast sum among the various purposes is assuredly not of popular interest. Nor is the Plan advanced to the stage in which the figures can have a technical interest. Since the essence of the Plan is the setting of the target figures and the natural, buoyant optimism with which it is propounded, it is for the country as a whole to accept it and rally round it, in more or less indifference to criticisms that may be made of this or that aspect of it.

It is well to remember that the pamphlet now published does not purport to be a fully evolved plan. It is only an earnest of what its authors propose to do in the sphere of economic planning. More is promised; and more will be forthcoming, though in the meanwhile certain basic issues must certainly be threshed out in public. I have no desire to disguise my disappointment that the pamphlet contains no indication of the way its authors would like to allocate spheres of activity between the Government and private enterprise. Their calculation of the expenditure involved almost suggests a central agency which is to have command of all the available communal resources and apportion them among the various objects on hand. No attempt has been made to indicate the prime motive power of economic progress in the country, unless it be that the authors of the Plan look to the National Government to wave a magic wand and change the face of the people. The wisdom of a Plan lies in the last resort in the certainty with which it can create and tap the material and spiritual sources which make for an economic revolution. But it is unfair to pre-judge. What I miss in the pamphlet may well be held back for the memoranda that are yet to come. A considerable part of the Plan is assuredly the sphere for private enterprise. And its authors can, if they exert themselves,

provide for an expansion in many lines of productive activity.

But the step they have taken would have been sounder, more helpful in rallying public support and eliciting Government approval, if the basic principles had been clarified at the outset. That cannot, however, detract from the value of the service the Plan has done in bringing the whole question before the public in a manner that arrests attention. Criticism of the plan, such as has been indulged in by some academicians is, at the least, premature. If the authors of the Plan have tried to indicate the scope and extent of our resources in relation to our requirements of capital, it is with a view to assure the public that we shall not be lacking in resources for the successful accomplishment of the Plan. It is not an invitation to speculate on the future of our external securities or on the probable course of our balance of trade. To me, what is far more important is that a body of businessmen, which is not only representative of

industrialists but also includes an academician like Dr. John Matthai and a Member of the Hilton, Young Currency Committee like Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, have accepted the legitimacy and wisdom of spending fiat money on nation-building. This has for a long time been a pet idea of mine; and I am convinced that the infusion of purchasing power in times which, unlike the present war period, will allow production to respond to new demand is the only key to the deadlock in our economic life. Only in such conditions can there be an increase in the production of consumer's goods involving no special problems of capital and distribution. The difficult part of economic planning in India is the establishment of basic industries. And it is here that the acceptance of planning by the country's foremost industrialists seems to me a happy augury. What is needed is to help a consensus of opinion in its favour; and it is dangerous to distract the public mind with divided counsels.

FINANCING THE BOMBAY PLAN

By DR. P. S. LOKANATHAN

(Editor, *The Eastern Economist*)

THE Bombay plan—as the plan for the economic development of India issued from Bombay by eight prominent businessmen has come to be known—has set before the country the goal of trebling the national income in a period of fifteen years. Actually the plan is not so ambitious as it may seem at first sight. A period of 3 to 5 years is allowed for the preparatory stage and thus the goal of increasing the national income from Rs. 2,200 crores to Rs. 6,600 crores (both at pre-war prices) is to be reached only in twenty years. Further, making allowances for the increase in population during the period at the rate of nearly 5 million per annum the plan implies only the doubling of the per capita income from Rs. 65 (1931-32 estimate) to Rs. 130 or Rs. 135. But attainment of even this modest goal is conditioned by the availability of capital for large investments in agriculture, industry, transport, etc.

It is now universally recognised that the main factor explaining the varying levels of economic prosperity in different countries is the amount of capital equipment per head of the working population. The more tools a worker has, the more will be his output. There is a definite relation between the additions to national income which a country desires to secure and the additional capital investment which must be made in order to secure the additional income. This proportion varies between different countries; but it is somewhere between 2 and 3, in the sense that if you want to increase the national income by, say, Rs. 100 crores you must invest anything between Rs. 200 to 300 crores in all kinds of economic activity to get that extra income. The Bombay planners have assumed an over-all ratio of 2·4, so that for the proposed extra income of Rs. 4,400 crores they recommend an investment of Rs. 10,000

crores during the period. It may be noted here that all their figures are based on pre-war prices, and Rs. 10,000 crores' investment will have to be adjusted to the levels of prices that may be found to prevail at the end of the war.

The question then is: Can we find capital of the order of Rs. 10,000 crores in fifteen years of about Rs. 666 crores annually? And again, can we find also resources which could be employed for the import of the various raw materials, equipment and technical skill which may not be immediately available within the country? The distinction between external and internal finance is for any country intent upon fulfilling its own economic plan fundamental. Germany and Russia were faced with similar problems and solved them by rigid control of exports and imports and foreign exchanges. It has been calculated that for some industries in India the proportion which external finance (in the shape of imported equipment, raw materials, etc.) bears to the total capital outlay is as much as 70 per cent. In the basic industries, the proportion is undoubtedly high. Even in ordinary consumption goods industries the proportion is considerable as in the early years at all events much of the machinery required will have to be imported, until a machine industry is set up within the country. The Bombay planners estimate that out of Rs. 10,000 crores of total capital investment, as much as Rs. 2,600 crores will have to come from abroad or should be such as may be convertible into foreign exchange, for that, according to them, is the measure of our dependence on foreign countries for our supply of machinery, materials and technical skill. The necessary volume of external finance is proposed to be secured in the following manner:—

Sterling balances	Rs. 1,000 crores.
Gold (hoarded wealth)	„ 300 „
Balance of Trade	„ 600 „
Foreign loans	„ 700 „
	—
	„ 2,600 „

There are not wanting critics who hold the view that the planners are over-optimistic and criticize this part of the plan on the

ground (1) that Rs. 1,000 crores of sterling balances may not be available, because part of it is currency reserve which cannot be diverted to capital expenditure, (2) that the hoarded wealth may not be available and in any case is not to be regarded as "external" wealth, (3) that the balance of trade may not give as much as Rs. 600 crores and that it is after all internal savings which should not have been classified under external finance and (4) that foreign borrowings are not desirable. Most of those criticisms have no substance in them. By the end of the war our sterling assets (after making full and generous allowance for currency reserve) are sure to mount up to more than Rs. 1,000 crores of available resources. The fear that the British Government will do everything in its power to prevent India from getting back its loans is not legitimate, because Indian public opinion is now vigilant and also because it would be a fraud which Britain cannot afford to commit. The importance of our sterling balances for the success of the plan cannot, however, be exaggerated. If they are not available, the plan will have to be spread over a terribly long period. The amount of hoarded wealth provided for in the plan is only Rs. 300 crores which is not much. Provided a national government with the intense desire to put through its plan makes its appeal, there is no ground for scepticism. Gold is not like other materials which can be used internally for economic development except to a limited extent in some industry. Its main function is to be used as international money and hence the planners have rightly placed it under the category of external finance. As regards the balance of trade it no doubt represents the savings of the people; but while there is justification for classifying it under external finance because it may be used for securing additional imports, it is obvious that it is not additional to the amount of savings within the country. The planners have not made this clear, and thereby have rendered themselves liable to misunderstanding. As regards foreign loans provided we are willing to borrow, there should be no difficulty in getting not merely Rs. 700 crores but even more.

The crux of the financial problem is really the question of internal savings,

The plan estimates that over a period of 15 years with incomes rising from year to year an average of about 6 per cent. of the income will amount to Rs. 4,000 crores. Whether this is on the low side or not we need not pause to make enquiries. For the plan proposes a method of making up the deficiency of capital requirements by the process of "Created money" against *ad hoc* securities, and of all the proposals in the plan this has given rise to the very severe and widespread criticism. It is contended that the method will result in inflation with all its attendant evils, that the controls required to prevent inflation may be very easy of enforcement and that already the country has suffered enough from inflation. Whether these criticisms are in themselves justified or not, there is no doubt that the distinction between Savings and "Created money"—one being apparently voluntary and the other more or less forced—is wholly irrelevant in the context of the controlled economy which is contemplated here. The fundamental question is simple. It is whether the government can so far control consumption and savings as to secure annually for its investment capital of the order of more than Rs. 5,000 crores. If this represents an intolerable burden on the people, and imposes a sacrifice which will reduce the already low standard of living of the masses of the population, then the plan will not succeed. But the plan does provide in the early stages a liberal increase in the output of consumers' goods, and hence provided some form of rationing is adopted with a view to securing to all the essentials of decent living, the burden will not be excessive. After the plan is well under way, the production of consumption goods will increase, and there should be no difficulty in drawing off the savings of the people by taxation or by more direct physical controls.

But is the device of "Created money" to finance production necessarily inflationary and therefore wrong? The experience of Germany and Russia clearly proves the contrary. Indeed in a country like India with vast undeveloped and under-

employed resources in men and material, the creation of money is only a temporary financial method of putting through schemes of work resulting in large production, and when production is completed new money will be more than absorbed. It is even possible that at the end of the production period prices may not only *not* rise but even fall. There is therefore no ground for the fear that inflation will be the inevitable result of created money. While however the critics are wrong in condemning the financial aspect of the plan on the ground of its inflationary effect, the more serious defect is the attempt in the plan to make an unwarranted and wholly unnecessary distinction which has no place in a controlled economy. The distinction will have meaning if the State is called upon temporarily to use its privilege of created money in the downward phase of the trade cycle. But it can have no place in an economic system where the State directs the entire activity of the country according to a plan.

Thus the real financial problem reduces itself to the question of the surplus above necessities of life. We cannot afford to lower our existing standard of living further. The plan recognises this and emphasises the need for providing against a reduction in available consumption goods. But it is not enough if the level of consumption output is just kept up or slightly increased. Where so much of savings has to be drawn off to public investment, it will be necessary to guarantee to everyone his minimum requirements. That means rationing of scarce goods—control of consumption. The Bombay plan, it may be stated with confidence, will not break on the financial front. The difficulties lie elsewhere. They would arise for (1) the lack of machinery for control, (2) lack of agreement in regard to objectives, (3) lack of the necessary administrative personnel, (4) lack of strong and popular government, (5) lack of economic unity, (6) sabotaging the plan by the several vested interests in the country and many more factors partly political and partly psychological.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN SCIENCE

BY PROF. A. V. HILL

[Prof. A. V. Hill, Secretary of the Royal Society, who has come to this country to advise the Government of India on scientific matters, has for some months past been in close touch with leading Indian scientists and their achievements. In this broadcast from Bombay, Prof. Hill refers to the age-long spiritual and artistic tradition of India which is bound to react on, and in some degree colour her contribution to science. "I have no doubt myself", he says, "of the magnitude of India's future and characteristic contribution to world science".—ED. I.R.]

IN 1846 a young scientist, Thomas Henry Huxley, sailed in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake* as—to quote the words—"a surgeon who knew something about science," on what proved to be a very famous journey to biological discovery. Among the instructions issued by the Admiralty to the captain of his ship was the following:

"You are to refrain from any action of aggression towards a vessel or settlement of any nation with which we may be at war, as expeditions employed on behalf of discovery and science have always been considered by all civilized communities as acting under a general safeguard."

That was nearly 100 years ago. Fifty years earlier still—Britain being then at war with France—a French scientific sailor, Chevalier de Rossel, a prisoner of war in England at the time evidently on parole, dined with the Royal Society Club in London at the invitation of Alexander Dalrymple, the hydrographer to the Admiralty. The Navy, as well as the Royal Society, evidently regarded scientific standing as entitling its holder to civilized and friendly treatment, regardless of the misfortune of a state of war between the two countries.

It needs no historian to recall how learning, scholarship and art, on the one hand, and natural philosophy and technology, on the other, have from their earliest days been largely international in their scope. In the Western world, torn often with cruel, senseless and useless struggles, these were the only common interests of mankind. It is pleasant to remember how philosophers and scholars could, usually without hindrance, even in times of war, continue uninterrupted their intercourse with other countries.

It is recorded that Sir Humphrey Davy, the famous chemist, visited France and

was received with great honour by French scientists, at a time when Britain and France were at war. A document, now more than 700 years old, records the presence at Padua of French, English, Norman, Provencal, Spanish and Catalan students. Later at Padua 22 "nations", as they were called, were represented, 12 from Italy itself and 10 from beyond the Alps. In the fifteenth century there were about 100 French students there, nearly as many English and Scottish and over 300 German. In spite of all difficulties of transport and communication, there was a very real international sense in the humane pursuit of learning. Had learning, medicine and science no other gifts at all to offer to mankind—and they have very many more—their habit of transcending language, nationality and prejudice would have made them, more perhaps than anything else, worth-while.

In speaking about science, one would like to emphasize first the cultivation of science—the improvement of natural knowledge—as an end in itself, regardless of its immediate practical results. All experience teaches that practical results will in fact follow and will be worth far more for human progress and betterment than the original cost of the research. Not, it is true, from every bit of new knowledge, but on the average, and taking the advance of scientific knowledge as a whole. Nobody can be sure beforehand from which bit of new knowledge practical results will most likely flow.

"The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof—but no man knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth." That may not be strictly true of meteorology today, but it is certainly true of scientific progress. It is essential, therefore, that science should also be followed for its own sake. Goodness, honesty, integrity, unselfishness

and courage may, in fact, as the proverb goes about honesty, be the best policy, but it would be a mean—indeed, a useless thing—to advocate these virtues simply because they “pay”. Rather should they be regarded as things which have value in themselves, a part of man's duty to himself as well as to his neighbour. So also with science. The pursuit of knowledge, like the pursuit of virtue, should be regarded as an adventure of the human spirit not only for what it will bring to the improvement of human life but for what it will afford to the human mind and spirit itself.

THE SPIRITUAL SIDE

In India there is an age-long and characteristic spiritual and artistic tradition which is bound to react on, and some degree colour, your characteristic contribution to science. There are those in India who fear that your spiritual and artistic traditions may suffer from contact with the crudities of material mechanistic science and the industrial developments based on it. To some degree one sympathizes with them. That catastrophe you can best hope to avoid, not by shutting your eyes to scientific progress—which will go on whether you like it or not—but by emphasizing all the time, first, the spiritual and intellectual side of science and, second, the humane, artistic and cultural aspects of the material progress based upon science.

Industrial development need not mean hideous towns and factories any more than bio-chemistry need imply a disbelief in any of the higher attributes of life. Public health need not mean regimentation. Industrialization is certain to come, the application of science to industry, agriculture, health, transport, communications, etc., is sure to be widely developed. The health and welfare of the common man, hundreds of millions of simple, humble, common men, are so intimately bound up with progress in these directions that it would be wickedness, cruelty and folly for those who are better off to oppose it. There need be no conflict between the material and the spiritual: the idea that there is such a conflict is

a myth and an illusion, like the idea that there is necessary conflict between science and religion or between individual freedom and good government.

In all these things we need co-operation, not struggle. Unfortunately the idea of fighting appeals so strongly to romantic, youthful and pugnacious temperaments that it is usually preferred to the more prosaic idea of co-operation by those who profess to accept pacifism as a creed! It is the greatest pity that this should be so and I see no reason why in India the artistic, cultural and intellectual aspects of science, the pursuit of pure science as an adventure of the human spirit, may not be followed side by side and in full co-operation with the material applied side—which leads to the welfare, health and prosperity for the simple, common man. The common man, after all, in his hundreds of millions, can't be neglected for intellectual or aesthetic reasons!

If science in India is to be pursued and developed, as it should be, both for its own sake and for its material results, very much more needs to be done. There are—and the whole world knows it—first-class scientific men in India; but there are still far too few of them for a country of your size. There are first-class scientific institutions but most are still poor and small. Some subjects have been well developed but many have been given little opportunity of healthy growth. Scientific societies you have and learned institutions; some with national authority and scope, some still struggling for a place. May I interpolate by saying how much credit is due to the Indian Science Congress Association—which is the “opposite number” of the British Association—for the advancement of science, for the grand work it has done now for nearly a third of a century in trying, and trying successfully, to raise the standards of Indian science and the status of Indian scientific men.

I have no doubt myself of the magnitude of India's future and characteristic contribution to world science. I say “future” contribution not because I underrate the present contribution but

because it can, and should, and must, and will be very much greater. The native quality of the people of India and the natural resources of the country will make that quite inevitable in the end. The question only is of how and when and by whom. Is it going to be done in isolation? I trust and believe not. I should scarcely have been invited to come and advise the Government of India on scientific matters had that been likely. I should not have come had I thought that such isolation was your future. Everything I have seen and the extreme friendliness of my reception show the real desire of Indian scientists to collaborate freely with the rest of the world. Is it going to be aimed solely at material advantage with economics and finance always the sole ultimate purpose, or is it going to be directed in general at humane and spiritual objectives?

THE OBJECTIVES

Man himself, after all, is the ultimate purpose of all who promote education, learning and research. Puny, fearful, unreasonable, quarrelsome, childish, selfish, excitable and easily misled he often is, yet possessing always, or almost always—I omit Hitler and Mussolini and their cut-throat elements—nobility, courage, kindness, curiosity and devotion such as no other living creature has. On his health, his happiness, his prosperity, his comfort, but also for his wisdom, for the satisfaction of his divine desire to understand, to free him from ignorance and superstition as well as from fear and want, education, learning and research must advance together, proudly and confidently, not on a single objective, but on the whole range of objectives, spiritual as well as material, which hold the true destiny of man.

THE ADVENTURE OF LIVING

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

OF speculations about life there is no end. Moralists have been busy telling us how to practise the art of living in conformity with the highest notions of right and wrong. Philosophers, with no less skill and insight, have tried to explain the mystery of life and impart to it some kind of significance. Men of religion have held before us visions of happiness and torments of suffering in order to lead us along the path of good life and to warn us off the high-way of unrighteousness. All ethical systems, all schools of philosophy and every religion of the world have given us their suggestions, intimations and final conclusions about life. All this, if the truth be told, has added to the prevailing confusion about the meaning of life. As if this were not enough, scientists and psychologists have also entered this field. They are also bent on the same pursuit and engaged in the solution of the same mystery. In many ways their entry in this field has not been wholly beneficial. They have exploded some of the most cherished

ideas of their predecessors, and shaken the most firm-rooted beliefs. All these have thus combined to make life a baffling mystery. The plain man does not know what to make of these conflicting ideas, competing ideologies and warring creeds. He therefore feels exasperated and says, “Away with all these”.

Still he cannot ignore this problem. It is related about Confucius that some enquirer went up to him and asked, “what is life?” The sage with his usual imperturbable good humour is reported to have said, “why do you bother about life? Living is more important than life. One should not bother about the mystery of life, but acquire the dignity of living.” The Chinese philosopher was right in making this profound observation and in giving this wise counsel. It is much better to master the art of living than to tackle the problem of existence. The problem of living confronts us every moment of our life while the phenomena of life haunt us only now and then.

Happy is the man who knows how to live without being told so. But there are very few such perfectly adjusted beings. Life is so complex and the world is so complicated that most of us suffer from some kind of breakdown at one time or another. There may be some physical incapacity which may handicap us all our life; some moral twist may warp our nature; some unforeseen calamity or disaster may throw our life out of gear, some psychological malady may cloud our life or some shock may have a staggering effect on us. It is in a time of crisis like this that one's spirit is tested. It is then that a person clings to some philosophy of living.

The modern man (or woman) is living in exceptional circumstances. He has to bear an amount of stress and strain which normally human nature cannot put up with. The international crisis, the political uncertainties in his own country, the strange fluctuations of the market, domestic difficulties, all these make life so barren and profitless. There is no wonder that all of us at one time or another try to seek comfort from the guidance of those who are supposed to know something about the art of living. One thing is sure that the modern man does not want merely utopian fancies or sentimental vapourings about life, but he wants something concrete and practicable. The solace of religion, the refuge of mysticism, the consolation that comes of a belief in the supernatural, all these things are good in themselves, but they somehow do not grip us as forcibly as they did our forefathers. Still we want not only to understand the art of living but also some kind of inspiration for making a success of this business of living.

At one time biographies served this two-fold purpose, and I remember how passionately some people devoured some of the books by Samuel Smiles and such biographies as *From Log Cabin to White House*. Nor were these of interest merely to juvenile readers. I remember some grown-up persons who were very fond of reading these books and who recommended these to others also. The appeal of these books lay in the fact that they filled one with a

desire for achievement. We were told about men who started life under the most discouraging circumstances, and yet were able to reach the top of the ladder. The writers of these biographies seemed to say to their readers, "If these men could achieve so much, why should you also not be able to climb very high." But after some time one found that these books lost all of their inspirational quality. For this the style of presentation was more responsible than the subject of the biography. Life was simplified to such an unnatural extent that it lost all the semblance of truth. Some of these biographies had neither the truth of life about them nor the truth of imagination, and therefore they seemed to be profitless.

At a later stage people turned to such books as written by Orison S. Marden. These books were at one time the rage, and every educated person took pride in reading them. These too were the source of a curious kind of facile optimism. While one went through them, one felt as if the whole world lay at one's feet. They dealt in brief moral maxims and elementary psychological truths, and these were enforced by a multitude of examples from the lives of famous persons. In one place one was told that punctuality is a great asset in climbing to the highest point of life. This is commendable in itself. But somehow by reading about it one came to feel as if it was a key which could open all doors. To be punctual was more than enough, for this was the highest secret of life. One who was in time for everything was the most virtuous man, and no obstacle could stand in the way of his achievements. In another place one read that thinking has great magical powers. If one thinks along the right lines, one can achieve anything. Only mental effort is needed for getting anything done, and every other thing is superfluous and unnecessary. Doing came automatically to a man who could think, and right doing was the fruit of right thinking. In actual life one knows, however, that mere thinking may be a kind of mental sloth, and may not lead to anything. But the author never took this possibility into account, and even if he had it in mind, he never

suggested it in his book. In this way these books were a strange exhibition of false emphasis. They, in some ways, distorted the truth about life.

There have been some other books also which have sought to explain the art of living. Many persons are familiar with Arnold Bennett's book, *How to Make the Best of Life*, and not a few have derived some profit from it. It throws some light on human relationships and offers a solution of some of the problems of life. It corrects our perspective about several things, and enables us to understand some phases of our own personality. The author discourses eloquently on the supreme satisfaction of our lives; and tells us what ends we should pursue. He emphasises the role of disposition in shaping human destiny and counsels us not to run counter to it. By disposition he means the bent of our mind, and it is believed that one should not thwart it in any respect. This piece of advice reminds us of a similar precept in the *Bhagvad Gita*, and in another aspect it seems to have a deep psychological truth. It is only another way of saying that one should avoid inner conflicts, and one should not present the spectacle of split personality. But when all is said and done Arnold Bennett's book is a curious plea for gaining worldly success. It glorifies the material side of life, and it ignores in some ways its spiritual aspect. Still whatever Arnold Bennett says carries conviction.

Another book on a similar subject was recently published by Andre Maurois. It has all the charm and distinction of the author's writings. But somehow it does not grip as much as it should. We are given a great deal of valuable advice in this book, but all that is curiously grandfatherly. How to fall in love, how to treat one's friends, how to run one's home, all these subjects are dealt with in the book. But somehow the book does not catch one's imagination. In many ways it seems to be more like a note-book than like a book. The personal convictions of the writer seem to be absent from the book, and it seems to be a parade of learned

authorities. Still the book is worth perusal, because it is the outcome of a cultured mind and of a highly educated person.

Life the Great Adventure (published by the Home Library Club) is a book of a different type altogether. In it are assembled the conclusions of science, ethics, religion and psychology about life, and therefore it provides a more comprehensive approach towards it than any other book that I know of. This is not, however, merely a book which enables us to understand life. It provides also the necessary stimulus to live life on a higher physical, intellectual, emotional and social level. Above all, it makes us adopt the right attitude towards life. Life is to be looked upon as a kind of adventure, adventure in this world of time and space, in the domain of the mind or in the field of social endeavour. While there are chapters which deal with personality, youth, parent-hood, ambition, leadership, rest and other things, the most useful chapters are those in which the quality of ambition is explained, and we are told what leadership means. The most desirable thing about this book is that it gives hope even to those whose lives are, so to say, commonplace. It is essentially a book for the common man, but any common man, who reads it will know how to stand above the crowd while pursuing his daily round of duties. It is an eminently practical book. It enables us to understand the complicated business of living and is more comprehensive in its scope than any other book I have read. It is, however, a pity that this book has not that distinction of style which the books by Arnold Bennett and Andre Maurois have, nor has it their personal appeal. It is a helpful compilation which explains life from almost every angle, but which does not, except in parts, have that magical quality about it, which a book of this type should possess.

Still all these three books have a curious oneness of aim, for all of them explain how living can be made adventurous. They cannot be substitutes for books of religion or books of philosophy, but they can all show to us that living can be worth-while.

IS IRANIAN OIL A BLESSING TO IRAN?

BY MR. DARA DASTOOR

: 0 :

WE all generally regard the existence of oil in a country as a blessing of Nature; because oil is the one thing in the world for the possession of which diplomats and dictators are willing to pay any price—even blood. For has not Clemenceau said, "A drop of petroleum is worth a drop of blood"? Hence well might the Americans point proudly at their numberless derricks and say "the land that stocks oil rocks the world", well might the Japanese dig hard unto their soil in the vain attempt to get at oil, and well might Hitler fight against odds to bring the rich Caucasian oil-fields under his control.

But at the same time, there are countries which produce this precious life-blood of a modern war-machine in large quantities but are unable to say it is their own—their national product. They gain from this most precious natural resource little beyond a handsome Royalty and perhaps some share of profits. Nay, to them this oil, instead of being an asset of National value, is a great liability and at times a grave danger to their independence. Against the boast of the Americans that the land that stocks oil rocks the world we hear them grumble "uneasy lies the land that breeds oil in its bosom". Such, for example, is the case of Iran—the classic land of the Lion and the Sun.

Iran, like the United States of America, is a large producer of oil. In fact it stands fourth in the list of oil-producing countries, and if all the oil-fields existing and potential were brought to book, it would stand even higher. But there is a peculiarity about Iranian oil—not in its chemical composition—but in its relation with the economic life of that country. For whereas American oil is the hand-maid of America's industrial structure, Iranian oil is not so; mainly because Iran's industrial structure is not yet well developed and also because of lack of communications in the country. Persian oil is being sold in most parts of the world, large steamships on the world's ocean-paths, thousands of aeroplanes in the

skies above us and millions of motor-cars on the world's high ways are driven by the power of Iranian motor-spirit and yet Iran itself until very recently used to import the petroleum products needed for her own consumption.

The explanation of this paradox lies in the fact that the Iranians in the North found it cheaper to import oil from Baku, the Russian oil-port on the Caspian, than to bring the oil produced at Maidan-i-Naftun over the Bakhtiari Hills and the Zagros mountains. This position has been explained by Moustapha Khan Fateh by the following analogy:—"Persia is like a hungry person who has plenty of food in another part of his house but is unable to partake of it because of his physical inability to walk."

But since these words were written (in 1926), the old order hath changed giving place to new. For within a short space of fifteen years Reza Shah Pahlavi, the wizard of this ancient land, transformed the hitherto nomadic, primitive and poor Persia into modern Iran—a semi-industrial and semi-agricultural country. In two decades he provided his land with some 16,000 miles of up-to-date motor-roads, some 1,200 miles of most expensive railways in the world, and with a number of factories producing a variety of articles, such as cotton, silk, woollen and leather goods, sugar, cement, arms and ammunition and even an assembling plant for aircrafts. No doubt much still remains to be accomplished to bring Iran to the forefront of industrial nations of this world; yet the progress so far is sufficient to take the sting out of the above quotation from Moustapha Khan Fateh. The hungry man has now begun to move and in a short time will be able to partake of the food.

But the truth of these words cannot be denied in the days when they were inspired (1926), or, say, forty years back when D'Morgan smelt oil in the soil of Iran, which ultimately resulted in the grant of a 66 years' concession to William Knox D'Arcy, the founder of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

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This Oil Company opened up an entirely new field of Imperialism in Iran. It has since become a State within a State, with its own administration, its own Tanker fleet, its own hospitals, cinemas and tobacco shops. It is not listed on the Domesday Book of Nations but it exists. The creation of Bandar Shabpur by the Iranian Government to serve as the southern terminus of the Trans Iranian Railway while Abadan or Mohamerra would have served this purpose much better, manifests beyond doubt the existence of this petty Oil State as a separate *entente*. It becomes much more so on a study of the export figures published by the Government of Iran. In these figures are not included the figures of the value of oil exported by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, nor is it taken account of while calculating the balance of trade of the country.

The following emotional comments of Sir Arnold Wilson (then Lt. Wilson) to his father on the occasion when oil was first struck at well No. B1, Maidan-i-Naphtun on 26th May, 1908, bear ample testimony to the situation:

"It is a great event. It will provide all our ships east of Suez with fuel. It will strengthen British influence in these parts. It will make us less dependent on foreign-owned oil-fields."

The financial advantages to the British Government can best be explained by citing Mr. Winston Churchill's reference to this question in his book "The World Crisis" in which he estimates the amount gained and saved by the British Government at £40 millions made up as under:

Market value of Government's 5 million shares	£s. 16.0 millions.
Dividends and various taxes received	£s. 6.5 "
Amount actually saved in oil purchased as compared with current prices	£s. 7.5 "
Further savings estimated on the balance of the contract	£s. 10.0 "
Total	£s. 20.0 "

Against all these gains—financial, political and otherwise to the British Government, we can place for comparison the only substantial gain to the Iranian Government,

viz., Royalties received from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which in 1927-28 amounted to £s. 1188,000. No doubt this Royalty has increased considerably during the last few years but so have the gains to Britain and the proportion remains almost unaltered. No doubt the Company spends a large sum of money every year in Iran for labour and supplies. The number of Iranians employed at the oil-fields and refineries exceeds 25,000, while towns like Mohamerra, Ahwaz, Abadan have gained much in material prosperity.

The greatest disadvantage of Iranian oil to Iran is that it plays the role of an apple of discord in Iran's foreign affairs and makes her the victim of foreign powers.

Oil was an accidental find for Iran. Its existence in that country causes wonder and envy in many a nation. To all eyes Iran seems to have discovered the most precious resource which lies in the main stream of industrial evolution. Iran has been saved from the cruel fate of bringing oil from foreign countries. She can well spread her tails like a peacock to the Sun. But now that we see the position clearly—"the enchantment is at an end, the mirage evaporated, the soap bubble burst and the chariot of Cinderella relapsed into its original pumpkin and mice."

Thus, to-day, oil is more or less a liability to Iran but if the present rate of her progress towards industrialization were kept up, the day will not be far off when this very oil will form a real asset to the Iranians. On that day, the Iranians might well boast "the land that stocks oil rocks the world."

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*, G. T., Madras.

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW

BY RAO BAHADUR T. S. NARAYANA IYER, M.A., B.L.

(Retired Chief Justice, Cochin.)

IN his valuable contribution on "Freedom in the Vedic Civilization" in the February part of the *Indian Review*, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has rightly adverted to two notable features in the early codification of law as found in the Dharma Sutras, viz., (1) The word "Dharma" in Hindu sacred literature means "both law and conduct in conformity with law" and (2) "Law gets its authority and sanction only from itself and not from any outside agency that compels obedience to it. Rewards and punishments are within the law itself." My object in this article is only to emphasise and elaborate these distinctive features in the conception of Law by the early Hindu law-givers.

2. Hindu Law, as Mayne points out, has the oldest pedigree of any known system of jurisprudence. The distinction drawn by modern jurists between municipal or positive law, and rules of morality is not seen strictly observed in Hindu jurisprudence. The Hindu Law-givers included rules of law properly so called as well as moral and religious precepts within their broader conception of *Dharma*. In some later Smritis (e.g., Yagnavalkya) we find the three-fold division into *Achāra* (ritual), *Vyavahāra* (jurisprudence) and *Prayaschitta* (expiation); but this division is not to be found in Manu, who is generally characterised as "more ethical and religious than jural." Nor does the division between *Vyavahāra* and *Achāra* coincide with that between law and religion; for instance, the law relating to marriage, which is an important branch of every system of jurisprudence, is to be found in the section dealing with *Achāra*. The distinction between law and religion is so completely overlooked that purely religious sanctions are provided in more instances than one to enforce obedience to rules relating to civil rights.

3. The reason is to be sought for in the peculiar conception of Dharma by Hindu jurists, a term of much wider connotation than 'Law' and more nearly corresponding to 'jus' or 'recht' or 'droit'. The Hindu Dharma Sastras contain rules

not merely regulating his relations to society at large but also intended to guide the Hindu in the conduct of his daily life and it is only natural that many of these precepts which are inculcated with this object in view should be addressed to the moral sense. *Dharma* (धर्म) in Sanskrit is defined to be that which is done under the promptings of spiritual commandments or that through which prosperity here and salvation hereafter are to be attained. Etymologically, "Dharma" signifies that which supports and sustains. From the standpoint of the individual it supports and sustains him through the temptations and vicissitudes of life; from the standpoint of the community, it is the source of its solidarity and strength. The *Taittiriya* Sṛuti declares धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा—"it is the support of the entire world". *Dharma* thus denotes, among other things, religion, morality, righteousness, duty, the immutable principles of justice and equity, the very principles of a healthy and beneficent life. The ideas expressed by these are closely related to one another. The Hindu Law-givers saw the inter-relation and the fundamental unity of the moral and social life of man. They assumed the indissoluble connection of his religious and civil obligations.

4. At the same time, it cannot be asserted that they were unaware of the principle that the province of legal obligation is not co-extensive with that of religious or moral obligation. The Hindu sages doubtless saw the distinction, and they have also enunciated certain tests for discriminating between a rule of law and a precept of morality. But no clear line of demarcation is uniformly maintained so as to keep them separate and prevent a confusion of ideas in minds uninstructed in the rules of logic and the canons of interpretation by which they have to be differentiated from one another. The difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the forms of expression generally used in Sanskrit books are the same whether legal or moral obligation be intended. "The mere fact that a transaction is condemned

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in books like the Smritis does not necessarily prove it to be void. It raises the question what kind of condemnation is meant." (I.L.R. 22 Mad. 398 P.C.)

5. This intermingling of moral precepts with rules of law was common to all ancient Codes both in the East and the West. Inspired priests were the legislators of the people and the moral, religious and civil duties of man were mixed up together with little distinction. They mingled religious, civil and moral ordinances without any regard to differences in their essential character and this is consistent with all that we know of ancient law from other sources (e.g., the Mosaic Code and the Twelve Tables), the severance of law from morality and of religion from law belonging very distinctly to the later stages of mental progress. Thus in the Institutes of Justinian we find "*Jus*" (Justice) is the set and constant purpose which gives to every man his due. Jurisprudence is the knowledge of things human and divine, the science of the just and the unjust. The precepts of the law are these: to live honestly; to injure no one; and to give every man his due."

6. Hindu law does not derive its authority from any political Sovereign. The will of the king is not its originator. It emanates from a higher wisdom. The notion that every law is the command of the Sovereign (so fully developed in the Austinian theory) was never associated with the Hindu ideal of law. The Hindu regards his laws as commands not of any political sovereign but of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, commands which every political Sovereign is himself most imperatively enjoined to obey. The sanction of law is contained in itself. "*Dharma* destroys those that violate it. It preserves those that uphold it." (धर्म एव हतो हन्ति, धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः—Manu). The sanction of law is thus not imposed by any extrinsic agency, but is contained within itself, in the certainty that obedience to law will lead to welfare, its violation to misery. There is no trace in Hindu law literature of the notion that law is a matter of human institution ordained by mere human rulers; that kings have powers of legislation or powers of abrogating existing laws. In the most

minute and elaborate description of a king's duties contained in Manu, there is not the slightest trace of, or allusion to, his power of legislation. On the contrary, he is directed to govern and decide disputes "according to the eternal tenets of Dharma." The highest possible ambition of every Hindu ruler was to govern according to primeval law and the most perfect type of administrative ability which the imagination of the Hindu poet could portray was the power "to lead the subjects without the slightest deviation in the beaten track marked out by Manu". (See *Raghuvamśa* Ch. I Stanza 17.) The writings of the ancient Rishis declare that law is sacred, that it is of divine origin, that it is the revealed word of God, eternal and immutable. There is no power in kings to alter or abrogate the law, for "law is the king of kings, far more powerful and rigid than they: nothing can be mightier than law by whose aid as by that of the highest monarch, even the weak may prevail over the strong." This is the true conception of law according to the Hindus—not a mere fiction, but an article of faith.

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A UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY*

By T. N. SIQUEIRA, S.J.

—:o:—

THOUGH the war is still going on with unabated fury and the Commanders on both sides are being changed and re-changed as if they expected to go on for some time more, unwarlike professors and politicians are steadily looking forward to the days that are to come after war shall have ceased. They suggest various recipes for peace; but in their very prescriptions there is a hint of relapses to come. They put on a brave face as they lay down term after term by which the enemy shall be crushed and pulverized so as never to rise again; they whistle like travellers in a lonely street to show they are not afraid; but in their very cocksureness can one not detect a certain trepidation? International Committees and Cabinets of big four or five or ten are certainly a guarantee of permanent peace. But why should politicians have the monopoly of the prescription? Why should economists have it all their own way in the New World that is being born with the peace treaty? Educationists too must butt in and have their say about how to ensure eternal peace on earth to men irrespective of good will.

One of the items in the educationist's prescription for this endemic epidemic called war is a university which shall unite all nations and train a new world-minded generation that will never consent to war. This is how he argues. It takes two to make a quarrel—or a war—but one can always end it. If at least one is peace-minded, war will be impossible. Unless the leaders of a country are in favour of war, there can be no war. If Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Churchill, Roosevelt, Chiang-kai-Shek had been trained and educated for peace, there would have been no second world-war. If the parliaments and peoples of the warring parties had been rightly educated, they would have made any number of Munich Pacts rather than allow one Dunkirk or Stalingrad, for a Fuhrer or a Duce or a Comrade cannot and will not go to war unless he can carry his people along with him (or before him). Therefore, according to strict logic, the

only way to ensure peace after the war is to inoculate the rising generation against war. This means a peace orientation to all stages of education; but most of all to that stage which immediately prepares leaders of nations—that is, the university.

International University or a United Nations University is thus an item in the challenge of peace. To see how far such an institution will serve its purpose, it must first be remembered that a university is a distinct instrument for the education of a nation, quite different from the elementary or secondary school. It is obvious that before a university for peace-loving leaders can be started, the earlier stages of education must first be also turned in the same direction. For the elementary and secondary school period is much more important in a child's development than the university stage. When the first impressions are received and recorded in the sensitive personality, the environment (which includes persons no less than things) is of the greatest influence in shaping the thoughts and tendencies of the future adult. A wrong-headed nationalism was injected into young minds and hearts almost from the time of the Reformation in Europe with its equally wrong-headed understanding of individuality and independence; the French Revolution was but a milestone in this long journey; and in our own day we are reaping the harvest which we would not. All those little but in the long run important and dangerous stresses on one nation's superiority over another, one race's rights without duties, one country's expansion at another's expense, which were the stock-in-trade of our histories and literatures and even books of science have produced the undesired effect. And only a contrary and more than equal force can make up for it. Before the universities, the schools must be internationalized, not in the sense that they have to be removed from their natural surroundings and given an unreal all-world outlook, but in the sense that pupils in them should not be brought up in a narrow, proud, or jealous mentality, suspicious of others, fancying their own country the best in the

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world and despising others, thinking in terms of their own nation only, without reference to the rest of God's creation.

I may say at once, since this is true of a university no less than of a school, that, though it seems paradoxical, internationalism not only does not exclude or contradict nationalism but really presupposes it. Indeed, they are correlative terms, parts or aspects of the same thing. To be truly national, one must be international, *i.e.*, to love one's nation truly, which means to wish and procure whatever is really good for one's country, one must first love all nations, which means that one must wish all nations true and lasting good. And, conversely, to love the whole world and be international-minded and hearted, one must first love one's own country, which is the nearest and best known part of this wide world. The internationalism which, like Lenin's, tears the individual from his natural loyalties to family and town and country to make him a cog in an immense impersonal international machine called the World or Society, defeats its very purpose, like the man who professes to love mankind but hates men, or the orientalist who loves India but hates Indians.

With this distinction in mind, we may discuss the proposal of a United Nations University as a means towards permanent peace. The university would first have to be in a neutral place, so that no nation may seem to consider it as its own or assert too much influence over it. By the way, I don't mean 'neutral' in the war sense but in the sense in which, for instance, the district of Columbia is called neutral. A good suggestion would be Vatican State, though permission might be difficult to get except on certain conditions. Otherwise, the United Nations will have to seek out some unoccupied island not too far from civilisation and not too malarious or tropical.

The status of this university will be like that of any other: it must have a charter and rights to teach as well as to examine and give degrees. But it cannot be just another university with the single distinction of being on no-man's land. It must fulfil by its very curriculum and staff the primary purpose of fostering the international mind and heart in teachers

and pupils alike. It must therefore specialize in those subjects and courses which are most conducive to this end. Even science can be misused to fan exaggerated separatism, as the silly quarrels between Newton and Leibnitz about the calculus or the equally silly wrangle between English and French textbooks about whether Priestley or Lavoisier discovered oxygen and whether Boyle's Law is really his or Mariette's show. But at any rate science does not lend itself to such childishness as much as do history and politics and economics and even geography. It is for this very reason that the international university should specialize in such subjects. I would add that it should leave other subjects out altogether, since they are being taught in ordinary universities and are making enough progress under national ambition and competition. But, above all, I should like this international university to specialize in Literature, that most human and universal of studies, that expression of the highest and lowest in man *as man* and not *as German* or *Russian* or *French* or *Englishman*, that subject which either teaches you 'how beauteous mankind is' and 'nothing that concerns man is foreign to me' or teaches you nothing, that subject which under the superficial difference of languages reveals the essential oneness of man in his ideas and feelings and his way of expressing them. If only Literature were more and better taught and studied in our universities, if it were used as a means to educate and not to pervert, there would be little or no war in history. At any rate, the United Nations University must have international literature as its chief subject and make it compulsory on all who enter there.

Whether the students at this University should be under-graduates or post-graduates may be disputed. In an article in the *Fortnightly* a year and a half ago, Bertrand Russell suggested that only post-graduates should be allowed to join it. But I think this is too late for the kind of mental and emotional training we expect from the international university. We take for granted, of course, a curriculum from the lowest stage of the primary school

* By permission of A.I.R., Trichy.

that will be in tune with the spirit of our United Nations University. But to make sure of it, we must have the student before he graduates, when he is still open to impressions and still educable (though according to Madame Montessori and other modern child psychologists even this is already much to late), and then keep him in training for two or three years after graduation to strengthen the cure.

Will the degrees of this University have enough commercial value to justify the expense and trouble? Well, if these degrees are given the status they deserve in all the countries of the world. They could, for example, be made a necessary passport to all jobs of international or even national importance—ambassadors, envoys, international lawyers and even High Court lawyers and Judges, Civil Servants, all university professors and administrators, Ministers and Members of Cabinets in all countries. But this will

mean a previous agreement among all nations to ensure uniformity and confidence, so that the fate of the League of International Co-operation may be averted.

But before and after all these details of reform in our education, I should like to remind you of the only condition on which they will be at all possible. Matter without spirit is dead and inert. Let us first make sure that we are convinced of the world's illness to-day and in what this illness lies. It may be hard to say which individual or country is more ill, but there is no doubt that all are ill, and of the same epidemic. The disease is spiritual and moral: the remedy must also be spiritual and moral—a re-education of the world in the essential and fundamental truths about the oneness and interdependence of men, about their essential unity under the accidental diversity. May this education of mind and heart be introduced throughout the post-war world!

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

OR

COMMONWEAL OF NATIONS?

BY MR. G. A. CHANDAVARKAR, M.A.

THE history of the expansion of England from Great Britain to Greater Britain and from the Colonial Empire to the Commonwealth of Nations strikingly illustrates two salient features of the British people, one their organised love of freedom and the other, in the words of G. M. Trevelyan, their '*strong committee sense*', the latter of which the great historian explains by saying as their "desire to sit around and talk till an agreement or compromise is reached and that national peculiarity is the true origin of the English Parliament". Weightier and truer words have rarely been uttered. When we study the history of England, we frequently meet with such terms as 'Common Law', 'Common Prayer Book', 'Court of Common Pleas', 'Commonwealth' and 'The House of Commons', which clearly show that the Britishers have always been attaching great importance to

the voice of the common man. *Vox Populi Vox Dei* has been their motto. The only noteworthy fact is that such an ardent love of theirs for their own freedom has rendered them overcautious in the grant of that freedom to others that have, by historical accidents or geographical situations come under their sway. Does that love of theirs correspond to the love of a miser for money who hesitates in doling it out or to the love of a philosopher for wisdom who withholds it from his disciple considering him not yet fit to receive it? How does that instinctive urge of the subject races who have been hurled into his orbit differ from his own urge? Hath it not been wisely and truly said that 'Having is animal, enjoying is human, and giving is divine'? Can liberty be a gift or a thing to be won? The history of the expansion of England all over the world shows that at

different times and in varying degrees the members of the Commonwealth family have been either granted or they themselves have acquired 'independence'. The course of Indian liberty, however, seems to follow the course of love which does not always run smooth. For over three decades the British statesmen have been echoing and re-echoing the sentiments of granting liberty couched in very sympathetic terms. The recent example is that of Lord Wavell, who after weighing well the situation, made a profound observation in his first address to the Central Legislature:—

The British are bound in justice, in honour, and in the interests of progress to hand over India to Indian rule.

The only question is as to *when* it will be done. For a sub-continent like India 'the acquisition of which was done unintentionally and accidentally', great caution, greater circumspection and still greater patience are needed for the progressive realisation of the aims. What with the vast illiteracy of the masses and the economic backwardness and what with the communal differences, it is said that the fixing of any time-limit is impossible. But their solicitude for the Indian political salvation is undoubtedly great. If 'Colonies are like fruits which will cling till they are ripe', dependencies are perhaps destined to have prolonged, if not eternal, rawness. While the statesmen are determined 'to hold their own' the Indians should cling on with Job's patience. After all, imperialism is only an expanded form of the possessive instinct of man and when it is based on capitalism it tends to overlook the common welfare from a political standpoint as far as the subject races are concerned. It is perhaps to minimize the evils of such an attitude, even the designation of Empire has been officially discarded. At the Imperial Conference of 1917, Field-Marshal Smuts suggested the designation of 'Commonwealth' in place of 'Empire', which had military significance and implied despotic rule. The Commonwealth could have no basis of conquest in its real significance. But the march of events seems to need a change even in this rational designation.

"COMMONWEAL OF NATIONS"

The term 'British Empire' has now no official existence. The aggregate of states and territories, which are now united by the common allegiance to the British Crown, have still been classified as Dominions, the Indian Empire, Con-dominiums, mandated territories, Protectorates and also 'The Colonial Empire'. Although the relation between wealth and welfare is very close, the conception of welfare is very elastic and varies according to the ethical, political and aesthetic outlook of each person and race. Wealth is only a means, while welfare is the end of not only economics but of civics and politics. The word wealth has a narrower significance. Wealth blesses only a few rich and under the capitalistic system it tends to an unequal distribution. Weal is a term of broader significance and is associated with the general well-being of all. While the idea of wealth ultimately leads to such complicated questions as exploitation or even race superiority, weal has the ideal of love, sympathy and equality. The Peggung Act, the ambiguity of the applications of the terms of the Atlantic Charter, the future Asiatic Council and the European Council are the outcome of wealth and power. The word weal suggests the application of the four famous 'freedoms' to all and not for any one nation or race. If the idea of weal or welfare be the prominent ideal of this wonderful world-wide family of 'the Happy breed of men', the members will all feel that every country they have now occupied is their home and the interests of all are identical. The dire effects of nostalgia will then be neutralised by the doses of cosmopolitanism. Hence we are inclined to think that the word Commonwealth should be replaced by the term Commonweal. The change, by itself, may not work miracles but when need was felt to change Empire into Commonwealth, for equally strong reasons, the word Commonweal may be introduced in place of 'Commonwealth' in that term "British Commonwealth of Nations", as it suggests a nobler ideal.

MR. SASTRI'S LETTERS

By MR. B. NATESAN

PRIVATE letters of men in public life—how few of these are worth preserving, much less publishing? Words dropped in the heat and passion of the day, things said and done which make us blush at this distance of time, hasty or wrong judgments of men and things which in the light of mellow years seem crude—a sensitive mind is apt to be troubled by these. Yet here is a collection of letters to politicians, fellow-workers, friends, and relations, covering a period of some 40 years which read as fresh and vivacious as when they were written.

Mr. Sastri's style of writing and speaking has fascinated two generations of young men but Mr. Jagadisan's collection of letters has brought to light an as yet unexplored fountain of pure daylight. The collection appropriately opens with a letter, dated 27th December, 1903, addressed to Gokhale offering his services to the Servants of India Society. His correspondence with Gokhale and Gandhi and V. Krishnaswami Aiyar and a host of other public men and personal friends give a vivid picture of contemporary men and a running commentary on public affairs, which for breadth of outlook and charity in judgment, are thoroughly characteristic. An unrepentant Moderate, Sastri yet sees into the future with the vision of a Prophet and writes dispassionately of the work and worth of the Extremists. Thus in a letter to Mr. Natesan:

At present the party's *personnel* is rather feeble and it has not risen equal to its own policy. But succeeding generations will contribute more character, virility and persistence to the party. . . . impartial history will perhaps record that every onward step in our liberation was rendered possible by their seeming recklessness and bravado.

This at a time when those whom he considered his mentors had no good word to say of them. The sanity of the man of letters comes to his rescue.

In a letter to V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Mr. Sastri refers to an incident in the Poona Council where a certain Mr. Logan dared to cast aspersions on Congressmen

in the presence of Pherozeshah Mehta. Mehta, drawing himself up to his full height, replied indignantly: "I strongly resent it and I throw it back on his face." Sastri, young and patriotic, was "thrilled." "In one word," he says, "it made me proud that there was a man who could stand up to the full height and speak as an injured gentleman should speak to the injurer. If only each province had two or three such men!" Mehta's courage and independence of spirit is wellknown: but he was a lone star in the firmament. Luckily, Sastri has lived through the Gandhian era, and must feel exultant that Mehta's "manly bearing" is not a memory of the past but that there are to-day not two or three but hundreds of men and women in India who "are prepared to meet with resolution and grimness the fate that awaits the first patriots that lift up their voice, pen or sword against tyranny." Noble words these—and well fitting some whom Mr. Sastri will readily recognize.

The Gandhi-Sastri letters reveal how political differences have in no way affected their deep-rooted friendship and affection and what liberties Mr. Sastri could take with the leader of the Non-Co-operation movement with perfect understanding and mutual respect.

During the fateful hours preceding the historic fast of 1932, Gandhi wrote to his "dearest friend and brother":

You have been ever present before me during these days of anguish. I have perhaps read your thoughts. You know my regard for you. Though we are as poles asunder, or seem to be, in mental outlook at so many points, our hearts are one.

No wonder that Mr. Mahadev Desai sought Mr. Sastri's help in revising *Gandhi's Autobiography*.

The letters confirm how Gandhi and Mr. Natesan were responsible for Mr. Sastri's decision to accept the Agent-Generalship in South Africa. On leaving the South African shores, Mr. Sastri wrote to Mr. Natesan cryptically: "It is not yet time to look back on my work here. But I can't help feeling I have vindicated your choice. You needn't blush for me!"

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URDU DRAMA

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His letters to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar are marked by a deferential regard as to an elder brother, while those addressed to Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri are suffused with affection "as though the old bud of our love had after many years blossomed into a flower of rare beauty and fragrance."

The letters to his daughter, mainly descriptive and full of tenderness and fine feeling, are a pure joy.

Mr. Jagadisan's Preface and his footnotes are helpful and illuminating. We have no doubt that in the next edition, he will be able to give us an even more substantial fare.

URDU DRAMA

By MR. B. B. JOWHAR

PERSIAN poets who found a forsaken orphan (Urdu) wandering in the streets of Delhi and who left no stone unturned to look to the development of the language from every view-point, did not bestow their care upon the art of drama, and this is one of the many causes that played a most conspicuous role in barring the progress of the art in Islam.

When the last vestiges of Islamic sovereignty were fast vanishing, it was at the instance of Wajed Ali Shah, the Nawab of Oudh, that Amanat, the poet-laureate, wrote in rhymed verse, the first opera in Urdu—The Indar Sabha. Of course, the author's name was kept in the lap of profound secrecy for fear of the then orthodox shortsighted critics.

When the kingdom of Oudh was annexed to British India, the play was staged before a wider public.

The next attempt in this direction was made by the Parsis of Bombay about the close of the last century on modern lines. The names have been completely orientalised and the scenes are laid in the East, the atmosphere having been charged with the ideas taken in the Eastern life. Besides, there are many adaptations from the plays of Shakespeare, as follows:

Romeo and Juliet.

Bazmei Fani in 1900—Ishki Ferouz in 1905.

Gulnar Ferouz in 1902.

Hamlet.

Jehangir in 1895.

Khunei Nahaq in 1901.

Othello and King Lear.

Jafar in 1895—Lala Sita Ram in 1893.

Merchant of Venice.

Chand Shah Sowdagar in 1895.

Venice Ka Sowdagar in 1898.

The Comedy of Errors was rendered into Urdu by Ferouz Shah in 1896 and Lala Sita Ram in 1906.

Mid-Summer Night's Dream.

Jameat-ulfat in 1903.

As You Like It.

Dil pazeer in 1901.

Winter's Tale.

Muridei-Shakh in 1900.

Love's Labour Lost.

Yar on ki Mehnat Burbad in 1899.

Tempest.

Tteerei Nigah in 1897.

Even to-day, the art of drama has not attained to dramatic excellence to any appreciable degree, and this is chiefly due to the traditional prejudice pervading the shortsighted orthodox atmosphere. The stage is still frequented by the mob and the respectable classes fight shy of associating themselves with it.

If men of outstanding renown cultivate a taste for dramatic writing and shake off the age-long prejudice and join the stage activities, the drama would take, to be sure, a legitimate place in the Islamic Society.

A PAGEANT OF INDIA

BY

ADOLF WALEY

The book is in three parts. The first part deals from the dawn of history upto the end of the golden age of Hinduism. The second part deals with the early invasion of India by Mahomedans and the third part with the Moghul conquest and their rule. The author has inimitably contrived that the personalities and events of Indian history, from the early Vedic and Upanishadic age to the time of Aurangzeb's death, should pass before the reader with all the pomp of pageantry.

PRICE RS. 15 NET.

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* Letters of Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. (Edited by T. N. Jagadisan, Roshouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras. Rs. 6.)



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



HOW BRITAIN IS GOVERNED? By R. B. McCallum, Oxford University Press.

Democracy, as it obtains in Britain, is a bundle of contradictions. There is the king who is said to reign and not to rule; there is the House of Lords, the relic of medieval feudalism; and numberless unwritten laws and conventions that serve as so many checks and balances in the constitution. Yet, it is an indisputable fact that somehow these very incongruities present a system of government which "speaks for the people's will" and translates it into action. It has stood the test of time and circumstance and even the exigencies of war have not made it altogether out of date. The one main reason is the peoples' acceptance of or acquiescence in, an institution that has served them so well through the centuries. The Crown, Ministers, Parliament and the people are all parts of a whole wherein one cannot be independent of the other. The author gives a luminous account of the working of this constitution, discussing the relationship between the parts that make up the government of Britain. This little pamphlet will prove a welcome addition to the students' library of politics and constitutional history.

THE MEMOIRS OF A MAHARAJA'S MISTRESS. Kitabghar, Rajkot. Rs. 5-8.

The title is expressive enough and one can guess it is a story of stormy passions and unmitigated vice reaping its due harvest. It lifts the curtain screening the harem of an Indian ruler, with his strange rendezvous, his bed-rooms and bath-rooms which are depicted with stark realism, so as to make them sufficiently revolting to the decent and sensitive reader. The revelations are made by a repentant woman who had served as a chamber-maid in the palace and the extraordinary drama of passion and the perilous path it leads to, are vividly described.

PRACTICE OF KARMA YOGA. By Swami Sivananda. Published by Em. Airi, Editor, "Ideal Home", Amritsar. Rs. 3-8.

This is an exhaustive treatise on Karma Yoga, the path of selfless action and the realisation of Truth by incessantly engaging oneself in the service of humanity. As the name indicates, the treatment of the subject is throughout practical. Lists of virtues to be practised and vices to be shunned are given. The concept of Karma is explained at great length, as also the concept of Svadharma. Reincarnation and Liberation are also discussed. Simplicity characterises the treatment of the subject in this practical guide to Karma Yoga.

LET INDIA FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. By K. A. Abbas. Sound Magazine Publication, Bombay. Re. 1-8.

Mr. Amery and his ilk are busy trying to make the world believe that Gandhi and Nehru and the Congress are pro-Fascist. Here is a convincing refutation of this calumny. Mr. Abbas makes it abundantly clear that there are no more anti-Fascist men in all the world than the stalwart democrats of the Indian National Congress.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CHITTAVINODINI or Mental Recreation, being a collection of witty, epigrammatic, instructive and descriptive Sanskrit Verses (alphabetically arranged), compiled, annotated and published by R. N. Ghosh, 7, Rutledge Road, Lucknow.

SRI KRISHNA AND HIS GOSPEL. By Yogi Shuddhananda Bharati, Ramachandrapuram.

THE SECRETS OF SADHANA. By Yogi Shuddhananda Bharati, Ramachandrapuram, Trichy Dt.

KADAMBARI. An adaptation in Telugu verse from Bana's original in Sanskrit. By A. Naga Gopala Rao, Governorpet, Bezwada. Rs. 2.

WHO THREATENS CHINA'S UNITY? Edited by Mohan Kumaramangalam. People's Publishing House, Raj Bhavan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

POLISH CONSPIRACY EXPOSED. Edited by N. K. Krishnan. People's Publishing House, Bombay.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Fate of the Finance Bill

THE outstanding feature of the current session of the Central Legislature—particularly of the Assembly—is the number of adjournments and cut motions carried by the House against the Government. This, coupled with the general tone of the debates, has conclusively exposed the pretensions of the Government to represent the will of the people in any way. On top of it all comes the throwing out of the Finance Bill which shows how completely Government have lost the confidence of the people.

In the words of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the vote of the House rejecting the Finance Bill, is a vote asking for the removal of the present Government.

That the division went against Government by a majority of only one vote should not mislead anyone. It is really an overwhelming majority of 56 against 18 because 37 of the votes cast in favour of Government are votes of people who were never elected by any constituency but are mere nominees of Government for the purpose of ensuring a mere arithmetical illusion in favour of the Government.

Of course it is in the power of the Viceroy to restore the Bill, as no doubt he will exercise it in the way it has been exercised these many years. But the moral is clear beyond doubt. Congressmen, leaguers and nationalists have with one voice condemned it and the Bill has to be restored in the teeth of that unanimous opposition. In so far as the Assembly has served as a common and effective platform for the expression of this dissent, it has served a useful purpose from the public point of view. Congress attendance has, in this sense, been amply justified. For after all, the Legislative Assembly still remains practically the only forum open to representatives of the public from which to ventilate grievances or expose the irresponsible character of the Government.

Sir Yamin Khan, speaking in the Assembly the other day, observed that the Congress and the Muslim League Parties "had come so far nearer each other as to demonstrate to the world that they had no

confidence in the present government" and "that was one step nearer to the wider unity". Indeed the spokesmen of the League did not mince their words in attacking Government's policy. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, stressed his party's complete lack of confidence in the present members of the Government and said that their patriotism, if they claimed any, did not commend itself to their countrymen. He and his party were opposed to the motion, not because they did not want to defend India but because they were not willing to place the country's resources in the hands of an irresponsible and irresponsible government under whose aegis inefficiency and corruption flourished.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party, pointed out that after three and a half years' absence from the House, he had the same declaration to make on behalf of his party as he had made before on a similar occasion in November, 1940, namely,

that the Congress was prepared to defend India and democracy provided a National Government was established at the Centre. In spite of the many events that had happened, the Congress still stood by the spirit behind that statement.

He asked how a government that in no way represented the will of the people could ask the people's representatives for supplies over whose expenditure the people's representatives had no control.

It was open to the Governor-General to certify the Finance Bill and expropriate the people's money and spend it as the Government chose.

Mr. Desai warned the Government that if they wanted to win the war with the people's will behind it,

then they must make it a people's war and that could happen only if the Government chose to act immediately to resolve the deadlock. The offer of the Congress was still open and if the Soldier-Viceroy rejected it, he would be doing so at his and his Government's peril.

Since writing the above (March 28), the Assembly by 56 votes to 45 summarily rejected the Finance Bill in the form recommended by the Viceroy.

Mr. Jinnah's Retreat

The Pakistan idea was originally mooted by Dr. Abdul Latif. Mr. Jinnah, adopting it for purposes of propaganda, has moved so far away from the original scheme that the author of that scheme is left gasping at the Frankenstein of Mr. Jinnah's creation. Consistency has not been Mr. Jinnah's strong point and the evolution of his Pakistan strategy has left many of his followers wondering where he is leading them, after all! In Delhi last year he appealed to the Hindus to agree to divide India and then force the British to quit India. Brave words! Later in Karachi he changed his tune and appealed to the British to "divide and quit."

After the Viceroy's speech he realised that the British are in no mood to oblige him and he has accordingly attempted to accommodate them. In his interview to the *News Chronicle*, Mr. Jinnah says:

There would be under the new constitution a transitional period for settlement and adjustments during which time British authority, so far as armed forces and foreign affairs are concerned, would remain paramount. The length of the transitional period would depend on the speed with which the two peoples and Great Britain adjusted themselves to the new constitution. Finally the two nations would enter into treaties with Britain just as Egypt did when she won her independence.

To the searching question as to what he would do if the British refused to quit on the plea of Hindu-Muslim disagreement, Mr. Jinnah gave the revealing reply:

That might happen. . . . Even so we should enjoy a degree of autonomy which we do not possess to-day. As a separate nation and a dominion we should at least be in a better position to deal with and possibly reach an agreement with the British Government, which we are not able to do during the present deadlock.

So this is all that he means by his brave slogan "Divide and quit." No wonder that Dr. Latif hits hard in criticising Jinnah and his Pakistan, which like Dominion Status is capable of opportune variations.

Mr. Jinnah now makes it clear that he does not want his Pakistan, be it even for looking after its own defence and foreign affairs. He wants for it a no better status than that of a native State without a prince, a mere protectorate at best, developing slowly through an indefinite period of transition into an Egypt, technically independent but dependent for its integrity on the goodwill of England. It is true he thundered from the League platform at Karachi that the Britisher must "divide and quit India." He now explains, he really meant him to divide and stay comfortably both in Pakistan and Hindustan with all his armed forces, and look after their foreign relations as well. For his part he says that he would be content with a degree of autonomy which we do not possess.

While he is all accommodation to the British lion, he reserves his wrath and thunder to the mild Hindu who is taught to turn the other cheek to the one who smites. Mr. Jinnah is a courageous man!

Japs in Assam-Burma Border

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief making a statement in the open session of the Assembly on March 31, for the first time in many years, spoke with complete confidence of the result of the fighting now in progress in Burma.

"We cannot stop every Japanese thrust as soon as it makes itself apparent, and it is therefore always possible that some of these may succeed in temporarily interrupting our communications," said His Excellency. "I am convinced, however, that the security of Assam has never been in danger. Let alone the security of India. (Cheers.) I feel certain that we shall maintain our forward lines of communication and ultimately drive the enemy back to his original position and beyond."

His Excellency said that the enemy's object appears to be to establish himself before the monsoon in the Imphal-Kohima area and then to attempt to strike at our rail and river communications from Calcutta, along the Brahmaputra, into North-Eastern Bengal.

His Excellency revealed that Allied forces had to move north from Tiddim: "It does not appear, at any rate for the present, that the enemy has any intention of trying to attack Imphal from the south. Tiddim is of no particular strategic value to us, and we did not attempt to hold it.

"Imphal is still in Allied hands. The opinion expressed by an American paper that the fall of Imphal would be of little importance is erroneous. Our Commanders do not intend that Imphal should fall into the enemy's hands."

Debate on the Viceroy's Council

By 50 votes to 48, the Central Assembly passed Mr. Abdul Quaiyum's cut motion to reduce the grant under the head "Executive Council" to one rupee as a mark of "refusal of supplies". Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists all voted for the motion: and the result of the voting was greeted with excited cheers from the opposition.

But the debate was remarkable for the most outspoken comments on the character of the Government, fully expressing the general and utter lack of confidence common to all elected groups in the Assembly. In this bitter debate, the spokesman of the League was no less emphatic in his denunciation of Government than Congressmen. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out in a forceful speech towards the end that the expansion of the Council made no difference to the public attitude towards it and that the Muslim League could not be a party to the perpetuation of the fraud practised upon the world.

Several speakers made charges of incompetence against the Government and of the existence of widespread corruption in several departments and of the Executive Council being a team of mere yes-men.

Even Sir Frederick James who spoke for the Europeans was at best apologetic. Mr. Abdul Quaiyum was downright in his condemnation and described the present Government as an illegitimate offspring of Whitehall and Indian vested interests. Mr. Avanashilingam Chettiar wanted the British Government to realise that Nehru was their best friend, provided free India was allowed to participate in the struggle against the Axis powers. Mr. Neogy devoted the best part of his speech to the manner in which the Ordinance-making powers of the Governor-General was usurping the functions of the Legislature and the Governor-General-in-Council was meekly permitting an all-powerful and dictatorial Viceroy to convert the administration into nothing more than legalised tyranny. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said that the Government which had failed to assist industrial concerns and allowed the Allied nations to make Rs. 15 crores profit on sales of gold, deserved no support.

Three Executive Council members put up a feeble defence, the Indian Members, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Sultan Ahmad, outdoing their European colleague in vehemence and vituperation. Strangely enough the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, was the least provocative of the three urging that a mere change of Government did not convert the Executive Council into a democratic institution.

Businessmen's Plea to end the Deadlock

It is a mistake to think that it is only the politicians and the Congress-minded public who deplore the deadlock and are anxious to end it. The harm that the continuance of the deadlock is doing the country is fully realised by all responsible elements in India and we are not surprised that hard-headed businessmen who met in Delhi last month realising the enormous damage that irresponsible rule is inflicting on the country, put in a powerful plea to end this deplorable state of things.

Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiar, who presided over the last session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries, can hardly be suspected of Congress leanings. A pronounced Justicite he was leader of the opposition in the Congress Government in Madras and was unsparing in his criticism of the Ministry and its measures. Yet what does he say of the situation created by Government's policy—economic and political—in India. In his address to the Federation, he declared:

The Indian Commercial Community has always held the view that political advancement of the country has much to do with its economic prosperity. Our commercial organisations, although they may eschew active politics cannot remain impervious to the march of events connected with the Indian freedom. We have as patriotic Indians to assist in all legitimate and constitutional efforts that aim at the political progress of the country.

And he went on to add:

Almost every political party and leader has demanded the release of political leaders, who are now kept in detention. Whatever might have been the justification for detaining these leaders, I feel that the time has come for the Government to release them. They should not be kept in such detention for a moment longer.

That people like him "should have been driven to expose the follies of the present bureaucratic administration only proves, how the Government have steadily lost the confidence of all sections of the people, including their ordinarily staunch supporters."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Churchill Government's First Defeat

ON March 28, the Churchill Government in Parliament suffered the first defeat in its history. By a single vote it lost the division on one clause of the new Education Bill. The defeat caused great sensation at Westminster. But the important constitutional point is that a Government defeat on a minor issue—which is not pressed by opposition as a vote of no confidence in Government or in an individual Minister—while it can prove annoyance to Government, does not carry any serious implications. The Prime Minister, however, has made the defeat in Parliament a constitutional matter of confidence in himself and his Cabinet. Directly the members of Parliament meet at the next sitting, and they will return to the disputed clause of the Education Bill and vote on the Cabinet's decision to reject the anti-Government amendment. If the House of Commons votes against the Government, it will resign. This was the dramatic and uncompromising stand taken by Mr. Churchill in Parliament.

There was no doubt whatever at Westminster that the Government would win a decisive majority in "the confidence" division as it always did in the past.

On the 30th, Parliament met and the Government obtained its vote of confidence in the House of Commons by 425 votes against 23.

Jap-Soviet Pact

On the last day of March the Soviet and Japanese Governments signed a protocol whereby Japan agrees to the transfer to the Soviet Government of Japanese oil and coal concession in Northern Sakhalin.

Besides the above protocol, a document was signed giving details about the transfer of the concession and the repatriation to Japan of Japanese nationals engaged in the oil and coal concessions enterprise.

Simultaneously, a Soviet-Japanese protocol signed on March 30, 1944, is also published about the prolongation for five years of the Fisheries Convention of 1928 which fixes changes in Japanese fishing conditions in the Pacific waters of U. S. S. R.

The Cassino Battle

Mr. Churchill stated in the House of Commons on the 28th March that Cassino battle was a failure. But the Allies' withdrawal was successful, says the allied *communiqué* of March 29th.

Allied troops who have gone back on the defensive in the Cassino sector are now digging in and consolidating their positions. The withdrawal of isolated troops from two hill features under the Monastery was successfully effected under cover of an artillery barrage. The Germans must have known that the withdrawal was being made after the first man left the hill but the barrage described by an army spokesman as "terrific" enabled the movement to be completed without casualties.

Ireland's Stand

Following the U.S.A. note to Eire to disband the German and Japanese legations in Dublin and De Valera's refusal to do so, the British Government have decided that subject to certain exceptions, all travel between Great Britain on the one hand and Northern Ireland and Eire on the other hand must be suspended forthwith for military reasons.

Mr. De Valera affirms his position in a broadcast as follows:

These times of emergency have found our nation, as in other days, with qualities which I feel we can call upon unreservedly today. When external force succeeded and our people were overborne physically, they did not abandon the struggle, nor did they cede their rights or surrender their will. Even in our failures we were in a lasting sense victorious. We outlived the evil that was done to us and we exist today as a separate nation, because we were willing to endure, and were not willing to yield.

German Occupation of Hungary

The German occupation of the whole of Hungary indicates the grim determination of Hitler to see that the history of Italy is not repeated in Hungary. The relentless onward sweep of the Red Army exerting tremendous pressure on the Baltic front, in Poland and in the south simultaneously has evidently driven the Fuehrer to take the desperate step in Hungary.

King Victor drops Imperial Title

King Victor Emanuel has dropped the title of "Emperor of Abyssinia" from his signature. The title was dropped for the first time in a message the king sent to the Italians in Lisbon, says a dispatch.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



ORIGIN OF INDIAN STATES

Reviewing "The Making of the Indian Princes" by Edward Thompson in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Kate L. Mitchell says that the existence of 562 native States scattered through the length and breadth of India whose autocratic rules are guaranteed protection by treaties with the British Crown constitutes one of the major problems to be solved before India can hope to attain unity and independence.

By using many unpublished documents and letters and a secret report of British officials the author reveals military and political activities of the British East India Company during the 20-year period (1799-1819) during which "one local chieftain after another was subdued by force of arms and compelled to accept a status of 'subordinate co-operation'." Thompson emphasises that the men who imposed this system "were clearly aware of its evils."

The reviewer says that among many examples Thompson cites a letter from Sir Thomas Munro to the Governor-General Lord Hastings in which Sir Thomas Munro pointed out that the employment of subsidiary force has a natural tendency to render Government weak and oppressive. The usual remedy for bad government in India is a quiet revolution in the palace or a violent one by rebellion.

One act which stands out clearly in Thompson's record of the confused and turbulent period is that the Indian Princes, as we know them to-day, were established in power by these early British administrators for a definite purpose, namely, "to serve as 'royal instruments without political power' for enforcing British control over the country."

Mitchell concludes:

The history of these early years assumes a new significance when considered in relation to the current British claim that the treaties with the States are inviolable. Thompson's book would be of far greater interest and value if included in some discussion of the position of the Indian States to-day inasmuch as continued existence of these strongholds of medieval absolutism is clearly incompatible with development of Democratic Federal Government for India as a whole.

IRAN'S PART IN THE PRESENT WAR

The *Asiatic Review* for January has an interesting article on the above topic by Mr. A. H. Hamzari, Press Attache to the Iranian Legation in London. The writer discusses Iran's contribution to the Allied cause.

The first step in Iran's collaboration with the Allied Powers was the severance of diplomatic relations with the German and Italian Governments and the expulsion of their nationals from Iranian territory in the last quarter of 1941. Later on, similar steps were taken on April 12, 1942, towards the Japanese Government. Thus Iran completely cut herself off from any contact with the Axis Powers.

It seems superfluous to try to gauge the important part that Persian oil has played in the furtherance of the common cause. The Persian oil-fields in the south of Iran, the fourth biggest oil-producing regions in the world, which produced over 10,000,000 tons of oil before the war, have supplied the necessary oil and fuel for British and American forces in nearly all the Middle and Near East and India, and even as far as China. The gigantic refineries at Abadan on the Persian Gulf and the oil-wells in the Gulf regions have been admirably exploited and administered by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who have, within a period of forty years, turned the vast arid parts in the regions of the oil-wells into highly organized industrial and technical centres, with all the modern amenities of life.

The writer in fine stresses that

special arrangements have been made between the Iranian Government and the Allied Powers to meet the colossal expenditure of the British, American and Soviet forces in Iran, which runs into millions of pounds. Here again many natural difficulties arose, and it was feared that owing to the colossal expenditure of the Allies in Iran inflation would swamp the country. Strict measures have been taken by the Iranian Government to stop prices rising any higher, and effective assistance has been rendered by the British and American Governments in importing gold to the country and selling it to the public in order to stabilize the currency and to allay their fears of inflation. The rise of prices has now stopped, but in order to realize the privations endured by the majority of the people in Iran, it is sufficient to mention that the cost of living in Iran now, as compared with that of 1939, is up by nearly 700 per cent. This figure, compared with the rise of the cost of living in all other countries of the world, makes Iran the most expensive place to live in today.

GERMANY AFTER THE WAR

What sort of treatment should be meted out to Germany after the fall of Hitler is discussed by the famous German author Emil Ludwig in *Maclean's Magazine*, Toronto.

A strong Army of occupation, formed by the United Nations, should hold all prominent places in Germany so that the people will know, for the first time since Napoleon, what a foreign authority looks like. Only thus can they be brought to understand that they have been defeated.

While the Junkers, in Prussia and then in the Empire, have held the leading posts for the past 300 years in the Army and Government, the common people have been excluded from them. Accordingly, they have gone into business or entered the field of science, music, or philosophy. The interesting point is that these common people or "bourgeois" did not resent the arrangement. The philosophers and writers lived, as it were, on a dreamy island, and, as the ship of State passed them by, they saluted it and said: "It's a good thing that we are not responsible for the State." That is the reason why Germany is the only country in Europe which has not had a successful revolution in all her history. No one from the nobility has ever helped to build up the true greatness of Germany, as civilisation knows it. On the other hand, hardly anybody from the bourgeoisie, up to 1918 ever held an important German Government position.

The mistake of Versailles was a mistake in understanding the psychology of the Germans. The victors believed the Germans would become liberal and set up a democratic state overnight, without the tradition for it and without previous education. They left them complete freedom and later relaxed the rigours of the treaty. But the Germans do not understand a "gentleman's agreement". The word "gentleman," like the word "fair," is always used in the English form by Germans; they have no equivalent words in their rich language. They love order, not human understanding. They are the only people in modern history who have a passion for obedience. They love compliance better than they love liberty.

The Germans must come within the scope of the Atlantic Charter. They must retain their own German provinces. They are entitled to their own raw materials. They should have their factories working, their scientists and chemists busy and their sport-lovers at play. Their music and industry are their own. They should share in the competition of the world. But take away their weapons, supervise their education, and give them political guardianship, because they have shown the world that they are not able to govern themselves. If you do not do that, if you continue to speak of the "poor misled German people", if you treat them after the defeat in your old, good, puritan spirit—then your sons will have to fight the Third World War against the warlike people of the Germans.

LORD WAVELL'S SPEECH

The magazine *Amerasia* commenting on Lord Wavell's speech before the Indian Legislature on February 17, strongly criticises his contention that Indian disunity alone is preventing the advance to self-government.

Admitting that the Congress and the Muslim League appeared "hopelessly divided" over the issue of Pakistan following the Cripps mission, it says that since then

there have been a steady growth of unity in India. . . All reports from India indicate that the Congress and the League are drawing closer together on the question of complete self-determination for the minorities and the major obstacle to a final agreement is the fact that chief Congress leaders are held incommunicado. This highly important development is completely ignored by Lord Wavell. . . The major fault in Lord Wavell's speech is that it does not apply to the present situation in India. Conditions of August 1942 no longer exist. Important Hindu and Muslim leaders now recognize both the necessity and possibility of reaching a political agreement among themselves and also the need for immediate action to combat the growing frustration and bitter apathy among the Indian people. It would seem that in view of Lord Wavell's desire to see India attain unity and self-government at the earliest possible moment he might at least give India's leaders, both in and out of jail, an opportunity to get together and discuss their problems.

INDIAN ATTITUDE TO JAPAN

All happenings in the Far East since the war began have swung Indian feeling, as far as one can judge, to active hatred of the Japanese, states Sir Alfred Watson in an article in *Great Britain and the East*. Among Indian Muslims, he adds, there has never been any warmth towards the Japanese in spite of the Japanese effort to cultivate the good feeling of Islam by allowing the setting up of Mosques in Japan itself. Hinduism must inevitably come into conflict with the Shinto of Japan at every point of contact. "Co-prosperity as interpreted by Japan would shatter and destroy Indian nationalism. It would permanently forbid that industrial leadership of the East to which many Indians aspire. Understanding of these things accounts for the growing antipathy to Japan among all Indians who express any opinions at all."

CONGRESS-LEAGUE SETTLEMENT

The only way to get British willingness is by an honest and satisfactory settlement with the Muslim League. Until we recognise this, all talk of Indian Independence is pure literary or rhetorical exercise," says Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in the course of an article in the *Hindustan*, an English weekly edited by Mr. Gopinath Srivastava, Parliamentary Secretary for Publicity in the Congress Ministry.

"A settlement with Mr. Jinnah," adds Mr. Rajagopalachariar,

is, I believe, possible. I do not justify all his policies or his terms or even his general attitude. But we cannot find a way to Independence without a settlement with the Muslim League. Dealing with facts, and functioning in the present, those who desire a Free India must deal with the League.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar continues:

I say that a settlement with the Muslim League is possible, because its demand for the right to separate is not a claim for tribal sovereignties, but is linked to definite territorial units to be delimited with regard to contiguity and homogeneity of population. The claim is made conditional on the definitely expressed desire of the population of such areas. It is not demanded that separation should be effected without a right of appeal to the people of the area concerned. There are here no problems that are incapable of solution by negotiation and agreement.

"It is only by agreement," he goes on, "that we can build up a strong Central Government.

It is only by conceding the right of self-determination to every sizable homogeneously peopled area that we can bring into being an undivided Hindustan. To maintain a united India with disunited provinces is possible only if we accept the active and effective control of a foreign Power. To keep a strong Central Government in real power checking all dissenting units, we require the British Power, with an army of occupation.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar pleads that they should arrive at a settlement with the League and force a situation that will create and foster British willingness to agree to an interim Government apart from post-war settlement. The Soviet decree granting autonomy to every unit confederated in the U.S.S.R., he says, has a lesson for Indian politicians and nation-builders. Those who raise the Liberal slogan of a "strong Government" or the Hindu Mahasabha slogan of an "Undivided Hindustan," both ask, in effect, for a continuance and permanent entrenchment in India of the British Government.

THE BENGAL FAMINE

We welcome the *Hindoosthan*, the new illustrated quarterly, edited by Sir N. N. Sircar and published at Calcutta. In the first number that is before us, Sir Nripendra presents a collection of articles and drawings of outstanding interest. Among the writers are Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir B. L. Mitter, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha and others; while a short story of Rabindranath's rendered into English for the first time adds distinction to the number. Among other attractions are the coloured pictures of Abanindranath and Jogendranath Tagore, and line drawings and wood cuts by the well-known artist, Mr. E. M. Sen. The editor himself writes a trenchant article on the Bengal Famine which he concludes with these significant words:

I venture, however, to suggest that memories of the Bengal famine of 1943 are likely to help movements which may gather momentum for establishing an advanced State Socialism or Communism, and the amount of its success will be in direct proportion to the inability of the present Government to improve the condition of the masses, and free them from dirt, disease and poverty and save them from starvation. How far ideas of Communism have spread in India I do not quite know, nor am I aware whether Communism is favoured or frowned at by the authorities. It is easy to believe that while detesting Communism, the powers that be find in the Communists a useful weapon for handling labour, for propaganda for war-efforts, and a handy stick to beat the Congress with.

THE AFTERNOON TEA

"That afternoon cup of tea! If we were suddenly to revert to uncivilized life, there's no item on the menu, I think, that would be so universally missed," says a writer in the *Times of India*.

"Some men have a fondness for liquor; some like a pipeful of nicotine, some avidly chew betelnut, whilst others chew candies, but all of us, of all classes of society, rich and poor alike, young and old, drink tea and would find days deprived of it irksome and wearisome.

"Its refreshing and stimulating qualities are badly needed in the lives of stress and strain that most of us live today. There's nothing like a cup of piping hot tea to put fresh heart into the most flagging spirits, revivify the most weary minds."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

March 1. Red Army launches new offensive south of Narva on the Estonian border.

March 2. Bulgaria asks British and United States *re.* armistice terms.

—Russians encircle Narva.

March 3. President Roosevelt announces that Italian warships are to be sent to the Soviet Navy.

March 4. The 17th session of Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce meets at New Delhi.

March 5. Soviet Armistice terms are offered to Finland.

March 6. Budget debate opens in the Central Assembly.

March 7. Commander-in-Chief announces in the Upper House increase in army pay.

March 8. Leaders' appeal for a 75 lakhs memorial to Kasturba.

March 9. University of Delhi welcomes Persian Cultural Mission.

March 10. Maharaja of Kashmir accepts invitation to attend War Cabinet.

—Mr. Mudie appointed Home Member.

March 11. Chinese goodwill mission arrives in Delhi.

—Eire rejects U. S. note to close German and Japanese legations.

March 12. Rt. Hon. Sastri speaking in Bombay urges release of leaders and holding elections.

March 13. Central Assembly carries out motion censuring Viceroy's Council.

March 14. Mr. Churchill warns Eire.

March 15. Central Assembly carries motion censuring use of D. I. R. by 53 to 44 votes.

—Editors' Standing Committee meets in Delhi, Mr. S. A. Brelvi presiding.

March 16. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate-General, Madras, resigns.

—Naval landing in Arakan by the Allies.

March 17. Government's reply *re.* censorship to A.I.N.E. Conference is published.

March 18. 2,000 U.S. Planes raid Germany.

—All-India Manufacturers' Conference meets at Nagpur.

March 19. Japs bomb Imphal area.

—Persian Cabinet resigns.

—Russians enter Bessarabia.

—Russians capture Chervons—Armeisk, Radziwilow and Vinnista.

March 20. Lava from Vesuvius flares up and destroys several villages.

—U. S. planes raid East Java.

March 21. Finnish Government rejects Russian terms.

—Nazis occupy Hungary.

March 22. Japs cross Indo-Burma Frontier.

March 23. Allied air offensive in the Pacific begins.

March 24. Major-General Nawab Sir Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana is dead.

March 25. Severe fighting in the Indo-Burma Frontier is reported.

—Japs bomb Cox Bazaar area.

—Russians capture Balti.

March 26. Churchill's broadcast to the Nation.

—Axis evacuation of Crimea.

March 27. Finance Bill is thrown out in Assembly by 56 to 55 votes.

March 28. Assembly again rejects the recommended Finance Bill by 56 to 45.

—Government defeat in the Commons *re.* Education Bill.

March 29. Russians enter Rumania.

—Allies' withdrawal from Monastery Hill in Cassino Front.

March 30. Mr. Suresh Vaidya is sentenced to 98 days' R.I. at the Canterbury Court Martial.

—The Government obtains its vote of confidence in the House of Commons by 425 votes against 23.

—Russians take Cernauti.

March 31. H.E. the Commander-in-Chief makes a statement in the Assembly *re.* Jap thrust in Manipur State.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

STATE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

"A great evil which prevails among the people is the marriage of young girls. In our Dominions, there are eleven lakhs of widows. Child widows below twelve years of age number over ten thousand. This casts a slur on the community and it should be eradicated," said Begum Zaher Yar Jung, presiding over the sixteenth session of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference held last month.

Begum Zaher Yar Jung also referred to the 'purdah' system and said: "The 'purdah' has been assuming a great importance in our social life. It should not outstrip the bounds of religion. Unless the women of a country move with its men, that country will make no progress. The history of Islam and the history of India contain many achievements of women."

The Conference passed a resolution mourning the death of Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi and tendering its heart-felt condolences to Gandhiji and his family.

Another resolution condemned the practice of educated women marrying men during the lifetime of their first wives.

NAWAB OF CHHATARI'S ADVICE

The suggestion that those whose mother-tongue was Urdu should learn other languages spoken in the State was made by the Nawab of Chhatari, President of H. H. the Nizam's Executive Council, when presiding at the annual prize distribution at the Nizam's College. The question of a language, said the Nawab of Chhatari, should never be made a political issue. We must try and learn various languages and dialects which might be of value. He also stressed the importance of studying English and said: "It is a step forward to make one of the languages of the country the medium of instruction, but it does not mean we should neglect English."

The Nawab appealed to students to join the armed forces in larger numbers.

Mysore

MYSORE IRRIGATION PLAN

Mr. J. Md. Imam, the Minister for Public Works in Mysore, toured the Shimoga district from December 2 to 8, inspecting the irrigational works in progress, as also the Jog Hydro-electric works. The Special Committee of Civil Engineers appointed to advise Government on the work of the Jog Hydro-electric scheme held their quarterly meeting at Jog and the Minister presided.

The Minister discussed with the ryots and the officers the Thunga project, the Selekere project, the Kaggehalli Anicut, the Bhadra Anicut, the Lakkavalli reservoir across the river Bhadra and a number of bridges proposed to be constructed. Government, he said, were eager to push through as early as possible the several irrigation projects so that Mysore might become self-sufficient in the matter of food-grains.

MYSORE INDUSTRIAL BOARD

With a view to widening the scope of activities in the field of industrial research, which is of vital importance to the industrial development of the State, and to maintain more effective contact with the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research of the Government of India, the Government of Mysore have reconstituted the Board of Industrial Planning and Co-ordination in Mysore under the name of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research. The eight members under the chairmanship of Mr. M. A. Srinivasan, Minister for Industries and Supplies, include Sir C. V. Raman, Sir J. C. Ghosh and Sir M. O. Forster.

NEW MYSORE LOAN

The Government of Mysore have issued a new series of their three per cent. (1956-61) security Loan of the nominal value of Rs. 2,00,00,000 as an anti-inflationary measure and as a feeder to the Government of India Fourth Defence Loan. The whole of this issue has been taken over by Government for their general investment account and it has no reference whatsoever to the present financial needs of the State for industrial or other purposes.

Travancore

LATE PRINCE RAMA VARMA

The death of Prince Rama Varma, First Prince and nephew of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, which occurred at Trivandrum on March 21, is deeply regretted. The Prince's age was only 6.

TRAVANCORE LEGISLATURE

The Sri Mulam Assembly and the Sri Chitra State Council have been dissolved from March 1, by H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, in exercise of the powers conferred on him by section 9 (A) of the Travancore Legislative Reforms Act II of 1198.

Discussing at a press conference the reasons which weighed with Government in deciding upon dissolution of Legislature, the Dewan said fresh elections could not be further postponed on account of shortage of petrol because war with Japan on a modest computation was not likely to end for a couple of years more and we could not wait indefinitely. The Legislature had had successive extensions. Arguments about the need for fresh blood among members cannot be indefinitely resisted. It would also give members an opportunity of ventilating legitimate demands and grievances such as they were in their election campaigns.

TRAVANCORE SALARIES

The Travancore Government feel that the war allowances now granted to officers drawing salaries up to Rs. 100 are not commensurate with the existing level of prices. They have therefore sanctioned enhanced rates of war allowance for them according to a certain scale, in addition to any other advantages they may obtain under the revision scheme. The scale for officers drawing above Rs. 100 per month and up to Rs. 112 and for officers in the scale of Rs. 100-5-125 has also been laid down.

Government have also decided that the minimum salary of peons and menial servants in the capital and other expensive towns should be Rs. 14 per month, in other urban centres Rs. 11 and in the villages Rs. 10.

Baroda

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

For the development of cottage industries, various ways and means are employed by the Government of the State to encourage handicrafts. A Cottage Industries Institute was established to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of the late reign, in which training is specialised in calico-printing, block engraving, lacquer work, metal and leather work processes and brass metal and wood engraving. The Government also give grants-in-aid to private institutions, which promote the development of cottage industries, besides awarding scholarships and loans, and starting a large number of classes under their auspices in villages where they circulate from term to term. These demonstration classes specialise in handloom weaving (at 5 centres) in which respect new designs and new kinds of articles are being introduced, in carding and spinning (at 4 centres), in calico-printing (at 3 centres), in improved methods of bark tanning (at 12 centres), and in silk demonstration (at 2 centres). Government aid is also given in the shape of annual grants to institutions like the Khadi Karyalaya, the Sarvodaya Mandir, etc., and in the shape of loans to individual entrepreneurs to start local effort in their villages.

BARODA LIBRARIES

There are 1,294 libraries in the Baroda State. Of them there are 46 town libraries, 1,219 village libraries and 29 institutions exclusively catering for the needs of women and children. The figures generally show the progress since the last two decades. The average number of books per library is now 870 which was 920 in 1930-31, 680 in 1920-21. The number of institutions have increased by 79 per cent., stock of books by 58 per cent. and number of readers by 145 per cent. in the last ten years. This growth of the movement, particularly in the numbers of its beneficiaries, is nothing less than phenomenal.

In addition to fixed libraries, the department maintains 622 travelling library boxes which were circulated to 375 centres in 1939-40, amongst 10,384 readers. This section also circulated 26,287 stereographs through 101 centres.

Patiala

PATIALA EXHIBITION

The declaration that his Government was exceedingly anxious to promote large-scale industries in the State and that the industrialists and financiers could expect every kind of help and co-operation was made by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala while performing the opening ceremony of the 5th Patiala Exhibition on March 7. His Highness said that it was only by effective integration of industrial development and agricultural expansion that India could have a self-reliant national economy. He expressed appreciation of the work of the Development Department and hoped that the State, notwithstanding the war, would be able to maintain and expand its beneficent activities.

Sirdar Fazley Haque Khan, Development Minister, gave a comprehensive account of the activities of his Department and revealed that the State would shortly have a sugar factory and added that prospecting licences had been given for the exploration of iron, copper and silver mines in the State.

Bharatpur

STATE ADMINISTRATION

Constitutional Reforms: The elections for the Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti were held during the year. The Samiti was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur on the 4th October, 1943 and its first session was held from the 4th to 8th October, 1943.

Constitution of Brij Jaya Pratinidhi Samiti: The Samiti consists of 30 members, elected from the rural and seven from the urban areas, seven nominated non-officials and six nominated officials.

Revenue and Expenditure: The total income of the State, including assigned revenues, amounted to Rs. 50,37,579, which was a record figure for the State against Rs. 25,56,335 in the preceding year. The total expenditure of the State amounted to Rs. 48,36,259 against Rs. 30,89,748 in the preceding year. A total sum of Rs. 12,26,044 was paid towards repayment of Morvi Loan against Rs. 2,46,118 only in the preceding year. The year closed with a balance of Rs. 5,63,500.

Junagadh

IRRIGATION IN JUNAGADH

Junagadh State has earmarked Rs. 1,88,000 for financing flood control measures calculated to press the overflow currents of rivers into the service of agriculture. Rs. 1,50,000 has been allocated for the sinking of new wells in villages.

It is claimed that this is the first occasion in the annals of the State budget when it has shown a surplus of Rs. 5.15 lakhs and the total income has attained a record of Rs. 114.10 lakhs.

Rewa

NEW ADMINISTRATION IN REWA

The Maharaja of Rewa, having accepted certain specific conditions, the Crown Representative is taking up necessary steps to secure the setting up of a new administration in the State. His Highness has agreed to appoint Mr. E. B. Wakefield, I.C.S., as his Chief Minister and R. B. Tara Chand, I.P.S., as Inspector-General of Police. This has been announced in a *communiqué*.

Kashmir

THE FUTURE OF KASHMIR

A comprehensive industrial survey, formation of a competent industrial board, proper economic planning of the State and a careful examination of the question of finding industrial finance these suggestions for the economic uplift of the State were offered by Dr. R. K. Bhan, Director of Statistics and Economic Intelligence, in his evidence before the Commission of Enquiry set up by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Jawhar

INDUSTRIES IN JAWHAR

The growing industrialisation of Jawhar State by the opening of several new factories for different industries was referred to by Mr. S. T. Raja, Dewan of Jawhar State, performing the opening ceremony of the new Balaram Mills at Karadaho, five miles from Dahanu. Mr. Raja added that Jawhar already had several rice mills, and that a starch manufacturing factory would shortly be opened at Karadaho along with a paper and card-board mill.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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Leros

INDIANS IN LEROS

With the small Allied force in the recent Battle of Leros were Indian soldiers who fought gallantly in the defence of this Aegean out-post.

Reports describe the Indian soldiers as particularly active in attacking parachutists and 'planes. Indian personnel on Leros included a company of sappers and miners, and supply units of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps.

Japan

INDIAN PRISONERS IN JAPAN

There are approximately 76,000 Indian troops, who are prisoners of war or are believed to be prisoners of war in Japanese hands, says a statement which the C-in-C. laid on the table in the Council of State. Of this total, some 5,000 belonged to the Hong Kong and Singapore Royal Artillery. Despite every effort made on the part of Protecting Powers and Delegates of the International Red Cross Committee, information regarding the fate of these prisoners and the conditions under which they are being held, has been withheld deliberately by the Japanese.

Germany

INDIAN WAR PRISONERS IN GERMANY

Greetings for the relatives of 350 soldiers of the R. I. A. S. C., all Punjabi Mussalmans, who are prisoners in Germany, are brought to India by Major T. W. P. Hexley, who was captured with them but escaped, says a press note.

Major Hexley has just arrived in India with 2,000 R. I. A. S. C. men who have been in England since the fall of France, when they escaped with the British Expeditionary Force. He told an Indian Army Observer about the men's life in their German prison camps.

"Their morale is very high," he said. "Life is of course dull and dreary but it is not hard. Their health is fairly good. They get the same rations as the British troops. They live in huts or barracks. The Germans treat them quite well."

Australia

SYMPATHY WITH INDIA'S AIMS

Mr. M. S. Aney, Government of India's representative in Ceylon, and the Indian Mercantile Chamber, gave a reception to the Australian High Commissioner-Designate in India, Lt.-Gen. Sir Ivan Giffard Mackay and Lady Mackay *en route* to India to take up the appointment, at Colombo on March 6.

Speaking at the reception where Mr. Aney welcomed him on behalf of the Government of India, Sir Ivan said that Australia sympathised with India's political aspirations and Australians would earnestly endeavour to do their utmost to bring about mutual and lasting friendship between the two countries. He paid tribute to the services rendered by Indian troops and said: "They have been largely responsible for much of the success that has been achieved so far."

South Africa

INDIANS IN NATAL

The Prime Minister's reply to the request of Indian ex-servicemen that franchise be included in the terms of reference of the proposed Natal Indian Commission as an unsuitable question is causing concern in Indian political circles.

The Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. P. R. Pather, in an interview, said that at their recent conference one of the conditions of the resolution accepting the Commission was that the question of the political status of Indians should be included in the terms of reference. "If General Smuts insists on imposing his attitude of excluding the question of franchise in the terms of reference, then we shall have no alternative but to reconsider our previous decision in the light of this development."

A meeting of the Congress Committee has been called to consider the Prime Minister's reply.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

GANDHIJI'S LEADERSHIP

Complete faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi "who alone can speak in the name of the Congress and whose continued incarceration is a symbol of India in chains," is reiterated in a statement by prominent U.P. Congressmen who met at Allahabad on March 15.

"We owe it to him and other comrades in prison to do what little we can to dispel the atmosphere of depression which is the dominant feature of public life to-day." . . . "Nothing can absolve us from the duty of trying to serve our countrymen according to our lights to the very limited extent that is possible in the circumstances in which we find ourselves. It was this belief which prompted us to call the present informal meeting."

LONDON COMMITTEE'S INSTRUCTIONS

After restating the attitude which an Indian Congressman is expected to take towards military conscription in Britain, a pamphlet issued by the Committee of Indian Congressmen adds:

If the stand is taken on the ground that though not a pacifist, as a Congressman he cannot take part in the British war effort and, therefore, cannot join the British armed forces, the person concerned will not in all probability be granted exemption from military service by tribunals for conscientious objectors. He will then be asked to submit to a medical examination and if he refuses to do so will be brought before an appropriate court for trial and conviction. A Congressman does not plead for mercy or clemency. He does not seek any political concession from the British raj. In vindication of his faith he goes to prison, if need be, and thereby lays the foundation of free India.

LEND-LEASE AID

Mr. Leo T. Crowley, U.S. Foreign Economic Administrator, gave detailed figures on Lend-Lease aid to India. The aid totalled 114,451,000 dollars. The details are as follows: Military stores and equipment 6,598,000 dollars; Transportation and Communications 7,627,000 dollars; Petroleum products 40,652,000 dollars; Construction 43,033,000 dollars; Subsistence and miscellaneous 16,541,000 dollars.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

LIN YU-TANG ON UNITY

The freedom of India was primarily India's responsibility, said the well-known Chinese Scholar and Philosopher, Dr. Lin Yu-Tang, in an address to students of Calcutta University on March 15.

He said that India had so far failed to achieve her freedom because as a nation she did not want it badly enough.

When the whole of India wants freedom and wants it badly enough and is willing to place it above everything else, that very moment India can take her freedom as easily as one turns the palm of one's own hand.

Dr. Lin added that he who sinned against India as a national unity sinned against the Freedom of India. There was a perfect formula to continue to live under foreign subjection—to be divided and to be ruled.

I do not say that sectional differences are entirely of your own making, but I do say that there are still Indian leaders who are not willing to place the Freedom of their country above sectional and factional interests. It means that they do not want Freedom and are willing to be divided and ruled: Indians must love India as a whole and not as a part of it. They must love her and regard her as a national, cultural, economic, historical and geographical unity. Those who love India must want to be fused and integrated into a greater and greater national unity and cultural homogeneity.

CHURCHILL ON "SURRENDER"

Explaining the implications of the word "unconditional surrender" in his review of the war in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill, the British Premier, said:

There will be no question, for instance, of the Atlantic Charter applying to Germany as a matter of right, and barring territorial transfer-ences or adjustments in enemy countries. No such arguments will be admitted by us as were used by Germany after the last war, saying that they surrendered in consequence of President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Unconditional surrender means that the victors have a free hand. It does not mean that they are entitled to behave in a barbarous manner nor that they wish to blot out Germany from Europe. We are bound by our own conscience to civilisation.

EDITORS' DEMAND FOR GANDHI'S RELEASE

One hundred and twelve editors of newspapers, drawn from different parts of the country and representing different shades of political opinion, addressed a letter to the Government urging the imperative need for releasing Mahatma Gandhi and other action as may be necessary to end the political deadlock and establish a representative National Government.

The following is the text of the letter:

"We, the undersigned editors of newspapers, drawn from different parts of the country and representing different shades of political opinion, feel it incumbent on us to invite Your Excellency's pointed attention to the existence of widespread discontent in the country and distrust of British intentions. The continuance of the political deadlock and the unparalleled misery into which certain parts of the country have been plunged by economic distress and shortage of food constitute a serious menace to the internal peace and the security of the country. We feel that everything possible should be done by all parties concerned to resolve the political deadlock and for the better defence of India such a step cannot be further delayed. While offering our fullest co-operation towards the achievement of the above end, we strongly urge on the Government the imperative need for releasing Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders and taking such other action as may be necessary to enable all parties to make their contribution towards the ending of the deadlock and the establishment of a representative national government."

INDIA, BRITAIN AND AMERICA

In the Central Assembly on March 20 Mr. Abdur Rashid Chaudhury (Assam) expressed doubts if all that was necessary to defend the Eastern frontiers of India was being undertaken by Government. Everyone, Mr. Chaudhury said, wanted to exploit India and it seemed as though there was a partnership between H. M. G., the Dominions and the U.S.A. in the exploitation of this country.

PRIORITY FOR EDUCATION

Urging that education should have priority among schemes of reconstruction now being considered, Sir Radhakrishnan said in the course of his convocation address to the Calcutta University that social security, communications, health and sanitation were all important, but education which was concerned with the making of man was most important. Mr. Sargent's scheme gave a comprehensive scheme of education for all stages from childhood to maturity and attempted to make the educational system organic to the community.

It was a long term national enterprise and its full realisation would take at least a generation and demand the sustained efforts of the community and effective co-operation between the Government and other agencies. If India was not to lag behind other progressive countries the scheme must be put through.

Sir Sarvapalli asked "How can the national wealth of the country be increased if we are not given the education which alone can equip us to increase the wealth. The expense must be incurred and the money found."

POST-WAR EDUCATION PROGRAMME

Educational leaders of the United States and 30 other countries ended their four-day meeting of the International Education Assembly at Harpers Ferry (W. Virginia) by voting unanimously to establish an International Commission for Education and Cultural Development which is designed to help in rebuilding schools programmes throughout the world.

Among the Commission's objectives are these: to co-operate with governments of war-devastated countries in rebuilding educational programmes after the war; to assist countries requesting help to develop their education and cultural institutions; to eliminate educational and cultural activities which threaten the peace; to help all nations to eliminate illiteracy; encouragement in establishing international institutions for training educational and cultural leaders.

FEDERAL COURT APPEAL

Their Lordships of the Federal Court, giving judgment in the Ghogha Railway station burning case, allowed the appeal of Sahdeo Gosain and one other and directed their acquittal and immediate release. Their Lordships were satisfied that the complicity of neither of the appellants in the incident of August 11, 1942, had been established beyond reasonable doubt. The appellants were alleged to be members of a crowd who raided the Ghogha railway station on the East Indian Railway and burnt records and destroyed or damaged the furniture and telephone equipment. The men were put on trial in respect of this occurrence before the Special Judge, Bhagalpore. They were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The two appellants, whose appeals were dismissed by the High Court, appealed to the Federal Court.

SUPREME COURT FOR INDIA

The proposed establishment of a Supreme Court in India was referred to by Sir Patrick Spens, Chief Justice of India, addressing the members of the Lahore High Court.

His Lordship, after referring to the circumstances which had rendered the constitution of a Supreme Court urgent, said that on its constitution or recruitment, he could give no guarantee. If he was the Head of the Court and he was to constitute a bench of three judges to deal with Hindu Law, Muhammadan Law and Commercial Law, it seemed to be quite impossible to get a bench to which judges were not recruited because of their professional knowledge. How could any bench to which judges were not recruited because of their professional knowledge command any respect?

MADRAS ADVOCATE-GENERALSHIP

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate-General, has submitted his resignation to the Government of his office to take effect from July 10, 1944, the date of the reopening of the Madras High Court after the summer recess. Sir Alladi was appointed to the place on January 7, 1929.

It is officially announced that Mr. P. V. Rajamannar has been appointed Advocate-General, Madras, in succession to Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar.

TAXES ON INSURANCE COMPANIES

"The proposal in the Finance Bill of 1944 for fixing a limit of taxation of life insurance companies at 63 pies to the rupee, being the combined rate of income-tax and super-tax applicable to companies for the year 1912-43, will be hailed with satisfaction by insurance companies in India", says the *Capital*. The Bill further provides that the concession will have retrospective effect from 1943 and any excess paid will be refunded. This is a much-needed relief, considering the high rate of income-tax now prevailing, and has been granted as a result of prolonged representations made to Government by insurance companies in the last few years. The relief proposed to be granted, however, does not meet fully the demand of insurance companies who advocated that the ceiling should be fixed at the 1940-41 level, i.e., at 45½ pies to the rupee, on the analogy of the relief granted to insurance companies by the British Government, which fixed the limit at the 1940 level of 7sh. 6d. in the £. Representations for further relief are, therefore, likely to continue to be made, as was indicated in the recently passed resolution of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

WAR RISKS INSURANCE

The Central Government, says a *communique*, has decided that the rate of premium payable under policies issued under the War Risks (Factories) Insurance Scheme, the period of which has been extended up to the 31st March, 1945, shall be fixed at the reduced rate of one per cent. of the insurance value of the property calculated to the nearest anna on each complete sum of Rs. 100 for the year ending 31st March, 1945. This premium will be payable in four equal instalments on 1st April, 1st June, 1st September and 1st December, 1944.

ORIENTAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

The amount of New Life Assurance Business written by the Oriental during 1943 was 58,012 Policies assuring Rs. 15,00,69,050. This figure while showing an increase of about Rs. 5½ crores in the sum assured over the figure for 1942 constitutes a new record for the Company.

INDIA AND WAR FINANCE

The present inflationary policy of the Government of India was criticised by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti in his address to the members of the Madras Presidency College Union Society last month.

The credit which was now standing in the name of India in England, said Sir Shanmukham, was brought about, they must remember, not out of any generosity of Britain towards India, but it was the result of India's suffering and privations which the people bore in prosecuting this war. Apart from the constitutional tangle and political wrangle in which they were now engaged, the economic stakes of India were vital and far-reaching.

Sir Shanmukham explained how the inflation in India had begun to affect the people. While the price level in other countries engaged in the war had been kept under check and had not risen to more than 25 per cent. the Government of India unfortunately did not take timely measures for the control of prices. The Government of India had begun only within the last few months to tackle this problem. The result was that people were suffering a great deal. Judged from actual sufferings and privations of the people, the war burden borne by the Indian masses was certainly great.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

The urgent importance of industrialisation of India in any plan of post-war reconstruction was stressed by Sir M. Visvesvaraya delivering his presidential address at the fourth annual conference of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation which met at Nagpur on March 18. "What should be done by Government now, if they mean business," said Sir M. Visvesvaraya, "is to deduce a five-year-plan from the figures given in the fifteen-year-plan and work up a complete five-year-plan with detailed schedules. There is urgent need for starting new industries and need also for making active preparations from now for establishing heavy industries as soon as war is over; but Government show unpreparedness and unwillingness and will not discuss any connected plan openly."

WOMEN'S PAGE

MEMORIAL TO KASTURBA

A fund to be called the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, to be presented to Mahatma Gandhi on his 75th birthday to be spent for the welfare and education of women in India, is proposed in an appeal issued on March 8 by some forty prominent leaders headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The appeal runs:

The sad death of Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi has caused nation-wide grief and mourning. The position she has held in Indian life for these thirty years, coupled with her passing away in prison, has stirred the country as nothing else in recent times. The greatest in the land have showered their tributes, and, in countless homes, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, men, women and children have been shedding tears of affection and reverence. We are convinced that, the people of India will not rest satisfied until they have been able to do something concrete to perpetuate her memory on a scale worthy of her and themselves.

In view of the uniqueness of the occasion, we appeal to the nation to aim at collecting a purse of not less than Rs. 75 lakhs to mark the age of 75, which Mahatma Gandhi will have attained on October 2 next.

The nation will also expect that any memorial in the name of Shri Kasturba should be such as will be identified with one at least of the great humanitarian tasks to which Mahatma Gandhi has dedicated his life. We, therefore, propose that a fund be raised from all over India and from the rich and the poor, to be called the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund and be presented to Mahatma Gandhi on his next birthday, to be spent for the welfare and education of women in India.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE

The following Press Note has been issued by the Government:

Under the Madras Ministerial Service Rules no woman is eligible for appointment to the service or for retention therein otherwise than as clerk in the Special Branch of the C. I. D. unless she is a spinster or a widow without children. A similar restriction applies to the appointment of women to the Madras Secretariat Service or to their retention therein. In certain services, e.g., Madras Educational Subordinate Service preference is given to spinsters and widows to married women for appointment in the Women's Branch. The Government have now decided that all restrictions on grounds of marriage against the employment or retention of women in public service should be withdrawn.

LITERARY

AN APPEAL TO A.I.N.E.C.

The *Statesman* writes:—

"Orissa has come to the conclusion, probably justified, that it gets insufficient publicity in papers of other provinces. Its remedial measure is to constitute a publicity advisory board. The Central Government also dissatisfied, not long ago announced the extension of its news-writing departments. Surely all Governments must be aware by this time that the governing lack is not of publicists but of paper. It is noteworthy that this criticism is never met by Government. It keeps quiet and goes on appointing writers whose efforts cannot be used by the leading newspapers. If the A.I.N.E.C. were not otherwise engaged it could, in determined tones, draw the authorities' attention to the real problem and prevent wasteful additions to publicity departments very few of whose offerings can be printed."

LIFE OF KASTURBA

The United Press learns that a life history of the late Kasturba Gandhi will soon be published together with the tributes received from all over the world. The book will be edited by Mr. R. K. Prabhu, Assistant Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*. The profits and the Editor's royalties will be donated to the Kasturba Memorial Fund being opened in Bombay.

"NATIONAL HERALD" PRESS

Mr. Krishna Narain Agarwal, Director-in-charge of the "National Herald" of Lucknow, has received a communication from the Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, informing him that instructions have been issued for the handing back of the Press, machinery and other property, taken over or sealed, to the "National Herald." The communication adds that the police guard is also being withdrawn.

FISCHER'S "EMPIRE" BANNED

A Gazette Notification states that the Central Government have banned bringing into British India any copy of the book entitled "Empire" by Mr. Louis Fischer published in New York or any translation, reprint or other document containing substantial reproductions of the matter contained in the said book.

PROF. KEITH'S TRIBUTE TO GANDHI

Reviewing the *History of Gujarat and its Literature* by K. M. Munshi, Dr. A. Berriedale Keith pays the following tribute to Gandhiji:

"Gujarata has of late attained world renown as the home of Mahatma Gandhi, the incarnation of the highest ideals of Hindu Dharma, the teacher of living faith in work for humanity which appeals to all that is finest in the spirit of India, and has won for his motherland a measure of respect far greater than could ever be achieved by material means."

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN AWARDED MEDAL

Among the distinguished recipients of gold medals and prizes awarded on the occasion of the recent convocation of the Calcutta University were Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, Benares University, specially invited to address the convocation, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, of the Calcutta Varsity and Mrs. Hemalata Tagore, of the Saroj Nalini Memorial Association.

They were awarded respectively the Kamala Gold Medal (1937), Sarojini Basu Gold Medal (1943) and Lila Prize (1944).

NEW INDIAN V. C.

Outstanding gallantry and leadership in action in the Chin Hills area of the Burma front between May 24 and 27, 1943, has won for Havildar Gaje Ghale, 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles (F.F.) the second V. C. to be awarded for fighting on that front. Havildar Gaje Ghale, who has now been promoted to the rank of Jamadar, is the seventh Indian Army V. C. in this war and the second Gurkha to have won the coveted honour.

WHY MOSLEY ESCAPED TRIAL

Professor J. B. S. Haldane, speaking at a Somerset meeting, said in his opinion this was the reason why Mosley was not being brought to trial:—

"At the trial so much dirt would come out about distinguished supporters of the present Government that they dare not bring him to trial."

CURE FOR A FORM OF CANCER

"For the first time in the history of mankind it is possible to state that one form of cancer can be completely controlled and the patient rendered symptom-free by the administration of a few pills by mouth each day." This statement was made by Professor E. C. Dodds, Courtauld Professor of Biochemistry at London University, at a meeting in London of the British Empire Cancer Campaign.

Professor Dodds gave a clear warning that the discovery is so far confined solely to cancer of the prostate.

He said that descriptions of the new treatment in America had been "completely confirmed," and it would appear from the Registrar-General's figures for 1941 that "this discovery will result in the elimination of intense suffering and death from cancer of the prostate in approximately 4,000 persons annually in England and Wales alone."

"I trust that this statement will not be distorted, and that hopeless sufferers from other forms of malignant disease will not assume that a cure is within sight."

VITAMIN C AND WOUNDS

When a tissue is injured it bleeds. Eventually the blood clots. Then fibres of a material called "collagen" are formed in the blood clot, probably by the action of various cells. If an injured man, or guinea-pig (both being animals which need vitamin C in their diets), does not take enough vitamin C, then the formation of these "collagen" fibres is delayed. Dr. A. H. Hunt has shown that immature collagen may form in animals deprived of vitamin C and that it fails to mature. This means that there will be only a partial healing of wounds and they will be likely to break open again when subjected to any strain. It has also been shown that the formation of the fibrous matrix of bone is delayed if there is insufficient vitamin C in the diet and that in such cases fractured bones take an abnormally long time to heal, and having healed, they may still break again easily.

CURE FOR INSOMNIA

There are many causes of insomnia. It may be due to worry, anxiety, grief, mental excitement, eating a hearty supper, the use of tea and coffee, cola drinks, alcoholic beverages, exhaustion or great fatigue from many hours of work, a colon filled with putrefying residues, or pain from any source, writes *Good Health*.

While drugs are the most common remedy for insomnia, sleeplessness cannot be cured by their use, and each dose does harm. We are informed by the *Good Book* that the sleep of the labouring man is sweet.

Insomnia is a plague of the sedentary worker. Persons whose employment affords opportunity for muscular activity rarely suffer from insomnia except when they use tea or coffee or suffer from pain. In many cases of insomnia all that is necessary to secure eight hours of restful sleep at night is to make the evening meal consist entirely of fruit, and then to do enough work to cause at least slight fatigue. In cases of constipation, it may also be necessary to empty the colon by means of an enema.

MILK, GHEE AND OIL

Vanaspati (hydrogenated fat) is widely used as a substitute for ghee, and its manufacturers claim that it is as nutritive as ghee and is the cheapest substitute for it. The general opinion, however, seems to be that ordinary edible oil has much better nutritive value than hydrogenated oil or vanaspati. Again, the hydrogenation process adds to the cost of the oil, compelling the consumer to pay a higher price for a product which he considers less digestible.

Authoritative information on the merits of vanaspati should soon, however, be available. The Imperial Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore, and the Animal Nutrition Institute at Izatnagar are undertaking research directed towards ascertaining the nutritive values of all such edible fats and comparing them with ghee.

The Bangalore Institute will, in addition, carry out chemical research on Indian dahi or curds and on the detection of adulteration of milk with skimmed milk powder. The expenditure for these important schemes has already been sanctioned.

NEW INCOME-TAX SCHEDULE

The amounts of tax payable by different incomes above Rs. 10,000 under the new rates of income-tax, super-tax and surcharge proposed in the Finance Bill are illustrated in the following selected cases:

Income.	Proposed tax.	Amount of tax after exemptions for insurance, etc.
11,000	1,143	957
12,000	1,362	1,140
13,000	1,581	1,313
14,000	1,800	1,498
15,000	2,018	1,680
18,000	2,862	2,376
21,000	3,706	3,087
24,000	4,550	3,792
27,000	5,643	4,752
30,000	6,862	5,820
33,000	8,081	6,930
36,000	9,425	8,100
40,000	11,550	10,200
50,000	16,862	14,450
60,000	22,643	21,180
70,000	28,893	27,370
80,000	35,143	33,600
90,000	41,393	39,870
1,00,000	47,643	46,100
1,50,000	81,237	79,650
2,00,000	1,17,175	1,15,600
3,00,000	1,95,300	1,93,500
4,00,000	2,76,550	2,74,800
5,00,000	3,60,925	3,59,000
10,00,000	8,29,675	8,28,000
20,00,000	17,67,175	17,66,000
30,00,000	27,04,675	27,03,000

RESERVE BANK

Almost unnoticed, finance has been revolutionised; the merging of the Presidency Banks in the Imperial Bank and the establishment of a federal Reserve Bank have so mobilised the capital resources of India that even before the war funds for investment were, if anything, in excess of the available fields; under war conditions India has discharged most of her overseas debt and accumulated large sterling balances.

DEFENCE LOANS

During the seven weeks ending February 26, 1944, Rs. 44½ crores were invested in Central Government loans, of which Rs. 24½ crores represent subscriptions to the fourth Defence Loan and Rs. 20 crores other loans on sale through the Reserve Bank, says a press note.

AMERICANS IN INDIAN RAILWAYS

Mr. Ananda Mohan asked in the Central Assembly whether it was a fact that several American officers had been employed on various railways and if so, what was their number?

Sir Edward Benthall: No, but on occasions American officers have been associated in work which affects the movements of their own war equipment and stores.

Q: Is it a fact that certain sections of the Bengal and Assam Railway have been placed at the disposal of the American military authorities; if so, do Government propose to lay before the House particulars of the arrangements or contracts entered into between the U.S. and the Central Government?

A: No, but traffic operation on certain sections of the Bengal and Assam Railway will be handed over for control and direction by the Americans who will employ a number of their own army railway personnel. The General Manager of the Railway will, however, continue to exercise general control.

Q: Do the Lease-Lend agreement envisage control over railway lines by the American military?

A: No, this has nothing to do with Lease-Lend.

Pandit Maitra: I wanted to know about the constitutional relationship between them. Sir Edward's reply was inaudible.

Several members angrily asked why this arrangement with the American authorities was made without reference to the House. One member asked if there was any proposal to transfer India in whole or in part to Americans.

RAILWAY FINANCE

The total approximate gross earnings upto January 10, 1944, were Rs. 185'17 crores, i.e., Rs. 18'55 crores more than for the corresponding period of last year while approximate ordinary working expenses, excluding appropriation to and from depreciation fund, upto the end of November 1943, were Rs. 57'29 crores, i.e., Rs. 13'39 crores more than for the corresponding period last year.

ADOLF HITLER MUSEUM OF ART

George Wildenstein, member of the U.S. Commission for protecting and salvaging artistic and historic European monuments, a Government agency, described in a nation-wide broadcast the Nazi art looting and suggested a method of returning the treasures to their rightful owners. Excerpts from his broadcast follow:

"Two days after the Nazis occupied Paris their vans rolled up before the mansions of the Rothschilds and stripped them bare. Their loot included two of Rubens' greatest portraits, three Rembrandts, other paintings by Roucher (one of which Goering now has), one Holbein and a Fragonard. In all, the estimated value of the looted Rothschild collections alone is more than 40 million dollars.

"One aspect of Hitler's megalomania is his interest in the Adolf Hitler Museum in his native town of Linz. Cherishing the delusion that he himself could have been an artist instead of a house painter if destiny had not called him to lead the Germans, his plan is to stuff his memorial with great masterpieces until it would equal the Louvre by the simple expedient of taking the Louvre collection too, if necessary."

CLASSICAL MUSIC

The memorable contribution of Sri Swati Tirunal Maharaja to Carnatic Music, which along with the work of Tyagaraja, Dikshitar, Sama Sastri and Kshetragna represented the climax of southern musical art was recalled at some length by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar declaring open the Swati Tirunal Music Festival celebrated under the auspices of the Swati Tirunal Sangitha Sabha at Trivandrum.

Asthana Vidwan Semmangudi Srinivasa Aiyar presided.

The Dewan briefly referred to the life and work of Swati Tirunal, the royal composer, who composed songs in several tongues and dialects of India. Reviewing the development of Carnatic Music at the hands of Kshetragna, Tyagabrahmam, Dikshitar, Sama Sastri and Swati Tirunal, he answered in unambiguous affirmative the question, "Is classical music worth preserving?" However one might designate it, he said, "You must take it or leave it, taking it at its best and leaving it at its worst."

INDIA: A TENNIS MECCA

High compliments to India's leading tennis players were paid by Hal Surface, the well-known American tennis player, writing of 'Indian Tennis' in the annual number of *Sports and Screen*, Calcutta.

Surface who is holder of the East India Lawn Tennis Championship for the past two years and has met India's best players, considers Ghaus Mahomed to be 'the finest player in the country'. 'His back-hand is definitely one of the outstanding shots of the tennis world, ranking with Budge Kovacs and McNeill,' he adds. Hal Surface ranks the next nine players in the following order: (2) Iftikar Ahmad, (3) S. L. R. Sawhney, (4) Dilip Bose, (5) Sumant Misra, (6) Ishrad Hussain, (7) Man Mohan, (8) Prem Pandi, (9) Madan Mohan and (10) Vasant.

Surface says that India's tennis has made a very favourable impression on him. It was for him a great pleasure to arrive in India and find in it a 'tennis Mecca'. Some of the finest grass courts in the world are here in India.

Surface is of opinion that although the standard of tennis in India is not as high as in the U.S.A., 'it is apparent that it is coming on rapidly'. The climate of India is much more favourable for tennis than that of the U.S.A., as one is able to play the year round here.

WEIGHT LIFTING CONTEST

India beat Ceylon by 11 points to 5 in the second Indo-Ceylon weight lifting contest held at Calcutta last month. The results were:

Bantam Weight: Baid Anath Ghosh (India), first, 148, 151, 193—492 lbs.; R. Marshal Fernando (Ceylon), second, 143, 136, 193—472 lbs.; Feather Weight: Sankar Khan, (India), first, 146, 146, 194—486 lbs.; T. S. J. Packeer Ally (Ceylon), second, 130, 130, 181—441 lbs.; Light Weight: Shafiq Ahmed (India), first, 165, 178, 218—561 lbs.; Amilya Chakrabarti (India), second, 151, 175, 218,—544 lbs.

BASIC CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Moved by Dr. H. Gosh (Calcutta) and seconded by Dr. Hamid (Bombay), the Federation of Indian Chambers, which met at Delhi last month, passed a resolution deploring the indifferent attitude and failure of the Government of India in making a co-ordinated plan for starting and developing the basic chemical industry in the country both for defence purposes and for the healthy progress of the chemical, pharmaceutical and allied industries. The resolution urged the Government to constitute an advisory panel of manufacturers to find out ways and means of removing the grievances of the industry and initiate measures for a healthy and well-planned development of this essential industry.

GOLD FROM PYRITES

Researches carried out at the Chemical Department of the Indian Science Institute on extraction of sulphur from pyrites ore have revealed the existence of gold in pyrites. It has been found that one ton of pyrites yielded 1½ oz. of gold.

A method is claimed to have been evolved at the Institute for the extraction both of gold and sulphur from pyrites ore. The whole work is yet in a preliminary stage, and it will be some time before perfection is achieved.

NO WAR-MADE RAIN

The widespread belief that shells from cannon or heavy bombings on the battle-fronts cause heavy rainstorms is without basis, according to an American authority. Terrific as the forces let loose in a heavy barrage or bombing raid may seem, they are ineffective compared with the forces which control the weather. Mankind will be able to control the weather only when it can stop a mass of air of 190,000,000,000 tons from going its own way.

DISTANT STAR

The star nearest the earth, little Proxima Centauri, is 24,600,000,000 miles away. It would take a rocket travelling at a rate of more than 400 miles an hour 7,000,000 years to make the trip.

GOVERNMENT'S FILM "SHORTS"

Mr. H. C. Hassum, Public Relations Officer, Information Films of India, addressing a gathering of journalists, Film Editors and exhibitors, at Madras, pleaded for their co-operation to get the best use for the short films now produced by the Department of Information, Government of India.

Mr. Hassum stressed the educational value of these shorts, which, he said, covered, not only news and topical events, but a very extensive field of cultural, historical, economic, industrial and social subjects of great interest to the average Indian. He pointed out that these constituted the easiest and best India's messengers overseas and would command a better market abroad than feature pictures with pure Indian appeal produced with an eye to box office.

Production of "shorts" by this Department, Mr. Hassum said, was being stepped up rapidly. From 30 last year, it had increased to 68 this year. Every week one news reel and one "short" subject was produced; and it was up to the exhibitors and the public to take full advantage of them.

NARGIS—MEHBOOB'S "FIND"

The chief contribution of *Taqdeer* (Mehboob's new picture, which is attracting crowded houses), to the film industry, is that it introduces a new star in the film world—Nargis. Daughter of the famous songstress, Jaddanbai Nargis has a radiant, charming personality. Photographed as only Cameraman Faredoon Irani could photograph her and moulded by Mehboob, to whom we owe many star-discoveries like Surendra, Maya Bannerji and Shaikh Mukhtar, Nargis emerges in *Taqdeer* as a promising star, says *Forum*.

HOLLYWOOD AWARDS FOR 1943

The Academy of Motion Pictures, Arts and Sciences awards for 1943 are announced as under:—

Distinctive documentary achievement—"Desert Victory." The best film—"Casablanca." The best directing—by Michael Curtiz in "Casablanca." The best actor—Paul Lukas in "The Watch on the Rhine." The best actress—Jennifer Jones in "The Song of Bernadette."

FIVE WAYS OF SAVING FUEL

Petrol is brought to this country in tankers. The same tankers are also needed to bring fuel for the Navy, the Army and Air Force. The needs of the Fighting Services are rising and you can help to make sure that they are fully met by stopping all waste. Save shipping by making every drop go as far as possible.

You can do so by following these simple rules:—

1. Avoid spillage when filling up—use a funnel, if necessary.
2. Don't drive fast. Speeding wastes fuel.
3. Watch your stopping and starting—this is where most waste occurs. Roll up to a stop whenever you can. Do not compete with other drivers in getting away quickly after a stop—it is wasteful to open the throttle more than you need.
4. Switch off your engine whenever you can. Millions of gallons are wasted by drivers who keep the engine running when the vehicle is stationary.
5. If your fuel consumption seems too high, report it at once. Watch for and report anything likely to affect your fuel consumption, e.g., black exhaust smoke.

AN ELECTRIC MOTOR

The General Electric Company announces that its engineers have perfected an electric motor which operates at the record breaking speed of 120,000 revolutions per minute—65 times faster than the conventional electric motor. If the wheels on an automobile could be mounted on this machine, the car would move at a rate of 10,000 miles per hour. This is about 11 times faster than the speed of sound. Motors of this type will be used for grinding and drilling essential plane parts and won't be available for general use until after the war. The whole machine weighs no more than seven pounds and can be held in the hand. At present it produces three horse powers and is cooled by a half gallon of water per minute.

A NEW GIANT PLANE

A new all-purpose giant plane, which outshines the 70-ton Mars flying-boat, is going into service with the U.S. Navy. Known as Jim I it is designed to carry weights up to about 65 tons and can be converted instantly into a hospital, passenger or troop-carrying plane. Disclosing details of the new air giant, the Navy Department says that it is a production version of the Mars, but is even larger and more efficient than its prototype which is already serving in the Pacific. As a cargo plane it can carry seven jeeps or even greater numbers of fieldguns or aircraft engines. As a hospital plane, it can accommodate 80 stretcher cases and 25 reclining chairs and as a troop-carrier, 132 men. Differences from the Mars include one rudder instead of two, absence of shower baths and a loading opening large enough to let a jeep drive in.

EMPIRE AND AIR TRANSPORT

The British Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, in an article entitled "British Labour Looks Ahead" in the current issue of the *Liberty* magazine says that modern air transport will help the British Empire to become more tightly knit than ever before.

Mr. Morrison is of opinion that the British people "do not want to have on their conscience the irresponsible handling of partially developed peoples who have been entrusted to their care. Recently there has sprung up in Britain a strong new interest in bettering the conditions of our colonial people."

AUTOMATIC PILOT FOR PLANES

A recent invention now used by the U.S. air forces enables a pilot to set his plane on a straight course, then switch on a little mechanism that keeps the air ship on that course, compensating for any rolls, banks and turns that might be caused by oncoming winds or other air disturbances. The mechanism is called an "automatic pilot" and is controlled by a gyroscope.

The gyroscope, which consists of a fast spinning electrically driven wheel, mounted on a free floating axis, and which, due to its fast gyration, always maintains a horizontal position, also, helps the pilot avoid such mistakes as flying in circles or in strangely tilted positions.

THE EPIC OF TATA'S

John L. Keenan, who resigned General Managership of the Tata Steel Works seven years ago, describes in his book of reminiscences his association with the fabulous growth of the Indian-owned and Indian-operated great Tata Steel and Iron Company.

The author recalls how in 1903 British capitalists, refusing to invest money in the young firm, pledged to eat every pound of the steel rail produced by Tata and when 31 years later they visited Jamshedpur, they found "my appetite in old days must have been enormous."

Writing about late C. F. Andrews, the first President of the Steel Workers' Union, Mr. Keenan says:

He was one of the finest men I have ever known and an indefatigable friend of Labour. He did his best to get good men for local leaders and never hesitated to tell his Committee that they were growing up too slowly or, if men had real grievances, to persist until the management had swung around to his viewpoint. He saw that Tata's was more than an industry—that it was a national asset. He imbued men with the same spirit and turned them back into the crowd working for their own and for their country's good as much as for wages.

INDUSTRIAL STOPPAGES IN BRITISH INDIA

There were 694 stoppages during the year 1942 involving 7,72,653 workers as compared with 359 stoppages involving 2,91,054 workers during 1941. The total number of man-days lost was 57,79,965 as compared with 33,30,503 in the previous year. The figures for 1942 also contain statistics for stoppages due to political causes.

During the year there were 35 stoppages involving 5,000 or more workers and 3 involving more than 10,000 workers. There were 10 stoppages each resulting in a loss of man-days exceeding 100,000, of which 6 involved more than 10,000 workers each.

In 433 or 63 per cent. of the disputes the demands related mainly to wages or bonus. The number of stoppages in which the workers were wholly or partially successful was 286 or approximately 42 per cent. of the total number of stoppages which ended during the year.

IN AID OF AGRICULTURE

In the Central Assembly recently Mr. Govind Deshmukh moved a resolution recommending that, "as an anti-inflationary measure, a loan of Rs. 10 crores earmarked for purposes of subsidising agriculturists to grow more food and increase milk products be now floated."

Mr. Deshmukh referred to the food shortage in the country, and said as in other countries, subsidies should be given to agriculturists. The scheme of economic development suggested by Sir Purushothamdas Thakurdas and others was a long-range one and would not meet the immediate needs of the country. More food could not be grown merely by bringing more land under cultivation and with the meagre help which Government in this country had given to the agriculturists. Measures should be adopted to meet the shortage of labour in the farms and prevent it from drifting into more profitable employment such as military works.

The cattle wealth of the country, which was so essential for agriculture, was being depleted and effective steps should be taken to stop the slaughter of bullocks as well as prime cattle.

U.S. AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY FOR INDIA

Agricultural machinery from America valued at 1,107,000 dollars had been received in India under lend-lease up to the end of October, 1943, the Supply Member, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, indicated in reply to a question in the Central Assembly recently.

Agricultural machinery worth 1,042,000 dollars had been distributed to military centres like Government dairy farms. The balance worth 65,000 dollars would be distributed to essential users through stockist agents.

RICE CULTIVATION

The total area under rice in India in 1943-44 is placed at 76,075,000 acres by the All-India Second Rice Forecast for the period. This compares with the revised acreage of 75,519,000 in 1942-43 and shows an increase of 6 per cent. The condition of the crop is reported to be good on the whole.

STANDARDISATION OF WAGES

Questions relating to the standardisation of the occupational terms and wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers in India will be examined by four Committees consisting of the Chairman, National Service Labour Tribunal, officers of the Technical Training Scheme and representatives of employers and employees, which are being set up immediately in Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and the U.P.

The Committees will be provided with a provisional list of occupational terms in respect of the engineering trades. To cover the question of wages of skilled and semi-skilled personnel, the Committees will examine and report on statistics of wages and methods of wage fixation, the extent to which standard basic rates can be fixed, and the possibility of introducing a measure of standardisation in respect of overtime, night work bonuses, such as annual bonus, production bonus and other forms of remuneration supplementing the basic rate.

BENGAL LABOUR SURVEY COMMITTEE

In pursuance of the Central Government's scheme for co-ordinating the use of unskilled labour throughout the country, the Government of Bengal have set up a committee with Mr. K. Shahabuddin, Minister for Labour, Commerce and Industries, as Chairman.

The committee consists of 17 members representing the Government, military authorities and various trade and commercial interests. Mr. A. Talib, lately Deputy Labour Commissioner, Bengal, is the Secretary.

LABOUR WELFARE IN MADRAS

The Taxation and Finance Committee of the City Council, Madras, while considering the budget estimates for 1944-45, sanctioned non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 5,000 for labour welfare work among Corporation workers, and also recommended to the City Council to appoint an *ad hoc* Committee to make recommendations in the matter.

The Committee also recommended that the Government be asked to give the Corporation a free grant of Rs. 6 lakhs to grant its employees in all grades, a dearness allowance on the scale sanctioned by the Government for their employees.

INCREASES IN ARMY PAY

General Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief, intervening in the general discussion on the budget, announced that the Government have decided to further increase the pay of a number of classes of Indian soldiers.

The Commander-in-Chief said:

"Hon'ble members will recollect that the last considerable improvement in the pay of the Indian soldier was made in September, 1942. That was the third increase since the outbreak of the present war and was estimated to cost about Rs. 53 crores a year. The important changes then introduced included:

(1) An increase by Rs. 2 of the basic pay of all Indian other ranks and of enrolled non-combatants;

(2) The grant of proficiency pay at Re. 1 a month after six months' service and at Rs. 3-3 a month after 12 months' service (previously proficiency pay was Re. 1 a month only and was payable after one year's service);

(3) An increase in messing allowance from Rs. 2 to 3 a month.

Government have now decided to increase still further the emoluments of the non-tradesmen classes of other Indian ranks which comprise approximately 80 per cent. of the total strength. Under this decision, combatant ranks in the non-tradesmen class of all arms will, with effect from 1st January, 1944, receive a special proficiency pay over and above the proficiency pay settled in September, 1942.

INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS

The Indian Council of World Affairs was constituted in Delhi, on March 5, at a meeting held under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was elected President and Mrs. Vijaya-lakshmi Pandit, Sir Maurice Gwyer, Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, Sir A. R. Dalal, Mr. G. D. Birla, Pandit H. N. Kunzru and Sir Ziauddin Ahmed were elected Vice-Presidents. Mr. N. R. Sarkar was elected Treasurer.

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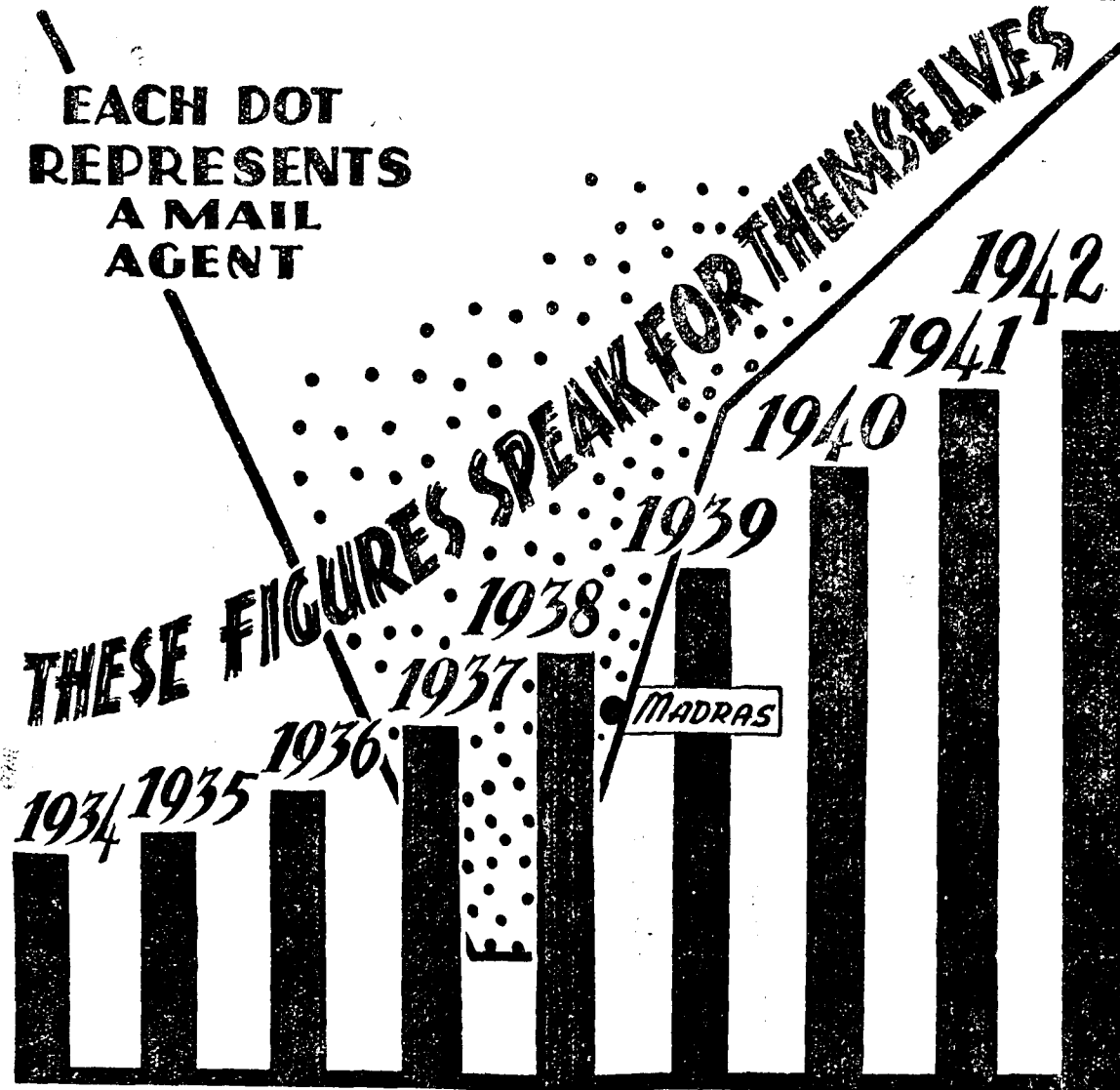
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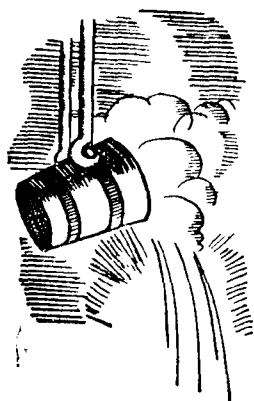
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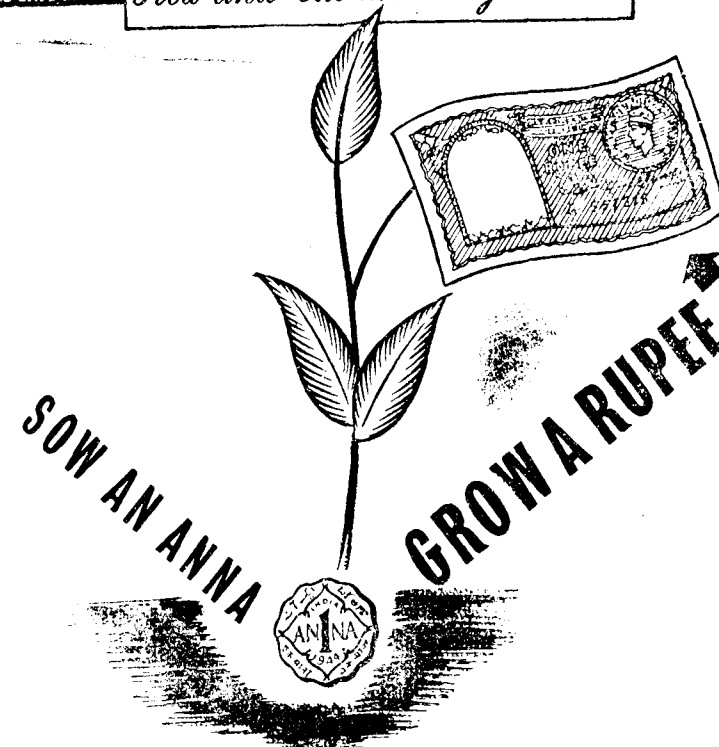
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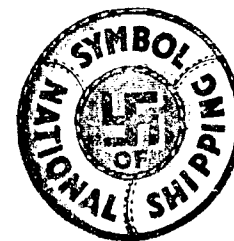
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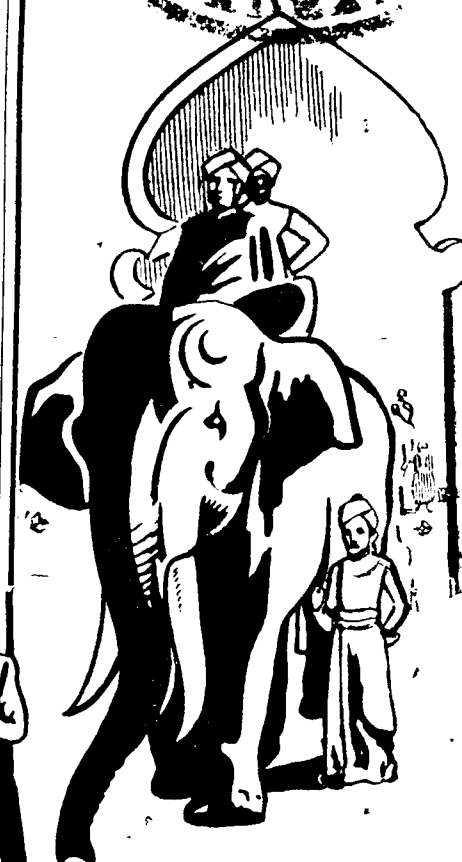
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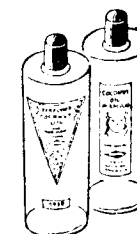
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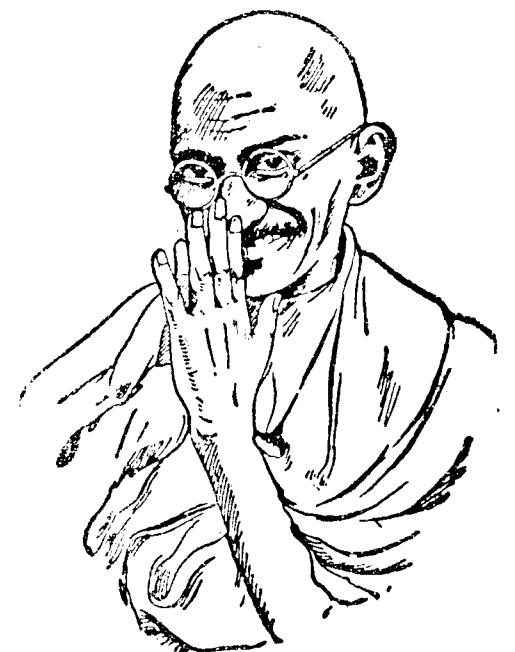
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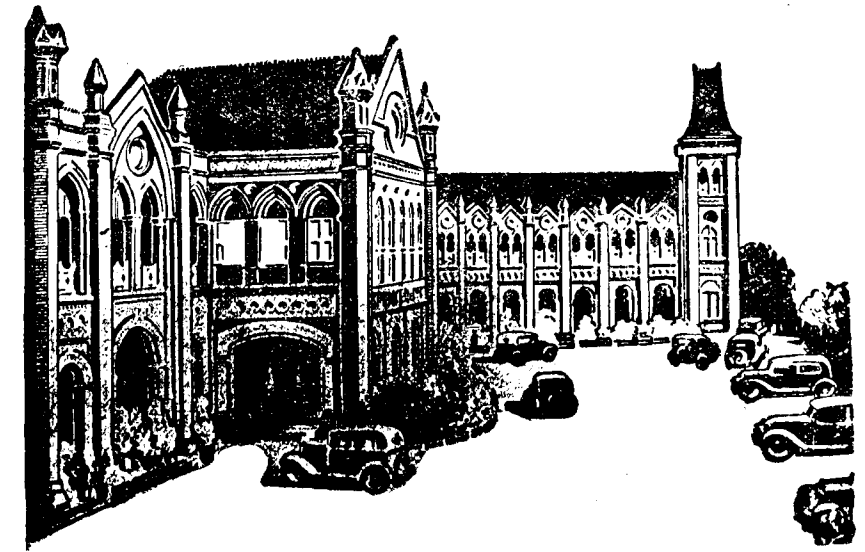
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Vol. 45.]

MAY 1944

[No. 5.

WAR FINANCE IN INDIA

BY DR. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

DURING the whole period of the war, and more than ever in recent months when the great efforts made by the Allies and especially by Russia seem to usher in hopes of speedy peace and reconstruction, a large number of speeches, pamphlets and books have been produced dealing with Post-war Planning. Also, as is well known, the Government of India have appointed committees to deal with the details of such reconstruction and also brought into existence co-ordinating bodies designed to reconcile competing claims and to evolve a harmonious plan of action. Naturally each thinker or writer is influenced in his programmes and recommendations by his own individual training and outlook.

On the 12th April, 1943, a number of eminent economists, headed by Professor V. J. Kale, issued a manifesto dealing with the rapid rise in the general price level and with currency problems. They noted that the unprecedented expansion of currency was due to the system adopted under which the Government of India accepted payment in sterling and provided rupees in exchange. In regard to these purchases, India acquires sterling assets in London and against these, currency is expanded in India. They took the view that the Government here should not think that their duty is fulfilled by taking care

of their own budget deficit while meeting the needs of the British Government by issuing more notes. On the basis that the inflationary gap in India's finances counting in what is made on behalf of His Majesty's Government is now filled by the creation of more currency, they attack this type of inflation and have pointed out that the Government cannot calculate too much on the public's present liquidity preference. Opinion has been general in this country that the present inflation in practice involves a transfer of wealth from the poorer and the middle classes to the richer classes. Opinion is also widespread that the gap referred to above should be closed by taxation and borrowing adjusted to the shoulders that can best bear them. The present incidence of taxation in India is obviously lopsided and there is no doubt that agricultural income-tax, exempting or dealing lightly with smaller incomes and steeply increasing as the net incomes increase, must be resorted to sooner or later. It may be remembered that partly by way of dealing with local economic problems and partly also with the above considerations in mind, the Travancore Government have already introduced a system of agricultural income-tax whose workings will be watched with interest. Opinion is also crystallising in the direction of fixing a maximum limit to individual

Come, oh, come,
ye tea-thirsty,
restless ones,
The kettle boils, bubbles
and sings musically.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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consumption income and of absorbing all profits above a limit either by means of taxation or by loan contributions.

The economists' manifesto also very wisely deals with the problem of regulating purchasing power by means of centralised supervision and direction of production, of rationing the necessities of life and of adopting a blanket control of prices.

Professor Vakil, the well-known University Professor of Economics in Bombay, in his brochure on the *Financial Burden of the War on India* has made a very useful contribution to these topics and although he has perhaps over-stressed some of his points, many considerations which he has strongly emphasised cannot be ignored. He has rightly stated that in actual financial practice, no clear distinction is made, as it should be, whether a particular military decision or measure is for the defence of India proper or for that of the Empire. To say so, however, does not mean that we can lose sight of the geographical position of India and the argument that a great deal of Empire Defence also helps materially in the defence of India; but this argument can be utilised both ways. The criticism of the author that it is wrong to send large numbers of Indian forces overseas at the same time bringing into India a large number of non-Indian troops, does not perhaps take into account the wide strategic and political significance of the employment of Indian troops abroad; but there is no doubt that the cost of the non-Indian troops for which India pays is much greater than that of the Indian troops sent abroad and who are paid by His Majesty's Government. This matter has to be looked into carefully and the differences adjusted.

The author takes the line that the reciprocity agreement with the United States in relation to the Lease-Lend supplies received from the U.S.A. are not genuine Indian needs. His argument is that American troops have been sent to India not so much for the exclusive defence of India as because India is the main base for action against the Japanese. The upholding of American prestige which has suffered a set-back in the recent past and the re-conquest of Burma, Malaya and the Pacific Islands demand an effective base in India. He concludes therefrom that America is not justified in accepting a Lease-Lend return from India. The author also makes a strong point of the circumstance that the debt of the East India Company incurred for the conquest of India was turned into the public debt of India and that the interest on the East India Stock and payment of part of the principal were debited to India.

Professor Vakil writing in July, 1943, computes the total additional taxation since the commencement of the war to be in the neighbourhood of 250 crores making allowances for the arrears of excess profits tax, the additional rupee debt incurred during the period being about 545 crores. These calculations do not include the rupee finance provided by the Government of India which are not in the budget and the author has estimated the sterling payments made by His Majesty's Government at about 850 crores, being amount of sterling received by the Government of India from His Majesty's Government in return for rupee expenditure incurred in India on their behalf. It is the case of Professor Vakil that this is the main cause of inflation in India. Against this must be offset the advantage to India of the repatriation of sterling debt

by reason of which we are no longer obliged to send sterling remittances to the United Kingdom in the payment of interest. Even though there may be disagreement on certain of the steps in the above argument, there can be little controversy on one matter, namely, that to prevent the fall in the value of the rupee by reason of inflation His Majesty's Government would be well advised to raise rupee loans in India. In any case, the Government of India should limit the provision of rupee finance to the United Kingdom within the amounts that they can obtain by means of taxes and loans.

There is a large and growing volume of opinion that a programme of increase in production will be fruitful only if the currency situation is adequately dealt with as it is very doubtful if our production can be increased to a sufficiently large extent to justify the growing volume of currency.

We are indebted to Professor Vakil for drawing pointed attention to the difference between anti-inflation and deflation. The former, he describes, as preventing the growth of inflation, the latter being the opposite process of withdrawal of currency from circulation. A reduction in price level brought about by preventing speculation is, according to Professor Vakil, not deflationary and is not likely by itself to be completely effective.

Since the pamphlet under review appeared, further developments have taken place. There is a lively controversy now proceeding with regard to the character of India's sterling balances in London. We have heard of proposals to fund the sterling debts for purposes of fostering British export trade to India. One of the latest proposals is the reported

decision to fund the family pension and provident fund to the extent of 150 million pounds and to create a Post-war Reconstruction Fund. True it is that after the war India may have to buy capital goods and other equipment on a large scale, but it is perfectly clear that India should not be prevented from buying at the cheapest rates from the best markets in the world and it is open to grave question whether such a procedure will be possible if our sterling credits are subject to a wholesale funding arrangement. It is quite legitimate to argue that dollar securities have also to be conserved for the benefit of India in view to the future industrial and economic programmes of India. At the time when Professor Vakil was writing, there was not even a wholehearted recognition on all sides of the menace of inflation and even those who castigated public men in India for issuing a warning about the growth of inflation, now advertise methods and programmes for eliminating inflation.

Professor Vakil in his earlier treatise on the "Falling Rupee" was one of the first to demand strong measures for maintaining price levels and for ensuring a minimum quantum of consumer and other essential goods for the people. His warnings are now seen to be justified and Professor Vakil can be congratulated for again wielding a vigorous pen to elucidate certain difficult and technical problems which, however seemingly recondite and remote, are bound up with the economic future of India.

Side by side with this treatise, attention has to be focussed on other contributions to cognate topics, including a brochure by that indefatigable and constructive thinker, Sir M. Visvesvaraya. In his "Prosperity

through Industry" prepared in consultation with the All-India Manufacturers' Association, he has issued an appeal to promote the gainful activities of the average citizens. His programme is on the basis of the active encouragement of heavy industries and he emphasises that scientific progress and industrial organisations are the foundations on which the structure of our social life must rest.

The recent plan for the economic development of India produced by the Bombay Industrialists is all-round and comprehensive and deals with the requirements of a minimum standard and sets out the stages of India's necessary development. Special attention is paid to basic industries and it is emphasised that on these industries, such as the manufacture of chemicals and machinery, rest the whole economic life of the country. But they are careful enough not to lay over emphasis on heavy industries at the cost of the production of consumers' goods. They have for their estimate an aggregate expenditure of 10,000 crores of rupees for a five-year plan dealing with agriculture, industries, communications, education, health, housing, etc.

Sir Tracy Gavin-Jones of Cawnpore, on the other hand, has in his booklet entitled "The Musings of an Industrialist on the Economic Future of India" stresses that Government should concentrate their attention and resources on agricultural development. He does not lay as much emphasis on immediate industrial progress as on agricultural rehabilitation and social organisation.

Mr. Gadgil and Mr. Sorani of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, proceeding on the same lines as Professor Vakil, lay the utmost emphasis on a Central Constructive Economic Committee

for evolving a co-ordinated financial and economic plan. Propaganda and volunteer effort will never, by themselves, suffice effectively to deal with production, price and distribution. So far, it must be confessed that financial and economic policy has not been fully or even largely co-ordinated. It may be noted that there is general agreement as to the drastic steps that may be necessary to check inflation. The extent of liquid fund in the market and the trends in prices, the speculation in commodities, are all symptoms of a serious malady and are threatening the extinction of the middle classes and tending towards the accumulation of profits in the hands of a very small minority. The net result of all the thinking that has been bestowed on the subject of the economic and financial policy of the country is that in the future and for as long as we can foresee, economic planning and the continued and close regulation, economic and financial programmes by the State have come to stay.

This tendency is evident all over the world and is equally evident whether we concentrate attention on Mr. Morgenthau's circular or on the English proposal as to bancor. The State as the main regulator of economic and financial policy uninfluenced by the demands of the short-sighted, of specific classes or communities, is and must be an inescapable factor. Of all the monetary schemes that have been put before the world, the Canadian Scheme seems to be the best suited for the conditions of India as it is founded on the principle that extension of credit should be by means of international organisation, which, however, should pay heed to the temporary as well as permanent needs of the co-operating units. In India's present and likely

monetary position with its need for announcing and carrying out a long-term policy of agriculture and industrial expansion and the raising of wage levels and employment, it is incumbent upon every one to bestow his full attention on questions of economic and financial policy for the purpose of forming and consolidating effective public opinion. Such opinion

should systematically influence India and England so that India's future may be fashioned with definite advertence to her interests and for the purpose of equalising not only in theory but in practice her financial position with that of other leading countries and thereby fitting her to play a worthy part in the inter-dependent world-polity of the future.

CAMBRIDGE AT WAR

BY SIR HUBERT SAMS, KT.

AT first sight Cambridge at war seems very much like Cambridge at peace. In Term the University Lecture rooms are still full of gowned undergraduates and between lectures the streets are replete with young men and women careering along light-heartedly on bicycles. Masters and Fellows in cap and gown 'proceed' as sedately as before. Headed by the Serjeant-at-Mace, the Mayor in fur and scarlet, the Aldermen in scarlet, the Councillors in black, go in solemn procession from the Guildhall to Church. The University Sermon is preached. On Sundays the air is filled with peals from the bellfries of Churches and College Chapels. Plays and Ballets are staged at the Theatre. On Saturdays the Market Place and streets are thronged by farmers and farmers' wives marketing busily for the week. Cambridge, in fact, carries on in spite of the War and insists on adhering to her ancient customs and ceremonies, her University and her Civic life. Whatever the present contains or the future may hold, she refuses to break with the past.

But over the hard core of tradition, the War has thrown its own net of camouflage. The wide open gates and

doors of pre-war times now bear repellent notices forbidding admittance. In 1939, when fifth columnists were feared, these notices were strictly interpreted. Now, in 1944, they say rather more than they mean. Many College windows are blocked by sand-bags. Priceless Chapel glass has been removed to safety. College Courts, formerly bright and cheerful at night, are now as pitch black as the streets. Dons and undergraduates go about their work wearing the battle dress of the Home Guard as often as the more academic cap and gown. Incidentally, the wearing of the cap (or College square) is no longer enforced; for a cap is not easy to come by. Also, both Dons and undergraduates are more and more taking to corduroy trousers which are warmer and last longer than mere cloth "bags". Masters and Fellows of Colleges, who used to drive or be driven in cars, now pedal along humbly on push-bikes. Half of the undergraduates are "Short Course" men, sent to the University by various Ministries. Sometimes they are in civilian clothes and University gown, at others in the uniforms of their branches of the Forces, the battle dress of the Army, the

blue-grey of the Air Force and the dark-blue and deep collar of the lower ratings of the Navy. And so, at Hall dinner as much uniform as academic dress can be seen. More than half the Fellows of any College are away on National Service and double-duty falls on those who remain.

Gone as a pleasant dream are the College Feasts and frequent hospitality between Fellows of one College and Fellows of another College. The College cellars are depleted. Every fortnight the Colleges put up in twos and threes visiting officers and men from the U.S.A. or Dominions Forces for Monday-to-Friday Courses, on 'Cambridge', 'Shakespeare', 'Homer', 'the British Commonwealth', 'India', etc., etc.: a visit is made to Ely Cathedral. When not listening or sight-seeing, our visitors live intimately in the Colleges, use our Combination Rooms, dine at our High Tables and discover that the average College Don is more human and less stuffy than our visitors had supposed.

Not so many Indians are to be seen in the University as in pre-war days. Owing perhaps to difficulties of shipping, the yearly intake has almost ceased. Most of the Indians, who were 'up' in 1939, have taken their Degrees, bade their farewells and gone on to National Service appointments or to other jobs.

Not only the surface of the University, but the aspect of the Town is changed. Many of the shops are closed for want of stock. There are occasional queues mostly for cakes and buns, and for cat and dog food for their pets. "No Saccharine", "No Batteries", "No Repairs", "No Wine or Spirits", "No Fish", seem to be everywhere. The streets are full of men and women of our own or other Forces,

the women, as often as not, in slacks. Women conduct the buses, collect the railway tickets, deliver and gather the post, carry luggage, work in the gardens or on the farms; and thrice fortunate is the house or flat which has a woman working as a domestic.

When the War is a nightmare of the past, it will amuse us to remember these things.

And now, when hope is in sight, the University and Colleges are planning for the future. As soon as the War with Germany is over, her sons will stream back to Cambridge from the Army, Navy and Air Force and from National Service to pick up the broken threads of their interrupted terms. There will, we think, be an influx of fresh men as the result of Mr. Butler's Education Bill, soon to become an Act of Parliament, and of the great expansion in engineering and research, of which so much is being said and written. So, Alma Mater has to scratch her hoary head and think in advance how to house, feed and teach her large family. She has too much sense of responsibility to adopt the rough and ready methods of the 'Old Woman who lived in a Shoe'.

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*, G. T., Madras.

FROM TRUSTEESHIP TO PARTNERSHIP

BY MR. G. A. CHANDAVARKAR, M.A.

IN spite of the fact that Sanskrit has been given, along with some other classical languages, the appellation of a 'dead language', its literature has some socio-political maxims that possess considerable interpretative value even after a lapse of two thousand years. Not unoften its 'live ideals' embodied in the Sutras, Shlokas and hymns thrill the imagination and kindle the aspirations of sympathetic readers even to this day. To evaluate them in terms of the postulates of modern thought needs no great stretch of imagination. Although there has been a great change in the social and political conditions now, the fundamentals throughout the history of man's thought have remained the same and some of the maxims of old have a message of their own for our times also. For such a purpose, let us select two such aphorisms from ancient Sanskrit literature and see to what extent their import can be made applicable to modern conditions.

It is a well-known fact that in the history of the evolution of the early Indo-Aryan race, a time there was when the patriarchal system was in vogue. The father was the head of the family and in his own sphere his word was law. But as society advanced, a time must have arrived when the problem of adjusting the relations between the father and his sons must have pressed itself for solution. Consequently, a law had to be laid down as to how a father should regulate his relations with his children, whether as a benevolent autocrat or a malevolent tyrant. That law has been explicitly stated in the following Shloka:—
Pancha Varhsanee Lalayeta, Dashavarshani Tadayeta, Shodashe Varshe Prapte tu Putram Mitravad Acharata.

It means that for the first five years a child should be brought up in an atmosphere of affection, the next ten years he should be kept under strict discipline and after he attains the age of sixteen or majority, he must be treated as a friend or as an equal. It will thus be seen that as far as the relations between a father and son are concerned, three stages have been definitely noted. (1) Kind treatment, (2) enforcement of discipline as a preparation for the battle of life and (3) granting of the equal status. In other words, in due course the relationship has to be changed from trusteeship to partnership and equal status. The question of a life-long subordination or of perpetual subserviency has to be set aside. The father of his own accord surrenders his rights to his son, who, therefore, need not and should not be a rebel. That is exactly the ideal of the third stage of *Vana-Prastha*, when he has to readily part with his old power. On a wider scale, the principles embodied in this Shloka hold good in the case of a king who also occupies the position of a father to his people. Even when he conquers a country he is enjoined to treat the conquered king as his equal or *Mitra* as was exemplified in the case of Beebhishana, Ugrasena or Porus who were all treated generously by Shree Rama, Shree Krishna and Alexander. In modern times the European races that have brought the Asiatic or African races within the orbit of their 'sphere of influence' or under mandated territories lay claim to such a treatment. In the history of the Anglo-Indian relations also a similar claim is set up. Lord Halifax in one of his

illuminating articles contributed to the October issue of the *National Geographic Magazine* (1943, Washington), pertinently remarks:

British policy in India was crystallised in four main purposes. The first was to give security. The second was to give unity. The third was to raise her general, social and economic level. And the fourth and the last was to develop her political life. We have always believed that with the accomplishment of these purposes, our work in India would be done.

Weighty words indeed! From Lord Macaulay to Lord Halifax many English statesmen have been visualising the advent of that 'proudest day' when equal status would be given to India. From the beginning of the nineteenth century to the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps similar sentiments regarding the Indian policy have been echoed and re-echoed by many British political thinkers. By now it can safely be asserted that the three stages referred to by Lord Halifax have been fairly well passed through and the last stage too has been reached. Only it seems that the law of the 'inevitability of gradualness' has been operating and its effects are unpleasant to those that feel instinctively the urge for freedom.

The path leading to the goal of freedom is not without its pitfalls. They may be of pride and prejudice or inordinate love of power and prestige. At present it is pointed out that a 'united and agreed demand' from all the parties in India is not forthcoming and until that happens, nothing can be done. Everything will have to be 'in cold storage.' When disputes arise among the subjects, Kautilya, the famous prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya, suggests in his *Artha-Shastra* (321-300 B.C.) a course which deserves consideration even now. When there is disagreement among the subjects, he says that the king should show his paternalism in three ways. He has first

of all to make use of *Vyavahara*—witnesses in a conference—and discuss with them the point at issue. Then the next step he should adopt is to resort to *Charitra*—time honoured customs and traditions. Lastly, he should issue his own *Rajashasana*—royal adjudication giving his final judgment which should be binding on all the parties. In India now a similar situation has arisen. The British Government holds that unless all the parties submit an agreed scheme, nothing can be done substantially to accelerate the progress of the grant of Dominion Status or Self-Government of any type. On the other side, the parties themselves are equally persistent in putting forward their own theories, be they of Pakistan, *Akhanda Hindustan* or *Purna-Swarajya*. When fundamentals themselves are so divergent, it is idle to expect that they would come to any agreement. To cut the gordian knot the Government may at once proceed to consider the plan of *Kautilya*. As per his *Vyavahara* and *Charitra* the Government should call for a Round Table Conference of all the parties in India and after hearing all their views should forthwith issue their own proclamation as its Royal *Shasana*. There need be no waiting for any further move on the part of the parties. The *Shasana* shall have to be accepted by all. The Communal Award of 1931 and even the Reform Act of 1935 are necessarily forms of such royal adjudication. When a judge gives his judgment, both the plaintiff and the defendant have to accept and abide by it. The point is that the Government should take the initiative and facilitate the solution of the deadlock. Queen Victoria's Royal Proclamation of 1858 acted then as a charm. Now also a proclamation stating

that the Dominion Status has been awarded will at once pour oil on troubled waters. Kautilya held that the *Rajashasana* is the result of royal paternalism.

In a speech recently delivered by Lord Halifax, he observes: "We have sown in the people seeds of Self-Government and have encouraged nationalism in India from which has grown the demands for independence". Why should the rulers with such good intentions deny themselves the pleasure of making the Indians eat the fruit of that unforbidden tree? Mr. J. Coatman in his thought-provoking

book *Magna Britannia* labours hard to prove that the foundations of the British Empire are more philosophic than economic or even historic and that the British Commonwealth of Nations is essentially a moral conception. Reconciliation of the people is a necessary phase of that conception. A strong and contented India is a tower of strength to the expanding British Commonwealth both in times of war and peace. Will not therefore *Rajashasana*—royal adjudication—cement the bonds more firmly and permanently?

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SANKARA

BY MR. K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., P.L.

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THE great Shankaracharya, known even in his own day with the honorific appellation of 'Bhagavatpada' is one of the greatest philosophers and spiritual teachers of mankind that the world has produced. He has made a profound and lasting contribution to the world's philosophic and religious thought. His inspiration and influence have been very great and abiding in his own country and have also been felt in a very marked degree in the West. I remember in the tenth session of the All-India Philosophical Congress in 1934, presided over by Dr. Mackenzie, the eminent philosophers, Eastern and Western, assembled there, voted unanimously with great enthusiasm for a portrait of Shankara as one of the great philosophers of the world. Scholars differ greatly as regards the age in which he lived, the dates

ranging from the second or third century B.C. to the 8th or 9th century A.D. and it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion upon the evidence at present available. But one thing can, with certainty, be stated from the impressions gathered from the internal evidence in his works and from the traditional accounts of his life and achievements, that he was born during a very distracted and unsettled period in the history of Indian thought and culture. He, most probably, should have lived at a time when the pristine ethical purity and all-pervading influence of Buddhism in India was rapidly on the decline and, as a result, there was great chaos and confusion. Innumerable cults and sects arose and divided the minds of men. Corrupt practices and crude superstitions masqueraded in the name of religion and attracted many followers. Tradition records that there were seventy-two cults

* Foreword to *Sankara's Select Works*. Price Re. 1-4. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., George Town, Madras.

and sects during Shankara's period, besmirching the fair name of India's ancient noble religion and culture. It was Shri Shankaracharya's marvellous hurricane campaign from Kashmir and Nepal in the North to Cape Comorin in the South—a campaign not of the sword, spelling ruin and destruction, but of intellectual conquest, peaceful persuasion, and loving propaganda that led to the victorious establishment of the unity and purity of enlightened Hindu thought and culture and the banishment of many superstitions, and corrupt practices and rites. He based his doctrines upon the fundamental truths experienced by the immortal seers of our race. The Kapalika, the Shakta and others like them fell before the sledge-hammer blows of his irresistible logic and were absorbed into one fold by his overflowing kindness and his universal tolerance. The ancient well-known six systems of Hindu theism known as the six samayas re-emerged, purged of all excrescences which crept into them during this dark age. Hence it is, that tradition refers to Shri Shankaracharya as 'the establisher of the 'shanmathas'. Wherever we may go in India, whether to Bhadrinath and Amarnath on the snow-clad uplands of the Himalayas or to Kanyakumari and Trichendur in the extreme south of India, we see still to-day enduring evidences of his enlightened reforming zeal and spiritual inspiration. He devoted a great part of his energy to the composition of beautiful stotras, in praise of the supreme deities of the six samayas for popular use in our daily prayers and they form a vital part of the Shankara's works that we have now got. In these poems, we can enjoy his many-sided personality as the devout adherent of everyone of these samayas

from his standpoint of the unified and comprehensive conception of them. Without the slightest tinge of partiality or preference, he has adapted the stotras to the spirit and technique of the various modes of worship of these six samayas. He is at once, an ardent devotee of Shiva in the Sivanandalahari, a pious worshipper of Vishnu in the Vishnu Padadikesanta stotras, a humble servant of Parasakthi in the Soundarya Lahari and a devoted follower of Skanda and Ganapathi in the poems in their praise. His stotras breathe an intense religious fervour and infuse the ecstasy and pathos of Bhakti and, what is rare, are suffused with the spirit of tolerance for the different angles of vision of the earnest seeker for the Godhead. We see in them not the intellectual aristocrat or the disputing scholiast or the thundering reformer but the devoted supplicant at the feet of the Lord who, in his infinite wisdom, takes many forms suited to the varied mental equipment and differing tastes of his devotees. We find him therein denouncing in strong terms the dissipation of the intellect, energy, and effort of man in the acquisition of book-learning and in fruitless logic-chopping disputation. He proclaims boldly the unpalatable truth "Nahi Nahi Rakshathi Dukring Karane" and "Vritha Kantakshobham Vahasi Tarka Vachasa". To him, religion is realisation, not learning or dialectic.

With the aid of his wonderful spiritual insight, his gigantic intellect, his intuitive genius, his profound and all-comprehensive learning and his subtle penetrating logic, he constructed the many-mansioned edifice of Vedanta and rested it on everlasting foundations. Though the great Badarayana and Gaudapada preceded him in evolving

the Vedantic thought, it was Shri Shankara that established the Vedanta as the prince among the darsanas of Indian philosophy. Through his marvellous Bhashya on the Brahma sutras and his lucid and masterly exposition of the meaning of the Upanishads and his clear and forcible commentary on the Gita and through his simple and easy enunciation of Vedantic doctrines in his prakaranas, he formulated and popularised the truths of the Vedanta and brought them home to the millions of his countrymen. He travelled ceaselessly throughout the length and breadth of India in an age when travelling was by no means easy or quick and even walked long distances barefooted and clad in the yellow robes of renunciation and spread his enlightened thought to all the masses. In his all too short life, he worked incessantly for the uplift and spiritual welfare of his countrymen and devoted all his energy to the service of humanity. His loving disciple, Padmapada, bears eloquent testimony in his Panchapadika to the fame and popularity of his great Acharya and to his wholesale dedication of his life for the sake of Lokanugraha and describes in beautiful verse how people flocked to him from all quarters to hear the mellifluous flow of wisdom from his lips.

Though some of his important doctrines and conclusions are challenged by the other schools of Indian Philosophy, the main underlying currents of thought which distinguish the Vedanta as the foremost and distinct darsana have been recognised by them all. It is, indeed, profitable at the present day to emphasise this vital aspect of Shri Shankara's work as a philosopher, as we are apt to lose sight of it in the maze of polemical literature that has grown since his day between the three great schools of

Vedanta Philosophy which has only brought to the fore the keen differences among them. The doctrine of the self-evident validity of the Sruti Pramana, and the consequential principle of the supreme authority of the Prasthan Trayas (Upanishad, Brahma sutras and Gita), the doctrine of an ever-existent, unchanging Atma, the acceptance of Iswara as the first cause of the Universe as established by the sruti and not merely by anumana or inference and the theory of Ananda or positive happiness in Moksha as contrasted with the negative view of dukha nivritti of the naiyayika, vaiseshika, sankhya, patanjala and prabhakara schools of Indian Philosophy and the self-luminosity and the sentient blissful nature of Jiva and its characteristic of doer and enjoyer—these and many more are common to all the three schools of Vedanta Philosophy. All these owe their clear elucidation to the genius and masterful exposition of this great world-teacher. Even the great doctrine of Maya, always associated with his name, has been misunderstood as importing the theory of illusion and he has been sometimes denounced as a Crypto-Buddhist (Pracchanna Bauddha). But it is well to remember that Shankara strongly refutes the sunya vada of Buddhist Philosophy, that nothing exists, neither matter nor mind, as well as the Kshanika Vada, that nothing exists for more moments than one and the Vignavada or the theory of subjectivism, the denial of the externality of the world to the thinking subject. The practical utility of the Maya doctrine in its bearing upon life consists in its efficacy for developing the spirit of unity by realizing that differences are unreal. In fact, of the three kinds of Bheda, namely, Sajatiya, Vijatiya and Svagata Bheda into

which all differences in the world can be classified, Shankara would reject all the three as untrue, while Ramanuja would discard the first two and Madhva would refute the first.

Above all, the great service done by Shankara is his method of approach in the discussion and solution of the problems of philosophy. He laid stress on anubhava or integral experience, as the final test of the truth or correctness of any solution and on the acceptance of sruti as the record of the religious experience of the immortal seers of our race. He would not pin his faith on the validity of the conclusions of the finite logical intellect of man. He would often denounce the 'Sugata Samaya' (Buddhist Philosophy) for following the method of implicitly accepting the dictates of one's own intellect as the ultimate truth. He believed in flawless reasoning as conducive to the proper interpretation of sruti and of anubhava and accepted the rigorous standards of logic in the elucidation of spiritual truths. He maintained a scrupulous intellectual honesty and rested his conclusions upon well-known and authentic scriptural authority and on accurate quotations therefrom. In the enunciation of his doctrines and in his refutations of the theories of other darsanas he exhibited a calm, sober, reasonable and just attitude and as Sir Radhakrishnan says 'he destroyed many an old dogma not by violently attacking it but by quietly suggesting something more reasonable which was at the same time more spiritual too'. He rarely criticised without mastering fully their intricacies, details and technique the other systems of philosophy and seldom indulged in vituperative language or in attributing motives to his opponents. In one place in his writings where he

exhibited an unusual warmth in criticising the theory of the Tarkika, he gently apologises for this lapse by stating that he did not indulge in criticism for its own sake but for the sake of the pursuit and discovery of truth. He was master of an wonderful style and even those who criticised strongly his views admired the power, lucidity, terseness, suggestiveness and beauty of his prose. In his own school of Advaita Vedanta he held a unique place and unlike the case of the other darsanas, his doctrines and theories have been followed with respect and admiration, but never departed from, by any of the brilliant galaxy of Advaita teachers and writers that have succeeded him till the present day.

In him, we have the unique combination of the saint and the ascetic, the scholar and the poet, the philosopher, religious reformer, and man of action. It is refreshing to read the beautiful account of his intense love and devotion to his mother in striking contrast to his cold asceticism. In spite of the many centuries that have elapsed since his passing away, his great inspiration and tradition have been kept fully alive even to-day through the influence of the great mutts he established for the spiritual welfare of succeeding generations of his countrymen and by the illustrious succession of disciples who have adorned the headship of these mutts and shed their spiritual lustre upon their fellowmen.

He taught mankind to love truth, respect reason, practise tolerance and realize the purpose of life. None can deny his rightful place among the immortals of the world.

THE JESTER IN OLD INDIAN DRAMA

BY KAMALA SATTIANATHAN

LIKE the salt in food is the Jester to all drama, the intriguing centre, the inevitable and the indispensable flavour of it. Indian drama is no exception to this rule and Indian drama at that from almost the earliest ages. It is true that the Jester was not found in the Epics; but that only tells us that either the epic did not recognise the existence of drama as it was then, or that the Jester, being at the basis of comedy rather than tragedy, was not thought suited to epic poetry. The omission of the Jester from literary dramas was a very evident fact, but that was because these were not meant to be acted. That he existed in ancient Vedic literature is often argued. As a matter of fact, he is supposed to have originated from the primitive *Mahavratha* rite, in which a black *Sudra* was worsted in fight by a white *Vaisya*, the former representing darkness or winter and the latter the sunlight or summer. He can be compared to the *Harlequin* of European literature, who was originally supposed to represent the devil, and was at first connected with religious ceremonies. Thus, the Jester, though a figure of popular humour, must have had his source, not in secular, but in religious drama; and it can be gathered that his early recognition in Indian drama proves the religious origin of that drama.

We hear a good deal of this character from Dr. Berriedale Keith's book on *The Sanskrit Drama*. It is interesting to note that the Jester in Indian drama corresponds to the *Servus Currens* of Greek drama, and the *mokos* of the ancient mime.

The Jester's name in Indian literature was the *Vidushaka*, which meant the man who abuses. In the *Mahavrata* ceremony,

mentioned above, a Brahmin and a *hetaera* were shown as employed in coarse abuse of each other. Hence, the reason perhaps of the Jester usually being shown as a more or less hideous figure. He was described often as a "Brahmin, ludicrous alike in dress, speech and behaviour. He was a mis-shapen dwarf, bald-headed, with projecting teeth and red eyes, who made himself ridiculous by his silly chatter and his greed for food and presents of every kind. It was a regular part of the play for other characters to make fun of him." Thus we see that very often he was made to speak *Prakrit*, a dialect of Sanskrit, which usually only women were supposed to speak. As a matter of fact, the *Vidushaka* himself was once made to compare a woman speaking Sanskrit to a young cow with a rope through her nose. And later, in almost every drama, this functionary was represented as constantly in opposition to the Queen's Maid of Honour, with whom he exchanged much acrid repartee. This sort of comic dialogue, called *Prapanca*, was usually the third element in a popular drama, and was used to point out the ugly side of certain characters, or very often represented a clever method of worming out important information from a foolish man. He also often joked on nonsensical subjects with the *Sutradhara*, the puller of strings, in other words, the Director. But, though open to ridicule, it is noticeable that somehow he was not usually subjected to insolent and arrogant treatment. And this was so perhaps, because he was always the friend and confidante of the King, who called him *Vayasya* or friend, in spite of the fact that he was paid to amuse his patron.

He was a constant and devoted companion and tried his best to do good service, even though many of his attempts were shown as clumsy and futile. And, he was often really witty and humorous, and even educated and accomplished in many ways.

The Vidushaka's personal name was usually derived from the spring season, or from a flower, *e.g.*, he was called in one place *Vasantaka* from the former; and in another, *Komudhagandha* from the latter, meaning *lotus-smelling*.

It is rather interesting to trace the Vidushaka through the Indian drama. He was found in ancient Buddhist dramas, some of which belonged to the period of palm-leaf literature of Tibetan antiquity. In *Asvaghosa*, for instance, when Sariputra, the hero, was converted into Buddhism, he talked about his religion to the Vidushaka, his friend; the latter remarking that Brahmins like Sariputra should not listen to the advice of Kshatriyas, to which the hero replied that medicine could be taken from everyone. Thus, he was already established then as a figure of comic relief.

Bhasa, an author of about 350 A.D., made the Vidushaka attain the characteristics relegated later to him. Here, he was described thus by Dr. Keith: "In the *Avimaraka* he distinguishes himself by devotion to his master; he is set on finding him, dead or alive, beyond the grave. *Avimaraka* himself portrays the character of his friend; he places first, doubtless deliberately, the amusement he produces in social intercourse, but he describes him also as brave in battle, a wise friend, a comforter in sorrow, a violent foe to his enemies. If in the *Pratijnayaugandharayana* he seems to abandon the idea of succouring his master, it is only because

he is convinced that Vatsa is dead, and that nothing can be done to save him. The other side of his character is his devotion to the pleasures of the table and his feeble attempts at wit and humour. Vasavadatta he remembers fondly, because she used to see that he never lacked sweetmeats. When, in the *Avimaraka* the heroine weeps in love-sorrow, he would like to weep also in sympathy; but no tears come, and he recalls that, even when his own father died, he could hardly weep. When addressed as a man, he insists that he is a woman. He is, however, a Brahmin in his prejudices; he will not drink brandy." In *Vasavadatta*, he was represented as fond of good living, though he saw the evil of it. "Oh, who would have known that after being submerged in such a whirlpool of misfortune we should have come to the surface again? Now we live in palaces, bathe in the wells of the inner apartments, and eat dainty delicious confections. I am enjoying thus a sojourn in Paradise, but for the company of celestial nymphs. There is just one great drawback. I cannot digest my food properly. I get no sleep (even) on a bed furnished with luxurious coverlets. I notice signs of gout everywhere. Oh, there is no happiness in life, devoid of good health and good cheer!" He was also depicted as making some clever observations, like "See that flight of cranes advancing steadily along the clear autumnal sky. Does it not look like the outstretched, beautiful arm of Baladeva?"

In *Mricchakatika*, or the *Little Clay-cart*, attributed to King Shudraka, one of the greatest of Indian dramatists, the Vidushaka was a well-educated man, "a citizen of the world", a real friend of the hero, helping him to win his loved

Vasantasena, and finally aiding in his escape from a felon's death. "In *Maitreya*, the *Vidushaka*, we find an instance of our author's masterly skill in giving life to the dry bones of a rhetorical definition. The *Vidushaka* is a stock character, who has something in common with a Jester; and in *Maitreya* the essential traits of the character,—eagerness for good food and other creature comforts, and blundering devotion to his friend—are retained, to be sure, but clarified and elevated by his quaint humour and his readiness to follow *Charudatta* even in death. The grosser traits of the typical *Vidushaka* are lacking. *Maitreya* is neither a glutton nor a fool, but a simple-minded, whole-hearted friend." There were ridiculous passages, it is true, such as: "When good *Charudatta* was still wealthy, I used to eat my fill of the most deliciously fragrant sweetmeats, prepared day and night with the greatest of care. I would sit at the door of the courtyard, where I was surrounded by hundreds of dishes, and there, like a painter with his paint-boxes, I would simply touch them with my fingers and thrust them aside. I would stand chewing my cud like a bull in the city market. And now he is so poor that I have to run here, there, and everywhere, and come home, like the pigeons, only to roost." No doubt the Jester was clumsy in many ways, such as letting fall the jewels which betrayed his friend. But he was clever and observant, and intelligent at repartee: "Your wealth has been conveyed to them you love, and like the moon, after she has yielded her nectar to the gods, your waning fortunes win an added charm." "Oh, confound the money! It is a trifle not worth thinking

about. It is like a cattle-boy in the woods afraid of wasps; it doesn't stay anywhere where it is used for food." "She walks as gracefully as a female swan, and you are the gay flamingo to accompany her. But I am only a poor Brahmin, and wherever I go, the people will fall upon me just as dogs will snap at a victim dragged to the cross-roads." He was loyal to his friend: "This friend of mine doesn't even draw a flowering jasmine creeper to himself, to gather the blossoms, for fear that a twig might perhaps be injured. How should he commit a crime like this, which heaven and earth call accursed?" "Oh, my friend, have you so known me as to think that I can live without you?"

The famous Kalidasa, who lived probably about 400 A.D., continued this characterisation of the *Vidushaka*. Schlegel, we are told, observed that the Jester in *Vikramorvasiyam* "bears more affinity to *Sancho Panza* perhaps than any character in Western fiction, imitating him in his shrewdness and simplicity, his fondness for grand living and his love of ease. He takes part in the several intrigues and occasionally suffers for it. He is always lively, sometimes witty, though of no lofty kind. He is at one time careless in betraying the secret of his friend, and he stupidly allows the name of his friend's lover, *Urvashi*, to be stolen from him; but by that very means he conduces towards his hero's happiness; and he stands by him through thick and thin."

In *Sakuntala*, he was brought in at the very beginning as a grumbler and malingerer:

"Ah! What a miserable fate is mine! I am worn to a shadow by waiting on this mad huntsman of a King. He must needs chase from jungle to jungle by paths that

have scarce a strip of shade. For drink, nothing but warm, stinking water from the mountain brooks, bitter with rotten leaves. For food, nothing but the game we roast on spits, swallowed at any chance moment. Even at night, there's no rest; such an uproar of horses and elephants! And who could sleep with his bones all out of joint from the endless galloping? I doze, and then at peep of dawn I am wakened by the hubbub of the beaters—rascally slaves!—surrounding the wood before sunrise; a deafening clatter and chatter! And even that's not the end of the story. There's a new boil growing on the old one. Yesterday, in his headlong hunting, he left us all behind, and in a hermitage whom should he discover, as ill-luck contrived it, but a beautiful hermit-girl, called Sakuntala! From that moment, there's never a thought of going back to the city! He slept not a wink all night for thinking of this damsel. What's to be done? I must be on the watch for my friend. Ah! here he comes, with a girl hidden in his heart. Come, I'll pretend to be crippled. Perhaps, I can wheedle a little rest out of him this way". And, it is to be noticed that he was dismissed from the love-drama, which he might have spoilt by his clumsiness.

But even here he was very vivid in his descriptions, "You are like one, who wearies of sweet dates and craves for the shrewd taste of a tamarind. In your mad longing for this girl, you despise all the beauties of your palace". He helped his friend in diplomacy; and he was cleverly able to deputize for him to his mother and hide his secret from her. This is how the Vidushaka in the pages of Kalidasa was described:

"The humour of the Vidushaka is never coarse; his fondness for food is

admitted; cakes and sugar suggest themselves to him, when the hero admires the moon or is sick of love; heroics he despises: the King is summarily compared to a thief in his dislike for discovery; if caught, he should imitate the latter who explains that he was learning the art of wall-breaking. Or again, he is, in his contempt for the ladies of his harem, like one sated of sweet dates and desiring the bitter tamarind. Malavika is summarily treated; she is like a cuckoo caught by a cat when Dharini places her in confinement; but he is no more respectful of himself, for, seized by Malati, he treats himself as a mouse in mortal fear of a cat".

By Harsa of the 7th century A.D., the Vidushaka in *Priyadarika* and *Ratnavali* "was typical in his greediness, but his figure lacked comic force; he was, however, a pleasant enough character, for his love for his master was genuine; he was prepared to die with him in *Ratnavali*, though he thought his action in rushing into the fire quixotic". In the *Nagananda* he was stupid and allowed himself to be ridiculed, and even stooped to drink wine.

In the plays of Rajasekhara of the 10th century A.D., the Vidushaka helped his friend in his love-affair; and allowed himself to be victimised by an enemy; but later retaliated by punishing his betrayer.

And thus the Vidushaka progressed through Indian drama, till he reached the modern stage, where he is being given more and more the characteristics of the European Jester, some of which are naturalness, even wit of quixotic behaviour, the capacity for detecting humour in the most serious situations and the ability to create efficient comic effects wherever possible.

FUTURE OF ENGLISH STUDIES

BY MR. AMAR NATH GUPTA

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VERY recently a Scheme of National Education for India was prepared by John Sargent, the Educational Commissioner of India, which came up for discussion at a meeting held at Baroda of educationists from all over the country. The memorandum of the Central Advisory Board of Education is ready. The Central Advisory Board of Education, India, is contemplating shortly to submit the Draft Scheme to the Reconstruction Committee of Viceroy's Executive Council. The Scheme is a comprehensive plan of post-war educational development in India leaving not even a single fact of education, which is considered to be conducive to the best interests of the country as a whole. The Scheme seeks to build a new fabric of educational system over the already old crumbling system of education. Change is the cry of the day, and this it promises to extend us. It is the result of the work of the various committees set up by the Central Board of Education in India, including the two Wardha Committees. As English Language at present occupies a prominent place in the courses of the Indian Universities and is compulsorily studied at the Primary, Secondary and University stages, in almost all the Universities of India, English is the medium of instruction except in certain cases upto the Intermediate, the first question that rises in my mind as Professor of English Language and Literature, is as to what place English Language and Literature will occupy in the post-war India, if Sargent's Scheme is adopted unmutated.

The Scheme is divided into three stages—Primary, High School and the University stage. At the Primary stage free compulsory education will be imparted to children from the age of six to eleven, when there will be a selective test, which will enable students to choose the course for which they are best fitted in life. They will either take up the technical course or the purely academic, as the parents or the committees set for the purpose of selection decide. There will be two types of high schools for the purpose, technical high

schools and the academic high schools. The High School or the Senior Basic stage will be of a period of three years and admit students to it at the age of eleven. The medium of instruction at the early basic stage and the later basic stage will exclusively be the Indian Vernacular. Great stress is laid on environment and learning through activity and crafts. Under no circumstances should English find a place in the curriculum of the junior basic (primary) school. Nor is it desirable to introduce it at the senior basic (middle) school, but it is felt that there may be a strong public demand for it in certain areas, and the final decision in this case must be left in the hands of the Provincial Education Department. English Language and Literature will certainly be subjects of study at the University. The recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education are fairly explicit on its banishment from the junior basic school; it may or may not be adopted as a subject of study at the senior basic stage according as the exigencies of the situation are, though it is not desirable to introduce it even at this stage; the University stage certainly will have it. The position of English as it will then stand, according to my mind, seems to be like this. In Provinces where English will be adopted for study at the senior basic stage, teaching of its alphabets will be begun when children will be of eleven years of age, and by the time they reach the University stage, they will have some grounding in the subject, but in Provinces where it will be banished from the High School stage as well, its learning and instruction will just commence at the University stage. Its position, therefore, will be reduced to slightly better than that of French and German in the Indian Universities to-day. French and German are taught in some of the Indian Universities, but not on compulsory basis. They are either taught as optional subjects or a separate diploma course is instituted as in the Punjab, Allahabad, Lucknow and Benares Universities. There is no doubt that English

Literature will be relegated to a subordinate position; it will be purely an optional subject. Very few students will offer it as a subject of study. Classes of English Literature will be just ornamental. Only those students will offer it, who have either a love of English Literature for some reason or the other, or those students who have sufficient leisure or time to study the subject. For the study of the language the present curriculum of English will considerably have to be revised. Our aim will simply be to study Language, and not Literature. It will be enough, if we learn to write and speak correct English. For this we may have to seek the help of Basic English, particularly in the Provinces, where English Language will be begun to be read at the University stage. The University stage is of three years duration only and the study of the English Language during this period will be just sufficient for us for inter-communication of ideas with foreign countries. It will be only a medium of international exchange of thoughts. The medium of instruction at the University stage shall necessarily have to be the Indian Vernaculars.

Under the National System of Education, therefore, Indian Vernaculars will be developed, as all the various subjects are proposed to be taught through the medium of the mother-tongue. English will occupy only a secondary place in the curriculum of the University or the high schools in certain cases, and rightly so, for English is a foreign tongue and has certainly no right to be studied exclusively, and compulsorily, as it is done to-day. Even the Englishmen as late as the beginning of the 19th century were not altogether blind to this problem. In the year 1854, Sir Charles Wood was definitely of the opinion that "the vernaculars could be the only possible media of mass education in India". In the days of the East India Company, the Bengal Committee of Public Instruction recommended that "We conceive the foundation of vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed". In our own day, Messrs. Abbot and Wood in their Report definitely laid down that "We would therefore urge that so far as possible the vernacular

should be the medium of instruction throughout the higher secondary schools, leaving English to take its extremely important place as a compulsory first language". The Indians are even more vehement than the Englishmen in their denunciation of English as a compulsory subject of study and medium of instruction for the Indian students. The two men (Indians) from whose pronouncements I cannot help quoting are Dr. Amaranatha Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, a teacher and an eminent educationist, and Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, an eminent journalist; the two men express identical views and that enhances their value. Speaking at a meeting recently held at Sir Ganganatha Jha Hostel, Allahabad, Dr. Amaranatha Jha said:

After twenty-seven years' experience as a teacher of English, I have no hesitation to say that it is almost a crime that we should put so much emphasis on a language which we ourselves did not know correctly. I have no manner of doubt that by no means can we rise to the full height of our stature unless we adopt our mother-tongue.

In a discourse on "Modern Education" at Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh expressed views on education that, as we have said, are in complete accord with the views expressed by Dr. Amaranatha Jha. "Not only the mother-tongue", said he, "should be substituted for English as the medium of teaching, but the whole spirit of education should be revised. The spirit of the present system of education is purely English". There is and had been in the past insistent demand for the replacement of English by the mother-tongue, for English presents insurmountable difficulties to a foreign learner, who despite his fifteen years close study of the English Language and Literature is still dubbed as a writer of 'Indian English' or 'Baboo English'. English is a foreign language and we can never master the subtle turns of its speech and fine shades of its pronunciation. It remains at a distance from our quarters; we cannot be perfectly initiated into the wondrous mysteries of this foreign language. Why then should a foreign language and literature be imposed upon us, when we are reluctant to

bear its burden? "One language", as K. N. Brailsford has said,

only holds the key to our emotions, one language only conveys to us, surely and instinctively; the subtler overtones of suggestions which its words possess. That is the language that we use at our mother's knees, the language of our first prayers and our first spontaneous outburst of joy or grief. To make any other the vehicle of education is not merely to add immeasurably to the pupils' labours, it is to lame its mind in its freedom of movement.

And this language that we as Indians can covet is the mother-tongue. It certainly can never be the English language.

But our denunciation of the English Language should not in any sense blind us to some of its merits. It never means that English Language is a bad language or that its Literature is poor. It is, as a matter of fact, one of the richest languages of the world. It has been spoken and studied in India for over a century now. An Indian from the South has almost adopted it as a mother-tongue. When a Madras speaker, we cannot, standing behind the arras, distinguish that an Indian is speaking. So fluently does he speak, it appears he has finely acclimatised himself to this foreign tongue. Once Sir P. C. Ray remarked and correctly that there were more readers of the plays of Shakespeare on the bank of the river Ganges than on the bank of Thames. The impact of English Language has given us some of the finest Indian writers of English Prose, a Mahatma Gandhi, a Jawahar Lal Nehru, a Mulk Raj Anand, a Surendranath Banerjee, a D. F. Karaka and Ranjee G. Shahani can wield their pen in writing English language with as much ease and facility as an Englishman does. It is, at present, a world language in the sense that it is used over a large part of the earth. It is a common medium in science, business, diplomacy, sport and important educational matters in some countries of the world. It has its merits and faults. -It has taken with lavish hand, and given also with the same lavishness. There are few languages which have not contributed to it, and there is none which have not some English in it. "The language is like the nation". Professor Namier declared, "Simple in forms, illogical

on paper, organic but not consciously organised, and rich in resources. Nation and language are both prosaic from choice". "English language can do many things," as a journalist once said. Professor Namier describes the merits of the English language:

English Prose is a perfect instrument, brief and elliptic, clear and precise and yet offering the most ample opportunities for hedging. If you wish to be explicit, you can, but you can also say things without saying them, and convey your meaning safe from being pinned down to it.

Mahatma Gandhi wanted the Britishers to quit India, yet he is one of the greatest admirers of English Literature. So do the other Indian patriots. We dislike the Britishers, but never their tongue. We can love our culture side by side with the British culture.

The English language has conferred various advantages on us. It has proved to the Indians a blessing in disguise. Nevertheless, we cannot forget till infinity our Language and Literature. Time has come to resuscitate them. There is a country-wide pressure to adopt our mother-tongue as the principal medium of instruction. But we have no magician's wand with us to achieve this in a day. Rome, after all was not built in one day. It will take some time before this miracle of a complete metamorphosis takes place and before the Indian vernaculars oust English completely. Mr. Sargent himself considers that it will take about thirty to forty years, this process of hide and seek of the one language with the other. It is also likely that the whole scheme may not be accepted by the British Government. There are, of course, insurmountable difficulties in its way. Besides, English has a long standing of over hundred years in India. It cannot be displaced overnight, nor should it be, nor is it aimed to do so. The need is that gradually a ground be prepared for it by the enrichment of our Indian vernaculars, which are progressing by leaps and bounds every day. English is besieged from all sides. English Literature has been reduced to an optional subject. Upto the Intermediate stage almost in all the Universities and the Boards Indian Vernaculars have been acknowledged and adopted as medium of instruction and the question of their adoption at the Degree

stage is under the serious consideration of the educationists in our country. The Osmania University of Hyderabad has done considerable good work in the sphere of Urdu language and Literature. The plans of a similar academy of Hindi at Gwalior are under the consideration of an *ad hoc* Committee appointed by the Gwalior Durbar to look into the matter. English has been shaken in its steadfast position, which it has occupied with pride for so long. A storm is already brewing against it in the country. It cannot certainly hold supremacy here. The future of English study is not very bright in

this country. In spite of the many repurcussions against English, none denounces its value as a medium of international exchange. If not compulsory, yet it will be studied, though in the closet. English will not be popular with the masses, but it will always have a few serious students in India; it will not altogether disappear, though its position will be that of the handmaiden to the Indian vernaculars. For as it has been said by a journalist sometime ago:
A country or language that tries to live in isolation must be weakened. If the British are to quit India, there would be no reason why the Authorized version and Paradise Lost should quit also.

WAR AND OUR FOREIGN TRADE

BY MR. V. R. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., M.Litt.

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THE foreign trade of the country is a conclusive index of her economic development. If a very high proportion of the imports be manufactured goods and similarly high proportion of exports be raw materials, it means that the country is not industrially developed. If a country has got an excess of imports over exports, that is, an unfavourable balance of trade in merchandise, generally that country has got extensive investments abroad on which she receives annually large interest charges. These two factors are illustrated in a forcible manner by a contrast of our trade with that of Britain.

Before we indicate the effects of war on our external trade, it is necessary to outline its main features. The main characteristics of our sea-borne trade are—

(1) the bulk of exports comprises raw materials and foodstuffs and on the import side, a high percentage of imports represents manufactured items. This shows that India still depends for her manufactured goods on foreign countries. But a slight improvement in the percentage of manufactured items to total exports has been noticed since the beginning of this century and this tendency received

further impetus by the war of 1914-18, during which period the percentage recorded an appreciable increase. However this increase in the percentage was not maintained after that war.

(2) The second characteristic of our trade is that our imports consist of a wide range of articles, while the export trade is confined to a few great staples like raw cotton, jute, oil-seeds, etc.

(3) Thirdly, Great Britain holds a predominant position in our foreign trade and especially on the import side. On the export side, she is the most important single customer. But here, too, there has been a tendency of diversion of trade from Great Britain to other countries, notably Germany, Japan and U.S.A.

(4) India, almost every year, has a large favourable balance of trade in merchandise. The average for twenty years before the present war has been well over Rs. 50 crores per annum.

We shall endeavour to examine the effects of war on our trade in regard to the above points. As soon as the war was declared, our foreign trade came under the Government control. Trade with

the enemy and enemy-occupied countries was prohibited. Exports and imports have to be controlled to see that the materials required for our war effort are available; (2) basic materials do not reach the enemy; (3) to conserve foreign exchange to facilitate finance for empire's purchases in neutral countries; and (4) to remove congestion on the available shipping space. As a result of these restrictions, the aggregate loss in our trade was in value Rs. 112 crores, of which Rs. 53 crores represent exports and Rs. 59 crores represent imports. In terms of commodities India lost markets for oil-seeds, hides and skins, raw cotton and jute, etc. The effect of this loss of these markets was slump in the prices of these commodities. But the subsequent developments of war, such as the expansion of Indian cotton industry, Indian and allied Government's war orders, etc., remedied the situation. Leaving aside exports on Government account for which figures are not available, our export trade has made up much more than loss due to the prohibition of trade with the enemy countries. The figures below prove this fact:

TABLE 1

Year	Exports Rs.	Imports Rs.
1938-39	163 crores	152 crores
1939-40	204 "	165 "
1940-41	187 "	157 "
1941-42	237 "	173 "
1942-43	188 "	110 "

It is also clear from the above table that our import trade has suffered a great deal which resulted in serious shortages of many articles like machinery, drugs and medicines, electrical goods, etc. Both Britain and United States of America could not make up this shortage. The result is the rise in the prices in the country.

The war has conferred certain advantages on our manufacturers. The removal of the foreign competition from the Indian and Near East markets has made it possible to increase our exports of manufactured goods. This is reflected in the changes in the composition of our export trade. The following table illustrates the above changes:

TABLE 2

	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
1. Per cent. of articles wholly or mainly manufactured goods to the total exports	29	37	43	46	51
2. Per cent. of raw materials and produce mainly unmanufactured to the total exports	45	42	33	27	23

From the above, it is clear that the positions of raw materials and manufactured goods in our export trade have been interchanged. The place lost by raw materials is gained by the manufactured items and now 50 per cent. of our exports represents manufactured goods. On the face of it, it seems to be revolutionary but further examination will explode this myth. During the last war, a similar change in the composition of our trade took place. The percentage of exports of manufactured goods to the total in 1913-14 was 22 and it rose to 37 per cent. in 1918-19. We have seen from Table 2 that this percentage in 1938-39 was 29 only. Thus the ground gained during the last war was subsequently lost. The change in the composition of our trade is as temporary as it was during the last war. We may examine this aspect from another point. In 1938-39, the export of cotton goods was valued at Rs. 7 crores and this is just 4.3 per cent. of our total exports and in 1942-43, the value of exports rose to Rs. 46 crores and the percentage to 24.5. Therefore it can be safely said that the increased proportion of manufactured goods to the total exports is mainly due to greater exports of cotton goods. And the export of the cotton goods has been allowed at the expense of domestic consumption. Thus it is clear that the change in the composition of our trade does not reflect industrialisation of the country. In further support of this conclusion, we produce below the imports of machinery during 1938-39 and 1942-43:

TABLE 3

	1938-39 Rs.	1942-43 Rs.
Value of imports of machinery ...	19.7 crores.	10.5 crores.

This again shows that we are not only receiving the capital equipment for new industries, but also not sufficient machinery to make up for the wear and tear. This means in its turn 'watering down' of our capital equipment. This is not a position to gloat over.

Next we proceed to vote the effect of war on the direction of our trade. It was mentioned already that there has been diversion of trade from Great Britain. The following table indicates this point:

TABLE 4

TRADE WITH BRITAIN

PERIOD	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Pro 1914-18 war average	62.8 p.c.	25.1 p.c.
1914-18 average	56.5 "	31.1 "
Post 1914-18 war average	57.6 "	24.4 "
1938-39	30.5 "	34.3 "
1939-40	25.2 "	35.1 "
1940-41	22.8 "	34.7 "
1941-42	21.1 "	32.5 "
1942-43	27.0 "	30.1 "

The war has only shaken the pace of the tendency of the diversion of trade from Great Britain. Next to Great Britain, U.S.A. has become the biggest customer and on the import side also she stands second only to England. Before the war, her place was fourth one. The table below points out the ascendancy of the U.S.A.

TABLE 5

TRADE WITH U.S.A.

	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
	Rs.	Rs.
1938-39	9.8 crores	14.3 crores
1942-43	19.0 "	27.8 "

Next we examine the balance of trade in merchandise, i.e., excess of exports over imports.

BALANCE OF TRADE

TABLE 6

1938-39	...	17.5 crores
1942-43	...	78.9 "

India enjoys favourable balance of trade both with the Empire and non-Empire countries and in both the cases there is

an appreciable increase. Before we leave this point, it may be mentioned that as a result of war the balance of payments has also become favourable to India. This is due to the repatriation of our sterling debt and the commutation of sterling pensions. Thus India is to-day a creditor nation and the relation of India to Great Britain is revolutionised.

Finally it has to be mentioned that in spite of the favourable position in which India is placed in respect of foreign trade, the terms of trade, i.e., exchange of imports for our exports are going against us. The table below indicates the costliness of our imports:

TABLE 7.

Period.	Index of prices of unit value of exports and imports (1927-28=100)		
	Imports	Exports	Imports
			Exports
Aug. 1939 ..	69	60	105
Aug. 1940 ..	87	70	124
Aug. 1941 ..	99	90	110
Aug. 1942 ..	140	98	143

The conclusions from the above study are:—

(1) The favourable position of our foreign trade (export trade) is at the expense of the domestic consumer and this reacts on internal price system unfavourably;

(2) the fall in imports created shortage of many articles and this produced rise in the price level;

(3) the favourable position indicated by changes in the composition is deceptive. It does not indicate further industrialisation of the country. On the contrary, the heavy reduction in the import of machinery shows that our capital equipment is seriously subjected to greater wear and tear and thus to greater depreciation; and

(4) in spite of our favourable position in regard to our export trade, the imports are growing costly in terms of our exports.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

BEHIND THE MUD WALLS. By Mrs. Freda Bedi. The Unity Publishers, Lahore. Rs. 5.

Books on India by Western authors were for a very long time, apt to be either fairy tales or calumnies. To melodramatic or to disingenuous authors, this country appeared to have the effect of a red rag to a bull. It is not impossible to imagine what Miss Katherine Mayo, for example, would have conjectured or invented as to what is happening "behind the mud walls" in India. But no greater contrast can be imagined than that between the egregious American woman and the author of this book, an English lady, married to a socialist leader of the Punjab.

Mrs. Bedi, even in her somewhat unusual position, has instinctively realised the abiding pathos of the land of her adoption; in her own attractive sentences, "she has harrowed me with her festering poverty, her dirt and her despair. She has projected me into her many-layered past and re-created me a dozen times in the guise of her many cultures." In the first of the twenty articles contributed during the last seven years, which comprise the book, Mrs. Bedi makes a testament of her faith in India, which is amply illustrated in the following contributions. Set against the background of the villages of the Punjab, her sketches of the simple villagers are striking. Extracts from her diary when she was a "political" prisoner are included.

Despite strong temptation to be violent and melodramatic, the style is quiet and persuasive. This knowledgeable book is also, in many ways, an effecting one. It belongs to the class of the writings of Sister Nivedita or Mr. E. M. Forster,

HEALTH AND HOW TO KEEP IT. By Capt. B. L. Raine, I.M.S. New Book Co., Bombay. Rs. 2.

This is a valuable treatise on health and nutrition, intended specially for use in India. The book will be for use to those who are interested in the subject of nutrition and who seek for intelligible scientific information on all matters of health.

RAMALINGASWAMIJI OF CHIDAMBARAM, HIS LIFE, MISSION AND STUDIES. By T. V. G. Chetty, Bangalore. Rs. 2 or 3sh.

Born one hundred and fourteen years back, Mahatma Ramalingaswami is still believed to be alive, though he disappeared miraculously from the sight of persons long ago. He was initiated into the worship of the Dancing Lord of the Golden Hall in Chidambaram. He made many places hallowed by his association, and his chief literary production he has left us is the *Tiru Arulpa*, the outpourings of his soul. He founded a hall of worship and a shrine of lamp with curtains in representation of man and his soul. He preached the highest religion of Ahimsa and Love.

Mr. T. V. G. Chetty's book contains an account of the life of this Saint of Marudur and Chidambaram, and an exposition of his teachings. The writer devotes sections to the saint's literary productions in which he gives us his appreciation with copious quotations. Fine coloured plates of all the places associated in Tamil Nad with the saint and a map of the part of this Presidency connected most with him, add to the value of the book.

RATIONALE OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.

BY V. Sundaramurthy, Bangalore.

This is a brochure by V. Sundaramurthy of Bangalore. As he himself admits, he confines his attention to the Province of Mysore, though he says, he keeps in mind that it is a world problem. He believes that social reconstruction must be immediately taken on hand and treated as a "war-time need, as war effort, and certainly as a peace effort". He is very modest and professes only "to throw a few hints, suggest a few lines of action, and mark out the road". But it is a pity that the road is a tame affair, full of the usual sign-post slogans, such as, food is fundamental, enlist, the peasant, and industrialisation.

YOGA FOR ALL or the Religion of the Gita. By Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj. Published by *Hindu Missionary Society, Lahore*. Rs. 1-8.

The booklet under notice is a powerful plea for the study of the Bhagavad Gita and the application of its principles to life in general. It explains the main spiritual truths embodied in the eighteen chapters of the Gita. The author brings out the central message of the Gita. The Gita explains the supreme value of self-effort, as a means to moral and spiritual progress, along the path of each individual's inherent tastes and qualities (svadharma). The Gita stress is not on the renunciation of worldly duties, but on the performance of them in a disinterested and unselfish spirit, as an act of divine worship, and used as a stepping stone to the attainment of perfection. The Gita stands for *Phala-sannyasa* and not *Karma-sannyasa*. The Hindu Missionary Society has helped the cause of Hinduism by the publication of this volume. As an introduction to the Gita, the book is admirable.

SCIENCE, CAUSE AND GOD. By J. B. Freeman. Rs. 5. Available at Ave Maria, Chingleput.

The volume under review is an able and critical examination of the central philosophical category of cause. The problem of causation has engaged the attention not only of ancient philosophers but also of modern physicists. Mr. Freeman, in the first part of the book, traces the history of the concept of cause in traditional philosophy. In the second part, he adverts to a clear and simple discussion of the place of causation in modern science. Here he gives a lucid summary of the views of the leading scientists, Jeans and Eddington.

We wish the author had at least indicated in brief the view-point of the Indian metaphysician in respect of the category of cause. The Nyaya system of Philosophy and Post-Sankara thinkers have contributed a great deal towards the classification of this central philosophical problem. The volume is helpful to the student of European Philosophy in understanding the place and the status of the category of cause.

THE GATHAS. By J. M. Chatterjee. Cherag Office, Navsari.

The Gathas form a part of the Avesta, the scripture of the Parsis. In this book the author has selected many of the Gathas and printed them in Devanagari type. There are translations in English and Gujarathi. Considering the scarcity of books from which one can have an idea of the sacred literature of the Parsis, this is a welcome book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA. A Social Analysis. By W. C. Smith, The Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali Street, Lahore. Rs. 10.

INDIA AND THE PARSIS. By R. F. Rustamji. Foreword by The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. B. Niyogi.

THE EXPECTANT MOTHER AND HER CHILD. By M. A. Karmath, M.B. & C.M., Mangalore. Rs. 2-12.

MANHOOD RESCUED. By Dr. S. J. Singh, All-India Nature Cure Association, Lucknow.

PAPER BOATS. By K. S. Venkataranani. (Fifth Edition of this very popular little book of sketches of South Indian life) Swetaranya Ashrama, Myslapore. Rs. 4.

SIVAJI. A Historical Tale of the great Mahratta hero and patriot. By Romesh C. Dutt. Rendered into English by Ajoy C. Dutt, Kitabistan. Allahabad. Rs. 4-8.

DIAMONDS IN THE DUST: TALAS OF EVACUATION OF BURMA. By Douglas Lackeinstein, Kitabistan, Allahabad. Re. 1.

SRI VALLABHACHARYA. Life, Teachings and Movement. By Bhai Manilal C. Parakh, Sri Bhargana Dharma Mission, Harmony House, Rajkot.

FUTURE OF HANDLOOM INDUSTRY IN INDIA. By M. P. Gandhi, Gandhi & Co., Fort, Bombay. Re. 1.

THE MAHABHARATA. Story narrated in English by S. Sitaramayya, Shembaganore, P.O., via Kodai-kanal Road, S.I.R.

POLITICAL REALISM. An appeal for bold action. A pamphlet by C. V. Rajagopalachari, Chengadu, North Arcot District.

MODERN PERSIAN POETRY. By Dr. Mohammad Ishaque, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, Lahore.

STALINGRAD. By Chetand Anand. Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore.

THE CONGRESS CASE. By Jag Parvesh Chander, Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore.

BURMA BACKGROUND. By B. R. Pearn. Longmans, Madras.

BURMA SETTING. By O. H. K. Spate, Longmans, Madras.

BUDDHISM IN BURMA. By G. Appleton, Longmans, Madras.

UNITED NATIONS AND INDIA

BY MRS. FRANCES GUNTHER

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Mrs. Frances Gunther, like her famous husband, has travelled widely and written a lot about the peoples and countries she has visited. But in her latest book—*Revolution in India*—she pleads convincingly for India's independence to a wide circle of American and European public who may not be familiar with the details of the Indian problem. The Freedom movement in India has no more intrepid advocate in the United States than this tireless lecturer and writer whose plea for a change in British policy finds eloquent expression in the following extract.—ED. I.R.

THE Indian revolution is a good revolution. All revolutions probably begin 'good'. There is no original sin in the birth of a revolution—sin comes later. Just as the French revolution was for political democracy and the Russian revolution for economic democracy, so also the Indian revolution is trying to bring forth a kind of psychological democracy wherein reason and goodwill may create a livable balance between conflicting and divergent forces of politics and economics. The power of goodwill in international relations may, like the power of Radium, prove its beneficence in skilled use.

The Indian revolution is the first entirely above ground in history, a revolution that has undeviatingly followed the policy of using a revolution without hate, terror, spy-system, treachery and assassination; a revolution wherein all the habitual evils of revolution are ruled out; wholly honourable means to achieve its end—a revolution wherein the end is held to be the mutual renunciation of dominating power and the mutual assumption of co-operating goodwill. The Indian revolution has two aspects, internal and external. Internally India wants to establish herself as a Modern Free Democracy and free herself from Britain without bloodshed, without war. Because is she afraid of losing the war? No, On the contrary, because she is so sure of winning it. Her reasoning runs somewhat like this: "Here we are a great nation of 390 million people, ancient and conquered, now renascent, reincarnate, young again and strong. We have to some extent industrialised and mechanised and modernised ourselves. Indian soldiers have fought bravely abroad and have tasted victory. The sympathy of the United States,

Russia, China and the whole of the free world is with us in our passion to be free. Ultimately nothing can withstand us—certainly not the five hundred ruling Britishers who symbolise the power of the British Empire in India. We know the technique of revolution, know how to seize power, know how Lenin did it, how Hitler and Mussolini did it, how Cromwell, Napoleon and Washington did it too. Neither of us are savage people. We are civilised, mature peoples who have experienced and observed the lessons of history—we know the patterns of the past. Must we repeat them over and over again? Can we not learn from them to avoid murder, hatred, strife and infantile wars and to mature peace—in friendship?" Along comes such lines of steadfast and undeviating revolution against the British rule since 1930 when independence was first declared. India now is on the threshold of winning independence. It will not have been donated by England. It will have been won by the Indian people themselves alone by their own blood, their own sweat, their own toil and their own tears—and their own pains—in a revolution, unique in history for its powerful self-control and heroic generosity, civilised dignity and gallantry. It is unlikely that by making itself sufficiently heard, popular opinion in the United States may reinforce popular opinion in England and could influence the English Government to relinquish responsibility to representative Indian Government. With the full co-operation of such an Indian Government, the United Nations would have no extraneous problems to solve in India and could proceed to the job of winning the war—and peace. But it would take nothing less than a revolution in English foreign policy to effect such a change in English policy on India. Is such a revolution likely?

The Bombay Fire Tragedy

BOMBAY has suffered one of the worst calamities of recent times. Two explosions following a fire in a ship lying in the docks caused such wide-spread havoc that it took more than 48 hours to arrest the conflagration. Damage to persons and property has been serious. 360 lives were lost and 1,798 casualties were treated in the hospitals. Thousands of Bombay's two million people were rendered homeless, while hundreds of buildings have been shattered. The fate of the people caught in the inferno and those who escaped from the scene of horror might well be imagined. Apart from the immediate effects of the tragedy, we are told that 55,000 tons of foodgrains have been lost in the disaster. Government and Municipal authorities and leading citizens lost no time in bringing succour to the afflicted. Rescue work by soldiers and civilians, the A.R.P. men and members of the Fire Brigade and services has been prompt and commendable. But the disaster is of such huge dimensions that reconstruction work must be undertaken on a gigantic scale.

The Government of India have decided to appoint a commission of inquiry into the Bombay explosions, and to give an immediate grant of Rs. 5 lakhs for the relief of distress.

The G. O. M. of South India

In the death of Dr. C. Vijayaraghavacharya—the grand Old Man of South India—a titan has gone to his rest. Acharyar lived to the ripe old age of 92, of which at least six decades were spent in vigilant pursuit of public causes. One of the pioneers of the Congress, he was intensely patriotic and retained to the end his unabated interest in all progressive movements.

Like many an old Congressman, Mr. Acharyar was a double first—a lawyer-politician—reaching eminence in either vocation. His early struggles and sufferings and the way he met and overcame them gave him that sense of realism which distinguished his political leanings.

Mr. Acharyar was a member of the old Imperial Legislative Council where in the

words of Pandit Malaviya "his unyielding independence and incisive logic made him a source of great strength to the people's cause". He was to have presided over the Delhi Congress of 1918, but with a fine sense of courtesy—so unlike Subash Bose's on a later occasion—he withdrew in favour of the good old Pandit with whom Mr. Acharyar had many things in common, besides his great age, his conservatism, his indomitable spirit and much else. The nation honoured Mr. Acharyar by electing him to preside over the historic Nagpore session where Gandhiji piloted his famous Non-Co-operation resolution.

Courage and high character and unbending rectitude characterised Mr. Acharya's more than half a century of public life and it will be long before we can look upon his like again.

The Punjab Ministry

It will be recalled that at a time when every vote counted in the Central Assembly during the budget debate, Mr. Jinnah thought nothing of being away from Delhi. He was all the time busy in the Punjab, making Himalayan efforts to tear up to shreds the Coalition Ministry now functioning in that Province. So far he has found himself up against a stone wall. The Punjab Premier, while protesting loyalty to the League, would do nothing to disturb the present coalition. Sir Chhoturam, the Revenue Minister whom Jinnah tried to persuade, proved "adamant".

The correspondence that has passed between the Premier and Mr. Jinnah makes it clear that Mr. Jinnah wanted that the present label of the Unionist party as a coalition should be dropped and that the name of the proposed coalition should be the Muslim League coalition party. The Premier has firmly refused to agree to the demand. He has emphatically stated that he would be guilty of a breach of promise to the other communities of the Punjab by forming a Muslim League coalition party. The Premier further points out that in the best interests of the Muslims he cannot accept Mr. Jinnah's demand for the Muslims of the Province "refuse to be divided amongst themselves or accept outside interference to their detriment."

Section 93 for the Provinces

Both the Houses of Parliament have given their assent to the Secretary of State's motion for the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act in respect of the five Provinces now under Governor's rule. For another twelve months the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, C.P., U.P. and Behar will continue to be ruled by the Governors and their advisers and there will be no room for popular legislatures. So this is the end of all the efforts of so many good men who have, in spite of failures and disappointments, refused to be deflected from their unwearied endeavours to end the deadlock. If arguments and appeals to the good sense and wisdom of those in authority could win a case, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's plea at the Non-Party Conference could hardly be improved. "So long as the leaders of the Congress or any particular party are denied this freedom to approach the other parties for the purpose of settlement," said Dr. Sapru, "we need expect no change in the situation". It is exactly this freedom which is to-day denied to the leaders in prison.

"The one ground which is now urged against the release is", says he, "that they have not so far repudiated the resolution of 1942. I venture to submit that no settlement of big political issues can be brought about in this spirit. It was not brought about in this spirit in the case of South Africa, Ireland or Egypt. I say that however much I may differ from or deplore the resolution of 1942, the demand that the leaders who have not even been tried by any independent tribunal should from their places of confinement admit their error and repudiate the conduct attributed to them, strikes me as being in the nature of a coercive process which is not likely to yield any salutary results."

And yet in the short debate on India and Burma Orders Mr. Amery thought fit to repeat the old, exploded charges against the Congress. With the House constituted as it is, it was quite easy for him to get his motion passed. It was entirely irrelevant and unnecessary for him to embark on a tirade against the Congress. Indeed his allegations were so unfair and unworthy of the House that a Labour Member characterised them as too wide and contentious in the absence of fuller opportunities for a debate on the subject

and the Speaker of the House politely but firmly asked Mr. Amery to reserve his thunders to a full dress debate.

The plain fact is, Government are unwilling to part with power and find an easy excuse in the so-called intransigence of the Congress. For if the Congress is not amenable, what of the League? Dr. Sapru said significantly the League has been "fooled".

If this is the position in the Provinces, the Centre is no better. Mr. Amery may flatter the Viceroy's Council as a body of "wise and patriotic men." The public prefers to use other epithets in respect of them. Dr. Sapru is not given to extravagant phrases of denunciation; but he is forced to say:

that there has not been during the last quarter of a century or more an Executive Council with less hold on the public mind or with less moral prestige in the country.

India and the U.N.R.R.A.

The Government of India's participation in the activities of the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration came in for discussion both in the Central Assembly and the Council of State. The Assembly's approval of such participation is qualified by a recommendation that "any area important to military operations of the United Nations which is stricken by famine or disease" should be brought within the scope of the relief contemplated.

The Commerce Member explained the scope of the U.N.R.R.A. It was not intended to provide relief to areas affected by war conditions but "the object was to give relief to those areas which would be liberated by the allied forces either by conquest or by the retreat of the enemy". Even so, this country has been invaded, and legally and technically might come within the orbit of the United Nations' relief. Apart from this, there are special considerations, such as famine and disease and the conditions created by the war which make such relief necessary. And then, India which contributes to the Fund, has a right to proper representation in the organisation.

Government of India and Overseas Indians

Since the days of Lord Hardinge, a wholesome convention has continued to distinguish our attitude to the question of our countrymen abroad. Whatever may be our differences in regard to domestic issues, the Government of India's policy in regard to overseas Indians has been in complete harmony with public sentiment. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri's letters recently published in Madras reveal how the Department, then presided over by Sir Mahomed Habibullah, was always in close and cordial relation with Indian public opinion as represented by the Agent-General Mr. Sastri in South Africa and Mr. Gandhi in India. Such harmony, undoubtedly made a great difference in our approach to the vexed question of the position of Indians in South Africa. It is a pity that Dr. Khare, the present Overseas Member of the Viceroy's Council, has by what one must call, his tactless and provocative utterances drawn upon himself the wrath and even the contempt of important groups in the Central Legislature. Dr. Khare found more than a match for him in the leader of the Muslim League Party who thought nothing of trouncing the Overseas Member in terms which bode ill to that united and effective stand which the cause demands. That cause certainly acquires great strength when backed by the public and Government alike.

Apart from this, the change of the name of the Department of Indians Overseas into the Department of Commonwealth Affairs is, as the *Indian Social Reformer* points out, both untimely and of sinister significance.

It is untimely because it forestalls the decision which, under the Cripps and other schemes of constitutional reform, is to be made by Indians when the time comes to frame a constitution, as to whether India will remain within the British Commonwealth. This decision will depend on the attitude of the Dominions and of the British Government towards India at the post-war settlement. The change prejudices a free decision at the proper time. The Department of Indians Overseas looked after the interests of Indians in the British Colonies, Dominions and in foreign countries. The Dominions have from time to time raised objections to the interference of the Government of India in their treatment of Indians domiciled in them. The answer has been that, so

long as Indians remain unenfranchised, they were entitled to have the protection of the mother country. In the Colonies too, the British Colonial Office has not taken kindly to the intervention of the Indian Government to protect Indian interests. As regards Indians in foreign countries, the Department of Indians Overseas has enjoyed the right of formulating proposals for the protection of Indian nationals, though the correspondence with foreign governments rested with the External Department. The Department of Commonwealth Affairs will be presumably debarred from interesting itself in the fate of Indians in foreign countries. This is a serious handicap. It prevents the Government of India from having a consistent policy of dealing with questions relating to Indians abroad.

The Truth about the Subsidy to I. F. L.

There has been a persistent rumour that the Indian Federation of Labour sponsored by Mr. Jambadas Mehta and Mr. M. N. Roy is being subsidised by Government. Even the exact amount of the subsidy was being talked about. Mr. Jambadas Mehta, presiding over the last session of the Conference in Bombay, thought fit to repudiate the allegation with great vigour. Surprisingly enough, Dr. Ambedkar, the Labour Member, made the astounding revelation in the Central Assembly the other day that the Federation of which Mr. Mehta is the President is being subsidised to the tune of Rs. 13,000 a month for "doing propaganda to keep up the morale of India's industrial labour." Ten days later, after Mr. Mehta had sailed for Philadelphia as Government of India's nominee to the International Labour Conference, a downright repudiation of Dr. Ambedkar's statement appeared in his name in the Indian press. The Labour member's admission and Mr. Mehta's disclaimer have created an intriguing situation. Is it possible that Mr. Mehta, the President, is kept in the dark, while Mr. Roy, the Secretary, is getting the subsidy for the Federation? Whatever it is, this transaction thoroughly discredits the Labour organisation. For Mr. Mehta's contradiction is meaningless in view of the Labour Member's definite statements and the provision made for such payments in the Government of India's budget since 1942. How can Indian opinion have confidence in the nominees of Government, whose credentials are suspect?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Invasion of Europe

NAZIS are expecting an imminent invasion of Europe. The dread is already creeping on their nerves.

The German Radio said on April 21: "The Royal Navy is already concentrating in Home waters. It is the greatest concentration of ships since Dunkirk, and includes Naval Craft of American, French and other allied fleets, and Units of Italian Navy." The Radio added, "Every day new troop-trains are leaving London stations, taking men to Channel ports and ports on the East and South coasts."

The German Command expects that the Allies will launch a new offensive in Italy at the same time as they invade Western Europe. A German Military spokesman is reported to have observed:

New British and American concentrations at Nettuno are not consistent with the present passivity on the Italian front and it is expected that these forces are being held in reserve for a great new offensive against the north of Italy at the same moment as the landing attempt is made in the west.

The Imphal Front

Evidently the Jap army that has penetrated to the Manipur area is facing stiff resistance from the united forces. A correspondent writes:

While we are holding Japanese in the Bishenpur sector, we are continuing to make progress north and north-east of Imphal town. Operations which were launched to recover Mapao, a 5,000-foot mountain crest a couple of miles east of Sengmalt were successfully ended now and Punjabi troops gained possession of the hill-top. The Japanese left their dead in bunkers and there were fresh graves where more of their compatriots lay buried.

Future of Italy

Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, told Parliament on the 26th April that the Allies welcomed King Victor Emmanuel's decision to withdraw from public affairs by appointing his son, Crown Prince Umberto, Lieutenant-General of the Realm.

Mr. Eden added that the Allies approved because it was likely to contribute to the formation of a Government on a broader basis. Such a Government has now been constituted.

The Assault on Sebastopol

The big battle for the roads to Southern Poland and Central Europe is reaching its fierce climax amid the Carpathian foothills.

At the same time, Soviet guns and planes are joining in the great assault on the Crimean naval base of Sebastopol.

Massed German tanks and infantry, backed by fleets of dive-bombers, have kept up a ceaseless assault on the Soviet Stanislavov positions.

At the other end of the South Russian front, the Red Army is dealing out terrific punishment to Axis forces in Sebastopol. Hundreds of tons of metal are being poured into the garrison there from land and sea.

Bitter fighting is taking place all round the city.

Restoration of Czechoslovakia

It is reliably learnt that the Benes Government has reached an agreement with Russia for the restoration of pre-war Czechoslovakia.

It is understood that Russia gave the Czech Government assurances that Moscow will not interfere with the internal matters enabling the establishment of Czech civil administration when the first part of the country is liberated.

It is understood that the Agreement includes maintenance of pre-war Czech borders.

Turkey's Pro-allied Gesture

It is announced that deliveries of chrome from Turkey to Germany and other Axis countries have stopped since April 21. This has been the subject of warm controversy for some months past and only recently Britain and America put in a vigorous protest against the continuance of such deliveries.

Reuter's Diplomatic Correspondent comments that the Turkish decision will deprive Germany of at least half of her supplies of this essential alloy for hardening special steel used in armour plate, etc. The sole remaining sources of supplies open to her are the mines of Yugoslavia and Greece, but guerilla activities have made deliveries precarious.



NEW APPROACH TO INDIAN PROBLEM

"Indian Independence may be the only solution to the problem of Allied victory", says the *Cavalcade*, the popular three-penny weekly, in a powerful plea for the settlement of the Indian question.

Declaring that the proved fighting qualities of Indian soldiers have exploded the argument that a free India would be incapable of self-defence and would fail a prey to any aggressor, the article says, that the people now are "indifferent if not hostile".

The immediate military situation as well as long-term democratic considerations demand a new approach to the problem, says the paper and suggests the release of popular leaders as "then it might be possible to evolve a formula between nations for the recognition of Indian Independence with an inter-Allied Control Commission replacing the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief and consisting of military and civil sections. The Congress, as a majority group, might then be asked to form a Provisional Government which would enter into a treaty with the United Nations".

According to the *Cavalcade*, Japanese thinking regarding Asia goes deeper than Anglo-American thinking regarding Europe and the Japanese aim is not merely military but mainly political. "Tokyo's war-lords knowing that Japan lacks material resources to conquer India are attempting to raise a social revolution there".

Describing Indian conditions, the article says:

There has been disorder ending in blood. Famine has swept Bengal killing hundreds of thousands. To make matters worse, the Government of India made special provision for the families of those serving in army or war factories and the civil service. It is doubtful whether the British people understand the passionate nature of the Indian Independence demand or the harm that is being done to the British people's cause by the continued imprisonment of such revered leaders as Gandhi and Nehru. It is vain to tell the Indian people that the Allies are fighting for Democracy in Europe and even in Japan which they themselves are denied independence. Arguments based on anti-Fascist ideology are interpreted by them in a way damaging to our cause. Descriptions of the evils of Fascism remind them of evils of their own lot.

INDIAN TROOPS' EXPLOITS

Writing of his "personal impressions of the Indian soldier" in the American magazine *Atlantic*, Field Marshal Lord Wavell says:

I owe the Indian warrior a debt which I should like to repay with some tribute to his prowess. The Sikhs contribute more soldiers to the army in proportion to their numbers than any other class in India—first class soldiers in every way. The Punjabi Mussalman forms the backbone of many units. The Rajputs are fine fighting men. The Dogras are of magnificent metal of whom any Commanding Officer would take all he could get. The Jats are also first class material. The Pathans from British India makes a good soldier.

Lord Wavell pays a tribute to the exploits of the Fourth and Fifth Indian Divisions in Africa. Alluding to the conduct of Indian troops in Malaya and Burma, Lord Wavell writes:

I saw the Indian soldier in disaster and retreat. My impression of him was this: He was often bewildered and at a loss in strange and alarming conditions for which his training provided no solution. But he did not lose his discipline or soldierly bearing and seldom broke into panic. On many occasions he has put up a magnificent fight against heavy odds.

About the first Arakan campaign, Lord Wavell writes:

Circumstances compelled me to commit troops with little or no training in jungle craft to some of the most difficult country that could be imagined and to a long and strenuous line of communications in the hope that if all went well we might catch the enemy off the guard and gain by land a strategical objective which would have been more easily reached, had shipping resources been available. At one moment we were probably not far from success. That these inexperienced troops were eventually outmanoeuvred by a seasoned Japanese division with the advantage of better communications, and that they became somewhat disheartened in the process cannot be held to discredit the Indian army. I set a small party of it to a task beyond their training and capacity. The main responsibility for the failure is mine. But when the effect on the other side becomes known, it will certainly not be found wholly to our disadvantage.

I am certain that when the time comes for a real sustained counter-offensive against Japan, the Indian soldier will not be found wanting.

The article was written before Lord Wavell became Viceroy.

EUROPEANS IN INDIAN LEGISLATURES

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, writing in the *Modern Review* for April, discusses the growing influence of British business in Indian politics. It is not a bad thing to have the benefit of impartial advice from whatever quarter; but from the nature of the case such influence in recent years has tended to be too narrow and communal. Somehow, British business group organised by the European Association has monopolised all representation in the legislatures to the exclusion of the more liberal-minded Europeans from other professions. The result is that British commercial interests and British communal interests have silenced the voice of the more liberal-minded men among journalists or missionaries or men in the educational, legal or medical professions. And these men are clamant that the political progress of 400 millions of Indians shall be dependent on the goodwill of this minority who claim that their rights should be protected in the clearest and most unequivocal manner in case of any transfer of power to the representatives of the people. Says Dr. Mookerjee:

India will acknowledge the absence of communalism in the wider sense of the term in the European community only when it will give up of its own accord such privileges as are prejudicial to India's economic interests, when it will cease to utilise India as a profitable field for the investment of its capital to the detriment of Indian capital desirous of operating in the same sphere of business and when it will no longer exploit its influence and power to stifle competition from Indian sources. This does not mean that Europeans as individuals or European business will be shut out. What India looks for and demands is equality of opportunity not in the legal or competitive sense but as one would understand it from the standpoint of equity.

Indians maintain that British business has committed a grievous wrong against economic and political India by shutting out the better elements of the European community from making its contribution to our public life.

The best proof of a departure from its present and, from the Indian point of view, its objectionable attitude would be for it to give up its control of the European Association for its own purposes, to welcome the co-operation of these men and to facilitate their entrance into our legislatures even if this implies the disappearance of its existing, and in Indian eyes, its artificial solidarity.

When Europeans though belonging to the same race and professing the same faith join, some the Right, some the Middle and others the Left in our legislatures, according to their political convictions, it is then and then only that they will be in a position to advise Indians to forget their social and religious affiliations and to organise themselves not into Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Depressed classes blocks but to come together and to form political parties pledged to identical, political and economic programmes.

INDIA AND U.S.A.

Writing in *Asia*, Mr. Anup Singh, Research Director of the India League of America, pointing out that there are only about 3,000 native Indians in United States, recalls that Indians were entitled to become citizens until the Supreme Court ruled in 1923 that Hindus are not "white persons."

Mr. Anup Singh emphasises that "depriving India's peoples of the right which they once possessed in United States has weakened Indian goodwill towards Americans—and goodwill among nations is a vital need to-day. . . .

"Thousands of Americans have always been accorded equal rights and privileges in India. The least that America can do is to reciprocate this treatment.

"Indians, like the Chinese, should be put on an annual quota, which would be no more than a mere 75 or 50. It is not a special favour, but only justice that India's peoples ask."

ON THE USE OF TEA

In an article on the Pharmacology of tea, contributed to Mr. W. H. Ukers' encyclopaedic work "All About Tea," Dr. C. R. Harler observes:

"Tea is consumed for its lightness of touch and weight, for its easy digestibility under normal circumstances; for its warmth, yet a warmth which produces a subsequent coolness due to free perspiration when humidity and temperature are high; for its piquant palatability and aroma; and chiefly for its stimulation of the nervous and muscular system which induces a consciousness midway between gentle excitement and easy repose."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- April 1. Major-General Wingate is killed in an aeroplane crash.
—The Governor-General gives assent to Finance Bill and the Bill becomes law.
- April 2. Allied attack on Admiralty Isles: nearly 100,000 Japs are blockaded.
—Russians cross the Pruth and enter the heart of Rumania.
- April 3. New Air Base in Ulster.
—Mongolia charges China *re.* violation of Frontier.
- April 4. Government of India decides not to increase railway fares.
- April 5. H. E. Commander-in-Chief visits Madras and inspects all army units in the city.
—Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit opens the Swadeshi Exhibition organised by the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay.
- April 6. Lord Catto is appointed Governor of the Bank of England.
—Mr. Wendell Willkie announces his withdrawal from the presidential election.
- April 7. Japs raid Assam area.
—17th session of All-India Women's Conference meets at Bombay: Kamaladevi presides.
- April 8. Non-Party Conference meets in Lucknow: Sir T. B. Sapru presides.
—U.S. Planes raid Poland.
- April 9. Japs take Tame in North Burma and penetrate into Kohima.
—Nazis execute Italian Generals.
- April 10. Sir Feroz Khan Noon arrives in London.
—Russians capture Odessa.
- April 11. Japs abandon Gasmata and Cape Hoskins in New Britain.
—Sir G. Laithwaite is appointed permanent Under-Secretary to British Cabinet.
- April 12. U.S. pays compensation of one million dollars for bombing of Swiss town.
- April 13. Postal censorship is imposed.
—Nazi debacle in Crimea and bid for control of Black Sea.
- April 14. Commons debate on India *re.* continuance of Section 93 rule.
—Japs near Silchar, in Assam.
- April 15. Big fire explosion in Bombay Harbour and several deaths reported.
- April 16. Gandhiji suffers from an attack of malaria, says the Bombay Government.
—S. E. Asia command is shifted to Ceylon.
- April 17. Publication of *Bombay Sentinel* is prohibited by the Government.
—Jap Government and the Kellogg Pact-secret documents published.
- April 18. Mr. Amery attacks Congress and repeats charges of sabotage in the House of Commons debate on India.
—Russians take Balaclava.
- April 19. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem, ex-President of the Congress, is dead.
—Thousand-Plane raid on France.
- April 20. Turkey stops chrome exports to Germany.
- April 21. Pre-censorship order on *Hindustan Times* and *National Call* is withdrawn.
- April 22. Soviet-Finnish Talks fail.
—Another 2,000 Bomber raid on Europe.
- April 23. Viceroy inspects scene of disaster *re.* Bombay explosion.
—Severe fighting in Bishanpur area.
- April 24. Landings in Dutch New Guinea by the Allies.
- April 25. Hitler-Mussolini meeting.
—Jap offensive in Honan.
- April 26. Capt. Sardar Hyat Khan, Minister to the Punjab Government, is dismissed.
—Sir F. K. Noon and Maharaja of Kashmir are appointed to represent India at the meeting of Dominion Prime Ministers.
- April 27. Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Dewan of Baroda, resigns.
—Government of India orders an inquiry into Bombay explosion.
—Mr. Jinnah fails to form League Ministry in Punjab; correspondence released between him and Prime Minister.
- April 28. Col. Frank Knox, U. S. A. Secretary of Navy, is dead.
—Bombay Government announces that Gandhiji's health causes anxiety.
- April 29. Mr. A. P. Wadsworth is appointed Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.
—U. S. A. heavy bombers raid Berlin in day-light.
- April 30. Mahatma Gandhi's health is reported to be improving.
—Japs capture Chengchow in Northern Honan (China).

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Sanjeli

THAKOR SAHEB OF SANJELI

A durbar was held recently under the orders of Lieut.-Col. His Highness Maharawal Shri Sir Ranjitsinhji Mansinhji, K.C.S.I., Raja of Baria State, to install Thakor Narendrasinhji on the *gadi* of Sanjeli State, and invest him with dynastic powers. Before performing the ceremony, the durbar representative complimented the Thakor Sahab on his excellent education and training for the onerous responsibilities which he had to bear from that day. The Raja of Baria's representative suggested that for the uplift and prosperity of the population of Sanjeli State, which was principally agricultural, the Thakor Sahab should generously grant them occupancy rights and the settlement of revenue assessment on approved lines. He concluded by conveying His Highness's best wishes to the young Ruler and wishing him health, happiness and a prosperous rule.

The Thakor Sahab was then installed on the *gadi* and the Durbar *kharita* and seal and keys of Sanjeli State were handed over to him.

Kashmir

JAMMU DISTURBANCES

Dismissal of an Assistant Superintendent of Police and a Head Constable, severe censure of a District Magistrate and a Senior Superintendent of Police and the expression of displeasure "at the combination of miscalculation and apathy displayed by the former Revenue Minister in the matter" are the important features of the orders passed by the Maharaja on the report of the Enquiry Committee appointed by him to enquire into the Jammu disturbances and firing of September last.

The Maharaja has sanctioned compensation to the extent of Rs. 36,015 for the injured and dependents of the dead.

His Highness has ordered that any leave salary due to the former Revenue Minister be forfeited.

MAHARAJA'S GIFT TO I.A.F.

Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has offered to the Viceroy half a squadron of fighter aircraft, 8 in number, at a cost of £40,000 for the defence of India.

MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR

A *communiqué* says:—Lieutenant-General His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., has accepted the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy to attend the War Cabinet as a representative of India with Hon. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

KASHMIR CABINET

The Maharaja of Kashmir, who has left for England, has appointed a Cabinet, consisting of Her Highness the Maharani, Major-General Thakur Janka Singh and Sir B. N. Rau, the Premier, which will, subject to certain reservations, deal with all matters pertaining to administrative matters.

Bhopal

BHOPAL RULER'S PLEA

A plea that Indian States should be left to follow their own ways of reaching as early as possible, their goal which should be to secure for their subjects opportunities for a fuller life and ensure their prosperity and happiness, was made by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, addressing a distinguished gathering at Bhopal.

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HEAD OFFICE—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
230 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

Authorised Capital	Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	Rs. 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	Rs. 1,68,13,200
Reserve and Other Funds	Rs. 1,68,22,000
Deposits as at (31-12-1943)	Rs. 81,63,71,000

DIRECTORS.

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H. C. CAPTAIN,
Managing Director.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

THE PEGGING ACT

An important decision affecting the Indian Pegging Act has been taken as the result of discussions between the Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

The following official statement was issued by Mr. Clarkson, Minister of the Interior, on 18th April: "The Prime Minister, General Smuts, and the Minister of the Interior met the Administrator of Natal, Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, N.P.C., Senator D. G. Shepstone and the following representatives of the Natal Indian Congress, Messrs. A. I. Kaje, P. R. Pather, S. R. Naidoo, A. B. Moosa, T. N. Bhoola, Mahomed Ebrahim and S. M. Paruk, in connection with matters arising out of the application of the Pegging Act in Natal. Discussions took place as the result of representations made by Indian Congress to find an alternative method of controlling occupation of dwellings in towns and boroughs in Natal to that adopted under the Act mentioned. It was agreed that the situation would best be met by the introduction of an Ordinance into the Natal Provincial Council. This Ordinance would provide for the creation of a Board consisting of two Europeans and two Indian members under the chairmanship of a third European who would be a man with legal training. The object of the legislation would be to create a machinery for a Board to control occupation by the licensing of dwellings in certain areas, the application of the Pegging Act in Durban to be withdrawn by proclamation on the passing of this Ordinance.

Ceylon

INDO-CEYLON RELATIONS

Mr. M. S. Aney, Representative of the Government of India in Ceylon, in an interview to the *Hindu*, said:

"I very much wish a serious effort is made by public men in India to establish better contact with public men in Ceylon who are greatly interested in Ceylon-Indian problems. I believe it will be a distinct advantage to both the countries if there is mutual consultation and agreed policy in respect of such large questions as extension of adult franchise for Indians."

East Africa

NEW IMMIGRATION RULES

The Indian community throughout East Africa is much perturbed by the recently introduced regulations for tightening up the entry of non-natives in war-time. These regulations which were originally introduced in Tanganyika now apply to all East Africa on the grounds that food shortage and housing difficulties made the control essential.

A special conference of East African Indians has called on the Governments to repeal the regulations forthwith and has decided to send a delegation to India to explain their viewpoint and grievances regarding the status and conditions of the Indian communities in East Africa. It is also proposed to open an agency in London for the purpose of educating British opinion on the subject.

U.S.A.

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR INDIANS

The *Baltimore Sun* in a leader advocates favourable action by the American Congress on the recent resolution passed by the Council of State which urged that steps be taken to obtain rights of citizenship for Indian nationals living in the U.S.

The *Sun* says: The resolution should serve as a reminder to our Congressmen that on the subject of citizenship for Oriental peoples, it has some unfinished business. All the old bogies of the influx of cheap labour and the rush to our shores of great numbers of perhaps undesirable Orientals have long since been laid. The total of East Indians now in the U.S. is estimated at about 2,500. The number that will be admitted annually under the quota system is not more than 75.

The passage of such legislation would constitute a genuine gesture of friendship to a gallant Ally.

The *Sun* emphasises India's notable contribution in manpower to the Allied cause, and adds: "But more important than any such immediate consideration is the principle at issue."

As long as Indians are excluded from the U.S. as immigrants and potential citizens, we are maintaining special discriminations which are hardly consistent with such lofty professions as those contained in the Atlantic Charter.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

NON-PARTY CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

The Non-Party Conference meeting at Lucknow adopted the following resolutions:

Having regard to the extreme and general dissatisfaction which prevails in the country, this Conference is firmly of the view that it is necessary in the vital interests of almost 200 million people that the Legislatures should be restored in the five Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces in which they have been suspended for 4½ years and that in such Provinces, official advisers should be replaced by coalitions or as far as possible other representative Ministries.

This Conference demands that the Governor-General's Executive Council should be reconstructed without delay as a truly National Government with a Prime Minister at its head consisting entirely of non-officials enjoying public confidence and in charge of all portfolios subject to responsibility to the Crown during the period of the war and in regard to defence without prejudice to the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the executive head of the defence forces.

This Conference demands that with a view to creating a proper atmosphere in the country, Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders should be released forthwith. Their detention is justified neither on the ground of justice nor for reasons of State. Opportunity should be given to them as free men to review the whole situation and thus help in bringing about a settlement of outstanding issues between the Hindus and Muslims and England and India.

DEADLOCK IN GUJARAT MUNICIPALITIES

The Surat Municipal Council, at its meeting on April 13, passed a resolution stating that they would cease to function forthwith as they

feel that no local self-Government institution can discharge its normal functions in the true interests of the people with independence and self-respect as steps have not been taken to negotiate with Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of public opinion to create the necessary political atmosphere.

The resolution was moved by the Congress Party as special business and passed by 34 votes to 9. Six members were absent and one remained neutral.

The Ahmedabad Municipal Council also passed a resolution in similar terms by 52 votes to 12, after a heated discussion lasting for nearly three hours.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

SIR B. L. MITTER ON INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Advocate-General of India, lectured on "The legislative power under the present Constitution" to law students of the Benares Hindu University. He said that the executive, the judiciary and the legislature, independent of each other, made a federal system of Government perfect. But in India this principle had not been strictly followed, in that the executive was overlapping the legislature.

Sir Brojendra added that one concept of Federalism, which connoted independence of the three branches of the Government of one another, did not obtain in the Indian Constitution.

"Here the executive head is also a law-maker. With regard to the position of the legislature, the Constitution of 1935 has imposed restrictions which were not present in the old Constitution. The restriction may be classified under two heads: First the necessity of the Governor-General's previous sanction for initiating legislation of certain categories. Secondly, the positive restrictions with regard to specific matters and against discrimination. The restrictions on the head of discrimination are justified on the ground of reciprocity between India and the United Kingdom." Reciprocity could not work fairly when the parties were not equals.

DR. SAPRU'S PLEA FOR SETTLEMENT

Presiding over the third session of the Non-Party Conference at Lucknow on April 7, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru observed:

The question which now arises is whether the present position can be perpetuated indefinitely and people allowed to brood over the situation for a much longer time and whether it is wise or expedient to allow the sense of frustration to dominate men's minds still longer? That there is deep resentment and a keen sense of frustration at large I have not the least doubt. That it is unwise in the larger and abiding interest of India and England to allow the present state of things to continue in the provinces any longer I am equally clear. It is absurd to mortgage the future of this country by planning post-war reconstruction and development schemes without giving the duly elected legislatures a fair and free chance of expressing themselves on the expediency or desirability or feasibility of these plans howsoever well-meant they may be.

DETENTION OF GANDHIJI

One hundred and fifteen persons detained by or at the instance of the Central Government or under the orders of Chief Commissioners had been told the grounds for their detention as required by Ordinance III of 1944, said Sir John Thorne in reply to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, at question-time in the last session of the Assembly.

Q: Were similar notices served on members of the Congress Working Committee and on Mahatma Gandhi?

A: Yes.

Many of the representations were still under consideration and none of the security prisoners to whom his answer referred had been released so far, added Sir John.

Mr. Krishnamachari: What is the reply given by Mahatma Gandhi?

Sir John: I regret I am not prepared to enter into details of that kind.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Hon. Member give the contents of the notice served on Mahatma Gandhi?

Sir John: No.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE AND INDIA

The Commonwealth Conference, which met last month in London, passed a resolution reaffirming its belief that Mr. Gandhi's immediate release would be a demonstration of the British Government's goodwill.

The resolution also appealed to Indian party leaders to come to terms with each other, to present an agreed constitution for India, with the request that it should be implemented without delay in accordance with the declarations made by responsible members of the present British Government.

During the discussion on the resolution, Col. H. J. Jarret-Kerr, who has been in the Indian Army for 25 years and now lives at Cheltenham, declared: "The Indian people are shrewd. A lot of damn nonsense is talked about their inability to run their own affairs".

BASIC EDUCATION

"Every Province and State in India which started the experiment of Basic Education, has continued it all these five years, with the solitary exception of Orissa where when the Government dropped the experiment, the people took it up. The experiment has so far been most successful in the Bihar Province and in the Kashmir State", stated Mr. Aryanayakam, General Secretary of the All-India Basic Education Board, summarising the lengthy annual report he presented at the fifth annual meeting of the Board which met in Sevagram, Wardha, recently under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Chairman of the Board.

The General Secretary's summary of the report showed that there are 120 Basic Schools in Kashmir, 27 in Bihar, 52 in Bombay, 59 in C.P. and over 4,000 in U.P. The C.P. and U.P. Schools, though not cent. per cent. Basic Schools, had fully adopted the syllabus of the Basic Education Committee. These were all Government Schools. Besides these, there were the non-official Basic Education Schools in Sevagram, in the Jamia Millia, Delhi, in Saswad, Poona, in Meerut and in Rasulia, Hoshangabad.

WORLD CO-OPERATIVE SCHOOL

A School of International Co-operation has been set up in New York City by the Co-operative League of the United States to train persons for post-war leadership in the co-operative movement in the U.S. and abroad.

The curriculum includes courses on the history of co-operation, its meaning, principles and methods of international co-operative commerce, techniques of post-war reconstruction, economic geography, international cultural relations, co-operative organization, distribution and marketing, and international democracy.

Students from all nations may attend the school, if they have the proper educational background and show aptitude for the purposes of the training programme.

Mr. I. M. LAL, I.C.S.

The order removing Mr. I. M. Lal, District and Sessions Judge, Punjab, from the Indian Civil Service was declared wrongful, void, illegal and imperative by a Division Bench of the Lahore High Court, consisting of Mr. Justice Abdul Rashid and Mr. Justice Diwan Ramlal. Their Lordships, accordingly, granted a decree and also certified that it was a fit case for appeal to the Federal Court.

Mr. Lal was removed from the Indian Civil Service following an inquiry held by Mr. Brayne, Commissioner, into his conduct. Mr. Lal instituted a suit against the Secretary of State for India for a declaration that the order removing him from the Indian Civil Service by the defendant was wrongful, illegal and *ultra vires* and that, notwithstanding the order, the plaintiff was still a member of the Indian Civil Service and entitled to hold office as such and to enjoy all other rights and privileges as a member of this service.

WORKING OF DEFENCE RULES

"It seems to me that these Defence of India Rules have paralysed us and we have got no power," observed the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, recalling the case of Pandit Baij Nath of the Agra Bar who had been detained under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules and on whose behalf an application was filed earlier before a Full Bench of the Allahabad High Court. His Lordship made the remark when an application made in the nature of *habeas corpus* was moved before him on behalf of Mr. Vishambar Dayal Tripathi, Congress M.L.A., now a security prisoner detained in Farukhabad Jail under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules.

PRESS LAW IN ASSAM

The order of the Government of Assam requiring the Editor and Publisher of the *Sylhet Chronicle* to deposit a sum of Rs. 1,000 as security under the Press (Emergency Powers) Act has been set aside by a special bench of the Calcutta High Court.

LIFE ASSURANCE AND INFLATION

Important and material aid is being rendered by the institution of Life Assurance in the great fight against inflation. This statement was made by Arthur B. Wood, President and Managing Director of the Sun Life of Canada, in a review of the Company's 73rd Annual Report to policyholders.

All surplus income spent in life assurance, said Mr. Wood, serves as an important factor in reducing unwise spending power and preventing prices from rising. At the same time, policyholders are building up an invaluable fund for future use when it may be greatly needed.

Mr. Wood, in the course of his remarks, stated that payments to policyholders during the year exceeded \$74,000,000, including ten million dollars in respect of dividends on participating policies. \$629,000,000 has been paid to Sun Life policyholders and beneficiaries since organization. During 1943 over 60,000 Life assurance policies and annuities were added to the books and assurances in force now stand at \$3,173,000,000. The distribution of the business in force is as follows: British Commonwealth 52 per cent; United States 42 per cent; other countries 6 per cent. New life assurance policies issued during the year amounted to \$214,000,000.

INSURANCE ACT AMENDMENTS

The Insurance Act, 1938, is being amended with the object of disqualifying policyholders, who are employees or agents of an insurance company, from being policyholders' directors. This is done by amending Section 48 (2) of the Act under which employees and agents of insurance companies are at present eligible for appointment as policyholders' directors. This is considered destructive of the object of Section 48 since a policyholder, who is an employee or agent of an insurance company, cannot be expected to safeguard the interests of policyholders where these interests conflict with those of the shareholders.

PAPER FOR CIVIL CONSUMPTION

The Government of India had recently come to the conclusion that still further steps should be taken with regard to price control and distribution of paper, said the Chairman of the Indian Paper-makers' Association, Mr. R. W. Mellor, presiding over the annual general meeting of the Association on 17th April.

Mr. Mellor referred to difficulties in obtaining sufficient supplies of coal and raw materials as well as to transport difficulties which, among other causes, had compelled certain paper mills to reduce their output and some to suspend manufacture. It was now generally admitted that paper was a munition of war as essential as steel. He urged the Government to reconsider the position of the industry and to restore immediately the full coal quota to paper mills so that there would not only be full supply of paper to Government and the army but that the "pitifully inadequate" allocation of paper for the civil demand would not further be reduced.

AMERICAN PLANS TO TRADE IN INDIA

A letter from Bombay sent by an English man to *Great Britain and the East* says:

"American manufacturers realising the potentialities of this market propose to exploit it vigorously as soon as conditions and shipping permit. Their plans are being perfected by executives specially sent out from America. These men touring the country are carrying out investigations that will take four to six months to complete."

The journal adds: "Our correspondent makes no complaint of this American activity. The Indian market is open to all on the same terms. The moral he draws is that some organisation should point out to British manufacturers the importance of becoming actively engaged in laying their plans so that they can start operations as soon as conditions permit".

LEGAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Speaking on the legal rights of women at the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, a former Advocate-General of Bombay, said that Indian women's demand for a more liberal law is a natural reaction of the new spirit dominating the country. He said:

Hindu Law had been undergoing a gradual change, and the right of inheritance for Hindu women was one of its phases. The Bill regarding this question, now before the Central Legislature, provided for a share for the daughter in her father's property. This would put her in the same position as the Christian or Parsi daughter, and this was indeed a big stride forward.

Dealing with the question of women's property, Mr. Setalvad observed that justice demanded that whatever property a woman inherited or possessed, she should be entitled to use it according to her own free will, and no legal barriers could be tolerated in this sphere.

Speaking on marriage, he emphasised that monogamy was almost a necessary corollary of a fully developed and advanced state of society. Happily, the Marriage Bill now before the Central Assembly had monogamy as its criterion.

MRS. KAMALADEVI ON INDIA'S FREEDOM

In the course of her presidential address to the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay, Mrs. Kamaladevi observed:

To-day, we witness the fantastic spectacle of big world powers claiming to fight for the larger freedom and greater happiness of mankind, feeling no sense of shame or humiliation in denying those very principles to millions of the people they still continue to exploit. It is not idle curiosity or cheap sentiment which shapes the question that haunts and harasses every diplomat like a family ghost: "What about India?" We may well say. Everything, for, while England continues to hold India in political and economic bondage, the United Nations do nothing short of perpetrating a colossal lie on humanity.

India is more than a test; it is a symbol. It is the mirror in which the world sees the shape of things to be. It is for a world which recognises the right of every nation to determine and rule its own destiny but in a co-operative world order that the women of India and of the world have to strive, if humanity is ever to enjoy decency, peace and happiness and if world wars are to be banished from amongst our seasonal pests.

ALL-INDIA UNION OF JOURNALISTS

An all-India organisation of working journalists to be constituted on a federal basis, the building up of trade union funds by regional bodies to strengthen the union of journalists, deputations of journalists' organisations to see various newspaper proprietors with a view to bringing about amelioration in the pay, conditions of service, etc., of working journalists and a minimum wage and other conditions of service are suggested by the Sub-Committee of the Journalists' Association of India, Bombay, in a report which they have submitted to the Association. The Executive Committee of the Association, of which Mr. S. A. Brelvi, President of the A.I.N.E.C., is the Chairman, has issued a statement commending the recommendations of the Sub-Committee.

The Sub-Committee was appointed in August last to collect facts and figures of present scale of pay, provident fund, leave, allowance etc., obtaining in newspaper offices.

PROHIBITION ORDER ON "BOMBAY SENTINEL"

The Bombay Government has served an order on Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the "Bombay Sentinel" prohibiting the publication of the "Bombay Sentinel."

The text of the order which was served on Mr. Horniman states:

"Whereas it is necessary for the purpose of securing the Defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war to pass the following order, the Government of Bombay in the exercise of its powers under Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, is pleased to prohibit the publication of the "Bombay Sentinel." The ban has now been withdrawn.

THE LATE CROZIER OF M. G.

The death of Mr. William P. Crozier, who succeeded the late Mr. Scott as Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, is a distinct loss to British journalism.

Mr. Crozier was one of the keenest critics of British policy in India, especially its policy since the Congress, early in the war, asked for grant of self-Government. He frequently wrote the *Guardian's* leading articles on India.

GENERAL WINGATE

Major-General Charles Wingate, Leader of the Allied airborne invasion behind the Japanese lines in Burma, was killed in a plane crash on March 24. The plane in which he was travelling crashed in our territory and the cause of the accident is unknown.

Like Lawrence of Arabia to whom he was distantly related, Major Wingate was one of those extraordinary men whom war throws up—utterly unconventional in warfare, extravagantly adventurous and a born leader.

General Wingate planned and led the airborne invasion of Burma which, 150 miles behind Japanese lines in Upper Burma, cut the Mandalay-Myitkyila Railway, the essential supply line of the Japanese 18th division.

THE LATE MR. SHINDE

The late Mr. V. R. Shinde died recently after several years of continued paralytic attack. During the last 15 years he was not in active life, being bed-ridden and so out of public gaze.

"He was one of my four gurus and, next to my father, I took my lessons of public welfare work at his feet", writes Mr. A. V. Thakkar in the *Indian Social Reformer*. "Though younger in age to me, he was far advanced in the study of national beneficial activities. It is well known that he was the father of the Depressed Classes welfare movement, and while he was the first man and a pioneer in such an activity, except in the Panjab and U.P. in recent times, I took my first lessons of practical work from him."

SIR EDWIN LUTYENS

The death has occurred of the famous architect and President of the Royal Academy, Sir Edwin Lutyens, who designed New Delhi and the Cenotaph. He was aged 74.

Sir Edwin designed a number of country houses in which he gradually developed an individuality of design. Much of his domestic work was done in connection with the restoration of old houses. He also executed much civic work, being responsible for the *Country Life* offices in London and for the British Sections at the exhibitions in Paris (1900) and Rome (1911).

PHARMACEUTICAL CONFERENCE

The Fourth All-India Pharmaceutical Conference was inaugurated in Calcutta by Mr. G. L. Mehta who, in the course of his address, urged the need for development of a basic chemical industry in the country. He emphasised the vital part that the industry played in the development of a healthy and expanding pharmaceutical industry.

Mr. Mehta also dwelt on the lack of co-ordinated growth of the pharmaceutical industry, as a result of which certain drugs were not produced in the country, while in certain others, there was over-production.

Mr. Mehta urged the need for adequate research and proper organisation of the industry in respect of standardisation, publicity and marketing. He pointed out that pharmacutists were an essential link between chemical manufacturers and the public and said that it was in so far as the industry subserved public needs and interest and realised its wider social obligations it could win public confidence and support.

NO PIPS IN APPENDICITIS

About appendicitis, one of the commonest of human ills, the strangest notions exist. Most mothers warn their children that eating apple or orange pips will inevitably cause it. Bits of lead pencil, pins and cherry stones are likewise held up as certain to bring it on.

There is a grain of truth in these beliefs; doctors admit that obstructions wedged in this worm-like attachment to the colon may be the starting-point of trouble, but Dr. C. Dennis, of Minneapolis University, has a different theory.

Dr. Dennis is convinced that the cause of appendicitis can be muscular or functional, as well as the result of organic trouble.

MEDICAL AID FOR INDIA

A meeting of the India Relief Committee in London held to discuss means of sending medical aid to India, decided to form a Medical Advisory Committee. Lord Horder was appointed the Chairman. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Chairman of the Relief Committee, said that quinine and vitamins for children were specially needed. Lord Horder warmly supported the case for medical relief, observing that one of the most distressing factors was the serious lack of ordinary remedies in India.

HEALTH SURVEY COMMITTEE

The Health Survey and Development Committee, presided over by Sir Joseph Blore, has reached a stage in its work when preliminaries, such as the issue of questionnaires, have been completed and members are about to undertake a tour of the country to make local inspections and take evidence in the provinces.

Among ideas that have been considered by the Committee is a tour of other countries. "It is obvious," said Sir Joseph in a talk to press correspondents, "that we cannot make any recommendation out of relation to developments which have taken place elsewhere.

A number of *ad hoc* committees had been formed, some of which had made progress with their work. These sub-committees were composed of experts in their own subjects who came from all parts of India to give the Committee the benefit of their knowledge and advice.

The Committee was now breaking up into four groups for the purpose of touring. One group would tour in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces. A second would go to Madras and later visit Mysore and Hyderabad States. A third would now visit Bombay, Sind, Punjab, the North-West Frontier Provinces and later the United Provinces and Delhi Province. The fourth, which would investigate the question of industrial health, would see as many industrial centres as possible throughout the country.

MADRAS MALARIA CONTROL

A three-year plan for province-wide anti-malaria investigation and control has been sanctioned by the Government of Madras. The scheme, which may be extended for a further period, is estimated to cost Rs. 15,00,000 a year for the central and region units alone, exclusive of the measures at present undertaken in certain tracts, particularly in Vizagapatam and Wyanad, in Malabar. The investigation is expected to be completed in three years, to be followed by stringent control measures during the extended period.

SALE OF GOLD

In the Central Assembly, Mr. Avanashilingam Chettiar referred to the sale of gold and declared that as against the ruling price in America of about Rs. 15 an ounce, gold was sold in India at Rs. 85.

The Finance Member intervening, pointed out that the price in India had been Rs. 71 for some time.

Mr. Chettiar accepted the correction, and said that, even so, it did not affect his charge that the machinery of the Reserve Bank of India had been used for a transaction in which there was a profit made of some Rs. 30 on every ounce of gold in this country, with the result that vast sums were going out.

Mr. Chettiar reasserted his belief that many crores of Indian money had gone out in this way. Every article supplied from India to the British and the American Governments had been at controlled prices. How, in those circumstances, could the Finance Member argue in support of the sale of American gold here at prices so much higher than those ruling in America.

STERLING BALANCES

Speaking of the sterling balances, he objected to these being allowed to accumulate in one country, and wanted that they should be divided into sterling and dollar. He suggested that the sterling balances should be spent:

- (1) In training Indian technical personnel in England and America in as large numbers as possible;
- (2) in importing such consumer goods as could not be manufactured in India, for example, watches, and such goods as would not compete with Indian products; and
- (3) in importing capital goods.

NEW GOVERNOR OF BANK OF ENGLAND

Lord Catto's appointment as Governor of the Bank of England, in succession to Mr. Montague Norman, will cause widespread interest in India where he spent twelve years as head of the great Yule interests. He was in fact the immediate successor of the late Sir David Yule.

ALL-INDIA UNION OF RAILWAYMEN

At a railwaymen's conference in Delhi sponsored by the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, it was decided to establish an All-India Railwaymen's Union.

Opening the conference, Mr. Frank R. Anthony, President-in-Chief of the A.-I. and D.E. Association, said:

I find that railwaymen particularly have no security of service to-day. Unlike members of other Government Departments, they are liable to removal or dismissal without any inquiry or trial. This, to my mind, is an intolerable state of affairs. But the only way in which railwaymen can secure necessary redress is through an organised body, which will be able to wield the necessary influence on the Government and I believe that there is real need for such a union in this country.

The Anglo-Indian community still occupies a preponderant position on the railways. I do not want to make this a communal organisation. It cannot be. It must be non-communal. But through the good offices of Anglo-Indian railway employees, and through fellow-Indian co-operators, we can, and should build this Union up into the most powerful organisation of its kind in India. I have received offers and promises of support from railwaymen in every railway in this country. We have 25,000 Anglo-Indians on the railways. If you enlist the co-operation and the good offices of your fellow railway employees, I believe we can make this All-India Railwaymen's Union an organisation which the Government will not be able to ignore. It is vital in your own interests to start such an organisation and to keep it going.

The Conference adopted the following resolution: "That an All-India Railwaymen's Union be established and registered under the Trade Union Act".

RAILWAY FARES

As was anticipated, Government has announced its decision to drop the proposal to increase railway fares.

Behind the decision lies, according to lobby talks, "the greatest struggle which the Indian Members of the Vice-roy's Council are reported to have had with their colleagues. The Indian Members have won not by votes but by arguments".

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta revealed in the Assembly, the increase in fares was decided with the casting vote of the Viceroy, with the Commander-in-Chief voting against the proposal.

The pressure of public opinion, as voiced in the Assembly and in the Press, has prevailed.

ALLIED SERVICES ART EXHIBITION

H. E. Lady Wavell opened the Allied Services Art Exhibition at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, on April 14. The exhibits, she said, came from all over India and she was glad that the American Allies contributed to the Exhibition with works of high quality. It was a similar Exhibition held in Britain after the last World War which brought to notice talents of several young artists who later won fame. It was a good thing that young men could turn to the solace of beautiful things in the midst of the grimness of war.

Pictures exhibited include pencil and water-colour sketches done by unknown front-line servicemen during brief spells between battles, and hurriedly sent on in envelopes and odd bits of cardboard. Two well-known American water-colour artists, have submitted their work; War Correspondent Milford Sheats has sent studies done in different war theatres, and Sgt. Milford Zomes has portrayed life on the Assam front. English Portrait Painter, Lt. Col. Simon Elwes, Official War Artist now in India, is showing his portraits of Indian heroes in the forces. Among them is a group picture of the widow, father and son of Company Havildar Major Chelu Ram, Posthumous V. C. from the 6th Rajputana Rifles.

CHINESE PAINTINGS

Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador, opening an exhibition of contemporary Chinese paintings at the Royal Water Colour Society galleries in London, said, "China and Great Britain as allies in war and partners in the work of peace-building later on, both have an ardent desire to know each other better to the end that their collaboration may prove fruitful not only to themselves but to humanity in general. One of the best ways to attain close understanding between peoples is to promote cultural relations."

Sixty paintings which have recently reached Britain from China are on view at the exhibition, which was presented by the British Council at the request of the Ministry of Information.

GUNGA'S DEATH

The world of sport has lost a great champion in the death of Gunga who was recently killed in a bus accident while he was on his way to Lahore. Reporting his death, a West India contemporary gives the following account of the great wrestler:

Gunga was born 43 years ago in the village of Ugoki (Sialkot). He was a dyed-in-the-wool wrestler, for his grandfather, Bali, was a great wrestler of his time. His father, Gamu Baliwala, too, was a wrestler of exceptional merit and he offered stubborn resistance to the great Ghulam when the latter was in his prime. Gunga began to take part in open tournaments when he was between 16 and 18 years of age. His first opponent of note was young Gama whom he defeated easily. Gunga beat him again in two subsequent bouts. Others he met and defeated at this were Gutta Singh, Haider, Gama 'yokka' and Kalia of Jalalpore. Perhaps the greatest battles of his life were with Imam Bux, brother of the great Gama. They met four times and in the first encounter Gunga beat Imam within 20 minutes; the second match went to Imam after a memorable fight of 55 minutes; the third was of questionable result but the verdict was given to Imam and the fourth Gunga lost.

Other interesting facts about Gunga are: (1) His real name is Firozudin; his nickname Gunga is but the Indian term for a muto; (2) Gunga lost powers of speech and hearing through an attack of plague while a child of four or five; (3) for exercise, Gunga would perform at least, 2,000 dunds (dips) and 2,000 baithaks (squats) at a time. Gunga's bodily measurements, as taken by Mr. S. Mazumdar, the Editor of *Athletic East*, some years ago were: Height 5 ft. 11½ in.; Neck 18 in.; Chest (normal) 49¼ in.; Upper arm 16½ in.; Forearm 13¼ in.; Wrist 7¾ in.; Thighs 27¼ in.; Calf 16 in."

RANJI TROPHY FINAL

The Western India States Cricket Association won the Ranji Trophy cricket final beating Bengal, recently, by an innings and 23 runs. This is the first time that this Association has won this Championship. Holders of the trophy, it may be recalled, were eliminated in the first round by Bombay who, in turn, lost to the champions in the semi-final.

JOE LOUIS IN ENGLAND

Joe Louis, world heavyweight champion, is now in England. Louis is giving a series of exhibitions at various camps in Britain, but a fight with any British boxer is considered most improbable.

INDIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Easter Session of the Indian Academy of Sciences opened its three days' session at the University Buildings, Madras, with a discussion on "Luminiscence".

Sir C. V. Raman led the discussion with a talk on the "Luminiscence of Solids". He laid emphasis on the phenomena connected with the diamond, based upon his more recent work at Bangalore, which has given a new interpretation of different types of diamonds and their physical properties arising out of crystal formation.

Sir C. V. Raman subsequently addressed the gathering on "Coronae, Haloes and Glories". He said that these highly attractive and natural phenomena of the sky were the results of the existence of water vapour under various conditions. As was well known, the air contains dust and water vapour besides gases.

The most puzzling of natural phenomena occurring every day is the existence of water in the sky as cloud and its slowly coming down as rain. The cloud that is seen consists either of fine drops of water hanging in the air or of crystals of ice; the former gives rise to the coronae and the latter the haloes.

DISCOVERY OF NEW PHENOMENON

Dr. L. D. Mahajan, in charge of the Physics Research Laboratory, Mahendra College, Patiala, has discovered a new phenomenon called "Humid Fatigue" in hygrometers.

While finding the time lag of Mahajan's optical hygrometer, it is observed that this hygrometer, when treated for a number of times with moist and dry currents of air alternatively has less time lag than otherwise. The hygrometer, which has been so treated, comes to rest and gives a constant value in a shorter time than otherwise. Thus the time lag of the hygrometer depends upon its immediate past history, besides other factors.

The effect of the immediate past history is found in other types of hygrometers also. This phenomenon may be called the "Humid Fatigue" of hygrometers.

FILM ON LIFE OF BUDDHA

Mr. Bhadrakumar Yajnik, Chief Publicity Officer of Prakash Pictures, who has returned from Ceylon, says in a statement on behalf of the Prakash Pictures of Bombay, as follows:—We are informed that the State Council of Ceylon has passed a motion requesting the Board of Ministry of Ceylon to take steps with the Government of India for the prohibition of the preparation of "Life of Lord Buddha" as it is liable to wound the religious feelings of Buddhists all over the world.

Messrs. Prakash Pictures are in possession of documents supporting their film from Buddhist leaders of different countries of the world including Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the President of the Maha Bodhi Society of India, Dr. Pao, Consul-General of China, Rev. K. Mahamanna, the Buddhist leader of Nepal, Nagwang Tschul, the Lama of Tibet. It is wrong to say that the film will wound the feelings of Buddhists all over the world.

Even Buddhist leaders of Ceylon like Sir D. B. Jayatilake, a representative of Government of Ceylon in India, has supported the cause. He has stated in a letter: "I do not think that objection can be raised against the present proposal. I would like to add that the picture will be of great propaganda value".

BISHOP OF LAHORE ON CINEMA

In speaking of the responsibilities of University men and women, in the Punjab University Convocation, the Bishop of Lahore said:—

The cinema in India is still in the earlier stages of its development. In some ways it has avoided the less reputable feature of Hollywood; in some ways it has been too slavish in following suit. Often it deals with great themes which are inspiring and uplifting; sometimes it does not play so worthy a part. The cinema all the world over must cater for the public taste if it is adequately to fill its halls. Its influence is (to use one of its own hyperbolic adjectives) stupendous. Increasing numbers of people patronise the cinema. It is therefore all the more important that the public mind and national taste should be purified and not degraded. Here is a great influence waiting to be harnessed for good ends. University men and women should be interested in it. Their influence should be to keep it at high level not only insisting on technical perfection but the presentation of stories and themes which, even in their excitements and developments, raise the national taste of degrading it.

MOTOR ROAD TO TIRUPATI HILLS

A new page in the annals of Hindu religious worship was turned on April 10, when His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, cutting a stretch of ribbon, declared open the motor road from Tirupati to the top of Tirumalai Hills.

The creation of this new amenity satisfies a need felt through centuries of Hindu pilgrim history—the need of easy and quick access to the Shrine of Sri Venkateswara known as “Lord of the Seven Hills” and to devout North Indian Hindus by the almost endearing appellation of “Balaji.”

For, till now pilgrims had to trudge on foot the six-mile stairway, cut on the rocks, leading in ups and downs from Tirupati at the foot of the Hill to the shrine 2,600 feet above, on Tirumalai Hills.

The road declared open by His Excellency covers this altitude of 2,600 feet in a run stretching 11 miles and 3 furlongs, with a maximum gradient of one in eighteen. The general width of the road is 27 feet, of which the middle 18 feet is metalled. The difficult portions of the road are the first two miles and the last three miles. The road negotiates several rises and falls, and a deep valley that intervenes presents some difficulties. Despite, however, a number of curves and hairpin bends, the road is so laid out as to be easily negotiable by even the biggest cars.

The road was completed at a cost of six lakhs of rupees.

MOTOR CAR PRICES

In order to check profiteering in the sale of motor cars, the Government of India, it is reported, are considering means to control prices of all old cars in India.

It is stated that no one will be allowed to sell cars except to an authorised dealer, and permission for that purpose will also have to be obtained from the local transport authorities. A dealer will be able to sell to customers only at certain graded rates of profits.

It is likely that the sale of cars will also be brought under the purview of the anti-hoarding and profiteering ordinance.

AMERICAN-BUILT AERODROMES IN INDIA

“Government have seen Press reports to the effect that sections of public opinion in the United States of America have urged the acquisition of certain rights in relation to aerodromes built with American funds in other countries”, said the Secretary, Posts and Air, Sir Gurunath Bewoor, in reply to Sir A. H. Ghaznavi in the Assembly. “No question of the transfer of sovereignty can arise and indeed, according to Press reports, the President of the United States has rejected any such idea”, he added.

Q: Are Government vigilant about safeguarding essential Indian rights in any post-war settlement about civil aviation, particularly with reference to questions of transit or control of air ports or of adequate share in empire and international air transport, and have the Government of India under preparation a blue-print of post-war air development in India?

A: Yes.

In reply to supplementaries Sir Gurunath explained that the right referred to was the right to use the aerodrome for traffic purposes.

Mr. Neogy: How many aerodromes have been built in India by Americans? Sir Gurunath said that he was unable to answer that question, and explained that his department was not concerned with military aerodromes.

WORLD'S LARGEST FLYING BOAT

The world's largest operating airplane, the Mars, has completed its first round trip to Hawaii, setting a new record in the weight of cargo carried by plane across the Pacific. The Mars completed the 4,700-mile round trip in 27 hours and 26 minutes total flying time and delivered 20,500 pounds of cargo.

The ship's skipper, setting the great boat down on San Francisco Bay after a three-and-a-half-day trip, said, “She behaved beautifully. We carried twice the load ever flown by plane to Hawaii when we arrived there on the morning of January 23, and then beat our own record on the way back.

“The Mars proved herself economical. Per pounds carried, it was the cheapest air haul ever made across the Pacific.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

A group of Indian engineers and businessmen in America, believing that “the mother country's first need is industrialisation,” have formed an organisation called the India Technical Association, whose object is to promote Indo-American relations in aid of their programme. About 50 Indian scientists, technologists and businessmen in America have so far joined the movement.

Mr. N. R. Joshi, one of the organizers of the Association, said, “Our purpose is to make and propagate plans for the rapid, industrial and technological developments in India. In this, we naturally look to America for co-operation and help. We hope to bring about a better understanding between manufacturers in America and India. We hope that Indian students may be brought here by American firms for training, and then return to India as representatives of American firms”. Mr. Joshi stressed that the Association had no motive or purpose beyond the industrial development of India and that it would work through established channels. Dr. V. R. Kokatnur, Chemical Engineer, now working with the United States Army, and Dr. B. V. Bhoots, Civil Engineer, employed by a New York firm, are active on the organising committee.

MR. GHANDY ON INDUSTRIALISATION

“Where is India in this world of progress? We are not able to manufacture aircraft or automobiles. A proper ship-building industry is still unknown. Our requirements of heavy machinery have to be supplied from abroad and we are content to utilise the great reservoir of scientific talent that exists in the country for the purpose of maintenance and operation of machines designed and constructed in foreign countries. What heightens the sense of tragedy is the fact that a country so unusually rich in natural resources as India should be so backward in industrial development”,—thus spoke Mr. J. J. Ghandy, C.I.E., General Manager, Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., in the course of his presidential address delivered at the Engineering and Metallurgy Section of the Indian Science Congress held at Delhi.

FARMING ON CO-OPERATIVE BASIS

The Food Expert, Sir John Russell, broadcasting to India, said that peasants and cultivators everywhere were hoping for a higher standard of living in the future, and one of the surest ways of securing this was to widen their range of production, improving greatly their livestock, husbandry, and milk production, and producing more and better fruit. One way in which engineers were helping in fighting the famine, had been the invention of many kinds of engines. Tractors were expensive and could not usually be bought by small farmers. Sir John continued, “The small farmer can, however, get much benefit from machine, owned and worked by Co-operative Societies, and that is one of the many reasons why small farmers in any country, especially India, should learn to co-operate.”

NEW DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The creation of a separate Department of Agriculture at an early date is envisaged in well-informed circles in Delhi, says a press correspondent. At present agriculture is under the Department of Education, Health and Lands. It is felt here that adequate attention under present arrangements is not paid to agriculture, and for the purposes of post-war planning of India's basic industry a separate Department is regarded as essential. The new Department which will continue to be under Sir Jogendra Singh, will deal with agriculture, forestry, fisheries, etc. Sir Jogendra Singh's portfolio is likely to be called Agriculture and Development Department containing Education and Health.

AGRICULTURAL LOANS

According to an amendment to Madras Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans (General Rules), loans received by agriculturists shall be repayable with interest at 4 cent. per annum or if the landholder wants a longer time to repay them in not more than 20 annual instalments with interest at the rates notified by the Government under Rule 4.

DR. B. V. NATH

Dr. B. V. Nath, till recently Director of the Imperial Council of Agricultural and Scientific Research, has accepted the offer of the Madras Government to become the Director of Agriculture, Madras.

LABOUR POLICY

Mr. N. M. Joshi initiated a debate in the Central Assembly on the Labour Department's policy regarding labour questions. He declared that these had worsened during the war and he objected to the permission given by the Government for longer hours of work. Labour was so plentiful in India that if the Government wanted to increase war production they could have introduced the system of shifts, and paid workers better. He complained that although the Dearness Allowance Committee appointed by the Government had made its report, the Government had not published it. Occasional unemployment resulted in this country because of a shortage of coal, or for other reasons for which labour was not responsible and the Government, he said, should pay compensation to workmen in these cases. He suggested that the Tripartite Conference be provided with its own staff, an independent chairman, and a whole-time secretary. The Government of India should plan big things for labour, as they were planning big things for other classes. A strong representative committee should be appointed to consider labour questions, and to suggest bold measures for a Beveridge Plan for Labour. He also wanted a whole-time Labour Minister.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN INDIA

The total number of workers employed in factories in India rose from 21,56,377 in 1941 to 22,81,563 in 1942, according to the annual report on the administration of the Factories Act, 1934, for the year 1942.

The increase was prominent in Government and Local Fund factories which employed 2,99,729 workers during the year under review as compared with 2,20,086 workers in the previous year. The report also shows that the number of workers in factories other than Government and Local Fund factories had increased from 19,36,291 to 19,81,834, the increase being prominent in the Cotton Textile Group, i.e., spinning, weaving and other factories. In this group the number of workers employed increased from 5,93,707 in 1941 to 6,08,975 in 1942.

BENGAL'S MORTALITY

Deaths in Bengal from all causes in 1943 totalled 18,73,719, which is 58 per cent. above the average number of deaths in the Province during the last five years, says a press note issued by the Government of Bengal.

Deaths from cholera numbered 2,14,175 in 1943, which is 1,60,909 above the average. Malaria accounted for 6,74,330, showing an increase of 285,792 above the average.

There were 22,005 deaths from smallpox, the corresponding annual average for the last five years being less by 11,075. The total annual average of deaths from all causes for the last five years is 11,84,903.

In publishing these figures, Government state that they are now complete.

VICEROYAL EXPENSES

The Viceroy's salary is about £20,000 a year, plus a sumptuary allowance of £3,000. He also gets a grant, we are told, which is roughly equivalent to four times his salary, for his staff, his comings and goings and perhaps a few other extras.

Here are two items of expenditure in Willingdon's penultimate year and Linlithgow's 2nd year:—

	1934-35	1937-38
Private Secretary's Establishment	£14,516	£26,023
The Viceroy's Tours	£29,156	£39,000

FREEDOM FOR NEGROES

The Negro singer and actor, Paul Robeson, warned newspaper correspondents, in an interview in New York against the danger of the post-war exploitation of Africa. "The U.S. will have a tremendous lot to say about what happens in Africa after the war," he said.

The temper of the American Negro had changed during the war, Robeson added, and he now wanted his freedom.

MAJOR-GEN. LENTAIGNE

It is announced that Major-General W. D. C. Lentaigne, formerly a Brigadier commanding a Chindits Column, has been appointed to succeed the late Major-General Wingate.

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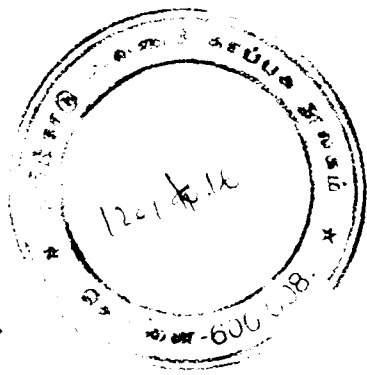
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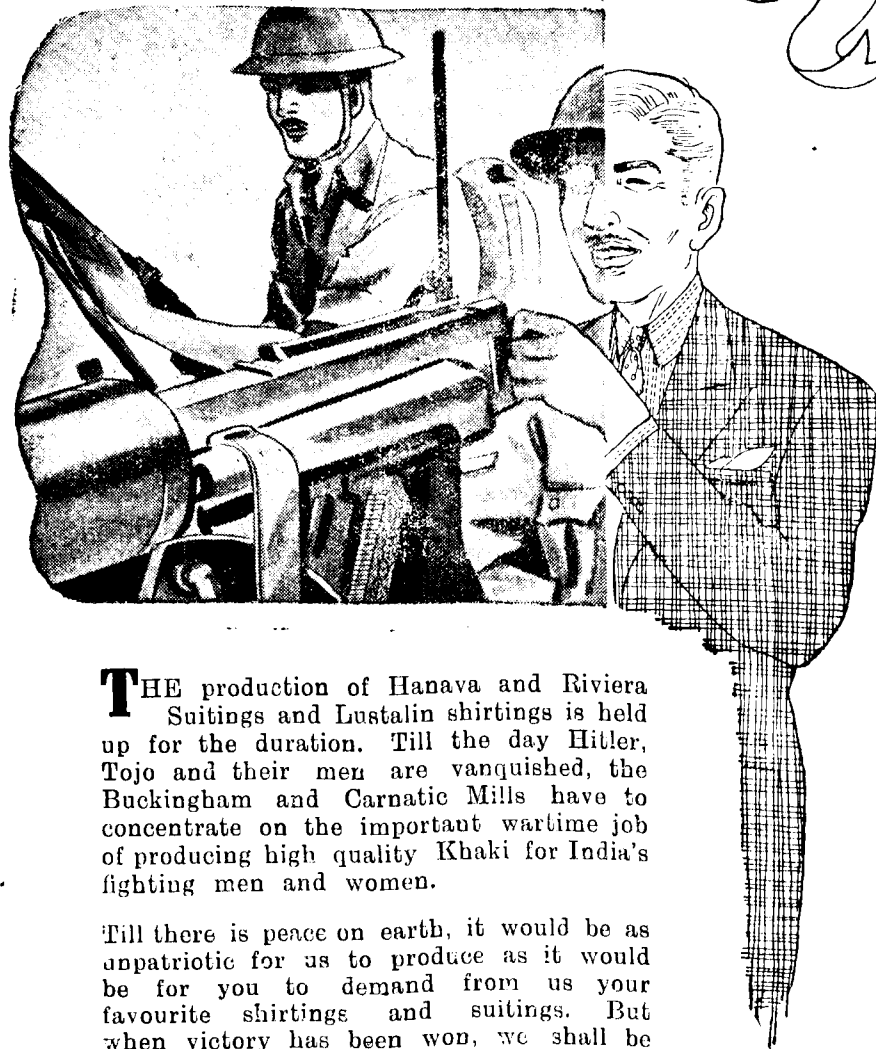
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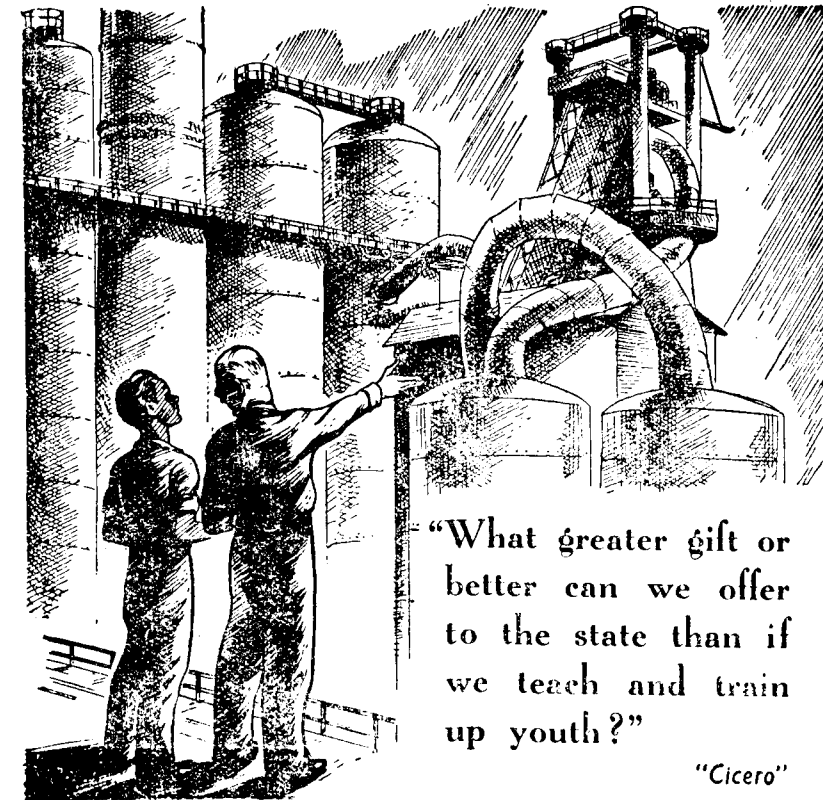
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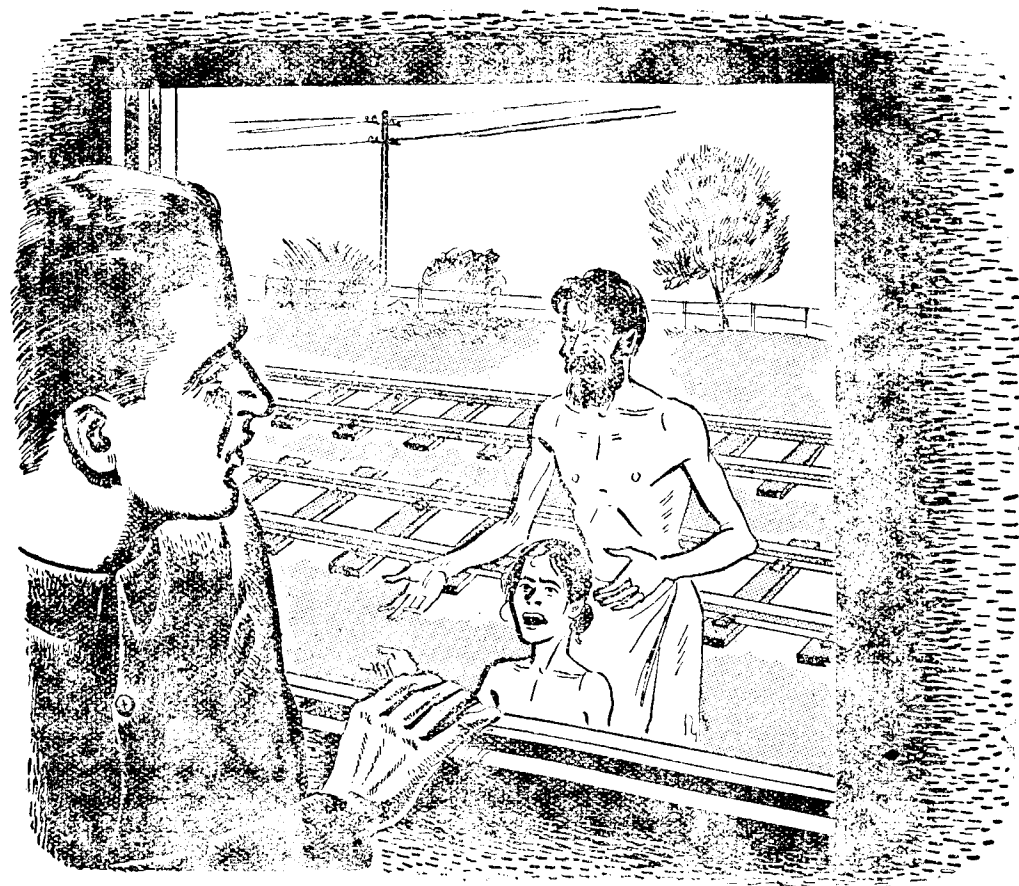
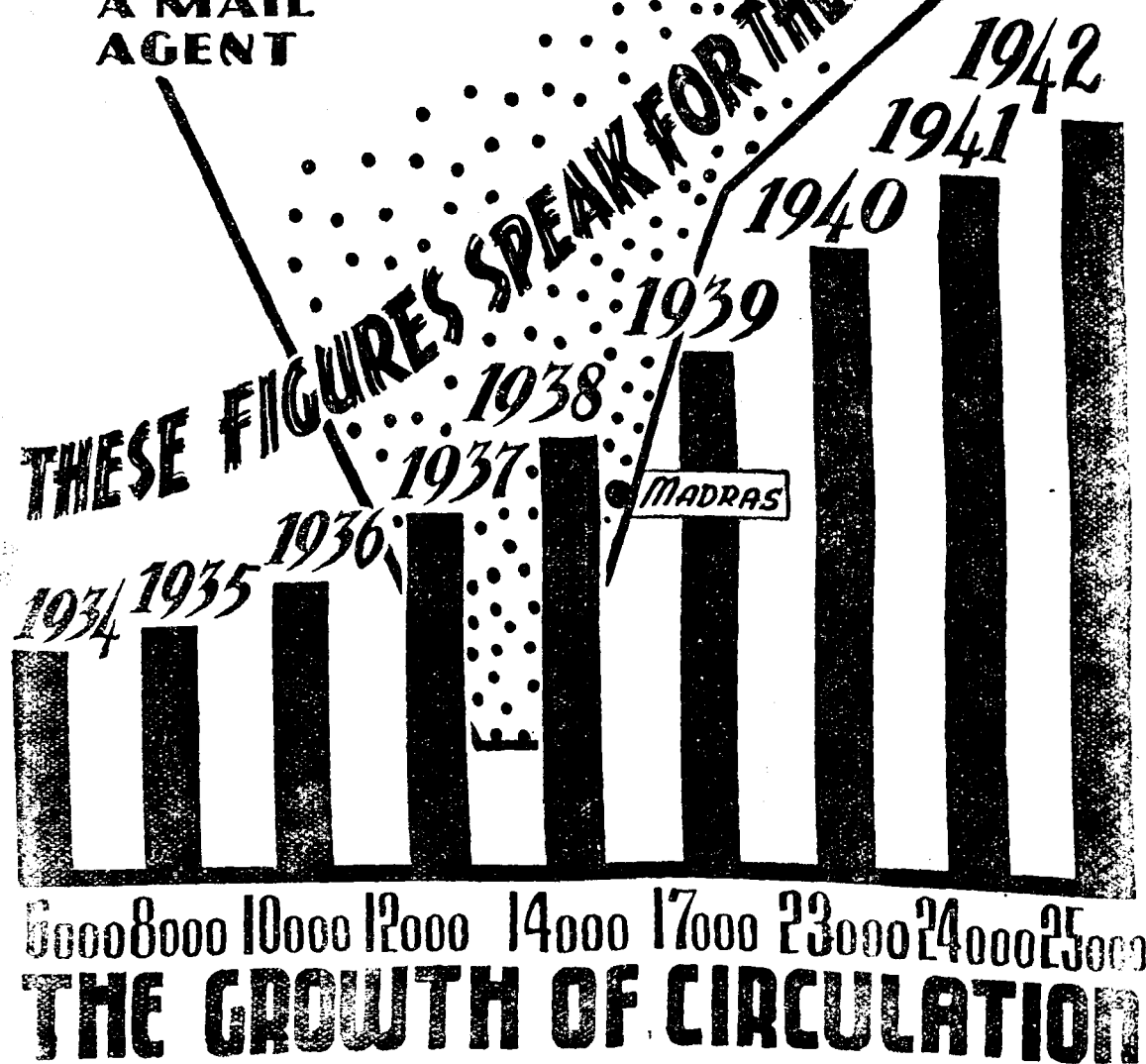


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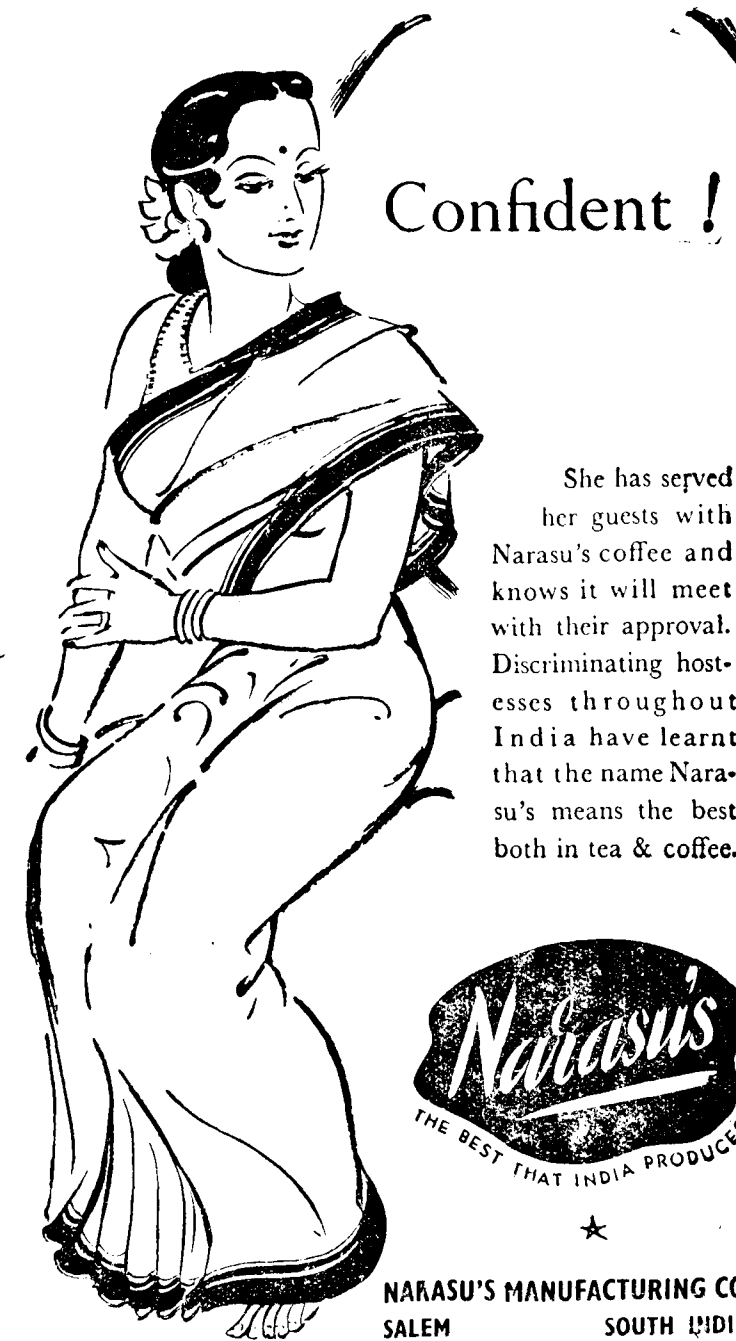
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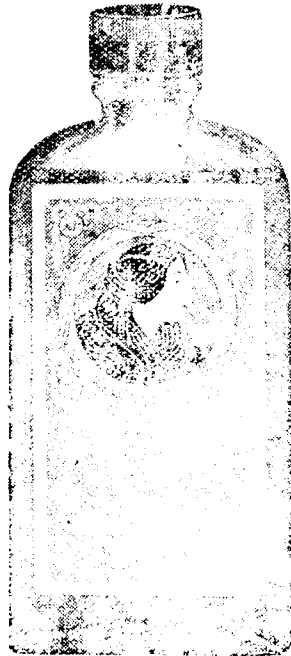
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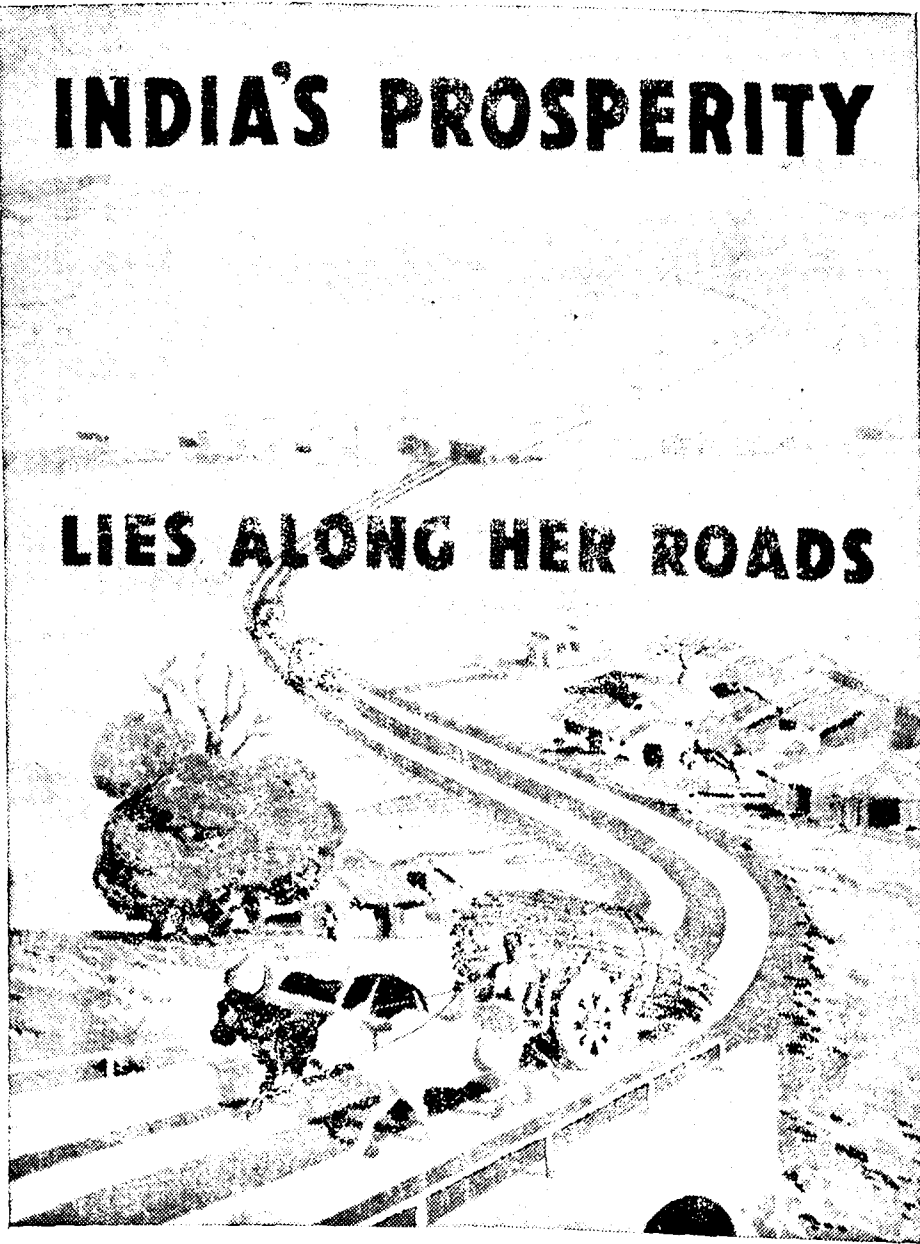
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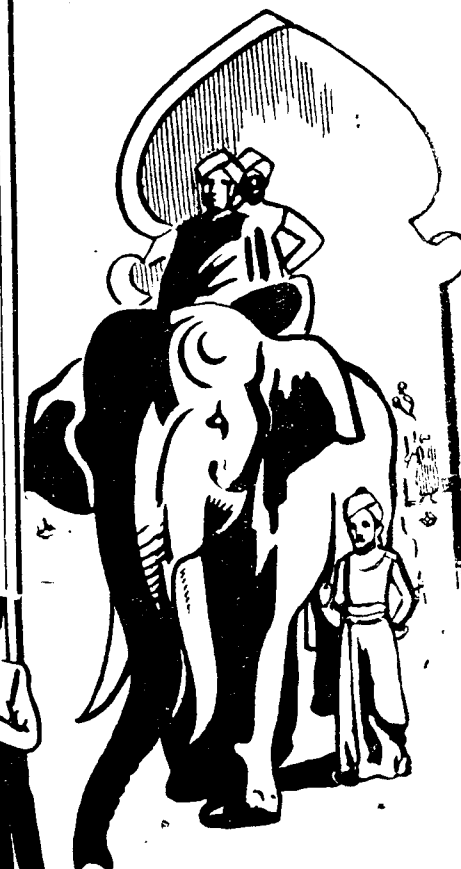
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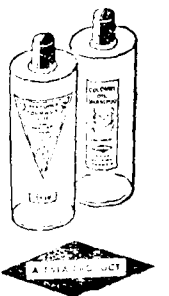
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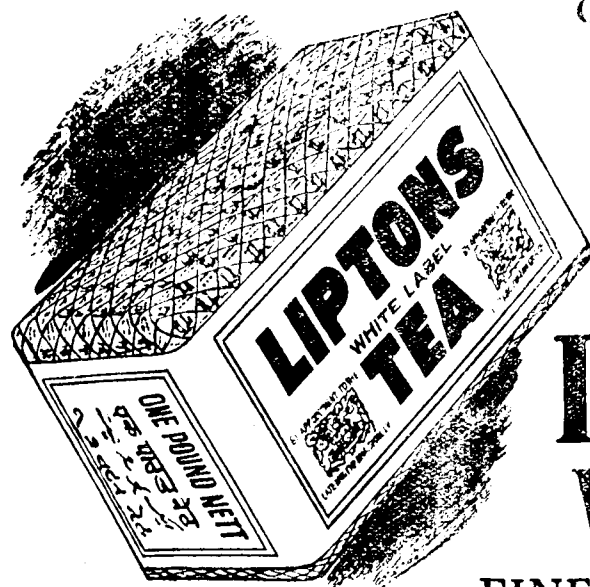
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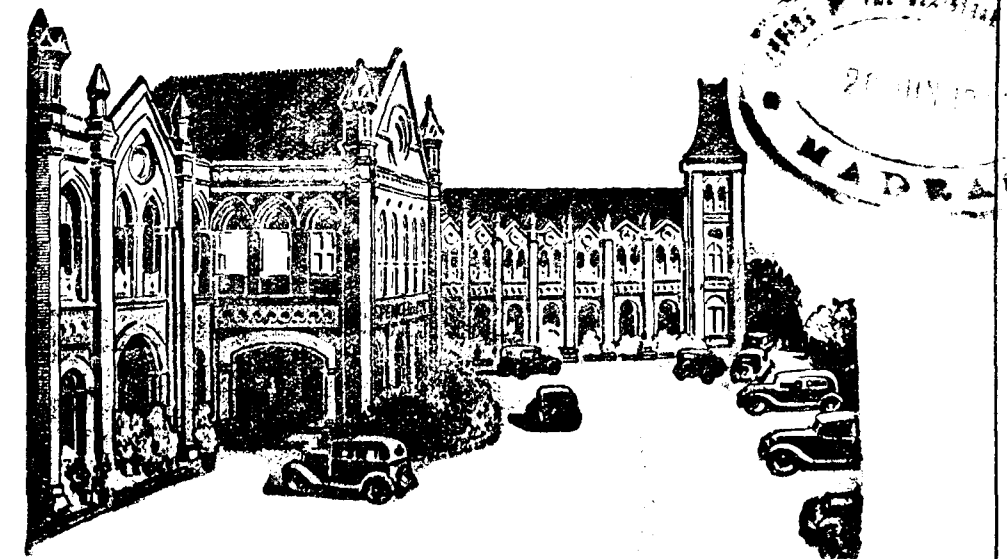
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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 45.]

JUNE 1944

[No. 6.

A Gap in Our Industrial Organization

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

OUT of this war there has come to us a revelation. It is a startling revelation—startling because the gap in our industrial organization that has been revealed was right in front of our eyes all the time. It stared us in the face. It was no small hole, either, nor was it covered by rank vegetation or luxuriantly growing, thick-leaved scrub. The gap was large. It was ugly-looking. Because it was economic in character, it reproduced itself in our intellectual and political life. In the body social and the body politic there were resultant gaps.

The large, ugly-looking hole that the war has revealed is in paper production. Activity spread over many decades, particularly during this generation, has plugged—partially or wholly—most of the gaps in this branch of our national economy. Only this nasty one remains.

When the editor of this *Review* and I started plying our journalistic pens not quite half a century ago, practically all our paper requirements were supplied from external sources. What little paper was produced in our country was almost entirely hand-made. The only attempt made to substitute mechanical processes for the old-fashioned, cumbersome ones displayed enterprise upon the part of the men who essayed them. For a considerable time the out-turn was, however, negligible compared with the imports of paper.

Now that time has bleached our hair snow-white, a fence—invisible to be sure but nevertheless effective—has come into being all along our seaboard. Paper of foreign origin has to jump over it. Mighty little has within it the potentiality to

accomplish that feat with any substantial measure of success.

With one exception. That exception is the paper that goes into our press rooms white and comes out of them as black and white; sometimes red black and white and sometimes polychrome in hue. In trade parlance it is "newsprint."

There has been a great dearth of paper of this description ever since the beginning of hostilities. As hoards in newspaper go-downs reached alarmingly near the exhaustion point, the cry went up. When supplies in the market ran low, the howling became louder.

In this outcry the readers of newspapers joined in the chorus. They had to pay more for what they got and received much less.

This double grievance woke up persons who formerly were apathetic to a realization of the gap in our industrial organization. We had not attempted to manufacture newsprint—or at least attempted it on a commercial scale. Every sheet that we held in our hands—every page that we glanced at or read with care—had been made in Europe or North America.

So long as newsprint somehow or other found its way through this large hole in our manufacturing economy, the people did not realize that there was any hole at all. So plentiful and so cheap was newsprint in the days of semi-peace between this and the preceding world-war that few persons troubled to speculate as to where it had been made and how it had got to us.

Newspapers were, in fact, becoming larger and larger. Cheaper, too. Even an organ

popular with officials that had been sold at four annas the copy was reduced to one anna. An Englishman, who once was with me in Fleet Street and had drifted into Indian journalism, was quite proud of scaling it down to the "popular price" level—a one-anna bit.

When recently the last of the newspaper proprietors fell in with the official mandate regulating the sizes and prices of newspapers, the readers in general began to enquire into the why and wherefore of the situation.

"Shipping is short," they were told. "Supplies of newsprint are shorter."

This was true.

But why true?

Because of the ugly gap in our production.

But why the gap in our production?

No convincing reply has ever been vouchsafed to this question—the most pregnant of questions.

Not that answers have not been attempted. Many, indeed, have been the explanations. None, however, has been adequate. Certainly none has been satisfactory.

If actual humbug is not ladled out to the public, the explanation-givers seek refuge in technicalities. The truth—at least as I see it—is unmistakably clear.

Our paper-makers have so far attempted only paper of good quality—"superior", I think, is the term used. They have also made paper of superfine quality, creditable to them and even more so to the chemists upon the basis of whose researches these results have been achieved.

No encomium passed on the workers at the Indian Forest Research Institute at New Forest, Dehra Dun, could be too high.

Paper of good quality was a better proposition from the financial point of view than would have been newsprint, a poor quality, cheap paper. These papers gave, almost from the start, a good return on the capital invested.

So long as the paper-makers confined their activities to the manufacture of such grades, they could follow the line of least resistance. They could obtain the materials they put into the pulp-pot almost

at their doors. Grasses, bamboo of various descriptions and certain kinds of pulp-wood that they largely utilized could be had easily and cheaply.

The forests near by abounded in them. The conservators were only too happy to have these products exploited for such purposes. It added to the revenue—made their monthly and annual returns look more prosperous. So foresters were as well satisfied as were the manufacturers of newsprint.

The manufacture of newsprint could not be attempted so long as the makers adhered to the policy of pursuing the line of least resistance. Soft woods were needed for this purpose, if possible, in close proximity of never-failing sources of water-power. Only under such conditions could this branch of paper production be carried on upon anything like an economic scale.

The pulp-wood requisite for newsprint-making exist in our Motherland in immense quantities. Our forests have extensive reserves of several such species.

These reserves are not, however, situated at the manufacturers' door—not even near it. The haulage would add enormously to the cost of production, were production to be carried on in the factories at the existing sites.

Then, too, it is a question of accessibility. These species of pulp-wood often grow in areas without communications or with poor communications.

If this gap in our industrial organization is to be closed—closed even part way—many agencies will have to work shoulder to shoulder. Men in superior control of our communications will have to show a degree of enterprise that so far has been wanting in India—the kind of enterprise that has characterized the pioneer countries of the New World. Governments owning forests will also have to evince a spirit to get together with financiers so as to remove obstacles. The difficulties of obtaining plants that could be put down immediately in the less remote forest areas cannot be overcome now and, I fear, for a long time to come, without the official blessing—and backing.

HISTORIC KANDY

BY MR. D. T. DEVENDRA

—) O (—

ON the 2nd of March, 1815, when the chieftains of Kandy who had assembled in the Audience Hall in solemn convention ceded the sovereignty of the mountain kingdom that had been the rugged heart of Lanka which had throbbed with the spirit of its two-millennium-old independence, none would have dreamt that the city would invite the world-wide attention that it has done one hundred and twenty-nine years later, in the year 1914. Kandy, so the future appeared, was no more to hear war's alarms. It is otherwise, and today the spotlight of history-in-the making has been turned on Lanka's Hill Capital.

Though available records indicate a bare half dozen centuries as the age of Kandy, it is quite probable that its age is much greater. Within a short distance of it there are unmistakable signs of ancient occupation. These are caves with inscriptions which tell us that they had been donated to Buddhist ascetic-monks in the years before the birth of Christ. It is true that the mountain country, the hard core of Lanka, had not been popular with the first Aryan settlers of the sixth or fifth century B.C. Nevertheless, some parts of it had been lived in as far back as these pre-Christian times. The Brahmi legends incised on the brows of these once-tenanted caves are sure evidence of it. Thus, with the proximity of these settlements, it is unlikely that Kandy had been discovered only some six centuries ago by a king who was reigning in a neighbouring city. It is more probable that he himself had had heard a tradition of Kandy's strategic value and decided to transfer the seat of government to his discovery.

The story of the find has victory as its origin. The king was out a-hunting one day when he got lost in the tangled forest that was then Kandy. Wandering aimlessly, he alighted on a cave where lived a Brahmin ascetic by the name of Senkhanda. The king consulted the forest-dweller's wisdom on his plan of a new

city. The latter listened to the monarch and, to the royalty's shock, picked up a pebble. He threw the pebble into a bush—and out-scrampered a frightened hare. Then he threw another pebble in a different direction. A jackal darted out of a hole and, seeing the hare, straightway gave it chase. The race was run only a few yards. Suddenly, the fleeing hare turned back as if in defiance of his challenger. The jackal immediately turned tail, and the strange spectacle was soon lost in the undergrowth. The spot where the unnatural experience began, so the Brahmin explained, was a Jaya Bhumi or Auspicious Place. The king obeyed the sign and built the city of Kandy.

Thus the tale. But undoubtedly there were other reasons for the king's choice. And the unconquerable spirit of Kandy, its long tales of dogged resistance, its invulnerability, are all tributes to royal wisdom.

From the time of the first European contact with Ceylon, the city had been visited by ambassadors of several nations. They have left behind interesting records of their experiences and observations. Robert Knox, a British prisoner of the king for two decades, who returned home in 1680, has written an astonishingly graphic account, not so much of Kandy itself as of the kingdom and its inhabitants. It is a valuable book to which historians freely refer. Among others of his race who went thither were John Pybus, Hugh Boyd and Robert Andrews, all in the service of the East India Company, who too wrote revealing accounts of their journeys. The account of Pybus' mission to King Kirti Sri Rajasinha (of cherished memory) was found in the records of the Madras Government and published a hundred years later from his "Report to the Hon'ble George Pigot, Esq., President and Governor and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort St. George" (1762). One of the exhibits at the Kandy National Museum is the copper-plate grant of land and other royal favours which were the reward of the Sinhalese officer who had been detailed to conduct the ambassador to the capital.

Since the early years of the sixteenth century, the three European powers which ruled the Island's maritime provinces had tried, one after another, to obtain permanent possession of this capital of the inland kingdom and so reduce the entire land into submission. But their expeditions brought severe disasters on themselves. Finally, it was the Kandyans themselves who brought the foreigners into their land to expel the last (Malabar) King and thus handed over their proud realm to the keeping of His Britannic Majesty. To this day it is with justifiable pride that they claim that their land had *never been conquered*. The issue at Waterloo eclipsed the news of this new colonial legacy for the moment. But the value of the acquisition was not to be lost on British statesmen.

The new rule soon palled and the Kandyans made several attempts to end it. In the rebellion of 1818, they nearly succeeded in doing it. Indeed, serious reverses which made the situation intolerable were making the British contemplate the abandonment of Kandy. They felt, to use a Sinhalese idiom, like the man who had seized the leopard by its tail, that is, they could neither continue long their hold of it nor dared they let it go. Chiefly on account of the lack of organization, the Kandyan struggle lost its sting at last. To the British it had been touch and go. But the lessons they learnt from it came in very useful in the later risings which were sporadically made as the century progressed.

After obtaining control of the city, the British made it their first task to open it up in much the same way as they did to Scotland after stamping out the Young Pretenders' rebellion of 1745 at Culloden Moor. The results were similarly beneficial, for this new policy ensured its continued possession. Another reason that led them to do it was the establishment of plantations or estates which, originally of coffee, are now replaced by tea. The early planters, all of whom were Britishers, were the severest critics of the Government. Their criticism, actuated by selfish motives, has incidentally been to the political advantage of the permanent population.

These estates are of especial interest to India. In them live labourers whose increasing numbers attracted the attention of the Indian Government which sent out a Civil Servant as its Agent and, more recently, a high-ranking politician to watch the wider interests that must necessarily arise. Kandy is the centre of planting life, whether employer or employee.

Kandy is the national capital, too, in a sense. It symbolizes, far more than cosmopolitan Colombo does, the nationhood of Lanka's principal race. In the surrounding villages live the descendants of those men who fought for their unconquered earth and they tenaciously clung to their ways of Government and of life, hardly touched by Western influences until comparatively recent times. There is a tradition that is linked to the Sinhalese race far more strongly than that of the low-landers who had been dominated by Europeans three centuries earlier. Their mountains sentinelled them into a commendable conservatism.

To Kandy patriotic sentiment pays homage to this day. Of all the numerous ancient capitals of Sinhalese kings, this, the last, yields pride of place in popular imagination to only two. These are the first two capitals. Kandy, chronologically the latest of a long series, comes third. By its famed Temple of the Buddha's Tooth and the historic Esala Festival (July—August), a vast pageant whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, it is strongly woven into the religious life of the Buddhists. It has also long been recognized as the cultural capital of the Island and in its principal suburb will be laid out the magnificent University buildings, which a famous architect has planned, when the last shot has been fired in this grim struggle and tanks have to give place to tractors.

Set in a smiling valley with a sapphire lake mirroring the intriguing hues of the mighty hills that ring round it, Kandy, with its storied past and quaint old-world architecture, is very dear to the wistful Sinhalese to whom it will always be, as it was in the days of their own kings, the Great City.

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM

BY PROF. K. R. BOMBWALL

MARSHAL Goering was once reported to have said that he felt like drawing out his revolver every time he heard the word "culture" mentioned. Soon the execration, on the part of the Nazi Brotherhood, of the human heritage of civilisation reached a point of frenzy. The revolver was fired and culture lay dead in Germany. Though the Nazi vandals have failed in realising their megalomaniac dream of imposing their suzerainty over the world at large, they have succeeded in throwing their own country into the slough of bondage. It is now admitted as an ineluctable fact that Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Co., have made the average German their willing tool. The answer to the question how they have done this is to be sought in the cynical ruthlessness with which they launched their nefarious campaign of "total education"—a campaign supported by such peaceful and persuasive devices as the Gestapo, the concentration camp and the firing squad—with a view to steam-rolling a whole nation into a pre-determined sub-human type incapable of thinking independently but endowed with remarkable robot-like efficiency. The Nazi, bent upon indoctrinating the people with his sinister ideology, has always understood the term "education" in its widest connotation and has pressed into service all educational media, such as the home, the school, the church, the cinema, the radio and the popular demagogue.

Said Ruskin: "You do not educate a man by telling him what he does not know but by making him what he is not." The Nazi educational directorate, like those in charge of education in the so-called democracies, has grasped the truth embodied in this dictum but, unlike them, it has gone a step further and has made it the foundation of its edifice. Of course, it would make poor Ruskin turn in his grave if he were to know what kind of "men" the Nazi educational machinery is designed to turn out.

It is this aspect of Nazism that constitutes the most formidable menace to civilisation. The whole trend of modern civilisation, according to Dean Inge, has been towards the recognition of the

inalienable rights of the individual and the sacredness of human personality. The sanctity of the individual and the realisation that each person has a soul of inestimable value—these have also been the fundamentals of ancient Indian philosophy. The Gita holds the Sudra different from but not necessarily inferior to the Brahman. This is due to the essential sameness of all souls. "I am the Atman, the Ego present in the hearts of all beings," thus spake the Lord.

Man, whether he is considered in the context of his physical environment or as a part of the social fabric, is designed by his Maker to be essentially free, subject, no doubt, to the proviso that his freedom is not used in such a way as to jeopardise the interests of the body politic whereof he is a member.

Take man in relation to his physical environment. It will be readily conceded that, very largely, he is a part of his surroundings, bound to obey the universal and inexorable laws of nature. This, however, does not lend even the ghost of a justification to the belief that he is a mere cog in a vast machine ruled by necessity. The biologist talks about the struggle of existence and the survival of the fittest, meaning by the "fittest" those who can successfully adjust themselves to their environment. True, but the story of evolution is not merely a colourless tale of man's submissive adaptation to changing physical conditions. Indeed, in higher stages of evolution, man acquired the power of manipulating his environment to suit his own needs—witness the advance of science which has made man as much a master as a slave of Nature.

Similarly, the individual is not a mere satellite revolving round some huge disembodied entity like Society or State. In point of fact, each individual is a world unto himself. Not that he is entirely self-centred and independent of his social context. The individual's liberty is necessarily circumscribed in the interest of general welfare, yet, in the interest of the same general welfare, he must enjoy a fairly large measure of freedom, for,

individual initiative—which the complete subjugation of the individual to the State-leviathan is bound to destroy—is the condition precedent of human progress. The individual has obligations to humanity but he should not be conceived as existing for the State. The State has admirably been called the playground for man's personality.

It is the freedom of the individual that totalitarian theory and practice of education seek to annihilate. In dictator-governed countries—we take Germany as an obvious instance—education has become the hunting ground of politicians. The German politicians have done their job with characteristic thoroughness and have relentlessly applied "education" to the end of dragooning their people into mere automata devoid of individuality, amenable to mental as well as physical regimentation and capable only of thinking and acting in a prescribed manner. Naturally, in such a country freethinking is bound to be viewed with the greatest apprehension, for, according to Carlyle, "a thinking man is the worst enemy that the Prince of Darkness can have". Centuries back, Socrates was made to quaff the cup of poison because his thoughts were unpalatable to the powers that were. History is repeating itself with a vengeance in Germany of the present day. M. L. Jacks in his *Education as a Social Factor* quotes from some articles in the *New Statesman* written by an Englishman who had, before the present war broke out, worked in a German school for three years. It appears Nazi officials pay surprise visits to the schools, cross-question the teacher in the presence of his students and, if necessary, arrest him on the spot. Attempts are made to worm out information from the innocent boys regarding the political views of their parents. The schools are made to teach a new religion. For instance children are taught that Hitler is second Jesus, doubtless infinitely better than the first. A curious catechism has been drawn up. The teacher asks, "Who reminds you of Jesus by his love for the people and his self-sacrifice?" The boys answer in chorus, "Herr Hitler." Again, the teacher asks, "And who by their loyalty and devotion remind us of the disciples?" The inevitable answer is: "General Goering, Dr. Goebbels, etc., etc."

Thus are people being fashioned into mere cogs in the political machinery. Of course, the subjection of the masses inevitably exacts a heavy price from the "masters".

The so-called democracies have, generally speaking, followed a policy of benevolent neutrality in educational matters except where they acquiesced in allowing education to become a bulwark of antiquated and inequitable traditions. No wonder, therefore, that the need of a re-orientation of educational objectives and methods is being felt on all hands. The orientation, it is also conceded, must be in the direction of freedom.

The problem of educational reconstruction has a particular urgency where India is concerned. Educational ideals and practice will have to be radically replanned if our motherland is to re-capture the resplendent splendour that was hers in her halcyon days. In replanning our education we will have to avoid the mistake of seeking guidance from the West. We are living in a world groaning under the debris of crumbling materialistic civilisation of the Occident. If humanity is to be rehabilitated, the reviving breath of fresh life will come from the pastures of the East. We possess a spiritual philosophy of life, government and education bequeathed to us by our great *poorvajas*. If we disown our mighty ancients and dance to the tunes of the Circe of the West, we will court disaster.

While I was writing the above, a friend sailed into my room and, bending over my shoulders, read the last few words. "Writing the same old bilge"? said he. "Why this interminable harping on the mighty ancients gets on my nerves. The ancients may have been mighty and spiritual and all that and, in all conscience, we have paid heavy enough for their spirituality. See where we stand in the estimation of the world. And, pray, don't forget that the ancients are, after all, ancients, whereas we are living in the twentieth century when our future depends on our beating the West on its own ground. And, education, for that seems to be the subject of lucubrations, ceases to be education if it remains tied to the apron-strings of the dead past. Modern problems need modern remedies."

This, I believe, represents the attitude of many an Indian to-day and a very grievously mistaken attitude it is! True, bondage to a dead past would be the worst form of slavery. But is our past really dead? And further, does not true progress lie, in the words of a great writer, not in cutting adrift from the past as on a road but in drawing sustenance from it as from a root?

Methods of imparting instruction, curricula—subjects—on these points, it will obviously not be the essence of wisdom to seek the last word in the past. But we are concerned, here, not with methods and curricula which, after all, are only means to an end but with the end itself. And on the end of education what better guidance can we get than that offered to us by the great rishis of yore.

THE SITUATION IN THE PUNJAB

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

BY MR. C. V. H. RAO

"It is a slap in the face of Mr. Jinnah. He intended to capture the Punjab for Pakistan, but it has been conquered for India". These comments represent the general feeling in the Punjab over the failure of the Jinnah-Khizar Hyat talks in the last week of April. This development is of more far-reaching significance than is probably apparent on the surface. Undoubtedly Mr. Jinnah made the most determined onslaught on the Unionist citadel in the province and left no stone unturned to convert Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana to his policy of installing a League Ministry in the Punjab. It was the central and pivotal factor in Mr. Jinnah's campaign, because the establishment of a Pakistan Ministry in the Punjab, which is regarded in League circles as the keystone of the Pakistan edifice, would have been a great triumph for him, which he could have paraded before the world as a feather in his cap. But this ambition was foiled by the firm and unflagging stand made by Malik Khizar Hyat, who refused to shake the dust of Unionism off his feet.

Let it be made clear here that the Unionist Ministry and party are not an ideal coalition or combination by any means *pace* Lord Wavell. During the last six years, the Unionist Ministry's policy and programme have not been such as to distinguish them very much from those of a purely League Party. But in its name at least the Unionist Party is a non-communal party and that its basis as such should not be

undermined was the essence of the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact. The merit of the Punjab Premier's action consists in this that he decided that in his conversations with Mr. Jinnah the more honourable course was for him to hold fast to a solemn commitment inherent in the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, by which it was mutually agreed by the two signatories that there would be no outside interference in the internal affairs of the province to its detriment and which sought to keep Punjab politics free from the taint of unadulterated communalism. Mr. Jinnah now denies the very existence of such a pact, though he does not deny the fact of the Unionist coalition that existed in the Punjab. Much in the style of a Dictator, he pooh-phooes the idea of any pact between a leader (himself) and a follower (Sir Sikandar). But since Mr. Jinnah is not the only party to the Pact, and political memories are not so very short as he imagines, his denial is neither final nor unquestionable. The pact does exist, and even after Sir Sikandar's death it continues to be the basis of the arrangement on which the Khizar Hyat Ministry has been functioning. Its existence is also confirmed by the further pact between the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and Sirdar Baldev Singh, which led to the Sikh participation in the Unionist Ministry.

The Punjab public and the public outside the Punjab, have, therefore,

* Since this article was written, the Muslim League has expelled the Punjab Premier.

reason to be beholden to the Premier for the bold stand he took in favour of excluding the communal virus from corroding the springs of its public life in a more blatant manner than at present. It is a stand which is likely to cost him dear. In fact Mr. Jinnah is reported to have threatened dire vengeance against him in his private talks, though his public utterances on the subject are couched in unusually restrained language. It is likely that he will be represented as an enemy and betrayer of Islam; it is likely that he will be subjected to a constant barrage of criticism by the Leaguers, both in the countryside and in the Assembly. But Malik Khizar Hyat has made his decision, which to everyone else except purblind and bigoted Leaguers will appear as the only self-respecting decision that a man in his position could make. He is entitled, therefore, not only to congratulations immediately but to continuous and whole-hearted support of all the sober and nationalistic elements in the Punjab, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

One sentence in the Punjab Premier's statement in reply to Mr. Jinnah's accusations against him deserves more than a passing notice, since it constitutes an immense contribution to keeping the Punjab free from the influence of a purely communal party and reveals that Khizar Hyat Khan deliberately made his choice to fight Mr. Jinnah's insidious attempts to transform the Punjab into a sport of League politics. He says, after referring to the unsuccessful attempts made by Mr. Jinnah to convert Sir Fazli Hussain into supporting the introduction of League authority in Punjab politics; that "exactly the same question is raised again to-day some seven years later in the form of Mr. Jinnah's demands originated on the initiative of a few interested persons, and like Sir Fazli Hussain and for the same reasons, I am unable to accept the demand, which is contrary to the best interests of the Muslims of this province, who should refuse to be divided among themselves or to accept outside interference to their detriment". By his refusal to capitulate to Mr. Jinnah he has served in a much

larger measure to inflict a reverse on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistanite campaign than anyone else could have done in any other way at present. For while Punjab Unionism may be bad as a political and administrative force, Muslim Leagueism, which would have meant a League dominated Ministry, is definitely worse.

The general impression in the Punjab is that Mr. Jinnah has not enhanced his reputation for democratic leadership or for political consistency and honesty when he was prone to treat the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact as worse than a scrap of paper. But there are others with longer political and less convenient memories than Mr. Jinnah and they feel with Premier Khizar that Mr. Jinnah's methods smack of "totalitarian and dictatorial tactics" of a kind associated with Hitler.

The break between Mr. Jinnah and the Unionist Premier is only the beginning of the bitter fight that is in prospect between the principle of unadulterated communalism and the principle of an honourable coalition between the diverse communal elements in the Punjab. It will be a prolonged and interesting one too to watch. At the same time, Mr. Jinnah has also unwittingly been the instrument for a sequel which he least intended.

The question is, will Mr. Jinnah, with his undoubted capacity and gifts for leadership, be the banner-bearer in such a movement for all-India communal unity and understanding or will he plough the lone, fruitless sands of Pakistan and communal schism? Mr. Jinnah regards the dismissal of Sirdar Shaukat Hyat Khan as a challenge to the League and himself and his efforts to install a League Ministry in the Punjab. Well, the correct lesson he should draw from that episode, if he is a patriotic Indian and Muslim, is to regard it as a challenge to him to effectuate a genuine heart-to-heart Hindu Muslim unity which will compel the Governor of the Punjab to appoint a truly broad-based coalition ministry in the Punjab and at the same time compel the British Government to part with power to Indians in the all-India sphere. But it appears a vain hope to expect that Mr. Jinnah will regard the situation in that light.

WHY AMERICANS FIGHT

By PROF. BEARDSLEY RUMEL

THE first business of every American is to end the war as efficiently and as speedily as possible by total and decisive victory for the United Nations. No effort can be spared, no sacrifice is too great for the winning of the humane peace to which we are committed.

In war, especially in this war, machines and healthy bodies are the tools through which the mind and the spirit work. Mind and spirit are the directing and the driving forces that will get the tools used aggressively, imaginatively, tenaciously. Mind and spirit will win the war. Mind and spirit must also win the peace.

The immense role of mind and spirit in the conduct of war can be observed by looking at our enemies and by contrasting them in terms of why they fight. Consider the Italians, the Germans, and the Japanese.

The Italians were led into their recent years of force and violence by a government desirous of glory and territory—all at a minimum of risk. The Italians entered the war only after the collapse of Western Europe. The mind and spirit of the Italian Fascist war machine looks backward in history for its glory and takes what it can get when it considers the time opportune. The Fascist war machine has no deep purpose to drive it forward.

The mind and spirit of the German war machine is very different from the Italian. The German is not merely grasping. The German has made a firm compact with destiny. He has convinced himself of the propriety of his claim to a special place as the ruler of all men. He has contempt for the Italians and distrust for the Japanese.

Complete as has been the elaboration of a German philosophy of power, corruption, and terror, it will break under the pessimistic fatalism of the German mentality as the pressure becomes greater. A failure of the German effort at world domination fits as well into the German philosophy of history as would success.

The Japanese differs from both the German and the Italian, and because of this he fights a different kind of war. He lays his plans at great length; he has contempt for all compacts and agreements; he is tenacious, vindictive, and utterly devoid of any conception of humanness or humaneness.

We see in our enemies a spectacle of mind and spirit differing among them in concrete expression, but essentially one. This mind and this spirit have shown in war their strength and also their weakness, and in their weakness they have shown their basic incapacity to unite the world even for the continuing advantage of those who aspire to rule it.

Recognizing the importance of mind and spirit in the conduct of the war, what can we say of the American mind and spirit? What are the purposes and the motives that inspire our American armies, our workers, our citizens who direct our machines in the factory and at the battlefield?

During recent years there have been a number of formulations of principle and of intent with which we Americans have found ourselves, happily, in general agreement. One of these is the statement of the Four Freedoms in President Roosevelt's message to the Seventy-seventh Congress on January 6, 1941. The second is the Atlantic Charter, a joint declaration issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister

Churchill on August 14, 1941, after their historic conference at sea. Taken together, these formulations of purpose provide a broad and concrete frame of reference for the elaboration of even more clear-cut ideas of just what we intend to accomplish.

Let us examine briefly the content of these statements. The freedoms we are fighting and working for are: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. In his message to Congress President Roosevelt accompanied the statement of each freedom with the phrase, four times repeated, "everywhere in the world." We are thus embarked on a program which recognizes that the preservation of our freedoms depends on freedom for others and that what we propose to bring to our generation is not conquest and slavery but human liberty.

The Atlantic Charter deals more with the relations between sovereign states, recognizing principles affecting territory, natural resources, self-determination of form of government, co-operation between nations to raise living standards, safety from aggression, and abandonment of the use of force.

If we take these formulations together we find, running through them, a fundamental, unifying idea and belief. Each of the statements is founded on a belief in the worth and value of human beings as persons, in the essential humanity of man. Each depends, for the validity of the ideas expressed, on the acceptance of this simple faith.

Fortunately, we do not have to go outside or beyond the American tradition to find this faith. Indeed, we cannot deny or weaken this faith without altering the American tradition itself.

The faith for which we fight, the faith which is the foundation of our programs, was stated in 1776 in the first part of the second paragraph of the American Declaration of Independence. What does it say?

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." Equal in their essential humanity, in their humanness, in their participation in the adventure and hazard of conscious life, in their perfectibility, in their aspirations, in their loneliness.

"That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the Governed."

Here is the heart of the matter; powers not from force or precedent; powers not from ancestors, but from "consent"; consent, not of princes or of the elite, nor of the owners of land and property, but of "the Governed."

The Declaration proceeds: "Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

This great paragraph of the American Declaration of Independence is the foundation of our constructive program for the future, for the Four Freedoms, for the Atlantic Charter.

The doctrine of the Declaration of Independence declares the dignity and holiness of men. The Axis denies it.

We Americans declare that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The Axis denies it. The Axis not only puts the government and the state before the rights of individual persons, but also declares that some individual persons have rights—natural rights—superior to those of other individual persons, and that these superior rights are to be asserted by force, by cunning, and by deceit.

This doctrine of the Axis, the degradation and inequality of human beings with respect to their essential humanity, we

deny. Our own belief is the positive central core of our fighting determination, the source of our strength and tenacity, the reason for our insistence on total victory.

Our American belief in the essential humanity of man unites us in a common cause and divides us from our enemies. As we make this moral principle firmly part of the mind and spirit of each American, there can be no doubt about the outcome of the war, or about the justice of the peace—which can come only after unconditional surrender by the Axis.

INDIA'S FIFTH WAR BUDGET

BY PROF. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.

THE War Budget adheres to the Finance Member's old principle of social justice in framing his proposals and does not introduce any unexpected changes in the tax system. In theory it has always been argued that a good system of taxation is one which broadens the basis of taxation, "one which bears lightly on an infinite number of points and heavily on none" but the exigencies of war finance in India have shown that it is by a few substantial taxes that the bulk of the revenue has to be raised, and in a country like India, whose administrative machinery operating over vast territories has yet to be perfected, anything like a multiple tax system has to be avoided for some time to come. So, we find that the new imposts for the coming year tend to fall largely on those who have the "ability to pay".

The financial measures outlined in the budget are bold in conception, and the forecast of death duties on non-agricultural property aims at strengthening provincial

resources for post-war development. The taxation measures are much less severe than had been expected and contain a welcome relief to small income groups by raising the taxable minimum from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000. The increases in the surcharge on income-tax and super-tax apply only to incomes of Rs. 10,000 and upwards and, on the whole, are moderate. More important for its anti-inflationary effect is the increase in the compulsory deposit of a proportion of the Excess Profits tax. To accelerate tax payments, a two per cent. interest to assesses who pay income-tax in advance quarterly is a novel and welcome step. The new excise duties on tea, coffee and betel make poor man's comforts more costly and it is an attempt to spread the incidence of new taxation over all sections of the community, including the poorest.

THE BUDGET AND THE STOCK MARKET

The new corporation and E.P.T. tax proposals of the Budget for 1944-45 must

inevitably lead to smaller yields, though the upward trend of share prices is likely to be sustained for some time by the heavy weight of money-seeking investment. In the coming fiscal year the dividend-paying capacity of the companies will be substantially affected. But the effect on public companies will be that the equivalent of the whole of their excess profits will go to the Government in the form of taxation or compulsory deposits. So, unless they wish to lock up their existing liquid resources by using them for payment of the compulsory deposits, they will have to limit their dividends to the figure of their standard profits less income-tax and corporation tax thereon. Private companies also are likely to be deprived steadily of their working finance. The Government's anti-inflationary programme and intentions as outlined by the Finance Member afford a warning to that kind of speculator who is virtually backing inflation but how far it will be effective is doubtful, for the speculative sections of the market had anticipated a much more severe budget.

BUDGET AND INFLATION

The Budget for 1944-45 is remarkable for the consolidation and extension of the anti-inflationary measures already instituted. The Finance Member estimates the total anti-inflationary effect at more than Rs. 100 crores owing to the new arrangements for advance tax payments and the whole of the excess profit being immobilised by compulsory deposit. Further imports of food, capital and consumer goods and above all of bullion would cancel the inflationary potential arising from Allied Governments' spending in India. So, it might appear that the Government of India have the wherewithal not merely to curb inflation

but to counter-attack it with reasonable prospects of success. Since India has repaid her sterling debt and bought out most of the railway stockholders, investors in Britain are less interested than formerly in India's budgetary position but very large commercial interests in India are keenly aware as ever of the necessity for a sound direction of India's economy. From their standpoint, the Finance Member's insistence on avoidance of the dangers of inflation is of prime significance. Suitable counter-measures are vital, if run-away inflation is to be prevented. In the spheres of monetary and commodity control, Government seem to have moved in the right direction, but it is less easy for India than for a country like Britain to make fully effective control of supplies and prices in order to immobilise excess spending power or to direct the excess into Government's War Chest. The crux of the whole situation is that there must be a limit to the expansion of rupee circulation which is going on merrily for financing the expenditure of Allied Governments. Though the Finance Member claims that there are no uncovered budgetary deficits of the Government of India, and yet there is an inflationary gap calling for special measures, it is clear that this country suffers the effects of inflation for the sake of other nations. The cure for inflation lies in putting the responsibility for rupee finance on the Allied Government. The only measure so far adopted is the sale of gold on behalf of the Allied Governments but we are not aware of the extent of the sales and their effect on the inflationary pressure. Facilities for the Reserve Bank to expand its gold reserves, a ceiling to rupee circulation, increase of consumer's goods through expansion of internal

production—these are the measures which are vital to relieve the inflationary pressure.

The Budget does not disclose the vast amount of expenditure in India on British and foreign government account in relation to the war. Despite the assurance of the Finance Member that there is no increased cost to India, it is evident from the figures available that the note issue in India has risen from Rs. 217 crores in September, 1939, to over Rs. 880 crores in March, 1944, and this is backed by sterling balances. It is revealed by the Finance Member that the sterling balances will be about Rs. 950 crores towards the end of the financial year, and this involves a further increase in note issue by the end of the financial year. The figures of note issue show the vast volume of expenditure in India, which is being financed by note issue on behalf of the United Nations' purchases and the payments on behalf of Burma and other foreign governments in India. The foreign purchases financed by Indian note issue are pulling up prices in India. The total expenditure disclosed in the Budget is 363 crores and it is proposed by taxation and by way of compulsory induced saving to get back an equivalent amount. But such anti-inflationary measures proposed in the Budget do not at all touch the increase of prices and the increase of currency which is not reflected in the Budget. A true picture of the magnitude of the problem can be had, if the Budget were to disclose on one side the amounts lent to these purchasing bodies and foreign governments as current expenditure, and on the other side the sterling and other securities provided by them as assets. Incidentally it may be noted that the fact of our resources being kept in sterling will involve our taking payment in such goods as

British economic trends will determine and perhaps at higher levels of prices which means less repayment in terms of real wealth.

BUDGET AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The claim of the Finance Member that Indian War Finance is being so designed as to help India in post-war development does not bear close examination. The most disconcerting feature of Indian economy is that India's finances and economic policy are not ordered solely with reference to conditions in this country. If post-war reconstruction is to be something more than a mere slogan, India's finances and economic policy should be improved by a concerted drive to expand national income. In spite of the facile statements that there has been a remarkable growth in Indian industries in recent years, India's *per capita* income remains today almost what it was a decade and half ago and recent computations of India's national income bear out the fact that Indian poverty is not on the downgrade. There is therefore a crying need for an all-out effort to improve standards of life and production. But the Finance Member wants to limit post-war reconstruction to the limits of current taxation and savings, which, if logically interpreted, would mean that we shall be dependent on England and America for supplying all capital goods and manufactured articles for as long a time as possible and this conclusion is reinforced by the fact that both English and American plans for post-war reconstruction have stressed upon the needs of keeping foreign markets. The Finance Member's plan of post-war reconstruction in terms of a Rs. 1,000 crores for the first five years is a glaring contrast to the Bombay plan of Rs. 10,000 crores in 15 years. If there is to be a real increase in the wealth of India, we should not limit ourselves to financing out of current savings alone. As envisaged by the Government, post-war reconstruction in India is only a polite name for standing still.

India (Attachment of States) Bill, 1944

BY SARDAR RANBIR SINGH, B.A., LL.B.

HIS Majesty the Crown Representative has by communique of April 14, 1943, attached 454 States and Talukas of Gujarat and Kathiawar to certain bigger States. Later in the end of November, a communique was issued under which 16 States of Kathiawar were similarly attached. The attached units collectively cover an area of more than 7,000 square miles with population of over 8 lakhs and annual revenue of more than 70 lakhs of rupees. Meanwhile, the Bhadwa Taluka, which was included in the first Scheme of attachment, filed a petition challenging the legality of the orders of the Crown Representative issued in the communique, dated 16th April, 1943. This petition was accepted by a Bench of Judicial Commissioners at Ajmer on the 6th December, 1943, who declared the aforesaid communique and the attachment Scheme as *ultra vires*, and in contravention of the Government of India Act, 1935. The main arguments advanced on behalf of the Crown before this Court were that the Court could not question the action of the Crown Representative as the communique has been issued under the prerogative powers of the Crown and as such was an Act of State, and that the Court ceases to have authority over the case as the jurisdiction of the Court has been taken away by the notification, dated 25-8-1943. On the other hand, it was contended on behalf of the Taluka that by its attachment to Gondal State, the terms of the proviso to Section 2(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, have been contravened and that the Crown Representative has, therefore, exceeded the powers granted to him by

His Majesty in Parliament in this behalf. Under the proviso to Section 2(1) of the Act, any powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in relation with Indian States shall, if not exercised by His Majesty, be exercised only by, or by persons acting under the authority of His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of those functions of the Crown. The effect of this proviso is that where His Majesty does not exercise those functions himself, the Crown Representative or persons acting under his authority are the only persons, who can exercise any of the Royal functions exercisable in Indian States. The Indian States may be under the suzerainty of the Paramount Power, but the Crown Representative has no authority over the officers employed within the States, neither has it ever been asserted, and is entirely repugnant to the underlying principles of the 1935 Act. The Crown Representative could not transfer the jurisdiction of Agency Courts in Kathiawar to the Courts within Gondal State, who were not under the authority of the Crown Representative and no one except the Ruler himself could invest any State Officer with such judicial powers. The Court held that the communique in question was against the spirit and provisions of the 1935 Act, and was, therefore, *ultra vires* and illegal. It was also held that the prerogative ceases to exist when the field of such prerogative is covered by Statute. This principle has been accepted in 1920 Appeal Cases 508 and (1931)—I Chancery 169. But only that which has been specifically laid down will be excluded from the exercise of the prerogative. In his judgment, Mr. Verma has remarked that

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the entire Scheme and the policy of the British Government has been to preserve the independence of the Indian States, subject, however, to certain limitations. It was never the policy of the British Government to absorb the smaller States into the larger ones and the present notification of the Crown Representative clearly militates against the Scheme laid down in the Government of India Act and the entire policy of the British Government. . . . the Crown never absorbs the State, and much less merges it into another State.

Thereupon, the Crown Department, with a view to legalise the attachment Scheme, introduced the Attachment of State's Bill in the Parliament. It was represented there on behalf of the Government that the new Bill effects those States only which are not named in the First Schedule of the Government of India Act, 1935, and would apply to very small States, which lacked administrative resources and that the Bill as drafted takes nothing away from the Talukadars which they have possessed in the past. On the other hand, it was forcibly argued by Mr. Maxton that

the Bill should never have been brought to the Parliament at all. The Government of India took a knock in the Courts and the thing should have come here to be settled by the Privy Council. It is said the Bill is to bring these people all the benefits, which can only be secured by attachment to a larger community. There has come to us news about terrible conditions in India, but it has not been in these States. It was in Bengal that there was starvation.

Lord Strabolgi also complained that the whole business was being rushed through Parliament with inadequate haste, which was in his opinion an abuse of Parliament. He further stated that

the Bill was an act of indemnity for certain illegal acts done by officers in India. Instead of going to the Privy Council to have the judgment against them reversed, the Government of India thought it cheaper to come to the Lords and have a new Bill.

He had lived in some of the Indian States and said that they were excellently governed and administered and were far in advance of the British administration. He also remarked that there was no starvation in Indian States, but there was in Bengal for

which the Government was responsible. It was also remarked during the discussions in Parliament, whether the Crown Department could delegate its powers as a trustee to another person.

It has been represented in the House of Lords that the new Bill effected those States only which are not named in the First Schedule of the Government of India Act, 1935. It may be pointed out here that these States are mentioned in division XVII of the table of seats appended to para 2 of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. They have been allowed two seats in the Council of State and five seats in the Federal Assembly. Thus it is not correct to say that the Attachment Bill does not effect the States mentioned in the Government of India Act. The table of seats in the Act consists of XVII divisions. The Attachment Bill introduced in the Parliament refers to Indian States not mentioned in division I to XVI of the table of seats, and thus clearly refers to Division XVII, under which the attached units are classed.

The States, Jagirs or Talukas effected by the aforesaid communique are admittedly "Indian States" as defined under Section 311 of the 1935 Act, and the British Parliament cannot pass any Act effecting the Indian States as neither is such territory, British territory nor are the subjects of Indian States, British subjects. Sir C. Ilbert has observed in his treatise on Government of India, 3rd Edition, Page 420, that the territory of Indian Princes is for the purposes of Municipal Laws not a British territory and their subjects are not British subjects. The laws of England do not apply to the State subjects. The King in Parliament is precluded from legislating for the Indian States. It

has also been mentioned in the British Year Book of International Law, 1930 (Page 55-56), that the Parliament which exercises legislative power over all British territory cannot legislate for the Indian State. The Draft of the Instrument of Accession received from the Government of India by the Rulers of Indian States to be executed by them if they agree to enter the Federation, contains a clear clause to show that the Parliament does not exercise any legislative authority within the States. The Clause runs as follows:—

And whereas this Act cannot apply to any of my territories save by virtue of my consent and concurrence signified by my Accession to the Federation. . . .

Section 101 of the 1935 Act also expressly provides that nothing in the Act should be construed as empowering the Federal Legislature to make laws for a State otherwise than in accordance with its Instrument of Accession and any limitation contained therein. Section 65 of the Government of India Act, 1919, which defines the powers of Indian Legislature also shows that it has no power to make any law affecting the subjects of Indian States. The certificate, which the India Office gave to assist the Court in assessing the status of a Ruling Prince shows that he has been held to be exercising various attributes of Sovereignty, including internal Sovereignty, which is not derived from British Law but is inherent in the Ruling Chief (*Stattham versus Stattham* 1912, Page 92). The allegiance of the Rulers of Indian States to the British Crown might effect or limit their Sovereignty in their foreign affairs; but it has never been taken to justify any interference with their internal Sovereignty and autonomy and no assertions have ever been made for exercising territorial Sovereignty over

the Indian States and no legislative power has ever been claimed within the States. Rather the position of the Rulers have always been respected and many of the functions commonly regarded as attributes of Sovereignty have been preserved to them. (See *Hemchand versus Azam Sakarlal Chhtam Lal* 3 C.L.J. 395 (P.C.) and (the Taluka of Kotda Saugna *versus* the State of Gondal (I.L.R. 33 Calcutta 219.) These cases have been relied upon by the Crown Council in the Ajmer case to show that the whole system of judicial administration in Kathiawar was political and not judicial in its character. But in these cases it has been clearly held that the British Government has no legislative powers within the States. In the Full Bench Case of the Calcutta High Court (8 Calcutta 985), Justice Garth has observed:

We find that the Indian Government and the Maharaja have for a long series of years concurred in considering and treating this territory as no part of British India and we also find that acts of the Indian Legislature, which have been passed over and have been acted upon throughout British India, have never been acted upon or considered to be law in this territory.

He further remarked that in his opinion the acts of interference by the British authorities which may have been intended rather as friendly aids to the Maharaja in the management of his dominions, than as evidencing any wish on the part of the Indian Government to take the rule of the territory out of the Maharaja's hands. In another case 16 Calcutta 667 (in the matter of Bichattar Nand Dass *versus* Bhagwat Perai) it was held that the British Indian Law had no application to the tributary Mahal of Kheonjar. The Bombay High Court has also remarked in a case reported in A. I. R. 1918 Bombay 236 that

We have no power to legislate for Native States and feeling is so sensitive on this point that it is clearly intelligible that our legislature would have

refrained from inserting any provision in our Statute which might have had the appearance of asserting a right over the Court of a Native State.

As regards the argument regarding the trusteeship of contractual obligations of the Paramount Power in its relation with the Indian States, it is in no way a new argument and the rights and obligations of the Indian States arising out of definite treaties or engagements with the British Government should not and could not be transferred by the Paramount Power in its capacity of a trustee or a contracting party to any other State without the full and free consent of the States concerned. Much less can the Paramount Power merge these States into bigger neighbouring States, as such merger would amount to a delegation of the powers of the Paramount Power to the attaching State to a certain extent and will deprive the attached States of their identity as an Indian State, their independence and their prestige and traditional honour as an Indian State with direct relations with the Paramount Power.

The first statement of this contractual theory was made by the Indore Government during the time of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. It was later supported by Professor Keith in his book "The Constitution, Administration and Laws of the Empire". Professor Keith, while discussing this theory, wrote:

It is important to note that the relations of the Native States, however conducted, are essentially relations with the British Crown and not with the Indian Government and that this fact presents essential complications as regards the establishment of the responsible Government in India. It is clear that it is not possible for the Crown to transfer its right under a treaty without the consent of the Native States.

This view was also stressed by Sir Leslie Scott and his colleagues in their joint opinion before the Butler Committee. The Butler Committee has opined that

we agree that the relationship of the States with the Paramount Power is a relationship with the Crown, that the treaties are continuing and binding force between the State which made them and the Crown (para 39). It has further remarked in paragraph 58, "We feel bound to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the Princes on this score and to record our strong opinion that

in view of the historical nature of the relationship of the Paramount Power and the Princes the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to relationship with a new Government. . . .

Although it is argued that the proposed legislation affects very small States who are not full powered States, yet the communique, dated 16th April, 1943, is so worded that the general principles enunciated therein, without further qualifications or limitation, could be extended almost to any State, big or small. Above all, the proposed legislation militates against the inherent Sovereignty and autonomy of all the States inasmuch as it violates a very clear principle which has been scrupulously adhered to so far, that the British Parliament cannot legislate for Indian States. It is, therefore, a matter which vitally affects the Princely Order as a whole and it is hoped that the Parliament will not pass such an important legislation in a hurry without having heard and considered all the grave implications of such a measure, which is against the declared policy and practice so far maintained, respected and recognised through the solemn pronouncements made from time to time by the august personalities of the British Sovereigns themselves.

Moreover, as very rightly observed by some of Their Lordships during the discussion of the Bill in the House of Lords, it is a very vicious procedure to hasten to the aid of the Legislature for avoiding the decrees of the lawfully constituted Judicial tribunals. Such a method is bound to adversely affect the prestige and minimise the usefulness of the Judiciary as in every case when the Government is dissatisfied with the dictum of the Court, it would always find it easier to run to the Legislature and to remedy the defects of existing law with retrospective effect, with the ready support of an established majority. The proper course in such cases should be to approach Their Lordships of the Privy Council and any diffidence on the part of the Government to obtain a ruling from the highest Court of appeal in the Empire should be attributed to the desire of the Executive to side-track the regular course of justice and to resort to Parliament

to legalise their illegal actions, which had no sanction of the existing law. It is hoped that the Parliament would not allow the passage of such a legislation as it would amount to a clear violation and departure from the established

principles and policy of the British Government and would also be against the traditions of that historic British Institution, which has for many generations now, stood for truth, justice and fair-play for all the Citizens of the Empire.

INDIAN SCIENCES ABROAD

BY MR. SHYAM CHAND NEGI

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THAT India is the world's *alma mater* is the verdict of distinguished foreigners. Take Leon Delbos whose words "Go to America and you find there, as in Europe, the influence of the great civilisation" underline it. The antiquity of Indian civilisation is far remoter than those of the extinct and the extant. But outsiders drew from its unlimited reservoir of knowledge and made scholastic sojourns fairly late and roughly from the days of the well-renowned Taxila University in the sixth century B.C. Adhering to the theme, we shall try to illustrate how much the world owes to India in science which is one of the phases of its vast and variegated achievement. Chronology reveals glaringly that to this day there is scarcely a civilisation which has not derived scientific knowledge from India and that it comes down linked without a gap.

CHINA

China gained from India not only spiritually, but also materially. As one from the East to-day would rush to Europe to combat a serious disease, even so did outsiders repair to India. Disappointed in his own country, a Chinese Prince flew to Taxila for the treatment of an acute trouble in the eyes and returned fully cured. Graduates of the Nalanda University served the Chinese Government on the Astronomical Board, sometimes as President, in the seventh century A.D. and thereafter.

GREECE

Hellenes, ancient Greeks, were the first people to wake up in Europe. Peacock's 'India in Greece' discloses how much

Lord Byron's (1788-1822) 'The Isles of Greece' owed to this country. They borrowed mathematics and Ayurveda medicine. Dr. Thibaut says that the world is indebted to India, not to Greece, for the knowledge of geometry. Awe overtook him when he found that the Theorem of Pythagoras had been enunciated in the *Sulva Sutras* long before Pythagoras (ca. 582-500 B.C.). Dr. Macdonnel holds that Pythagoras learnt mathematics from India. Hippocrates (ca. 460-377 B.C.), the father of European medicine, reflects the tinge of Ayurveda. Alexander (326 B.C.) the Great availed himself of Indian physicians. Nearchus, who accompanied him in his Indian campaign and stayed in India till 325 B.C., states that the Greeks were ignorant of the remedy of snake-bite, whereas the Indians knew it well. Theophrastus (3rd century B.C.) came to India to learn medicine. Dr. Royle says that Dioscorides (1st century A.D.) took too much from Indian *materia medica*.

EGYPT

The Hellenic splendour waned and collapsed. But it found its way into Egypt. After Alexander's conquest of it numerous Greek scholars migrated and settled there and there rose the famous Alexandrian Library. Egypt shone. The Egyptians swelled their lore and accelerated their progress with Indian sciences. Through Asoka's (3rd century B.C.) missionaries the *Sthivirputtas* with whose name originated the term therapeutics—Ayurveda reached Egypt. Aetius (395-454) of Alexandria was thoroughly conversant with it. In the third century A.D. Egyptians transplanted Indian arithmetic in Alexandria through the traders of Ujjain.

ROME AND SYRIA

Egypt sank but it had diffused Indian sciences into Rome and Syria. By the sixth century A.D., Indian mathematics and subtle discoveries of Indian astronomy made a considerable impression upon the Syrians, the Jews.

ARABIA

With the rise of Islam came the Arabs' turn to bear the torch. Syria had already acquainted them with Indian genius. But the credit goes mainly to the Caliphs Almansur (753-774) and Harun Al Rashid (780-808). They were ardent lovers and patrons of learning and the learned. There were Indian scholars in their courts at Baghdad. There was Karka in Almansur's. There were Chanakya and Manak at Harun's. Arab scholars were ceaselessly absorbed in producing original works and translating so many from Sanskrit. Karka had with him an astronomical work called 'Brihat Sin Hind', which was probably the celebrated Indian astronomer Varahamihira's (505-587) 'Vrihat Samhita'. Sachau mentions in his 'Alberuni's India' that the Arabs learnt the scientific system of astronomy from Brahma-Gupta (7th century A.D.) through Almansur and earlier than from Ptolemy. So deep rooted was the influence that for centuries the Arabs reckoned their longitudes from Ujjain, the Greenwich of India. Besides astronomy the Arabs picked up mathematics from India. Havell remarks that they got their numerals (Hindse) and decimal notation from India. In the eighth century A.D. Mohammad Ibn Musa wrote the first Arabic algebra which was extracted from Indian astronomical works. About the seventh century A.D., they learnt physics from India. The great Chinese traveller Huen Tsang (7th century A.D.), who visited India, records that physics was taught in the University of Nalanda. On the medical side the Arabs acquired a good deal from India through the Indian physicians Chanakya and Manak with whose help Harun had 'Charak', 'Sushruta', which is an excellent surgical treatise, etc., rendered into Arabic. Also they received chemistry from India. A Saracen, in Spain, was familiar with Indian chemistry. Moreover, an Arabic work 'Talif-Sariq' reflects it by stating that the

Indians knew the use of white oxide of arsenic, whereas the Greeks were ignorant of it.

With the march of time, the Arabs could not stem the adverse tide of time. Inter-necine troubles and bitter hostility between Muslims and Christians culminating in crusades and holy wars swept away the Arabs' glory.

EUROPE AND AMERICA

The Arabs' glare vanished. But as the Crescent and Star flew from the Black Sea to the Bay of Biscay, they had imparted knowledge and culture to Europe through several Universities, e.g., Cardova in Spain. Later on Europe slipped into thick oblivion. Ignorance and superstition reigned supreme for long. This interlude is popularly known in history as the Dark Ages. The church dominated every sphere of life. Science was persecuted savagely because it was supposed to run counter to the Word of God. Those who indulged in or raised their heads for science had to undergo a severe ordeal. Galileo had to kneel before His Serenity, the Doge of Venice. Bruno had to embrace the stake. On the whole, conditions were nebulous in Europe. Still in that period of chaos and darkness, they made access to Indian sciences possible through the Arabs and subsequently.

Leonardo (1202), of Pisa, carried Indian mathematics to Europe. Up to the seventeenth century, Europe's medical system was based on the Arabic one which itself was an offspring of Ayurveda. It was Paracelsus (1493-1541) who started medicinal use of mercury in Europe. He, too, according to Dr. P. C. Ray, derived his knowledge from the East. "The Medical Congress, held in 1891, unable to suggest any remedy for cholera, hydrophobia, etc., treated the people of India with learned discourses of the methods of avoiding them". Even part of surgery was taken from India. Hunter writes in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* that it was from India that the English rhinoplasty in the eighteenth century. The astronomer King Sawai Maharajah Jai Singh II (1699-1733), of Jaipur, was greatly esteemed in Europe. He revised Lahire's *Tabule Astronomicae* published in 1702.

We arrive at India under the British. Little has been done by this Government

to encourage and foster education in this country. With this point in view, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta in 1938, the noted journalist, late Ramanand Chatterji, grieved over India's insufficient progress in science. However fettered, India has produced so many scientists of international reputation.

It began with mathematics. Professor Ram Chandra (1821-1880) won the admiration of European mathematicians through his monumental work 'The Problem of Maxima and Minima'. There is the meteoric prodigy Ramanujan (1887-1920), India's first F.R.S., about whom Professor Hardy, F.R.S., remarked that this genius even dreamt of such problems that the finest mathematicians of Europe could not solve fully in a hundred years. In 1935, Sir S. M. Sulaiman presented a new 'Mathematical Theory of Relativity' pointing out some defects in Professor Einstein's. The solar eclipse of the following year proved Sir Sulaiman's contention. In Botany the names of Sir J. C. Bose (1858-1939), F.R.S., Dr. Birbal Sahni, F.R.S., and Dr. B. N. Singh stand out prominently. Dr. Bose not only discovered wireless earlier than Marconi, but also established ancient India's truth that life in plants is quite analogous to the animal one by his unparalleled researches in plant physiology. His Research Institute was the Mecca of the scientists of the world, e.g., Dr. Voronoff who came out to see it. Dr. Sahni has been one of the Vice-Presidents of the Palaeobotany sections of the International Botanical Congresses held at Cambridge (1930) and Amsterdam (1935). Dr. Singh's superiority has been acknowledged by a scientist like Dr. Crew of the Edinburgh University. Dr. Crowther, Plant Physiologist to the Sudan Government, which deputed him especially to study Dr. Singh's work, eulogised him in the words, "It has given me the greatest pleasure at least to see really some good work done on my travels". Physicists, like Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., N.L., and Dr. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., are the pride of the world. Sir Raman was conferred the highest honour of Nobel

Prize in 1931 for his invaluable researches known as the 'Raman Effect'. To Dr. Saha the astronomical world is greatly indebted. Sir James Jeans, F.R.S., who is one of the greatest living scientists of the world, while presiding over the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress, paid glowing tributes to Dr. Saha that he was the first to give the clear understanding of the meaning of stellar spectra and thus opened the road to vast new astronomical knowledge. And almost all astronomical observatories of the world work upon the basis of his 'Theory of Ionisation'. Of the chemists, there are Dr. P. C. Ray, Dr. P. S. Khankhoje and Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, F.R.S. About Dr. Ray, Sir A. Pedlar says that his discovery of mercurous nitrite has filled the blank in mercury series. So the world owes him the unbroken study of this series. Dr. Khankhoje, a great agricultural chemist, is an Indian exile in Mexico. There he is the Director of the Government's Agriculture Department. He has participated in International Agricultural Conferences with great honours. Sir Bhatnagar has contributed immensely to modern chemistry through his researches in magneto-chemistry and colloids and emulsions and their applications. In the field of meteorology, B. N. Banerji, F.R. Meteor. S. (Lond.), is a member from India on "Commission de l'application de la Meteorologie ala Navigation Aerienne" of France due to his unique researches in aviation meteorology. In 1937 an Indian physician cured Stalin. Thereupon an institute for medicinal herbs was set up in Leningrad. It may be said to sponsor the advocacy of Ayurveda by Dr. G. Clarke, of California, who says "Follow only Charaka and there will be less work for doctors and fewer chronic invalids in the world". Quite recently the U.S.A. Government appointed an Indian scientist in its war productions section. The name of Dr. Homi Babha, F.R.S., is fresh in the minds of those of the scientific world, and of lovers of science.

This is the substance of a vast subject which deserves a separate volume for its adequate treatment.

TREK BACK FROM BURMA

By "POLITICUS"

THE talented author of this book* is an Australian journalist who reported for the *Sydney Telegraph* and also for the *London Daily Express*, the tragic story of the fall of Malaya, Singapore and Burma. Very often at the risk of his life, he travelled from place to place and spared no effort to watch the progress of the campaign in those places, mixed himself freely with the troops and thus acquainted himself with the truth of the situation. The book is really a searchlight on the faults of the campaign, which was "full of distrust of friends and utter panic, demoralisation and disorganisation following the evacuation of Rangoon". The author has no doubt that the terrible tragedy was due to the British authorities who miscalculated the strength of the enemy, estranged the people among whom they ruled and were caught napping all round.

"Perhaps our greatest defeat in the Burma campaign was our failure to mobilise Burmese public opinion against the Japanese. We were most careful not to allow a breath of anti-Japanese propaganda before the Pacific War started. Burmese were almost encouraged to look on the Japanese as our friends—and because Chinese propaganda was prohibited the inference was that the Chinese were not our friends. Burmese and Indians saw Japanese ships in Rangoon harbour till within a few days of the outbreak of war being loaded with zinc, tin, wolfram and lead. Even after hostilities started, no intelligent propaganda was handed out to the Burmese."

Here is another trenchant criticism:

"British civilian authority in Burma was too prone to divide people into a pro or anti-British category."

According to him, there was a "surprisingly large proportion of the population in Burma who bated the Japanese and who were quite willing to co-operate with Britain and the Uni-nations to get the Japanese out". But the British bureaucracy there would not avail themselves of the

co-operation of the Burmese. Mr. Burchett avers that if the British had in due time promised independence to Burma, they could easily have had the Burmese helping them heart and soul in the fight against the Japanese.

Says the author: "Many of the Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmese had then excellent jobs in Burma, staying at their posts when pukka Europeans who should have had a higher sense of duty and responsibility, skipped off to save their white skins".

The author escaped from Burma to Calcutta and afterwards took a trip to Simla where he met Sir Reginald Donnan Smith, late Governor of Burma. Here is the report of a conversation with him:

"What is going to be Burma's status after we have retaken the place" was the first question I asked him.

"That has nothing to do with us, of course. That's a question to be settled by His Majesty's Government."

"I take it we don't expect the Burmese are going to welcome us with open arms. May be they want the Japs out, but wanting them out and wanting us back are two different things. Wouldn't it help your case and the army's too, if we had something to offer the Burmese?"

"I agree with you indeed. We'd be in a vastly stronger position if one definite promise was made—some goal regarding Burma's status, something which will be attained by the Burmese within a stipulated time-limit. I very much hope some such statement will be made by HMG in the near future."

"What is your approach to this problem of reconstruction?"

"We realise we have made a hash of things in Burma. Not just within these past months, but over a period of years. We've done a bad job, and we want to correct that. Burma suffered through being a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations in that she has been through a particularly horrible war and

* TREK BACK FROM BURMA. By Mr. W. G. Burchett, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

been allowed to fall into Japanese hands. We have to make that up to her, and so arrange things in Burma, that the Burmans themselves will want to remain members of the British Commonwealth of Nations".

Mr. Burchett has paid a glowing tribute to our troops who fought in Burma under conditions of terrible disadvantage. Here is his testimony to their courage and valour:

"The Japs at least had no monopoly of courage last time. Our British and Indian troops had every reason to suffer from lowered morale. With no air support, ill-trained, ill-fed, no proper medical care, always retreating, usually outnumbered, outfought, fighting without hope of relief, there was never a question of them shirking an engagement". He adds:

Their courage deserved better equipment, better support, above all better organization. . . . The soldiers never once let us down. . . . Unfortunately, other things were not equal and so the side with the highest morale did not win.

Curiously enough, this is also the verdict of Lord Wavell:

I saw the Indian soldier in disaster and retreat. My impression of him was this: He was often bewildered and at a loss in strange and alarming

conditions for which his training provided no solution. But he did not lose his discipline or soldierly bearing and seldom broke into panic. On many occasions he has put up a magnificent fight against heavy odds.

Circumstances compelled me to commit troops with little or no training in jungle craft to some of the most difficult country that could be imagined and to a long and strenuous line of communications in the hope that if all went well we might catch the enemy off the guard and gain by land a strategical objective which would have been more easily reached, had shipping resources been available. At one moment we were probably not far from success. That these inexperienced troops were eventually outmanoeuvred by a seasoned Japanese division with the advantage of better communications, and that they became somewhat disheartened in the process cannot be held to discredit the Indian army. I set a small party of it to a task beyond their training and capacity. The main responsibility for the failure is mine. But when the effect on the other side becomes known, it will certainly not be found wholly to our disadvantage.

I am certain that when the time comes for a real sustained counter-offensive against Japan, the Indian soldier will not be found wanting.

The author has no doubt that "our greatest defeat in the Burma campaign was our failure to mobilise Burmese public opinion against the Japanese".

The book is full of warnings and lessons to be derived from the tragic story of the fall of Burma.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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THE POST-WAR DEPRESSION or the way-out. By B. N. Shenoy. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES IN INDIA. By S. R. Ranganathan. Forman Christian College Library, Lahore.

TWO LECTURES ON AN AESTHETIC OF LITERATURE. By B. S. Mardhekar, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay, 2.

FOOD AND FARMING IN POST-WAR EUROPE. By P. L. Yates and D. Warriner, Oxford University Press, Madras.

INDIA—A Bird's Eye View. By Sir Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I. Oxford University Press, Madras.

BRITAIN AND CANADA. By Gerald S. Graham, Longmans Green & Co., Madras.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWER IN THE FUTURE INDIAN FEDERATION. By M. Ramaswamy. Foreword by Rt. Hon. Viscount Sankey. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., Madras.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE IN BARODA OR BHAGYANAGAR RAJ. By Desabandhu M. Sankar Linga Gowda, Nagamangala Post, Mysore State. Rs. 10.

WARNING TO THE WEST. By Shridharani, Duell, Sloan and Pearce 470, Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A.

SANKARA AND DAYANAND. By Har Bilas Sarda, Ajmer. 12 as.

TARIFFS AND INDUSTRY. By Dr. John Matthai. (Oxford Pamphlet on Indian Affairs), Oxford University Press.

THE PROBLEM OF POPULATION. By Gyan Chand, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, Oxford University Press.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND THEIR ROLE IN NATIONAL ECONOMY. By Prof. R. V. Rao. M.A., B.T., Vora & Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

KASTURBA GANDHI. By Miss Dhan Chandra. Free India Publications, Lahore.

Kasturba was not a picturesque personality with gifts of eloquence or leadership like Sarojini Devi or Annie Besant; but even if she had these gifts, they would be overshadowed by those of her great husband. Like the true Hindu wife, she was content to identify herself completely in her husband's activities rather than seek a career of her own.

Miss Chandra has therefore done well to give a brief but vivid picture of Kasturba's home life. A few outstanding incidents in that epic of suffering and self-sacrifice are narrated in a simple and attractive style.

She has very appropriately included Devadas's moving account of the last moments of his mother's life at the Aga Khan Palace and relevant extracts from Gandhi's reminiscences.

FAMINE OVER BENGAL. By T. G. Narayan. With a Foreword by Vijayalakshmi Pandit. The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta. Rs. 3-4.

"Golden Bengal" has been in the grip of a famine the like of which she has not known for centuries past. Mr. Narayan, who travelled in the worst-afflicted areas of the Province on behalf of the *Hindu*, tells the story of Bengal's agony as he saw it. He describes in some detail the economic and political background and the events which led up to the food crisis. It is a painful story of all-round incompetence on the part of the administration. The acute stage is now over; but as Pandit Vijayalakshmi says in her Foreword, "the problems which led to the famine remain unsolved. Until these problems are satisfactorily dealt with, so long will Bengal, in fact, the whole of India, continue in travail".

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. No. 15. Double Pamphlet. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. As. 12.

In the re-fashioning of the education of the future in India, it is essential to bear in mind that it should be a crusade on a nation-wide basis which would sweep away alike the people's indifference and the administrators' hesitations and timidity. And the pamphlet under review makes some invaluable suggestions in indicating the mode and manner of approach to the many intricate problems that confront the State in the sphere of education. After a brief but brilliant historical survey of education in India before the advent of the East India Company down to our own day the compelling need for compulsory free national education is emphasised almost in the first essay which points out the tremendous progress made in the countries like England, U.S.A., Russia, Turkey, China and Japan in the field of education. It also enforces in an unmistakable manner the supreme duty which devolves upon the State for the education of its human capital. It is vital to recognise that political freedom is a pre-requisite for such radical innovations in education. A preference is indicated for the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education outlined by Gandhiji in 1937 and it is recommended for general adoption.

In the succeeding essays dealing with 'Secondary Education', 'University', 'Adult Education' and 'Technical Education,' we get valuable details and schemes for re-organisation which go to the very heart of the problem.

LONDON CALLING THE WORLD. By Frank Singleton. Longmans Green & Co.

This fine, illustrated brochure contains a clear and concise account of the working of the B.B.C.—the great nerve centre of the world's news. Every stage in that big, complicated process, from the gathering of news from the ends of the earth to its world-wide distribution is described in detail.

SELECTIONS FROM SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Rs. 6. (Available of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

Though the fame of India's gold had attracted many foreigners and adventurers to this country, it was left to Swami Vivekananda to make known to the West the more important heritage of her spiritual wisdom. His great speech at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, fifty-one years ago, marked an epoch in the relations between East and West and paved the way to a proper appreciation of the treasures of Indian thought. Since then, down to the last day of his death, the Swamiji continued to fill the world with the flood of his eloquence uninterruptedly. Thanks to the diligence and devotion of his disciples and admirers a great mass of this literature in the shape of talks, lectures, messages, articles, letters and interviews, has been collected and published from time to time. These naturally run into many thousand pages and are not always accessible to the lay public. The Advaita Ashrama has done well to give a copious selection from these volumes—a collection reflecting the Swamiji's thoughts on a variety of topics. For it must be remembered that Swamiji was a myriad-minded man and his interests were encyclopaedic. And in the volume under review, we have the cream of the Swamiji's thoughts and views on many things, spiritual and mundane, culled from his speeches and writings. How close to present-day ideas were the Swamiji's thoughts may be gathered from his reply to a question as to why he should have thought of stirring Europe and America instead of preaching in his own country. Swamiji replied:

Now understand what religion means. The first thing required is the worship of the kurma (tortoise) Incarnation, and the belly-god is this Kurma, as it were. Until you pacify this, no one will welcome your words about religion. India is restless with the thought of how to face this spectre of hunger. The drainage of the best resources of the country by the foreigners, the unrestricted exports of merchandise, and above all, the jealousy natural to slaves, are eating into the very bones and marrow of India first of all, you must remove this evil of hunger and starvation, this constant thought for bare existence, from those to whom you want to preach religion; otherwise lectures and such things will be of no benefit.

BHASHA-PARICCHEDA WITH SIDDHANTA-MUKTAVALI. By Visvanatha Nyaya-panchanana. Translated by Swami Madhavananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati. Rs. 2-8.

Next to Annambhatta's *Tarkasangraha*, Visvanatha's *Bhasha-pariccheda* is the most popular manual of Nyaya philosophy. The author himself has written a gloss called the *Siddhanta-muktavali*. Visvanatha, who flourished till the early part of the seventeenth century A.D., belonged to the Nuddea school of Navya-nyaya; and, like Annambhatta, he synthesised the Nyaya theory of pramanas, with the Vaiseshika scheme of padarthas. It was Gangesa that laid the foundations of Navya-nyaya by turning the Nyaya system which had till then remained a mere padartha-sastra into a thorough-going pramana-sastra. Visvanatha, following in his footsteps, presents Neologic in an easy and lucid style.

The work under review contains the text of the *Bhasha-pariccheda* with an English translation of the text and its gloss the *Siddhanta-muktavali*. Swami Madhavananda's translation is simple and faithful.

MEGHADUTA IN ENGLISH VERSE. By D. C. Datta, M.A., Professor of English, Jaipur. Published by the Garg Book Company, Jaipur City.

Professor Datta has made a most commendable attempt at rendering into easy-flowing English verse the famous Sanskrit Lyric Poem, Meghaduta,—the Cloud Messenger carrying in its flight across the vast expanse of sky and air, from Ramgiri in Central India to Alaka in the Himalayas, the passionate message of Love and Hope from a love-sick languishing Yaksha to his beloved wife from whom he has been separated by the King's decree for a period of one year. Along that gossamer thread of story the poet strings beautiful flowers—verses exquisitely descriptive of Nature and Art; thought and diction mingling in a glorious composition which in the original Sanskrit reaches the high-water mark of Indian poetic phantasy. Professor Datta's rendering makes a very pleasing reading.

GANDHIJI'S RELEASE AND AFTER

THE release of Mahatma Gandhi, though "solely on medical grounds," as the Government *communique* has stressed with rather unnecessary emphasis, will, it is hoped, prove to be the first step towards a possible political settlement. But the immediate concern of the public is Mahatmaji's complete recovery. An anxious nation is watching his progress to recovery. As in health, so during his illness, the eyes of many are turned to him, for great things are expected from him once he is well again.

It will be recalled, that (Gandhiji with other members of the Congress Working Committee was arrested on August 9, 1942, following the meeting of the A. I. C. C. On February 10, 1943, he started a 21 days' fast when appeals to the British Government for the release of Gandhi had gone forth from all parts of the world in vain.) One of the results of Government's obstinacy was the resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council of the three Members, Sir Homy Mody, Mr. N. R. Sarker and Mr. M. S. Aney. Since then the efforts of what is known as the Sapru Conference and numerous other influential bodies, both in India and abroad, failed to obtain the release.

Twenty-one months after his detention in the Aga Khan Palace, i.e., (at midnight on Friday, the 5th of May, a Government of India *communique* announced that "in view of the medical reports on Gandhiji's health, it was decided to release him unconditionally". "This decision," it added, "has been taken solely on medical grounds. The release takes place at 8 A.M. on May 6.")

In fact, a Press note issued by the Bombay Government, about the middle of April, to the effect that Gandhiji had been suffering from Malaria for three days and that his general condition was weak had caused considerable anxiety. Subsequently the Surgeon-General's report that his condition was satisfactory could by no means allay public concern for the life of one who at his great age of 75, had passed through severe mental and physical strain. Although his iron will and religious discipline had made him proof against the

depressing effects of calamities, still his recent bereavements caused by the death of such near and dear ones as Mahadev Desai and Kasturba could hardly fail to make their mark even on that constitution.

Gandhiji's old friend Dr. B. C. Roy who then examined him reported that the improvement noticed by the Surgeon-General had not been maintained. Further deterioration having been noticed, Government decided to release him forthwith. It would appear that the Viceroy who was in communication with Whitehall was solely responsible for this decision, as none of the members of the Executive Council, most of whom were touring in different parts of the country, seemed to be aware of this wise though belated step to restore Gandhiji's freedom. At any rate the Viceroy's prompt action relieved the government of a very heavy responsibility.

Gandhiji, with his Private Secretary Mr. Pyarelal, his physicians Dr. Gilder and Dr. Sushila Nayar and his disciple Mira Ben, were driven straight to "Parnakuti", Lady Premleela Thackersey's residence by Lt. Col. M. G. Bhandari, Inspector-General of Prisons. Lady Thackersey, the hostess and Mr. Nagindas Master, Mayor of Bombay, received him at "Parnakuti" while his many followers assembled there touched his feet and expressed their sense of relief at his release. Meanwhile thousands of telegrams and messages poured in at "Parnakuti." Friends and fellow-workers like Mrs. Sarojini stood guard at his chambers to ensure perfect rest and freedom from the strain of public and private interviews.

Gandhiji was steadily recovering under careful and affectionate nursing and the best possible medical aid. But to a sensitive spirit like Gandhiji's, freedom itself is an undoubted tonic for mind and body, and within a week he was rallying quickly enough to be taken to a sea-side resort in Juhu near Bombay, where he is convalescing in a bungalow in the estate of Mr. Shanti Kumar Morarji. An endless stream of visitors from all over the suburbs and the city are to be seen night and day, opposite to the bungalow. But Mrs. Sarojini, who with her daughter and

Vijayalakshmi Pandit has taken up her residence in a shack next to Mr. Gandhiji's is proving a firm gate-keeper. Regardless of rank or position of the visitors she turns them back, saying "You will be showing your regard and love for Mahatmaji by not, rather than by seeing him." The fact is Gandhiji is still ill and needs as much rest as possible. And that is why he has, under medical advice, decided to prolong his stay at Juhu.

Characteristically enough the Mahatma did not wait for complete recovery to visit the scene of the fire disaster. Accompanied by Mr. Nagindas T. Master, Mayor of Bombay, he went round the affected areas where demolition and clearance of debris work are still in progress.

Speculations on the possible reaction of Gandhiji's release on the political situation are bound to be rife. Commenting on it, the *Glasgow Forward*, the leading Socialist weekly, voicing the typical liberal opinion all the world over hopes that this begins the reversal of Britain's policy towards India. It asserts that Pandit Nehru and other Congressmen must be released forthwith before any real steps can be taken to satisfy Indian national opinion and the world which looked at Britain's treatment of India with bewilderment and reproach.

The first step in making ourselves right with India and the world is to open the gates of jails and concentration camps and liberate people whose only crime was that they asked that the principles of the Atlantic Charter shall be applied with regard to India also. British Labour should do everything within its power to bring pressure upon the Government to completely change its policy towards India.

In this connection, Mr. Amery's evasive answers to questions in Parliament are at once amusing and inept. A Labour Member asked, "If Mr. Gandhi does recover, the Secretary of State will not consider putting him back again." Mr. Amery replied that "that will be considered when the occasion arises." It would be the height of folly if the Secretary of State can even contemplate such a contingency. For in releasing him, at any rate now, Government have done a wise thing which they will be undoing if Gandhiji, on recovery, is sent back to detention. For after all he is the one man in India, who will be able to bring to bear his great moral influence on the people at large for peace and

goodwill. From all we know of him, we have no doubt that if the authorities approach him in the proper spirit he will respond with courage and determination to save the country from the Japanese menace, not to speak of the Nazi tyranny which he has more than once denounced.

Now, as the *Manchester Guardian* truly points out, whatever else Gandhi is or is not, he certainly is the friend, the champion of human liberty. There is then hope that he may yet be our ally. His alliance would be worth securing. For this is a war in which personality counts and old or young, ill or well, Gandhi is by far the most powerful personality in India.

For his part Gandhiji, though by no means yet free from ailment, is unsparing in his efforts to obtain knowledge of the true condition of affairs in the country with a view to re-examine the situation. This is evident from the fact revealed by his secretary, Mr. Pyarelal, that he has been asked to collect facts and opinions from all available sources.

Gandhiji, it would appear, has taken Government's declarations about his release at their face value. He realises that his release is only temporary and has no political significance, as was said in the House of Commons. It was in view of this that the Mahatma expressed inability to respond to the *News Chronicle's* request for a statement. Says Mr. Pyarelal in a communication to the press dated 21st May:

Mr. Forman Cliff, Foreign Editor of the *News Chronicle*, had sent me the following cable dated May 9, to Poona. "English friends rejoice and hope Gandhiji will renew his strength. Grateful receive our account of events in detention and any statement Gandhiji has made. Glad to have any indication his hopes for future and any message for friends. Arrangements made for 500 words reply pre-paid."

Gandhiji's instructions to me being that no message was to be sent unless assurance can be received from the authorities concerned that any message that might be sent would be transmitted without mutilation. I wrote to the authorities mentioning the instructions I had from Gandhiji and enquiring whether such an assurance can be given. As their reply was in the negative, I cabled back to the *News Chronicle* regretting my inability to comply with their request as no assurance could be given by the authorities about non-mutilation of messages.

Of course, Gandhiji appreciated the difficulties of the authorities, but no mutilated message can do justice to the cause,

Gandhiji's letter to Mr. Jinnah

IN a *communiqué* dated May 26, 1943, the Government of India said they were not prepared to forward Mr. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Jinnah and had so informed Mr. Gandhi and Jinnah. They added they could not give facilities for political correspondence or contact to persons detained for promoting an illegal mass movement.

Mr. Jinnah, in a statement on May 28, reacted to it in an extraordinary way. He said the letter indicated no change in Mr. Gandhi's policy. He declared:

This letter of Mr. Gandhi can be construed only as a move on his part to embroil the Muslim League to come into a clash with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his release, so that he would be free to do what he pleases thereafter.

This was his strange comment on the intercepted letter the contents of which he could have no means of knowing.

Now that the Mahatma is free, his Private Secretary Mr. Pyarelal has released the letter to the press in response to the suggestion from Mr. Jinnah's paper *Dawn*. The text of the letter is as follows:

Detention Camp, May 4, 1943.

Dear Quade Azam,

When sometime after my incarceration Government asked me for a list of newspapers I would like to have, I included the "Dawn" in my list. I have been receiving it with more or less regularity. Whenever it comes to me I read it carefully. I have followed the proceedings of the League as reported in the "Dawn" columns. I noted your invitation to me to write to you. Hence this letter.

I welcome your invitation. I suggest our meeting face to face rather than talking through correspondence, but I am in your hands.

I hope that this letter will be sent to you and, if you agree to my proposal, that the Government will let you visit me.

One thing I had better mention. There seems to be an "if" about your invitation. Do you say I should write only if I have changed my heart?

God alone knows Men's Hearts.

I would like you to take me as I am.

Why should not both you and I approach the great question of Communal Unity as men determined on finding a common solution and work together to make our solution acceptable to all who are concerned with it or are interested in it?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Surely this friendly invitation could not be a move on the part of Gandhi "to embroil the Muslim League to come into a clash with the British Government"!

Nationalist Muslims in Conference

While the Muslim League has become a powerful organisation with a large following, there is no doubt that a considerable section of Muslim opinion is not only beyond the orbit of the League's influence, but definitely against its policy and programme. But the League being more noisy, it is made to appear as if it is the only or the main spokesman of the community. The recent Conference of Nationalist Muslims in Delhi, representing the Azad Muslims, Ahrars, Kudai Khidmatgars, Momins and many others, made it clear that a growing volume of Muslim opinion is distinctly against the anti-national and disruptive propaganda of the Pakistanists. It shows that Muslim India is essentially Indian at heart and is in no mood to tolerate the blatant communalism or the reactionary tactics of the League. The resolutions passed by the Delhi Conference are unmistakably in harmony with progressive political thought in the country. The Nationalist Muslims

unequivocally declared themselves against Pakistan as detrimental to the country and our advice is that Muslims should not want Pakistan but should let India remain a united country for all time to come. That is the fundamental difference between us and the League.

Their programme for intercommunal settlement accordingly revolves round this fundamental faith in the geographical unity of India. Their demand for a national government not as a political issue but as a strategic military necessity will, it is hoped, be widely appreciated!

The Nationalist Muslims have thus a clear cut programme inspired by the loftiest motives and it is up to them to see that the voice of reason is not drowned by the more clamorous cry of reactionary communalism. For the League's unsound tactics have but served the Government with an excuse for withholding freedom for the country on the score of disagreement among the communities.

The Judiciary and the Executive in India

Addressing the East India Association, London, Sir John Beaumont, the former Chief Justice of Bombay, described the Federal Court as "an expensive luxury". But considering the interests of the clients, the Privy Council in England, which he prefers, is by no means less expensive; and then the experience in India about that august body in far away England, in matters involving grave political or national issues has not always been happy. In matters relating to the D. I. R., the judgments of the Federal Court have been marked by undoubted judicial wisdom and independence. It is doubtful if better results could have accrued from the Privy Council.

Sir John's suggestions for other reforms in the judicial system in India are in conformity with the demands reiterated by the Congress and other public bodies. There can be no two opinions on the need for the separation of the judiciary from the executive. The selection of judges from amongst Government servants, he said,

is opposed to sound constitutional principles and can only be justified if there is no other suitable field of selection. The bench is the legitimate goal of the Bar's ambition and whenever I have been on tour, the local Bar have always complained of the lack of promotion open to them. The Bar in India forms no mean part of the literate community. It is influential and extremely vocal and it seems foolish to present it with a legitimate and unnecessary grievance.

Separation of the judiciary from the executive was one of the main planks in the Congress party programme and we deplore with him that the Congress ministries lost a splendid opportunity to carry out this much-needed reform. Sir John thinks that they abandoned the project in deference to the wishes of the Congress High Command. He is evidently led to this conclusion by observing the unanimity with which all Congress governments acted in the same way. It is just possible that the example set by one or more governments in sacrificing principle for expediency led other governments to follow suit. In any case, the failure to tackle the problem of magistracy—so long one of the main items of the Congress demands—was certainly deplorable.

Louis Fischer on Gandhi

The Poona correspondent of a Delhi contemporary reports that the first book that Gandhiji laid his hands on at "Parnakuti", soon after his release, was *A Week with Gandhi* by Louis Fischer. Now Fischer knew his Gandhi well and got into hot waters by his frank and outspoken tributes to his character. He says:

I think the yearning for India's independence takes precedence in him over everything else, even over his belief in non-violence. At least, he can work on terms of the friendliest co-operation with men like Nehru, Azad, and Rajagopalachari, who he knows are not pacifists, but he could not work with enemies of Indian freedom. In his pursuit of this independence there is a musical harmony between Gandhi and millions of Indians. Great leaders must have this harmony; it is the source of their greatness. Winston Churchill has manifested it in many of his speeches. He says brilliantly what so many plain English citizens say crudely to their neighbours or say to themselves at night. You follow a leader who is you in a better edition. Gandhi is father and brother to millions of semi-naked, half-starved, not-too-intellectual peasants and working men who want to attain dignity and prosperity through national effort. He is a chip of their block. He also answers the prayers of innumerable highly cultured Indians and mighty industrialists who resent the foreign yoke or even the mere presence of an outside overlord.

Bombay Fire Inquiry

Public demand for enquiry into the causes of the Bombay Fire tragedy has been met by the prompt announcement of the terms and personnel of the Commission. But as is usual with Government, they never do even a right thing in the right way. The Commission presided over by the Chief Justice of Bombay will undoubtedly commend itself to the public, but in a matter of such public concern why should not a non-official enjoying the confidence of the public be included? That would undoubtedly have made a difference in the estimation of the public. There is certainly need to know the "causes of the fire and the adequacy of the steps taken before, during and after the disaster" with a view to be profited by the lessons of this tragedy but the need to compensate the loss suffered by the public is even more urgent, as the Insurance Companies have declared their helplessness in the matter.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Britain and Russia

MR. EDEN referred to Russia in his speech in the House of Commons on Foreign Affairs debate last month. He said:

There is no reservation in our minds when we say we wish to work with the Soviet Union in the fullest, closest co-operation. But it is also in the interests of our two countries that we should accept that there are certain difficulties in this task and we do not gain much by ignoring them.

Mr. Eden referred to the mutual suspicion which existed so long ago as the days of Czarist Russia and which has the habit of accumulating. Our remedy is that the two people should get to know each other better.

Britain's Foreign Policy

Winding up the Commons debate Mr. Eden declared that the British Empire was the one really successful experiment in international co-operation there had ever been. Britain had not on any occasion in the four years of conflict entered into any secret engagement with anybody. Referring to Britain's treatment of Neutrals, Mr. Eden said they had asked for no measure nor taken any step beyond that which was considered to be within their rights according to the terms of their alliance.

Dominion Premiers' Declaration

"We affirm that, after the war, a world organization to maintain peace and security should be set up and endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence," says a Declaration issued at the conclusion of the Dominion Premiers' Conference.

We trust and pray that the victory, which will certainly be won, will carry with it a sense of hope and freedom for all the world. It is our aim that, when the storms and passions of war have passed away, all the countries now overrun by the enemy shall be free to decide for themselves their future form of democratic government.

Mutual respect and honest conduct between nations is our chief desire. We are determined to work with all peace-loving peoples in order that tyranny and aggression shall be removed or, if need be, struck down wherever it raised its head. Peoples of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations willingly make their sacrifices to the common cause. We seek no advantages for ourselves at the cost of others. We desire the welfare and social advance of all nations and that they may help each other to better and broader days.

Battle for Rome

In Italy the Eighth Army captured the town of Roccasecca and Mount Cairo.

Fifth Army troops have captured Cori. San Giovanni on the southern edge of the Liri valley has also been captured.

Ceprano, Belmonte, Villa San Stefano and Norma have been captured.

The Eighth Army took Ceprano. The New Zealanders took Belmonte. The Allies are nearing Rome.

Jap Reverses in Assam and Burma

The Japanese forces on the Burma-India front are in an increasingly grave position after a month that has shown Allied supremacy on the ground and in the air on all sectors.

Fighting in the Manipur zone has been continuous and intense and the Japanese have suffered heavily as compared with the relatively light Allied losses. Desperate attempts to break into the Imphal plain have failed, in spite of the use of some fresh Japanese units.

Agreement with Spain

An agreement has been reached between Britain, the United States and Spain.

Spain, which has so far been partial to Germany, has now agreed to drastically cut her wolfram exports to Germany, close the German consulate at Tangier, expel all the Nazi spies and in addition, release some of the Italian merchantships now interned in Spanish waters. In return, Britain and the United States have agreed to lift the embargo on oil shipments to Spain.

Nazi March to Bulgaria

Five German Divisions, after meeting resistance at some points, are believed to have marched into Bulgaria on May 20, following the resignation of the Bojilov Government according to the newspaper "Law Turquie." German forces were taking over civil administration.

Portuguese Foreign Policy

The Foreign Affairs Section of the Congress of Uniao Nacional, the only party in Portugal, has unanimously declared the Anglo-Portuguese alliance to be the first basis of Portuguese foreign policy.



CONGRESS LEADERS IN PRISON

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddi, the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University and a Regional Leader of the National War Front, in a statement to the Press, makes some very caustic remarks on the attitude of the authorities in regard to the present situation. Urging the release of all detenus and Congress leaders in prison, Sir Ramalinga points out:

The spirit of vendetta has no place in history. Even with the enemy, peace has to be made, and the Congress is not a worse enemy than Germany or Japan. It should not be forgotten that all the elections held in India had gone in favour of the incarcerated Congress and that is why the Madras Government, which notified that elections for certain District Boards would be held, have swallowed their own words at a quick gulp when they learned that Congress and pro-Congress candidates would contest, and they fell back on nominated boards.

True criticism this. It is high time the Government should take note of the signs of the times and take a broad and statesmanlike view of the situation. "The retail releases of the incarcerated members of the Congress or others similarly involved, could not be productive of that change in atmosphere which ought to be brought about. If these retail releases had not done any harm, one might well ask why the Government should apprehend danger from the release of the bigger people who alone were capable of giving a new turn to the internal situation".

"The Atlantic Charter had already turned into Atlantic smoke", says Sir Ramalinga emphatically.

Discussing the various post-war schemes, Sir C. R. Reddi observes:

People were already beginning to doubt the sincerity and reality of the post-war schemes outlined by Government, which they still suspected, were nothing more than shadows reminding them of what the priest-craft had been doing in all ages, namely, depriving innocent people of good things of this world under the pretext of another, while promising perfect bliss in Heaven, in the certainty of which they themselves perhaps did never believe! And would the post-war reconstruction be nothing more than the paradise of the priest-craft—a secular edition of 'take the cash and let the credit go' policy?

EFFECTS OF WAR ON INDIA

Mr. Ernest Hauser, writing from New Delhi to the *Saturday Evening Post* highly praising Indian soldiers, says: "Indian peasants have learned to use machine-guns, mortars, armoured cars and heavy artillery. They have trained parachutists, engineers and experts. Indians of all castes are piloting planes of Indian Air Force . . . the Indian sepooy, unlike the American soldier, is not a citizen of a free nation but an Indian nation can be seen emerging from his sacrifice.

"Training and achievements of this vast army will thus assume a significance far beyond the immediate purpose of military victory. Already the presence in the same camps or positions of people from all parts of India has broken down racial and religious differences which so far had prevented Indian unity. Already Muslims and Hindus, Brahmins and lower castemen have discovered that they are brothers under their skin. They have under the pinch taken the same food, drunk from the same bucket and no thunderbolt smote them as punishment for such unheard of sin.

"In the crucible of this long war an Indian nation may be born. In this army which is larger than any army ever raised in this sub-continent. Indian manhood is being put to a decisive test."

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

The well-known writer on India, Mr. Edward Thompson, in an article to *New Statesman and Nation*, states:

It is known that Lord Wavell is profoundly impressed by Indian poverty and the necessity of tremendous changes. These can be put through only by the leaders of the nation concerned. Only they have intimate, intricate knowledge and can find a way to overcome hidden as well as overt opposition. If our Home Government were militarily wise in this matter, they would encourage the Viceroy to ask a genuine National Government to take over internal affairs with a guarantee of support in even revolutionary action, such as the tackling of indebtedness which crushes the small man's life. A separate War Cabinet as in this country, should give all energies to the campaign

"FAITH IN BRITISH RULE"

Questioning the wisdom of Mr. Amery's speech, *The Economist* says that although his remarks had "considerable" justification, the speech shows that the British as well as Indian leaders are "still looking backwards instead of forwards."

The Economist objects to the present policy in India, firstly in regard to defence secondly, in regard to food supply and thirdly, in respect of freeing country for self-government.

Saying that these aims constitute a policy in themselves, if by-gones can be allowed to be by-gones, the paper suggests that we should look for whatever signs there may be "of new leaders and new attitudes among Indians rather than at misdeeds of old ones. It is perfectly true many events of the war years in India have shaken faith in the ability of the Indians to govern themselves properly, but, despite the mishandled but most-fair Cripps offer, they have shaken faith in British rule no less."

INDIA AND EIRE

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar, author of "Problem of India", writing in the monthly magazine, *Irish Freedom*, refers to the Irish gift of £1,00,000 for Indian famine relief. Common experience of famine is not the only bond between Indians and the Irish, says Dr. Shelvankar, they have common experience of British imperial connection.

For at least half a century, the national movement in India has derived strong inspiration from the different phases of the British struggle and in Ireland, poets, politicians and thinkers of all types have not only followed happenings in India with sympathy, but have themselves been influenced by the art and philosophy of ancient India.

Discussing Ireland's position in relation to the war against Fascism, he says:

Eire has the good fortune to face this situation under a Government of her own, whereas India's position is different.

He emphasises, however, that Indian nationalists do not want isolationism or neutrality.

"They want to manage their own internal affairs without foreign interference. They want this not as an end in itself but because national freedom alone will enable them to pull their full weight in extricating the world and, Asia in particular, from the threat of a dark future."

SMALL HOLDINGS

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy contributes an article to the *New Review* for May with the heading "The Running Sore of Indian Agriculture." The sore is the small holdings which as peasants or tenants Indian cultivators operate. In Bengal the average cultivated holding is 3.1 acres; it is the same in Bihar, another Zamindari province. In the United Provinces, which include the Zamindari division of Oudh, the average holding covers 2.5 acres. In the ryotwari provinces, which constitute the major part of the country, the acreage held by the owner cultivator is as follows: Madras 4.9 acres; the Central Provinces and Berar 8.5 acres; in the Punjab, 9.3; and in Bombay, 12.2. Mr. Ruthnaswamy calls upon Indian statesmen to undertake immediate legislation or administrative action against the evil which, he says, is at once economic and political. He writes:

It may be that one of the causes of the easy invasion and conquest of India as of Celtic Britain was this custom of compulsory equal partition of landed property. It may be, as in France, this practice is responsible for the political weakness of India—the lack of a sturdy population equal to the calls of unity and liberty. Not only in the interests of economic progress but for the security of Freedom, the pernicious custom of the compulsory and equal partition of landed property must no longer be allowed to hang as a millstone round the neck of the people of India.

WORLD BILL OF RIGHTS

"The promulgation of an international bill of rights is 'one proper task for international organization in the post-war years,' according to nearly all of 43 co-operating groups of college faculties who have reported to the Universities Committee on Post-war International Problem," the *Christian Science Monitor* comments editorially.

"While sceptical about 'natural rights,' the groups agree that there are certain 'moral rights' which ought to belong to all individuals, both in practice and in law. Moral rights such as freedom of expression and certain kinds of freedom of action or opportunity for development, are so important for human welfare that they should be guaranteed to everyone."

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. The Conference of British Commonwealth Prime Ministers meets in London.
- May 2. New Soviet-Czech Agreement is concluded.
- May 3. Spain to expel Axis Agents in N. Africa. Agreement signed with Allies.
- May 4. British loan for China is announced by Mr. Eden in the House of Commons.
- Col. Cristofini, founder of Vichy African Phalanx, is executed for treason.
- May 5. Leaders' appeal to Viceroy to release Gandhiji.
- May 6. Mahatma Gandhi is released unconditionally.
- Jap Naval Commander-in-Chief Admiral M. Koga is killed in action.
- May 7. Jap troops near Loyang—six times capital of China.
- May 8. The Bombay Disaster inquiry begins at Bombay *in camera*.
- Allied non-stop raids on North France.
- May 9. German defences in Sebastopol breached.
- May 10. Russians capture Sebastopol.
- De Valera seeks fresh mandate—Sequel to defeat in Dail.
- May 11. Mr. Gandhi and party arrive in Jubu.
- Germany warns Turkey *re* stoppage of chrome.
- May 12. Offensive in Italy by the Eighth and Fifth Armies.
- May 13. Nawab Sir Md. Jamal Khan Leghori and Mafor Nawab Asiq Hussain are appointed Ministers to the Punjab Government.
- May 14. Allies capture Castel Forte.
- Battle for Loyang—Heavy casualties on both sides.
- May 15. Allies take three Jap positions on the outskirts of Kobima.
- Dr. Jivaraj Mehta is released unconditionally.
- May 16. Empire Conference concludes.
- Germans evacuate Hill positions south of Cassino.
- Chiang's urgent appeal for allied help.
- May 17. Chinese thrust in Yunan—Japs encircled.
- German Consulate at Tangier closed.
- May 18. Myitkyina airfield captured by Allies in North Burma.
- Allies take Cassino.
- Street fighting in Loyang.
- May 19. Mahatmaji visits scene of Bombay Disaster.
- 1,000 Plane raid on Berlin.
- Allies capture Wadke in New Guinea area.
- May 20. Jap bases in Marshall Islands bombed.
- Chinese recapture Kioshan.
- Americans capture Gaeta.
- May 21. Sir Radhakrishnan returns from China after lecture tour.
- Myitkyina station in allied hands.
- May 22. H. E. Viceroy extends the life of Legislatures for a further period of one year.
- May 23. Germans evacuate Pico.
- Japs reinforce Imphal area.
- May 24. Prime Minister Churchill reviews War situation in the Commons.
- Indian War Prisoners escape from France.
- German defences at Anzio in Italy pierced.
- May 25. Heavy enemy attacks on Imphal.
- Confusion in Bengal Assembly over the Education Bill.
- May 26. Littoria and Cisterna captured by Allies in Italy.
- Mr. Suresh Vaidya is released.
- Germans invade Bulgaria.
- May 27. The Chinese capture Warong, north-east of Kaneaing.
- All-India Muslim League Committee expels Malik Khizi Hyat Khan, Punjab Premier, from the League.
- May 28. The Jap ambassador, General Oghina, sees Hitler.
- May 29. Over 1,000 allied planes throw 4,000 tons of bombs over Germany.
- May 30. American troops invade Biak near Philippines.
- May 31. General election in Ireland.

INDIAN STATES

Baroda

SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI
 "At no stage did Sir V. T. Krishnamachari resign from the Dewanship of Baroda but asked His Highness for leave preparatory to retirement", says the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who is now in Kashmir, in a communication to the Press. The following order of His Highness has been published in the *Baroda State Gazette*:

His Highness the Maharaja Sahab has been pleased to permit Sir V. T. Krishnamachari to proceed on leave, preparatory to retirement from State service. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari had requested His Highness to allow him to be relieved from the office of Dewan, and in permitting him to do so, His Highness the Maharaja Sahab has realised the need of rest, which Sir V. T. Krishnamachari has so richly earned through long years of distinguished service.

His Highness the Maharaja Sahab is pleased to record the sense of overwhelming loss which the termination of his long and distinguished connection with the State has involved the 'huzur' and the people of Baroda. Since 1927, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari has shown unremitting zeal for progress and advancement in all branches of the administration. Foremost in all measures of social well-being, he has shown not only the deepest sympathy towards the people for their needs and aspirations, but also displayed unwavering devotion to duty.

The achievements and the meritorious services rendered to Baroda and the Princely Order by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari are too well known for His Highness the Maharaja Sahab to make any detailed reference. His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes described Sir V. T. Krishnamachari as "a distinguished administrator, far-sighted statesman and a true patriot", whose services have won him general admiration and respect.

PRAJA MANDAL DEMAND

The two-day session of the Baroda Praja Mandal, which met last month, dealt with various problems in the State.

By one of the resolutions the conference appointed a committee to organise collections for the Kasturba Memorial Fund. About 5,000 people attended the session.

The Praja Mandal passed a resolution demanding the immediate holding of fresh elections to the legislature, municipalities and local bodies in the State.

Another resolution extended full support to the "peaceful agitation for Indian independence" and declared unshakable faith in the leadership of Mr. Gandhi.

Travancore

RISE IN GOVERNMENT SALARIES

A press *communiqué* issued says that questions relating to the fixation of the salaries of Government servants under present conditions and the need to effect a general revision have been considered by the Government and the following enhanced rates of war allowance have been sanctioned with effect from 1st Makarom 1119.

Persons receiving upto Rs. 25 per mensem will receive Rs. 7 per mensem and an equal amount in cases where salaries are less than Rs. 7 per mensem. Those whose salary is above Rs. 25 and upto Rs. 45 will receive Rs. 10 per mensem.

Officers receiving between Rs. 45 and Rs. 100 will receive Rs. 12. Those drawing above Rs. 100 and upto Rs. 112 will receive an amount which will raise the total emoluments to Rs. 112 per mensem and officers in the scale of Rs. 100—5—125, whose pay is not changed in the present revision, will receive Rs. 12 per mensem.

Government have also decided that the minimum salary of peons and menial servants in the capital and other expensive towns should be Rs. 14 per mensem; in other urban centres Rs. 11 and in the villages Rs. 10. The minimum salary in the clerical and the corresponding subordinate ranks should be Rs. 25 per mensem.

THE TRAVANCORE LOAN

The Travancore State loan of three crores carries interest at 3 per cent. free of income-tax in Travancore. The object of the State Government in floating this loan is to harness accumulating surplus purchasing power for the development of the State's agriculture and industry. The Government have planned for the improvement of agriculture by reclamation and intensive cultivation, the extension of hydro-electric power and the establishment of basic, heavy and subsidiary industries. These schemes are of vital importance to the economy of the State, and the Government have decided to implement them at a time when money is plentiful and conditions are easy.

Of particular interest to the investor is the fact that it is a short-to-medium-dated loan, repayable between May 15, 1952 and May 15, 1954.

Hyderabad

NIZAM ON IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH

The importance of the English language as a common language in the West and East is stressed by the Nizam in the course of an article in an Urdu daily in Hyderabad.

English, he adds, is spoken and understood in every quarter of the globe. Books on every conceivable art of science can be found in this language. The day is not far off when English will become the common language of the people in the West and the East, he says.

The popularity of basic English, the Nizam adds, is a pointer towards this end.

His Exalted Highness advises his subjects, particularly those belonging to aristocratic families, to shed their narrow-mindedness and learn the English language in order that they may be better able to fulfil their responsibilities.

LABOUR CONDITIONS

With a view to safeguarding the interests of labour in the Nizam's Dominions, various proposals are now under the consideration of H. E. H.'s Government. For the present it has been decided to set up an Advisory Committee for safeguarding labour interests. The membership of this Committee will range between ten and twenty. Half of them will consist of officials and the other half will be composed of an equal number of representatives of capital and labour. Preliminary measures relating to the formation of the Committee have already been taken and it is hoped that the Committee will start functioning very soon.

Bhopal

BHOPAL'S POST-WAR PLAN

A ten-year plan of post-war development, estimated to cost about Rs. 12,00,00,000 and designed to remodel Bhopal State, has been drawn up by the State's Director of Post-War Reconstruction, Mr. Mohsin Ali. Mr. Mohsin Ali is acting under the ægis of the Post-War Reconstruction Board appointed by the Nawab under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bore, Economic Adviser, Bhopal Government.

Mysore

MYSORE'S FINANCES

The administration report of the Government of Mysore for 1942-43, issued recently, reveals the sound financial position of the State. The net income was Rs. 6,88,95,000 and the net expenditure Rs. 6,86,91,000. The total receipts and expenditure under both service and debt heads were Rs. 11,01,54,000 and Rs. 10,85,74,000, respectively, leaving a cash balance of Rs. 2,15,62,000 at the end of the year. Large increases were recorded in the revenue under duty on gold, forests, excise, income-tax and general commercial services.

A noteworthy feature during the year, says a correspondent, was the introduction of rationing in urban areas. Government's compulsory requisition in August last of excess stocks of food-grains was a prudent measure as later events testified. The "Grow More Food" campaign resulted in 55,087 additional acres of land being cultivated.

General industrial and commercial conditions also showed a remarkable improvement. Orders from the Supply Department of the Government of India helped the growth of small industries. Cottage industries, such as handloom weaving, also benefited.

The maintenance of stable relations between labour and employers was due largely to the administration of the Labour Act. Government also introduced uniform conditions of service in all their industrial concerns. The ameliorative measures included grant of holidays with pay, sick leave, privilege leave and retiring bonus.

MYSORE BEGGAR BILL

The Mysore Government have constituted a special committee, with the Law Secretary as Chairman, to arrange for the formation of beggar colonies and to take other relief measures so that the Bill prohibiting beggary may be put into effect immediately it is passed. The Bill, which cannot be made operative in an area unless relief measures already exist, is now in the committee stage. A beggar colony is proposed to be set up near Bangalore.

Rewa

AMNESTY TO POLITICALS

The Government of Rewa State having declared a general amnesty in respect of persons arrested and detained under Rule 26, D. I. R., in connection with the "Pro-Maharaja agitation", started in the State in the wake of the suspension of the ruling powers of the Maharaja Sir Gulab Singh in February, 1942, all the security prisoners have been released unconditionally. The Maharaja has now been absolved of the charges levelled against him, and he has been allowed to return to his State, but his administrative powers have been limited to within the palace only such as appointment or dismissal of palace servants, etc.

In accordance with the instructions of the Crown Representative, Mr. E. V. Wakefield, I.C.S., has been appointed Prime Minister of the Rewa State and Rai Saheb Kartar Nath of the Central Provinces, Inspector-General of the State Police.

Indore

STATE FOOD CONFERENCE

Presiding over the Indore State Food Conference held at Indore, Mr. Mishrilal Gangwal, former President of the Provincial Congress Committee, urged the Indore Government to hand over the Food Department to people's representatives. About 125 delegates and 1,000 visitors attended the Conference. Due to the ban on public meetings in Indore, the Conference was restricted to delegates and special invitees only. Mr. N. H. Bravid, M.L.C., welcoming the delegates, explained how the food situation in the State had been deteriorating for the last five years.

Patiala

MR. H. S. MALIK

Patiala's new Prime Minister, Mr. Hardit Singh Malik, is the most senior Sikh in the Indian Civil Service. He vacated recently the post he held for four years with credit and distinction as India's first Trade Commissioner in the U.S.A. and Canada with headquarters in New York. He made a mark in the social and diplomatic circles in New York and Washington. Mr. Malik participated as the Government of India's

representative in four international conferences—the Cotton Conference in Washington in 1939, the Labour Conference in New York in 1941, the Food Conference in Hot Springs and the U.N.R.R.A. Conference in Atlantic City in 1943.

Kashmir

WAR MATERIALS

His Highness's Government have been supplying large quantities of raw silk to the Government of India for the manufacture of parachute cloth, required for defence purposes. From the beginning of the war to the end of December, 1943, over 436,000 lbs. of raw silk has been supplied to the Government of India. By the end of June, 1944, another 40,000 lbs. will have been supplied.

His Highness's Government have also been manufacturing parachute cloth for the Government of India. One of the two silk-weaving factories doing this work was destroyed by fire in August, 1942; but the work went on in the other factory, which now has 124 looms with the requisite preparatory and finishing machinery.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, Ltd.

(Established—December, 1911)

HEAD OFFICE—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
230 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

Authorised Capital	Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	Rs. 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	Rs. 1,68,13,200
Reserve and Other Funds	Rs. 1,68,22,000
Deposits as at (31-12-1943)	Rs. 81,63,71,000

DIRECTORS.

Sir Homi Mody, K.B.E., Chairman, Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esquire, Haridas Madhavdas, Esquire, Dinshaw D. Romer, Esquire, Vithaldas Kanji, Esquire, Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esquire, Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esquire, Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Esquire, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Kt. H. F. Commissariat, Esquire.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank, Limited and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN,
Managing Director.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

THE PEGGING ACT

Found guilty in the Durban Magistrate's Court under the Pegging Act of occupying premises at 232, Moore Road, Durban, between January 15 and May 8, this year, without authority or permit, Mr. P. R. Pather was sentenced to a fine of £20 and a month's hard labour or two months' hard labour. The latter was suspended on condition that he vacated the premises on or before June 30.

Mr. Pather said that the presence of the Pegging Act on the Statute Book was a stigma on the national honour of his people and an affront to his motherland. This case had shown how in its operation the Pegging Act deprived the Indian people of their inherent elementary rights. He was prepared to submit to the penalties of the law. "The world will be my judge of the operation of a law which is not only undemocratic but also unparalleled in any civilised country. My stand is the moral right of my people; my action solely guided by the desire to vindicate the rights of my people", concluded Mr. Pather.

Mr. Pather's fine was again paid by an unidentified person. He was not sent to prison.

U.S.A.

INDIANS IN U.S.A.

The President of the Indian Seamen's Union and Indian delegate to the I.L.O. Conference, Mr. Aftab Ali said at New York: "I do not want to be unduly harsh, but I can assure you that we in India shall not give in concerning the question of American citizenship, no matter what our financial and commercial interests of the future may be and no matter how helpful America may be as regards India's coming processes of industrial development. We have not the slightest intention of extending the hand of friendship and co-operation to any country which will not treat our nationals on a footing to perfect equality."

Mr. Aftab Ali was speaking at a dinner given by the Indian Association for American Citizenship in honour of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, President of the Indian Federation of Labour.

Italy

INDIAN TROOPS

Gen. Mark Clark, the 5th Army Commander, under whom Indians fought on the Cassino Front in February and March last, has paid a tribute to the role they are playing in the battle of Italy.

In a statement to the A.P.I. Special Correspondent, Gen. Clark said: "In a difficult campaign, attended by extremes of physical hardship and requiring the utmost in individual courage and sacrifice, the Indian troops in Italy are contributing, without reserve, their full share to our ultimate victory. Undaunted by a determined foe, unfavourable terrain, and often extremes of weather, the troops from India are displaying an aggressiveness which comes from discipline, leadership, and each man's personal valour and determination."

Ceylon

C.R. ON INDIANS IN CEYLON

"My message to them, our countrymen in Ceylon, all is that there is no reason to fear or to be perturbed about the future of Indians in Ceylon", declared Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in an interview on his recent tour of Ceylon.

"My discussions with Sinhalese leaders of importance," Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "have led me to feel that a very just settlement is possible. I am certain that the Indian leaders in Ceylon will not put any impediment in the way of attainment by Ceylon of her self-government. I have given unambiguous advice on the matter, and I believe that it will not be rejected by the leaders of the Ceylon Indian Congress. I have every reason to hope that the Sinhalese Ministers are not now in the same frame of mind as they were some time ago. I believe they will find a solution which will be acceptable to the Indian leaders and which will prevent an excuse to the British Government for postponing the grant of autonomy on the ground of unsolved minority issues."

England

INDIANS FOR ADVANCE STUDIES

Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that all steps were being taken to make adequate provision to accommodate the large number of Indians wishing to come to Britain for advanced study and training as soon as circumstances permitted.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

MR. AMERY ON THE RELEASE OF LEADERS

Mr. Gandhi's release was not effected with the intention of releasing other Congress leaders. It is impracticable to hold elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures during the monsoon period. These are points from a letter the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery, has written to the Labour Member of Parliament, Mr. William Dobbie, who with ten other Labour M.P.'s, had written to Mr. Amery stating, "We believe Mr. Gandhi's release should be treated as the starting point of a general amnesty for all political prisoners". Mr. Amery's reply is as follows:

It is no doubt a natural expectation that the release of Mr. Gandhi should lead the way to the release of the Congress leaders. It was, in fact, made with no such intention but solely on grounds of ill-health and the position as regards those still in detention remains unchanged. I shall not repeat at length my views and those of His Majesty's Government in regard to the policy of the Congress Party. The 'deadlock', such as it is, is of their making and it is the result of their Resolution of August, 1942, which at a critical time aimed at paralysing the whole machinery of Government in order to enforce their political demands. The Viceroy's appeal for co-operation, made in his address to the Indian Legislature in February, has so far met with no response from Congress leaders; and while they remain wedded to the policy of the August Resolution, it is difficult to see how their release could be contemplated by the Governor-General and his Council, who are responsible for the security and defence of India.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS

The Nationalist Muslim Conference, which met at New Delhi on May 16, passed the following resolution:

In view of the present political situation in the country and the interests of the Muslims, as also for implementing the resolution on Hindu-Muslim settlement and other resolutions passed at this session, it is resolved that the Nationalist Muslims should reorganise themselves under the name of the All-India Muslim Majlis with its headquarters at Delhi and branches throughout India.

This organisation shall seek to guide and lead the Muslims unitedly for the achievement of complete National Independence and other correct objectives and shall also strive to bring about a Hindu-Muslim settlement in their own interest and in that of the country as a whole.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

ROOSEVELT ON I. L. O. CHARTER

President Roosevelt at a conference at White-House, Washington, on May 17, told delegates to the International Labour Conference that the attainment of conditions laid down in the I. L. O. Philadelphia Charter must constitute the aim of National and International policy.

You have affirmed the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity, and under conditions of economic security and of opportunity. The worthiness and success of international policies will be measured in future by the extent to which they promote the achievement of this end.

Your declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have an opportunity of endorsing its specifications on behalf of the United States. I think that, within a short time, its specific terms will be wholeheartedly endorsed by all the United Nations.

FIROZ KHAN ON INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

India's Representative on the War Cabinet, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, speaking at the Conference of Empire Premiers in London, said:

There are no two opinions in India so far as maintenance of the ties with Great Britain and prosecution of the present war are concerned.

There is not one in India, not even Mr. Gandhi himself, who does not want the United Nations to win. And there are no two opinions about the maintenance, when the war is won, of India's connection with Great Britain and with other Dominions.

ARCHBISHOP'S APPEAL TO INDIA

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Temple, speaking at the 145th Anniversary of the Church Missionary Society, said:

We think of India waiting until this world conflict is over so that there may be an opportunity for full attention to be given to the solution of its own problems; and all the time, waiting in increasing bitterness. Only the gospel of love of God can cure that bitterness or help the people of India to come together into true fellowship and unity. The conversion of India should be something near to the heart of all of us.

INDIAN POLITICAL DEADLOCK

Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, received on May 17, a deputation of the British Council of Churches led by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The deputation presented the following resolution passed by the British Council of Churches:—

The British Council of Churches is greatly concerned at the political deadlock in India and at the growing alienation and distrust between the Indian and British peoples. It urges that in spite of all difficulties Government should provide for renewed consultation between leaders of all Indian Parties, even while some are still interned, believing that this is a necessary condition of any real progress towards a settlement.

The very Reverend Dr. Hutchinson Cockburn and Reverend Norman Goodall spoke in support of the resolution. In reply, Mr. Amery dealt fully with the present situation in India and expressed his appreciation of the opportunity of a frank exchange of views with the Council.

MR. AMERY'S CONSTITUENCY

The Vice-Chairman of the British Communist Party, Mr. R. Palme Dutt, has been adopted as the prospective Communist candidate for the Sparkbrook Division of Birmingham, the seat at present held by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery.

Mr. Dutt, who is one of the leading intellectuals of the party, is the son of the surgeon, Mr. Upendra Krishna Dutt and Anna Palme of Calmar, Sweden. He is the editor of a Labour monthly and former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

CHIEF PRESS ADVISER

Sir Usha Nath Sen, Director, *Reuters*, has been appointed Chief Press Adviser to the Government of India, *vice* Mr. B. J. Kirchner. Mr. Kirchner is proceeding on leave and will later re-join the *Statesman*.

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA

Dr. Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, President, National Liberal Federation, has been appointed High Commissioner for India in Australia.

BASIC EDUCATION

Basic education, introduced into Bombay Province as an experiment in 1939, is to be continued for five years from June 1, states a press note from the Director of Information, Bombay.

Government have directed the continuance of the experiment on the recommendation of a sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, which visited Bombay Province at the end of 1942 to examine the working of the Basic schools and make suggestions for their future development.

Other recommendations of this sub-committee which Government have accepted are the extension of the Basic course up to Standard VII, the payment of a special allowance of Rs. 5 a month to teachers in Basic schools, and that a senior officer of the Education Department should be placed in charge of the scheme.

BRITAIN'S EDUCATION BILL

Britain's Education Reform Bill, which provides opportunities for every child to have primary and secondary education until the age of 16 and then part-time education until 18, completed its five months' passage through the House of Commons on May 12, when the third reading was passed without a division.

Under the Bill the school-leaving age will be raised from 14 to 15 from April 1, 1945, and then to 18 as soon as teachers and schools become available. Until 18, children must attend "young people's colleges" for part-time education in working hours.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan returned from Chungking on May 21, after a short visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

During his visit, Sir Sarvapalli delivered lectures at Chinese Universities and to academic bodies on problems of Indian thought and on the cultural relationship between India and China. The Chinese Government will publish his lectures and talks on philosophy with a Chinese translation.

ORDER ON MRS. NAIDU

The United Press learns that some correspondence had passed between the Government of India and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on the question of the former's ban on Mrs. Naidu prohibiting her from making public speeches or communicating her views to the Press.

It is understood that the Government of India expressed their preparedness to modify the ban, especially with a view to making it less restrictive in relation to activities of a non-political nature and invited suggestions from her in this direction that she might like to make. Mrs. Naidu, the United Press further gathers, expressed her inability to accept any conditional or partial withdrawal of the ban. The Government, therefore, decided that the ban on her must continue.

RECRUITMENT TO THE BENCH

Among reforms of the Indian Judicial system suggested by Sir John Beaumont, ex-Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in the course of his address to the East India Association, were: raising the age for retirement of judges in the High Court from 60 to 65, abolition of the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service; recruitment to District and High Court benches from provincial judicial services by promotion of the best subordinate judges and also direct from among suitable members of the bar; and transference of all magisterial work from executive officers to resident magistrates appointed from the bar.

DETENTION UNDER ORDINANCE III

The Federal Court, on May 23, unanimously allowed the appeals of four Bihar detenues against the orders passed by the Patna High Court dismissing the *habeas corpus* petitions filed by them or on their behalf.

Their Lordships directed that the cases be remitted to the Patna High Court with a direction that the petitions be restored to the file and disposed of in due course of law, in the light of the decision of the Federal Court as to the nature and extent of the Court's power in the matter.

The detenues concerned are Basant Chandra Ghose, Mahant Dhanraj Puri, Asoke Kumar Bose and Baidyanath Rai.

INSURANCE COMPANIES' PROBLEMS

"There is no doubt that insurance, though at present primarily confined to life just as co-operative societies are confined to indebtedness, will play a large part in the future economic life of this country," declared Sir M. Azizul Haque, Commerce Member, Government of India, at a luncheon given by the Federation of Indian Insurance Companies on May 13 at New Delhi.

Mr. M. N. Seth, President of the Federation, referring to capital issues, said, while in other industries, the Examiner of Capital Issues was the only authority with whom they had to deal, in the case of insurance, they "had to pass through the triple fires of the Superintendent of Insurance, the Reserve Bank and finally the Examiner of Capital Issues," which resulted in their applications for the increase of capital coming out "somewhat scorched."

The second difficulty was with regard to the compulsion regarding percentage of the investments in Government and approved securities.

"We have protested loudly and for long, but our wailings, although they have often touched the soft hearts of oft-changing Commerce Members, have always met with a deaf ear in the Finance Department."

The third difficulty was that the rate of income-tax had quite different repercussions in insurance from what it had in other industries.

LOSSES IN BOMBAY DISASTER

Negotiations between insurance companies and the Government of India over the question of compensation for losses due to the Bombay explosions are now successfully concluded. It is learnt that the Fire Offices Association in London had been moved by the India Government through the India Office.

According to the final arrangement reached, it is stated, the Government of India will pay compensation to the extent of 72½ per cent. of the claims, insurance companies will pay 12½ per cent. and the assured will bear 15 per cent. The India Government will pay 85 per cent. to the assured and recover from the insurance companies their share of the claims (12½ per cent.) in annual instalments.

CENTRAL CONSUMERS' COUNCIL

The Government of India in the Industries and Civil Supplies Department have declared to set up a Central Consumer's Council composed of prominent non-official men and women, says a press note.

The functions of the Council will be to advise Government on the types of consumer goods required by the public on the working of price control measures and on suggestions regarding distribution and economy in the use of such commodities as are in short supply.

The Chairman of the Council will be the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Azizul Haque, Member for Industries and Civil Supplies, and Commerce.

INDO-CEYLON TEXTILE TRADE

A deputation on behalf of the Ceylon Textile Merchants' Association, the South Indian Textile Merchants' Chamber and the South Indian Muslim Mercantile Chamber, Colombo, waited on the Commerce Member, Sir Azizul Haque at Delhi and presented a memorial expressing grave concern and alarm at the measures adopted in Ceylon for the control of textiles to "oust and eliminate" Indian traders from the textile trade in the building up of which, they say, they have spent "long and patient years of specialisation" and invested large sums.

INDIAN CLOTH IN AUSTRALIAN MARKET

The *Sydney Daily Mirror* complains that Indian cloth of poor appalling quality is appearing in the Australian market. The paper states, "There is ample evidence that in unloading this shoddy rubbish in Australia some Indian merchants have pulled off a lucrative swindle against this country."

WORLD MONETARY CONFERENCE

The possible duration of the stay of the Indian Delegation to the World Monetary Conference to be held in Washington is expected to be two months. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti will accompany Sir Jeremy Raisman as an unofficial member of the Indian delegation.

WOMEN'S PAGE

TRAFFIC IN GIRLS

That advantage of the acute food situation in Bengal had been taken by some people in carrying on a trade of gathering helpless destitute girls and widows and selling them for immoral purposes was admitted by Mr. Biren Roy, Parliamentary Secretary, in the Bengal Legislative Council recently during question-time.

The provisions of the Indian Penal Code, Mr. Roy said, were sufficient to deal with the sale of young girls.

MISS CHAYA

An Indian girl got the prize in London for proficiency in music. She is Miss Chaya, the 12-year old daughter of Dr. K. C. Bhattacharya, the well-known physician and surgeon practising in King's Cross, London. She was awarded the first prize, silver medal, recently at the annual North London musical competition. This is the first time that an Indian has received this unique distinction.

FIRST MUSLIM LADY RESEARCH STUDENT

Mrs. Amina Rahman, the first Muslim lady research student in the Department of Applied Chemistry of the Calcutta University, has been awarded one of the Adair Dutt Research Fund scholarships to study methods of estimation of the vitamin of the 'B' group and their assay in Indian foodstuffs (nutrition).

EQUAL TREATMENT FOR WOMEN

The I. L. O. Dependent Territories Committee, by a vote of 27 to 13, upheld the principle of "fair and equal treatment for women as regards remuneration," defeating the British amendment which would have inserted the words "in fixing the remuneration," which some delegates said would have a weakening effect.

MEDICAL WOMEN IN INDIA

India has 2,789 medical women registered in India out of a total of 42,000 doctors for a population of 388 millions. Registered nurses number 7,000 or one nurse for 55,570 people and 226 square miles.

ORISSA JOURNALISTS' CONFERENCE

A warning that the greatest danger to a free Press in India might come from the party governments of the future was uttered by Mr. A. D. Mani, Editor, *Hitavada*, Nagpur, in his presidential address at the All-Orissa Journalists' Conference held at Cuttack last month.

The speaker said that experience of the manner in which party and autonomous Governments had treated the Press, particularly in provinces like the Punjab and Bengal where the agreement between the Editors' Conference and the Government was not working satisfactorily gave sufficient grounds for the fear that party governments of the future would try to punish that section of the Press which was hostile to them. It was, therefore, imperative that organised bodies of journalists should press for the inclusion in the declaration of rights of the future Indian constitution of a clause that would guarantee freedom of the Press, a declaration which would be susceptible of enforcement in courts of law.

A "DISGRACEFUL" DOCUMENT

A pamphlet entitled *Our British Empire* was described as "disgraceful" by Mr. Fenner Brockway, Political Secretary, Independent Labour Party, speaking at the Indian Freedom Campaign meeting at Caxton Hall recently. "The Government of India were distributing the pamphlet among British officers in charge of Indian troops, although from the first to the last word it embodied one of the worst features of Nazism—racial superiority. . . ."

"It is a disgraceful document and Mr. Amery and Sir James Grigg should insist on its being withdrawn immediately from circulation."

SIR A. QUILLERCOUCH

Sir Arthur Quillerkou, the English Man of Letters, who died at his home at Cornwall on 13th May, was aged 80.

Born in 1803, Sir Arthur Quillerkou was Professor of English Literature at Cambridge. He wrote not only a number of authoritative works on literary subjects but was also a popular novelist who produced some of the most delightful romances in the English language. He was Editor of the Oxford Book of English Verses and several of its companion anthologies. He was knighted in 1912.

MR. V. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

We regret to record the death of Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Special Press Adviser to Government of Madras. Mr. Sastri was aged 62 at the time of his death. After taking his B.L. degree, he was an apprentice under the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. He had journalistic proclivities and joined the *Hindu* in 1906, a year after the late Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar had joined that institution. He was there till 1913. The Liberal Party requisitioned his services to edit a weekly called the *Citizen*. After six years he entered the *New India*. In 1920 he came back to the *Hindu* as Assistant Editor. He retired in 1939, and became Special Press Adviser to the Government of Madras. He was a capable and conscientious journalist.

THE LATE LORD SNELL

It was announced sometime ago that Lord Snell of Plumstead, Deputy Leader of the House of Lords, died in London.

Lord Snell was a Labour Peer and first farm labourer to sit in the House of Lords. He was raised to the peerage on his appointment as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (India Office) in 1931. He entered the House of Commons in 1922, and from 1934 to 1938 was Chairman of the London County Council. A self-made man, he was educated at four universities—Nottingham, London, Heidelberg and Zurich.

LATE MAJOR M. G. BEWOOR

Major M. G. Bewoor, son of Sir Gurunath Bewoor, was recently killed in action in Burma during an attack by the enemy on a position occupied by his unit. Major Bewoor, whose family belongs to Bagalkot, in the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency, was born in 1913 and was educated at Cambridge, Sandhurst and Dehra Dun. He leaves a widow and two children.

BABU SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA

Benares and indeed the United Provinces in general have lost a fine old gentleman in the death of Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, one time treasurer of Indian National Congress and founder of the Kashi Vidyapith and the Hindu daily *Aj*. He was a great philanthropist and his death has created a gap difficult to fill in the Province.

THE USE OF PENICILLIN

Addressing neuro-surgeons from 20 Army centres, a U.S. Army brain surgeon reported that the use of penicillin had cut in half the expected death rate in the largest series of penicillin-treated infections of the central nervous system on which a report has yet been made. The surgeon described 12 cases that had been treated at the Walter Reed Hospital, of which only three died. He said two of the deaths resulted from complications after penicillin had helped neutralize the original infection, and the third patient was virtually lost before the drug had a chance to act. Commenting on four cases of brain abscesses, the surgeon admitted that surgery alone would not have saved the men. Neither, perhaps, would have penicillin. It was the combination of both that worked.

INDIAN PHARMACOPEIAL LIST

What is expected to form a nucleus of the Indian pharmacopœia is now being compiled by a Committee appointed by the Government of India. The Indian pharmacopœial list, when prepared by the Committee, will contain all indigenous items, which can be used as substitutes for foreign imported drugs.

Col. Sir R. N. Chopra is the Chairman of the Committee which includes, among others, Dr. P. Kutumbiah of the Andhra Medical College.

VIVICILLIN

Working secretly in a laboratory near London, Dr. Hans Enoch, who left Germany when Hitler came to power, has developed a new drug which he has called vivicillin, because it contains penicillin in living form. The remarkable healing properties of the new drug were discovered accidentally when treating a boy who was suffering from acute appendicitis and peritonitis. Operations would probably have meant death.

STUDENT MEDICAL DELEGATION

A student medical delegation of 12 from Madras has gone to Calcutta for carrying on relief work in Bengal. It will work in the districts of Chittagong, Dacca, Noakhali and Barisal under the guidance of the Bengal Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee. The delegation has taken funds amounting to Rs. 3,000 for relief work as well as supplies of medicines and clothes.

CENTRAL HEALTH SURVEY

To associate the people more closely with the health problem of the country and to solve it by raising an additional medical personnel of 300,000 in 30 years is the aim of the Central Health Survey Committee.

Giving an outline of the issues, the Committee was formulating, Dr. B. C. Roy, Chairman of the Committee, said at Karachi, it might be necessary in the first five years to devote attention to increasing the technical and non-technical people, who would be required to prosecute the scheme. Existing medical institutions would have to be increased and new ones established. The scheme will envisage not merely medical relief to those who are ill, but also preventive measures as a safeguard against disease. But the problem is not so simple. Better nutrition, wide education and a higher level of earning power all enter into it. A plan would be formulated to provide relief on a population basis so that there would be at least one medical man for every thousand of the population, whereas the present ratio was about one to ten thousand. A strong public health directorate with a network of provincial auxiliaries would be needed. The scheme will be developed and expanded every five years and the work completed to six stages.

TO SMOKE OR NOT TO SMOKE

Opinion is sharply divided as to whether smoking is harmful or not. It does produce physiological changes. Nicotine, absorbed by the smoker in minute quantity, is a powerful drug, which when injected into animals causes contraction of the blood vessels. The upshot seems to be that, as far as scientific evidence goes, each one of us can continue to smoke as much or as little as he feels suits his own constitution.

CORN GERMS

Corn germ—the small yellow nugget inside a kernel of maize is coming into use as human food this year for the first time. The U.S. National Research Council says this element of the grain, formerly discarded in milling because it quickly turned rancid, should be retained. The rancid problem is solved by a special new process that removes the oil, leaving a fine white powder that mixes well with other foods and has a high vitamin content.

THE FUTURE OF CURRENCY

The resolutions passed at the recent Middle East Financial Conference held at Cairo record the steadily growing confidence in the stability of Middle East currencies. The conference was attended by the Ministers and experts of 11 Middle East countries and by Sir Theodore Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India. Pointing out that there had never been any danger of uncontrolled inflation, one resolution emphasises that monetary inflation in the restricted sense of fiat money or fiduciary notes not covered (except by advances to Government from the bank of issue) has not taken place in the Middle East. Expressing satisfaction at the declared policy of the British Treasury to maintain an approximate level in prices now ruling in the United Kingdom after the war, thereby stabilising the purchasing power of sterling, the conference recommends that all possible measures, such as taxation, loans, control of prices, and development of production, should now be taken by the Middle East Governments in their respective countries to bring price levels into better equilibrium with one another and with external price levels.

BANKING IN BENGAL

In his Presidential speech at the Banking and Insurance Section of the All-Bengal Economic Conference, which held its annual session at Calcutta recently, Mr. J. C. Das paid special attention to the position of banking in Bengal. While expressing gratification at the striking increase not only in the number but in the paid-up capital of banks in the Province, he emphasized the responsibilities of banks to their clients and the general public. He welcomed the comprehensive banking legislation which was bound to be passed, on the ground that soundly managed institutions had nothing to fear from it. Whilst much progress had been recorded in the development of banking, it must be admitted that it had developed without any plan. There were too many banks or branches of banks in some places and too few in others. In his view, the remedy for a situation like this was amalgamation which would also enable the rates of interest on deposits to be standardised and, in addition, increase the financial strength of the institutions.

STATE RAILWAY RETURNS

The State-owned Railways yielded a net surplus of Rs. 45'07 crores after meeting all charges, including depreciation and interest in 1942-43, according to the annual report on Indian Railways issued by the Railway Board. Out of this surplus, the amount of outstanding loans taken from the Depreciation Reserve Fund, viz., Rs. 16'08 crores, and a total of Rs. 20'13 crores to the general revenues, were paid during the year, leaving Rs. 8'86 crores, which was transferred to the Railway Reserve Fund.

The Railway Revenues increased both under coaching and goods traffic.

During the year, the Bengal and North-Western, Rohilkhand and Kumaon and the Mirpur-Khas-Khudro Railways were purchased and brought under State management.

RAILWAY STORES ORDINANCE

An Ordinance entitled "The Railway Stores (unlawful possession) Ordinance" provides that whoever is found or is proved to have been in possession of any article of Railway Stores shall, if the Court sees reasonable grounds for believing such article to have been the property of the administration of any Federal Railway, unless he proves that the article came into his possession lawfully, be punishable with imprisonment for a maximum term of 5 years or with fine or with both.

JACOBABAD-KASHMIR RAILWAY

A meeting of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways was held recently. The Committee approved of the Government exercising the option of purchasing the Jacobabad-Kashmir Railway on March 31, 1945, and of giving notice of purchase. The purchase price of the Railway is estimated to be about 29'65 lakhs and is likely to give a return to Government of 4'4 per cent.

CANADIAN RAILWAYS STOCK FOR INDIA

A Purchasing Commission from India has gone to Ottawa to buy Canadian Railway equipment. A member of the Commission said that India is very short of engines and rolling stock. The war, it is said, has greatly increased the country's demand for these materials.

A CHOLA TEMPLE AT DARASURAM

The Cholas were great temple builders and a distinct style of architecture came into being during their supremacy of about 500 years (roughly 850 to 1350 A.D.). The famous temple of Tanjore, Gangai-kondacholapuram, Chidambaram and Darasuram are but a few built during the Chola period. The last-named temple forms the subject of the following note contributed by Mr. T. Srinivasan:

"The architectural merits of Darasuram temple," to quote from the *Tanjore District Gazetteer*, "are greater than those of the great temples at Kumbakonam itself". The vimana of the God's shrine is entirely built of stone. The *alankara mandapa* contains a number of pillars in the base of which are sculptured incidents from Periya Puranam. On the south side of the mandapa, stone wheels and horses are seen, the whole being intended to represent a "ratha" or chariot. The north verandah of the Airavateswara shrine accommodates figures of 108 Saiva devotees.

Of the numerous sculptures in the temple, the *Jnana Dakshinamurthy* deserves special mention. Siva is here portrayed imparting *Jnana* or enlightenment to the rishis. Another feature in the temple is the rare image of *Panchamukasubrahmanya* (or Subrahmanya with five faces).

The curiosity of the visitor to the temple is aroused just before the entrance to the Airavateswara shrine; that is, when the steps leading to the Balipecta are struck, they produce different musical sounds!"

UNIVERSITY OF MUSIC FOR ALLAHABAD

The plans appear to have matured for the establishment of a University of Music at Allahabad, to be associated with the name of the late Pandit Vishnudigambar, a great exponent of the art of Indian classical music. It is likely that the Vishnudigambar University of Music will be inaugurated some time in the middle of October on the occasion of the annual convocation and music conference of the Prayag Sangit Samiti, the sponsors of the University scheme.

HEARNE, THE CRICKETER

John Thomas Hearne, England and Middlesex cricketer, died on 17th April at his home, Chalfont Stagiles, after an illness lasting eighteen months. He was one of the greatest bowlers of all time. During his career, Hearne took 3,050 wickets, a record only surpassed by W. Rhodes, A. P. Freeman and C. W. L. Parker. He made twelve appearances for England—six against Australia in England, five in Australia and one in India. In the test against Australia at Leeds in 1899, Hearne dismissed Clem Hill, Sidney Gregory and M. A. Noble with successive deliveries.

ONE-LEGGED ATHLETE

An amazing feat was achieved when an one-legged man won the high jump at the Inter-Normal athletic meeting held in Pretoria recently.

This astonishing athlete, J. A. de Villers, a student of Heidelberg Normal College, discarded his crutch at the last moment when called upon to jump, and with a tremendous leap hoisted himself over the crossbar. All the spectators applauded when he won the event with a leap of 5 feet 7 inches.

GAMA THE WRESTLER

"I am still fit enough to hold my own against all comers for at least another ten years", said Gama, the undefeated wrestling champion of the world, who is 70 years old and has eleven children, but not a single grey hair in his head.

He does not expect any serious challenge to his title from foreigners, he added.

Gama lives almost exclusively on a diet of chicken and drinks a strange brew of milk and almonds.

POST-WAR CRICKET IN ENGLAND

The M. C. C. have taken the following decisions concerning post-war cricket. Firstly, one experimental season immediately after the war; secondly, return to six-ball over; thirdly, new ball after 50 overs; fourthly, declaration on first day after 300 runs; fifthly, retention of three-day county matches.

DR. SAKLATWALLA

Dr. Beram D. Saklatwalla, addressing a meeting of American electro-chemists, said that discoveries in the field of metal alloys will revolutionize the transportation industry after the war. He said that trains will be lighter because of the production of steel which is so strong that less of it need be used. Airplanes will be still lighter than they are at present.

Dr. Saklatwalla, an outstanding expert on alloys, delivered the Joseph W. Richards' Lecture which is given annually in memory of the founder of the Electro-chemical Society.

A Parsi and a member of the Tata Steel family of India, Dr. Saklatwalla was born in Bombay in 1881 and began his industrial career in the United States in 1909. Cor-Ten, his steel alloy, is used both in India and in America.

FABRIC OF PETROLEUM AND SEA WATER

The Firestone Industrial Products Company has brought out a new synthetic fabric called velon, derived from petroleum and sea water. Now used to make mosquito nettings for Pacific troops, the material later will be used for women's stockings, handbags, hats and shoes. Experimentally, it is being used to upholster railway car seats. The manufacturers claim it is stain-resistant, non-tearing, non-splitting, non-toxic to the human skin, capable of being woven with cotton and wool, and dyed any desired colour. Touched with a direct flame, it melts but will not burn.

PROFESSOR S. CHANDRASEKHAR

A former Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and now Associate Professor at Chicago University, Mr. Subramanya Chandrasekhar is one of the twenty new Fellows of the Royal Society elected for 1944. He is distinguished for his contributions to Theoretical Astronomy and Astro-Physics, particularly to Stellar structure and the Dynamics of Stellar System. Mr. Chandrasekhar is the nephew of Sir C. V. Raman and son of Mr. C. S. Aiyar.

I. F. I. "SHORTS"

Documentary films dealing with various aspects of Indian life and culture are to be sent to Russia. Information Films of India have just concluded an arrangement with the Asia Films of China, a Russian film distributing organisation, under which Indian "shorts" will be exhibited at theatres in Soviet Russia.

The first batch of I. F. I. shorts include *Our Heritage*, *Invisible Power* and *Concrete*. All these shorts will be dubbed with Russian commentaries. When selecting documentary films for export, those dealing with the cultural and social life of the country should always have priority.

I. F. I. have done a creditable job of work and there is a noticeable improvement in the quality of the shorts. It is significant that theatres not on I. F. I.'s regular circuit are making voluntary bookings of I. F. I. films. More attention, however, should be paid to the existing system of distribution, which is defective.

FILM AWARDS FOR 1943

The Bengal Film Journalists' Association's awards for 1943 are rather interesting. They have chosen as the best for 1943:

Foreign picture, *Random Harvest*; Hindi picture, *Prithvi Vallabh*; foreign actor, Ronald Colman in *Random Harvest*; Hindi actor, Asok Kumar in *Kismet*; foreign actress, Greer Garson in *Mrs. Miniver*; Hindi actress, Ramola in *Manchali*; foreign director, Malvyn Le Roy for *Random Harvest*; Hindi director, Mehboob for *Najma*; Hindi music direction, Anil Biswas for *Kismet*; Hindi screen play, Kishore Sahu for *Raja*; Hindi photography, Fareedoon Irani in *Najma*; sound recording, Vacha in *Kismet*; art direction, Kanu Desai in *Ram Rajya*; lyrics, Pradeep in *Kismet*; dialogues, Pandit Sudarshan in *Prithvi Vallabh*.

FILMING OF INDIAN TROOPS

A vivid picture of the work of Indian troops in Persia engaged in transporting materials through to Russia will shortly be available in the film prepared by a special team of cameramen.

SPARE PARTS CONTROL ORDER

With a view to eliminating the dual control, which gave rise to certain difficulties, exercised on the distribution and sale of motor vehicle spare parts by the Motor Vehicle Spare Parts Control Order, 1943, on the one hand, and the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance on the other, the Government of India have promulgated a new Motor Vehicle Spare Parts Control Order, 1944, which is published in the *Gazette of India*, dated April 29.

The old order controlled the prices of only those parts the distribution and sale of which to essential operators were controlled. The promulgation of the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance brought the prices of motor vehicle spare parts under a dual control, that is, a limited control under the Spare Parts Control Order and under the control of the ordinance in respect of other parts.

The new order ends this dual control. It also provides for modifications and amplifications in the original order found necessary as the result of experience gained in the working of the order. The new order controls the prices of all motor vehicle spare parts which can be sold by any person, whether their distribution is controlled or not. It continues to control the distribution of certain specified parts that are only distributed through registered dealers and approved sub-dealers. It simplifies the definition of what is a controlled spare part.

LEASE-LEND MOTOR CHASSIS FOR MADRAS

The Madras Government have agreed to advance a loan of Rs. 9,51,700 to Messrs. Simpson & Co., Ltd., Madras, for purchase of 167 motor-chassis under Lease-Lend allotted to this Province.

The chassis were required for certain construction works, and Messrs. Simpson & Co. agreed to purchase them under the Government of India's terms for the distribution and use of Lease-Lend motor vehicles and operate them for hire after fitting them for the work. The Company required funds to buy the vehicles, and Government agreed to advance the loan bearing interest at six per cent. per annum. The principal is repayable in 18 monthly instalments.

MOTORLESS WAR PLANES

The U.S. War Department has announced that the Air Force's newest glider, the CG-13, which is capable of carrying twice the load of the present standard type and with exactly the same wing span, is now in production.

Hitched behind a bomber or cargo plane, the new gliders can be towed within several miles of a military objective, cut loose, and then allowed to glide to earth at the rear of the enemy's lines. Motorless, and therefore noiseless, they give the enemy no warning of their approach until the fighting men inside spring out in full battle array and open fire. Each glider can carry a big gun, its crew and a jeep to haul it.

FUTURE OF AIR BASES

Lord Knollys, Chairman of the British Overseas Air-ways Corporation, stated recently that he was in favour of international use of air bases after the war as a means of expanding world-wide communications.

Lord Knollys, who is on a world tour to discuss the future of air transport with associate companies of the Corporation, said that he planned to return to London by way of the United States and Canada, but did not expect to confer officially on air matters while in the United States.

POST-WAR AVIATION

Britain has been advised that the United States does not intend to use its superior resources in long-range aeroplanes to squeeze Britain out of competition in commercial aviation after the war, said an *Associated Press* message from Washington. Britain, in return, has promised that its Empire-wide net-work of air bases will be available for commercial aircraft of all nations, the message said. Exchange of views on these points was made informally by Mr. Adolph A. Berle and Lord Beaverbrook in their London talks.

HEAVY INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

"The development of heavy industries has been retarded during the war, due, apparently, to the Government's deliberate inattention and unsympathetic attitude. Our appeal to industrialists and leaders in the circumstances is that they should take up this work and not allow it to suffer by neglect," observed Sir M. Visvesvaraya, presiding over the quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation at Bombay.

The organisation, he continued, had divided the country for industrial purposes, into six classes of regional units, which constituted provincial boards, district councils, city councils, town committees, village group committees and other special units.

The measures, which were urgently needed, and would be of permanent value for industrial development, were the establishment of a large industry for the manufacture of machinery, the establishment of an institute of higher technology, and the starting of a panel of experts.

Referring to the 15-year plan of the Bombay industrialists, he suggested that it could be transformed into a 5-year plan. He approved the emphasis laid in the plan on the key industries.

FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS

The following members have been elected to the Executive Committee of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry:—

Mr. J. C. Setalwad, President, Sir Badridas Goenka, Vice-President, Mr. N. R. Sarker, Treasurer, Sir Padampat Singhania (Textile Industry), Mr. Shantiprasad Jain (Mining), Sir Chunilal Mehta, (Insurance), Mr. C. M. Kothari (Tea, Coffee and Rubber Plantations), Mr. Ramdeo Podar (Engineering), Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Cotton Trade), Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy (Wireless), Lala Gurusaran Lal, (Produce Trade).

The following members have been co-opted: Kumararaja Sir Muthia Chettiar, Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. A. D. Shroff, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Abdul Halim, Ghuznavi and Mr. G. L. Mehta.

FAMINE AND FOOD IN INDIA

Sir Alfred Watson, in an article called "Famine over India" in the *Sunday Express*, says:

"Food is an All-India problem. Amidst the jealousies and suspicions of the Provinces, none but the Central Government can secure equitable division of supplies. Behind all this lamentable story is a problem that is vital to the life of India. For 30 years the acreage under crops has remained almost constant but the population has grown by 30 millions. In Bengal the 'per capita' production of rice has fallen from 384 pounds in 1939 to 314 pounds in what is now a normal year.

"India is ceasing to be capable of feeding herself and in the absence of either a great improvement in her agriculture or some sensational fall in her population, she is threatened with a recurring famine.

LOWER WHEAT ACREAGE

The third all-India wheat forecast for 1943-44, published by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, Calcutta, states that the total acreage is 33,611,000 with an estimated production of 10,356,000 tons against 31,091,000 acres and 10,915,000 tons, the corresponding revised estimates last year. There is a decrease of one per cent. in area and five per cent. in yield. The crop is reported to have been affected in places by rain, hailstorms and rust, but the present condition appears fairly good on the whole.

CHEMICAL FERTILISERS IN INDIA

The Government of India have decided to invite British experts to advise them on the type of plant and machinery, the location of plant and other ancillary matters in connection with the manufacture of chemical fertilisers in India.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE FOR BIHAR

The Government of Bihar have decided to establish an Agricultural College. The appointment of a special officer, who will take over the duties of Principal, has been sanctioned, so that he may take the necessary steps to establish the College by October this year.

SOCIAL CHARTER FOR COMMON MAN

A social charter for the common man, which may become one of the most important sections of the peace treaty, was drafted and agreed upon by representatives of practically all nations who may be represented at the peace table when the war is ended. This is the greatest single achievement of the historic 26th I. L. O. Conference, which closed at Philadelphia last month.

The charter sets forth special principles, which it is suggested, the United Nations should seek to embody in the peace treaty. These concern guarantees of right to work, improved standards of living, minimum standards of employment, effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and collective bargaining.

It is proposed that the I. L. O. should review annually what progress has been made and what measures have been taken in the attainment of the objectives outlined and that it should call a special conference whenever, in the post-war world there are signs of economic depression and substantial unemployment.

The charter creates minimum obligations for Governments with regard to employment and labour conditions. It establishes the principle that Governments cannot be permitted to allow employment to develop unchecked or low living standards persist in view of their international consequences.

Whether all this amounts to more than a mere paper declaration for freedom from want, depends on the determination of Governments to back up the decisions taken here and upon the power of world after the war to influence them.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Mr. Churchill announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to set up a Royal Commission to consider the question of equal pay for equal work—equal pay for the job, whether done by a man or a woman.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

The United States delegation to the International Labour Office Conference at Washington asked the 40 member nations to subscribe at the earliest possible date, rather than at a post-war peace conference, to a programme aimed at ensuring the world freedom from want.

MUSLIM WEEKLY'S CALL

"There is an irresistible demand from every nook and corner of India for the release of Congress leaders who are detained in jails. Even those who are opposed to the Congress are vehement in condemning the action of the Government in detaining these leaders indefinitely. What is wanted at this juncture is their immediate release which will surely solve the present deadlock," writes *Zam-Zam*, a leading Urdu weekly of Lahore, in the course of an editorial article.

Continuing, the paper says:

The real leaders of India are locked up behind the prison bars by the people who do not represent anybody except themselves. If any referendum is taken on this issue, not even one in hundred will support the Government's action. The tragedy of the situation is that the Government of India has scant courtesy for public opinion and they do not care for what the public say or feel.

WORLD'S OIL

The United States Government is manifestly entering the foreign oil business by the backdoor, said the *New York Times* recently: "If we go still further, the question of extra-territorial rights will inevitably be raised; so we may be faced with a problem of so many Hong Kongs. Better than this would be some form of international control of the world's oil and just allocation in accordance with individual national needs. If discussions between Britain and the United States result in something better than old imperialism, the way may be paved for an amicable settlement of the question of access to all essential materials."

WORLD RADIO COMMUNICATION

The American Government radio engineers are credited with having worked out a tentative plan for world radio communication after the war. Great radio trunk lines are proposed around the world about 20 degrees north of the Equator. The lines would consist of 8 powerful relay stations at Alexandria, Bombay, Hongkong, San Juan, Guam, Honolulu, Mexico and Canary islands.

AMERICAN WAR CASUALTIES

The U.S. Office of War Information announces that casualties in the U.S. armed forces, from the outbreak of the war, total 178,481.

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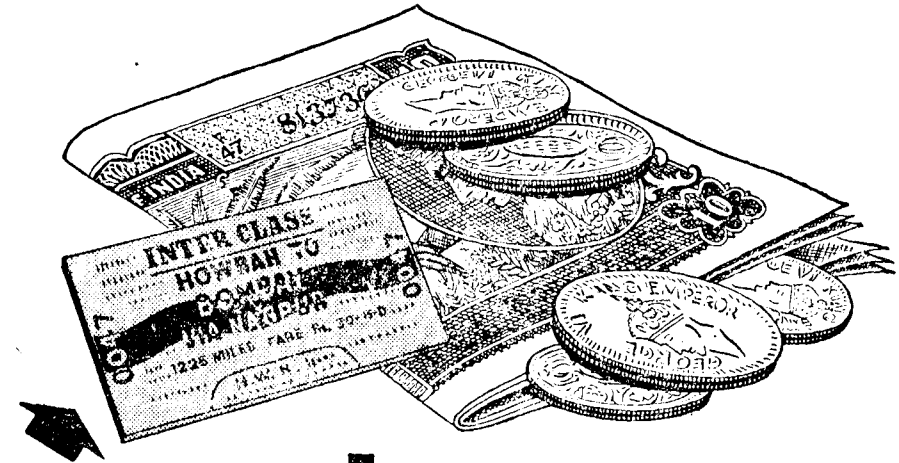
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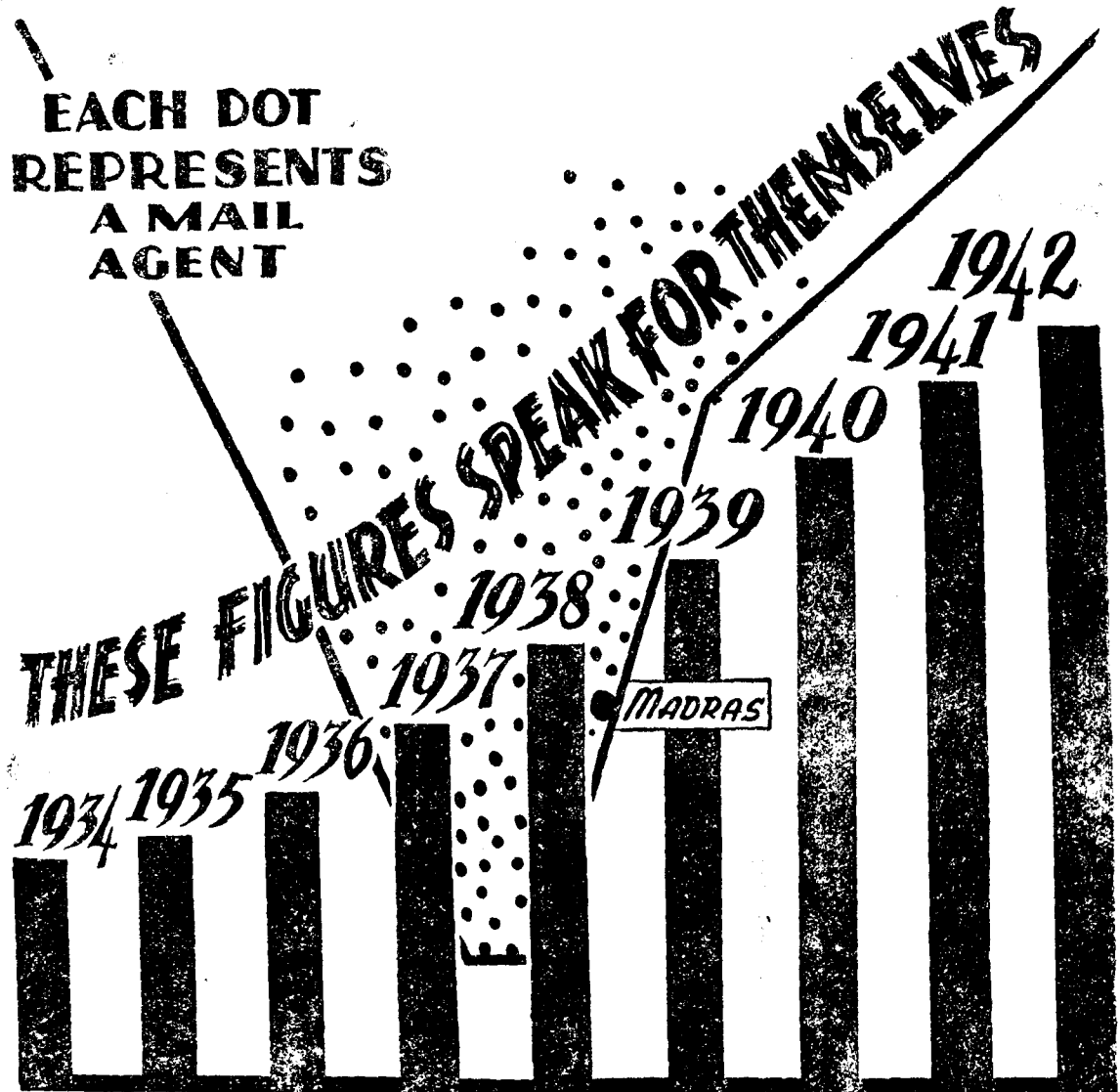
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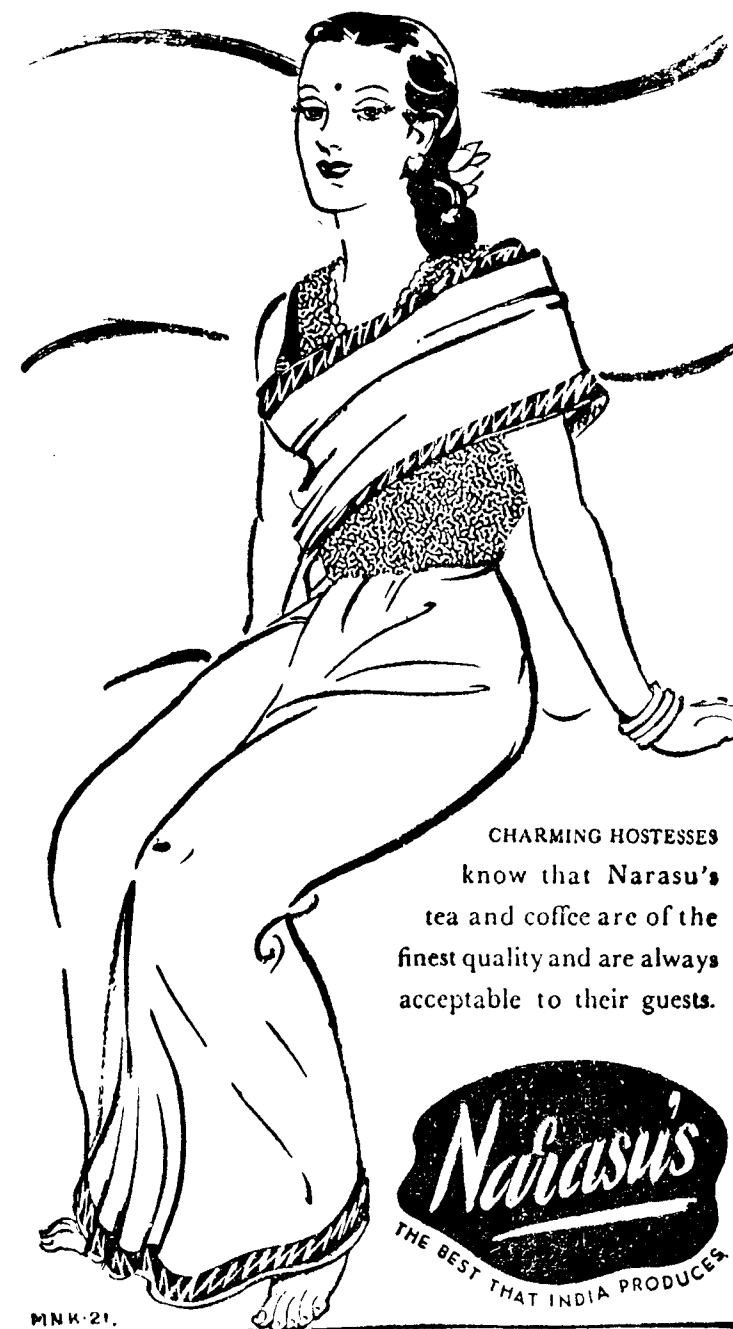
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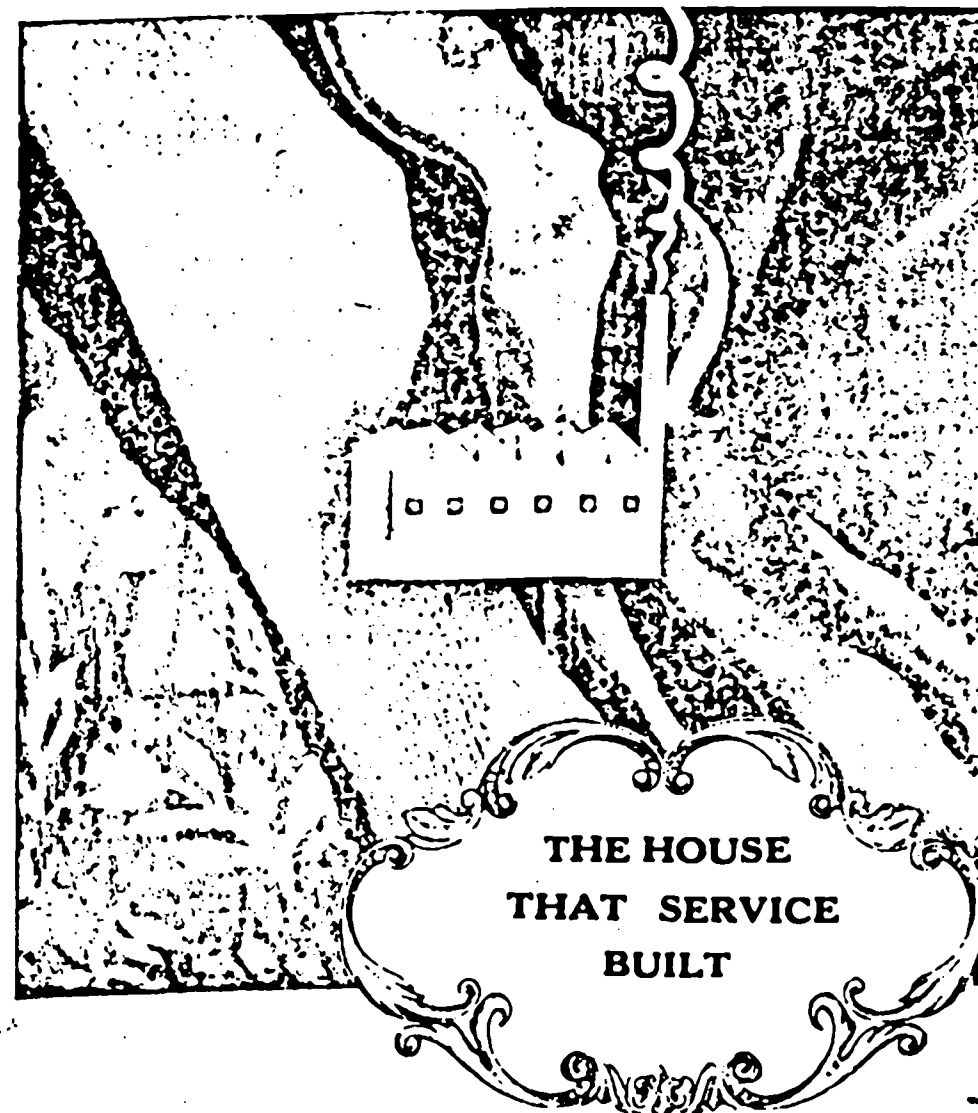
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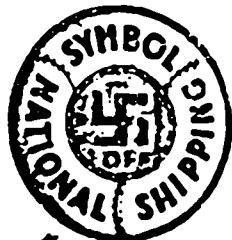
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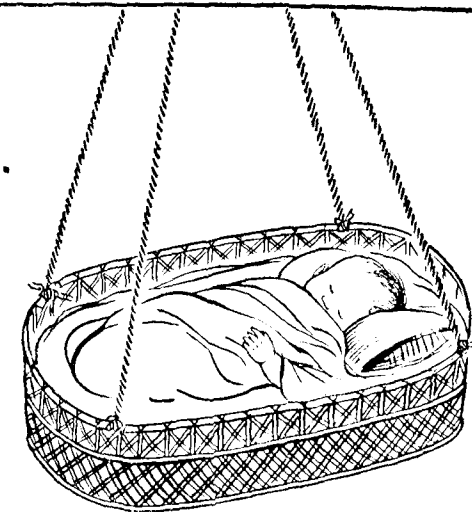
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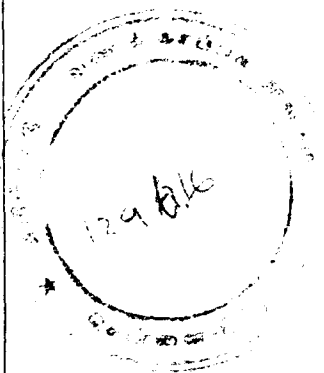
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