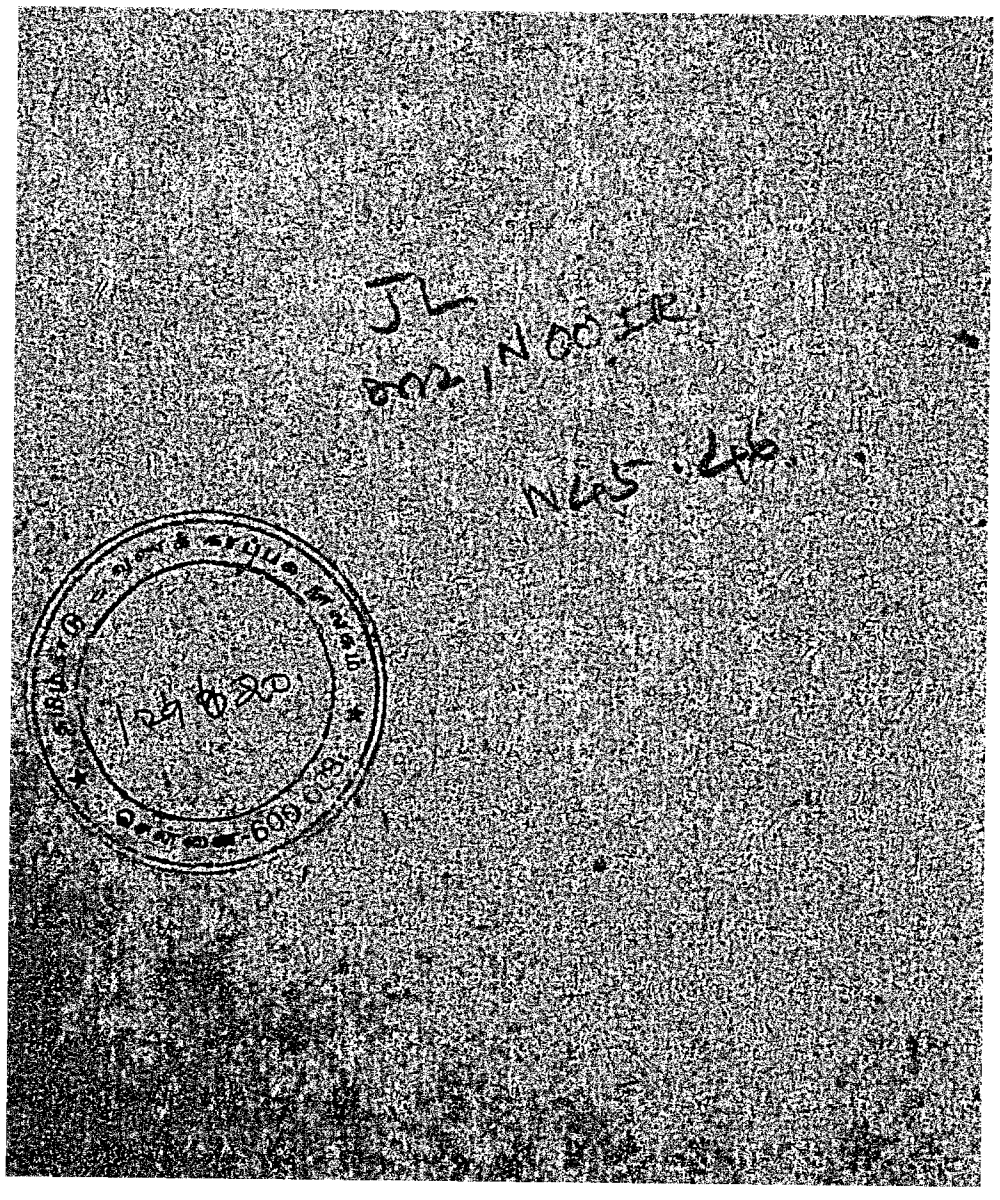
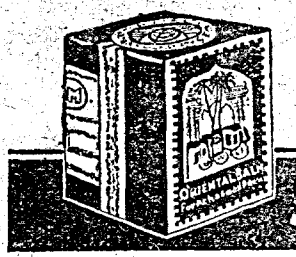


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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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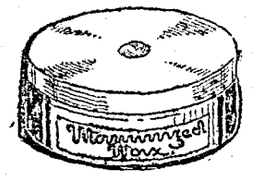
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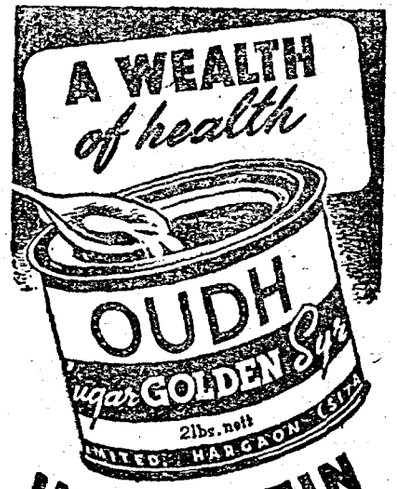


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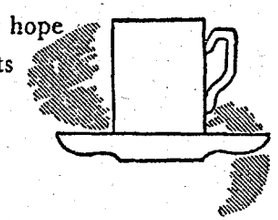


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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 46.] APRIL 1945 [No. 4.

ORIGINS OF EMPIRE

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

(University of Madras.)

THERE is a common Indian adage which forbids the drawing of the veil that hides the origins of sages,—and rivers ; and some would add to the list of things wisely left obscure, the origins of empires as well. But the present generation is faced with a crisis in civilization, and all human institutions, social, economic and political, have to face the consequences of a searching enquiry of *quo warranto*. In the good-sized volume before us,* the first part of a comprehensive work on the early constitutional history of India under British rule, Mr. D. N. Banerjee of Dacca has focussed the light issuing from many sources on the beginnings of territorial administration, apart from trade, under the East India Company in Bengal. The story has long been fairly well known in its outline, and many of the documents used in this volume have been published in one way and another. But there is much source material in the book that is altogether new, particularly on the position of the Nawab of Bengal *vis-a-vis* the East India Company and in regard to the early administrative and judicial system of the Company in Bengal. The value of the work lies in its being the first comprehensive and systematic survey of the entire administration by a competent Indian scholar who has wisely followed the rule of laying before his readers *in extenso* the most significant part of the evidence on each of the topics he has successively taken up for study.

In a long introductory chapter the author describes the posture of affairs in Bengal after the grant of the Diwani to the Company in 1765, demonstrates the impotence of the Nawab for promoting the good of his subjects or resisting their oppression by the servants of the Company which had reduced him virtually to the position of a pensioner, and sketches the constitution and organisation of the Company in England in its two courts of Proprietors and of Directors, as well as of the Committees by which the Court of Directors maintained their supervision and control of Indian trade and politics. The cool effrontery with which the Company's servants claimed and exercised powers that they never acquired in any lawful manner, and the pusillanimity of the Nabob which acquiesced in and thus promoted all the arrogations are clearly traced

* Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal. Vol. I. 1765-1774 by D. N. Banerjee. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., pp. xii, 729 Price Rs. 15.

step by step from the documents; and the process had begun and made some way before the diwani was granted by the Mughal Emperor in August, 1765. Nawab Mir Jaffer died on the 5th February, 1765 and his eldest son Nazm-ud-Dowlah, who had been acting for the Nawab for some days during his last illness, installed himself on the vacant *gaddi*. The resident at the durbar in Murshidabad, Mr. Samuel Middleton, reported to the Council at Calcutta with becoming promptness the illness of the Nawab; the choice of his son by the Nawab to act for him and to succeed him "in case of an accident to himself," and later, the death and the accession, together with the friendly assurances given to the Company by the new Nawab. But this did not satisfy the Company's agents in Calcutta who were not going to allow anything to happen without their orders. So they wrote to Middleton on the 8th February stating their general intent to support the family of Mir Jaffer and that time was needed to make up their minds on the "many arrangements" necessary; meanwhile the resident was to "signify our orders" that officers of the late government were to keep their places and carry on in the usual manner; later after deciding all points that needed consideration, "a Committee of the Board will be appointed to seat the successor on the Masnud in a proper and public manner *that he as well as the whole country may see that he receives his Government from the Company*". Having thus arrogated to themselves the right of investiture over the Nawabi, they proceeded to tighten their hold still further by resolving on the 14th February that Nazm-ud-Dowlah "shall be given to understand he shall make no application for Sannads (from the Emperor) but through us". They also prepared the draft of a treaty which according to one member of the Council, Mr. Gray, was "clogged with articles" which left the Nawab "only the Name without any part of the Power", and was not such as could be offered "to one connected with us by ties of Friendship, and not subjected to us by conquest". Mr. Gray did not see that Resolutions and Treaties were to be the main instruments for effecting the conquest of India! The reasoning with which the majority of the Council traversed the opinions of Gray form a very illuminating section of the ethics and politics of British Indian imperialism and must be read in the original.

The motives which influenced the Company's agents in the choice of a nincompoop for Nawab and in the perfecting of his dependency on them from the outset have been exposed with disarming candour by Clive in one of his letters to the Court written soon after his acceptance of the Diwani from the Mughal Emperor. The Company, he argued, had no reason to expect "the princes of Indostan" to be ever attached to it by any motive other than Fear. Mir Jaffer, Mir Kasim and the Nawab of Arcot had afforded "instances sufficient of their inclination to throw off the English superiority". Even Nazm-ud-Dowla "who has little abilities, and less education to supply the want of them; mean, weak and ignorant, as this man is, he would, if left to himself, and a few of his artful flatterers, pursue the very paths of his predecessors. It is impossible therefore to trust him with power, and be safe. If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army and receipt of the revenues must be kept in your hands. Every wish he may express to obtain either, be assured, is an indication of his desire to reduce you to your original state of dependency, to which you can never return, without ceasing to exist. If you allow the Nabob to have forces, he will soon raise money; if you allow him a full treasury without forces, he will certainly make use of it to invite the Mahrattas, or other Powers, to invade the country upon a supposition that we shall not suspect the part he takes, and that success will restore him to the full extent of his sovereignty". No one could require a more complete avowal of the origin of empire in the self-interest of the Englishman coupled with the utmost distrust of the Indian; qualities inherent in such an origin are too deep-rooted to disappear altogether, and their relics play no mean part in the creation of the Indian tangle of to-day and the delay in its straightening out.

Within a few months of the acquisition of the Diwani, Lord Clive wrote to the Court in November, 1765: "I can now with the greatest pleasure inform you that the state of the treasury is such and the revenues of the country since the acquisition of the Dewannee have flowed in so fast that we shall not through necessity draw upon you for a rupee although we have determined to send £ 300,000 this year to China". Mr. Banerjee shows from the records that in the six years from 1765 to 1771 the total wealth taken away from Bengal in the form of bullion and commodities was little short of six million £,

and the consequences of the deliberate impoverishment of the province soon declared themselves in unmistakable terms. The rapid decay in the condition of the Province is thus pictured by a good-hearted English administrator of the time, who was among the few exceptions that go to prove the rule: "It must give pain to an Englishman", he says, in 1769,

> to have reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewannee the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted, and I believe has proceeded from the following causes—the mode of providing the Company's investment (from territorial revenue); the exportation of specie instead of importing large sums annually; the strictness that has been observed in the collections (of revenues); the endeavours of all concerned to gain credit by an increase of revenue during the time of their being in station, without sufficiently attending to what future consequences might be expected from such a measure; the errors that subsist in the manner of making the collections; particularly by the employment of Aumils (tax-farmers). These appear to me the principal causes why this fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its ruin while the English have really so great a share in the administration.

This is a record which leaves the worst abuses of the Roman Provincial system far behind, and the detailed study that this book offers of the selfishness and corruption that pervaded the system and most of the men who worked it furnishes the background against which must be viewed the severe strictures of Ghulam Husain in his Sehr-ul-Mutakherin against the English government in India in his time, or the grim earnestness of Burke and his associates who conducted the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which was the arraignment not so much of an individual as of the whole system in which he had grown and which, with all his unrivalled knowledge of its working, he had not done nearly enough to purify and reform.

The last chapter (IX) is called "Some basic principles of the early administrative system of the Company"; but the topics dealt with in the chapter fall far short of the expectations raised by the title. For in this relatively short chapter Mr. Banerjee only lays stress on the subordination of the Military to Civil authorities, a topic he has dealt with in some detail earlier in the work, and the practice of mutual help and co-operation among the presidencies which though co-ordinate in their powers and independent of one another in policy and administration in this period, were still driven by force of practical necessity to go to one another's aid on critical occasions. One other "principle" laid down by the Court of Directors is to be noted particularly as symptomatic of the Company's awareness that there was little love lost between them and the "natives"; that principle the Directors enunciated in 1770 in the following terms:

> As it is very essential that the natives should be kept as ignorant as possible both of the theory and practice of the artillery branch of the art of war, we esteem it a very pernicious practice to employ the people of the country in working the guns, and therefore direct that in future four European artillery men be constantly attached to the service of the two guns which belong to each battalion of sepoys and that no native be trusted with any part of this important service, unless necessity should require it.

But there were not enough Europeans available to give effect to this direction, and necessity did require the employment of lascars or sepoys for assistance in the artillery section of the army. The President and Council of Fort William were, however, equal to the occasion and pointed out to the Court the way of seeming to trust the native with the artillery without doing so in reality. They said:

> The two Europeans now attached to the guns of the sepoy battalions are employed in serving the vent and pointing the gun which being what requires the greater caution and the essential part that constitutes as good manner are two circumstances, which the natives will have no opportunity of learning.

Who can deny that similar views still have an unduly large share in shaping policy with regard to "Indian defence"?

The intervening chapters give a detailed account of the machinery of government in Bengal and the many improvisations necessitated by time and circumstance, and the narrative is throughout very well documented. The governor and his relations to the Council and the country powers, the working of the Council and and its Committees, the disputes among the Councillors and between the Select Committee and the Council, and between the Civil and Military authorities, the Civil Service—its recruitment and emoluments, and the personal conduct of its members in lending money, engaging in trade, buying land, writing about official matters in private letters to England are among the principal topics reviewed here. The chapters VII and VIII on the judiciary are seen to be the best part of this bad record, and the relative purity and efficiency of the Judiciary is an agreeable contrast to the performance of the other branches of the Company's government in those days. And the extent to which the servants of the Company abused their privileges of private trade has a poignant interest even now to the unfortunate province of Bengal where the old evils seem to have come up again in a new avatar. The Court of Directors wrote once: "a monopoly of the necessaries of life in any hands whatever, more especially in the hands of the English who are possessed of such an overruling influence" was liable "to the greatest abuses". This was in 1766; the Bengal famine of 1943 is also largely man-made, though the facts that led up to it could not be had now, or perhaps ever.

MAHATMA GANDHI

BY MR. M. S. ANEY

Agent-General to the Government of India in Ceylon.

THE whole of India offered their sincere prayers to the Almighty on the 2nd of October last and wished Mahatma Gandhi long life. He finished his 75th year on that day and entered on the 76th. There were some very big men from different parts of the civilised world also who joined with the Indians in offering their felicitations to Mahatmaji on the auspicious occasion.

It may be asked what is the thing in Mahatma Gandhi which makes such a powerful appeal to the people and commands their respect and reverential admiration. Certainly he is not a very great scholar who has made any contribution to the literature or added to the stock of human knowledge by any scientific research. He is also not a very eloquent speaker. He is not a mystic who shows himself possessed of miraculous powers. He is not even a philosopher who deals with the fundamental problems of life and death and man's relation to God and the divine purpose behind the creation. On a dispassionate consideration I feel that Mahatma Gandhi's popularity is not due to any hypnotic spell of his words. There is nothing mysterious about him and his life although some of his moves may not be intelligible to many. His life is an open book for all to read. He himself has written his autobiography styling it as "My Experiments with Truth". He considers his life as a series of experiments on his part in quest of Truth and therefore he is merciless in his self-introspection. He makes throughout his life a most conscientious attempt to adhere to what he regards as Truth. No sacrifice is deemed by him too much if it be needed to vindicate his loyalty to his fundamental principles.

I am inclined to feel that his popularity depends on three things: he is the simplest man, the bravest man and the most selfless man.

He will be held up in the world as an embodiment of plain living and high thinking. This habit of his enables him to be in the closest contact with the poorest people, with men and women who live in the slums of the town and in the insanitary villages scattered all over the country. They are instinctively drawn to him because there is nothing about him of the artificial glamour that separates the educated or the so-called enlightened man from the simple villager of India. They see in his activities every day indisputable and unmistakable proofs of his deep and abiding sympathies for them and they are drawn to him.

The second quality I have mentioned above as one of the grounds of his extraordinary popularity is that he is a brave man. This might look somewhat paradoxical because he is known as one of the greatest votaries of non-violence. Bravery has always been associated in history from times immemorial with violence. But still it will be quite obvious to anybody who has come in personal contact with him or carefully studied his life that there is hardly a man who is more fearless and more daring than he is. In vindication of Truth

he is always prepared to risk anything and everything because he has identified himself completely with service of truth. Whenever he finds that there is an inroad on the domain of Truth he is prepared to stand up and tell the wrong doer that he shall not submit and he will tell the people also not to submit. The striking feature of his bravery is that he fights by submitting himself to suffering as he hopes that a suffering endured by man cheerfully at the hand of the oppressor will surely bring about a change for the better in the mind of the oppressor himself. That result may not come off immediately. It may take its own time. But a change brought about in this way is more permanent than any favourable result which a man may expect to achieve by inflicting on the opponent or oppressor a defeat by physical force. He is engaged in proving the efficacy of this weapon of suffering which he calls Ahimsa. This weapon does not demand mere capacity for suffering but a still higher quality, namely, love for the tyrant and no hatred towards the wrong doer. That submission to the suffering must be voluntary, cheerful and in all humility.

His fasts have generally been a kind of appeal to the God of Truth to enlighten some erring soul whether of an *individual* or of a corporation as to the path it should follow in the discharge of its duties towards others. Sometimes they were undertaken as penitential remedies for wrong willingly or unwillingly done by himself or his followers. They were observed at times for self-purification. He will probably go down to posterity as the pioneer of a band of non-violent soldiers who intend to carry on a bloodless war against wrong done to humanity. People may have strong misgivings about the possibility of the expansion of this army to such an extent at any time in future as to attain sufficient strength to rid the world of the curse of large defence forces equipped with all kinds of deadly weapons to maintain peace and help orderly progress of mankind. But there is no doubt that he has this vision of the future and he sincerely believes in it.

Lastly his services demand no return for himself. He renders them because it is his duty to render them and not intended to secure even a grateful appreciation by way of return from those who are served or benefitted. He has practised and literally acted up to the doctrine of Renunciation by imposing upon himself and others who follow him an obligation of being without property. He also wants his followers to live a simple life and reduce their wants to the barest necessities of life. Luxury of any kind is prohibited. He regards simplicity as the essence of beauty. His life stands to the world as an embodiment of some of the great principles which I have touched above. Mahatma Gandhi stands unrivalled on account of his sublimity of thought, humility of spirit and magnanimity of heart.

I join my voice with the rest of my countrymen and his admirers all over the world in imploring Almighty to grant him a long and healthy life and all facilities to make the mission of his life a success.

ANCIENT BRAHMINS

By Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B.

In the 6th century B.C., there were five types of Brahmins in the Indo-Aryan Society: (1) those resembling the Brahma (Creator), (2) those resembling the gods, (3) those respecting their ancient tradition, (4) those disregarding their ancient tradition, and (5) those leading a vulgar life. In the first category are included the Brahmins of high and pure birth through seven generations on both the father's and the mother's side, who after leading the life of a Brahmachari * and completely studying the four Vedas with all the auxiliary works, adopted the profession of teachers depending for their livelihood only on alms and thereafter gave up the worldly life to live the life of lonely meditation and holy communion. In the second category are placed those Brahmins who differed from the former only in one respect, namely, that in the second stage of life they took up the position of married householders and as such they married girls only from their own classes. They met their wives in proper time only for the purpose of procreation. Otherwise they lived a life of moral rectitude. In the third category are included those Brahmins who differed from those of the second class only in one respect, namely, that they did not renounce the worldly life in the third stage of life but continued to live a household life strictly adhering to their ancient tradition. In the fourth category are placed those Brahmins who differed from those of the third class only in this respect that they married girls from all social grades and indulged in sexual intercourse for the purpose of procreation. In the fifth or last category we find those Brahmins who differed from those of the fourth class only in this respect that besides marrying girls from all social grades, they adopted with impurity all manner of pursuits, agriculture, trade, cattle-breeding, fighting as soldiers, Government service, and the rest as a means of livelihood.

The second classification of Brahmins is interesting as it presents two sides of the picture in contrast, on one side, supreme worth, moral elevation, intellectual perfection and spiritual fervour and on the other, worthlessness, moral degradation, dullness and worldly-mindedness.

The study of the Vedas with all the auxiliary sciences and arts, the teaching of the Vedas along with all sciences and arts useful to the state and to the people at large, and the office of a priest appertaining to the religious part of all social ceremonies constituted the sole occupation of the Brahmins.

The early Jain and Buddhist books place the Brahmins either in the usual social environments or in the hermitages. In the first connection they are introduced either as those who were in the service of the king or as those who had followed different professions of their own. In the second connection they are introduced as those who went out of the social environments and lived the life of hermits or sages in forest homes called *Asramas* with or without their families and resident pupils. Of those in the service of the king the most important was the *Purohita* (priest). The next

* Practising sacred study as an unmarried student observing chastity.

to him in importance were the councillors and ministers. The sacrificers, and others are no better than assistants in the office of the priest. Partly in connection with the king they held the position of heads of Vedic institutions. They were occasionally employed as ambassadors. They also filled the office of generals and soldiers, chariot-drivers, trainers of elephants, legal experts and judges. To the people in general they rendered services, as priests, as physicians and druggists, as astronomers and architects, as ballad reciters and match-makers. They pursued various other vocations of life as well in their own independent capacities as private citizens. The economic position of the Brahmins as a class could not but be poor as they were wholly dependent on an uncertain income from fees, gifts and alms.

The *Purohita* occupied a peculiar position in the court. Though in the service of the king, he was not counted among the king's officers. But he was partly entrusted with official functions and surpassed the royal officers in many respects in importance and influence. As house priest of the king, he advised him in secular and spiritual matters. He acted as the preceptor and the sacrificial priest. He used to invoke the favour of the gods on behalf of the king or his family. He performed the sacrifice with the help of the other Brahmins to guard against misfortunes suggested through bad dreams or through some unusual natural phenomena. He was expected to be able to predict the result of all the important undertakings on the part of the king by means of signs or constellations of stars. He was preferably appointed from among the teachers, playmates, comrades or class-fellows of the king, so that he might be always trusted and relied upon as the best friend in weal and woe. One of his duties was to protect the king's treasures. Sometimes he had to replace the general in the matter of judicial duties.

The office of the *Purohita* was not necessarily hereditary, although we find instances where it was held by the same family for generations. His main source of income was the fees and gifts received from the kings on all festive occasions and at the time of sacrifices. The gifts included land endowments, women, maidens, slaves, male and female, and live-stocks.

The Brahmins acted as councillors and ministers in ancient monarchies. They were rich and influential by virtue of the office held by them. The strength and efficiency of administration largely depended on their honesty and capability. They were great diplomats and specialists in the rules of royal polity. Under the supervision of the two able Brahmin minister of a powerful Magadhan king, the village of Pataligrama was fortified and the city of Pataliputra was built. The strong unity of a powerful republican confederacy was broken by the tactful machination of a Brahmin minister Chanakya under whose guidance Chandragupta was able to found the powerful Maurya Empire in India, belonged to the official rank.

A son of the priest of the king Benares by a Brahmin wife who was noted for his skill in archery was appointed

Commander-in-Chief. He displayed his wonderful skill by defeating 500 archers in an open contest and his daily pay was therefore increased immensely. A Brahmin of the Bharadvaja clan was a rich agriculturist. Five hundred ploughs were needed to cultivate the fields owned by him. There was a poor Brahmin farmer who himself ploughed his field and whose son was a menial in a royal court. There are many other instances in which we find that the Brahmin farmers drove the ploughs with their own hands. A wealthy Brahmin carried on trade between the East-end and West-end of India, transporting his goods in 500 wagons. There were ordinary Brahmin tradesmen and hawkers who roamed about in the country to sell their wares. A Brahmin carpenter collected wood from the forest and made wagons for sale. A Brahmin youth earned his livelihood by selling the hunted beasts. The reason seems to be purely economical.

The Brahmins in ancient times became rich and powerful only because of certain permanent land-grants and endowments made by the kings. The localities, full of life and covered with much grassy land, woodland and corn-fields around Northern India, were dotted over with such Brahmin villages. The rich Brahmins had a control over them as regards their revenue and the judicial and the civil administration.

The Brahmins claimed two privileges for them, *viz.*, unmolestibility and immunity from execution. They were not required to pay rents so far as the land endowments were concerned. The Buddhist texts do not lend any support to the privileged position enjoyed by them in the eye of the law. It is distinctly stated that a criminal, whether a Brahmin or not, was liable to execution. The early Buddhist and Jain texts do not contain any reference to the Brahmins discharging worldly duties along with sacerdotal functions. The *Udicca Brahmins* in Buddha's time were either those belonging to Kuru-Pancala or those claiming descent from them. They occupied pre-eminent position among the Brahmins as a class. The position of the Brahmins gradually improved and in the Aranyaka period their views were quoted with respect.

India's Heritage of Art & Its Modern Neglect

BY MR. T. H. SOMERVELL, F.R.C.S.

WHEN we start thinking about art—Indian art or anyone else's art—we are tempted to think of it as a mere luxury, a non-essential, one of the trimmings of life rather than the material of which life is made.

But I am sure that such a view is entirely wrong. Art is one of the essentials of life, without it life is dull, ordinary, incomplete. In our life of to-day, when the material world seems so real, and material progress so important, we must remind ourselves that the philosophers who called the material world Maya, unreal, were quite right. This real, visible, hard world with which we have to deal is not real at all—it, all of it, is

destructible. Our own part of the world—the bodies in which we live—are only going to last for a few years, and then be destroyed. It is only the world of the spirit, where ideals, character, truth, love, courage exist, that nothing can destroy. And one of the things in that eternal and permanent and real world is Beauty. Over 2,000 years ago the Greek philosopher Plato laid down what are still recognised as the three Values of life—Truth, Beauty and Goodness. These are things which science cannot measure, but which exist in their own right as the three great characteristics of the spiritual world.

One of the things which Plato said about Truth, Beauty and Goodness, is that we cant't live without them. Neitzsche, a more cynical philosopher than Plato, put it still more strongly by saying that the only thing that makes life and the world even justifiable is the beauty in them. If a man is not truthful, you can't trust him, and (as we say in England) "you don't know where you are" with him. If the life of a nation is bad (that is to say, is lived without truth or goodness being honoured), you get the sort of situation in which Germany is, and has been for the last few years—a miserable and in the end unworkable kind of life. And although it *is* possible to live all your life in an ugly house, in an ugly town, with ugly people and bad people all around you, yet that is not the kind of life God wants men to live; it is never a really happy life.

We hear a lot of talk nowadays of industrial and other *material* reforms. But we must keep our life balanced and reforms in the material world only are not going to make us happier or better, in the long run, or to solve our post-war problem. So beauty is really a necessary thing for a happy and full life. Nature is full of beauty. We have only got to look around us at flowers and mountains and trees and clouds to see that. If we go back many years, or if we go into old towns and old buildings, or if we go into unspoiled and remote villages, we will see far more beauty than we usually see in our modern towns. I am going to quote now a few lines from a book written many years ago by a great friend of India.

"The old Indian life was a life full of beauty. Even now, out in the villages, life is beautiful. The garments of men aad women alike are graceful, flowing, often exquisite in colour. If you see an Indian peasant woman working in the fields she is a picture to paint, for the grace of her drapery, for the beauty of the colours that she wears; and if you see her going to the village well to draw water, she will carry on her head some vessel, it may be of beaten bronze or copper, it may be of clay, it will always be beautiful in form and colour. Nowadays, since European civilisation has spread its power through India, things are changing; aniline dyes are replacing vegetable dyes; kerosene oil tins are replacing the exquisite vessels of the older days. In the old days in a village, when there was a wedding, every house contributed some of its beautiful vessels for the village festival; but now those have been cast aside, and miserable tin vessels (made in Japan) take their place. It is only a small thing, you may say, I assure you it is a very great thing,—for Nature is beautiful everywhere, and contact with her beautifies the human face and form and mind—the killing out of that sense of beauty which grows out of the mountains and the rivers, and the meadows and the forest, that is a national loss, and spells national decay."

Mrs. Besant wrote that in 1909, 35 years ago, and it is even more true to-day than when she wrote it. Go into an old-world Nair house in Travancore, and you will find a great deal of beauty, especially in the country houses, where the beautiful lines of the roof, the fine proportions of the building, and the exquisite workmanship of the ends of the rafters and the frame of the door are combined with the graceful curves of the stems and leaves of coconut palms. This is part of our heritage of art in Travancore. So are the old temples, especially the really Travancorean ones such as the Adi Kesava temple at Tiruvattar.

The beauty of these old houses lies chiefly in two things; first, that they are fitted for their job. The roof is well adapted to keep out the heavy rain, the well-carpentered rafters with their accurately fitting joints and mortises will not creak or shift when the strong winds blow, so the house will last for many, many years. The chest where paddy is kept will not let a grain of rice out, nor let the smallest mouse in.

The second thing that makes that house beautiful is that every workman who made it had a pride and joy in his craft. He did his work well because he was proud of being a good carpenter. That is Art for Art's sake. In the same way the pots and cooking vessels whether of brass or copper or of simple pottery, are beautiful because they are right—they are made for a certain purpose, and are adapted for that purpose.

Now come with me to a tenement building in Bombay, built perhaps fifty years ago. Ugly, overcrowded, dirty, monotonous with every room in it exactly like every other room; with rickety verandahs and creaking doors. Here is no sign of workmanship done for its own sake, but of quick and shoddy building put up rapidly and cheaply to give the workers' families the minimum of room to live in at the lowest possible price. Standing on the rickety verandah, if we can do so safely, we look across the street at an exactly similar building, equally ugly, dirty, and overcrowded. Life for the people in those buildings can never be a full and happy life, for life is poor where there is ugliness, and grows more common and dull and ordinary in the absence of beauty.

What is the secret of the contrast between the old country house and the new workmen's dwelling? It is that one is built in a country steeped in its own philosophy and traditions, and in a form which has grown up along the centuries as part of the country itself. The other is the product of a material-minded, money-making age, where the value of a life is the profit it can give to the shareholders of a company: a life where God is left out. Leave out God, and you will leave out beauty. The present war is going on because certain nations in the West, and one nation at least in the Far East, left God out of their politics, and founded their life and their ambitions on selfishness,

personal and national profit-making territorial expansion; in fact on material things alone. And could anything be more horrible and ugly, soul-destroying and productive of misery, than the present war? Yes, it could; any civilisation or national life founded on material things only, where God and the spiritual side of man's nature are left out, where truth, beauty, and goodness are cast aside in favour of expediency, profit-making, and selfishness; any life whether of men or of nations organised on such a basis will inevitably lead to misery, to ugliness, to war and to the destruction of men's souls, which is after all far more terrible than the destruction of their bodies.

All this means that it is not only our duty to ourselves but to our country and to the world that we should try to re-discover a new and beautiful Indian art in all sides of life in painting and sculpture, in buildings, in making pottery and brassware, in music, in culture. It can be done if we remember that art must be creative, not imitative.

A lot of harm has been done to art by imitation; but it is a very good thing for an artist to see what other artists are doing, not that he may imitate them, but that he may share in their vision and thereby increase and improve his own. Free circulation into different centres of the artistic products of other centres should be encouraged by those people who have vision, especially if they also have wealth or influence. We should be able to see what artists in other parts of India are doing. Pictures are the most portable forms of art, and exhibitions of them are far easier to organise than exchange of sculptures, or of buildings, or even of music and dancing. At the time of His Highness' birthday we see in Trivandrum exhibitions of our own culture, old and new. Why not try to see other people's too, and to let other people see ours? I feel sure this could, and should be done after the war.

Travancore is particularly fortunate in having an artistic legacy from the past in Kathakali and its sister arts, such as Ottam Thullal; and the simple village Kalial (stick dance), in decorative art we have the mural paintings of Padmanabhapuram; and the carvings there and in some temples, and in thousands of old houses. The woodwork of Kerala is unequalled in any country in the world save perhaps China. We in Travancore as well as others all over India have the old things to *guide* us; to guide, not to copy, for in art, I believe, we should be creative. We have seen during the last four years in Trivandrum the way in which a creative artist dancing can take an old thing, get the best out of it, and develop it into new forms, partly borrowed from other countries, but largely original and therefore progressive, a true modern art. But apart from one or two artists, I fail to see his counterpart in the world of painting, or sculpture, or architecture, or music. Yet I believe there exist in Travancore many people who have got the ability to do creative, original advances in these other arts. Is it too much to hope that Travancore can lead India along these paths—can be in the forefront of a movement for a real, progressive, and truly beautiful modern art

and culture throughout his vast country with its wonderful heritage?

India has a vast heritage of art. Although the ravages of time, war, and wanton destructions of invaders, the eating away by whiteants and mould, have destroyed much that is priceless in our heritage of art, yet there is a good deal left in this vast country of India, a good deal that we to-day can enjoy and admire.

During the last 23 years I have travelled the length and breadth of India, and seen many hundreds of the great buildings of the past, some in ruins, but many still magnificent and well preserved. I have seen some of the old pictures of India, and visited modern art schools to see what is being turned out there. I have always kept my eyes open for new buildings, to see how the Indian genius and style can be adapted to modern requirements and materials, and combined with modern trends in the world of architecture. And I have noticed that art is stagnant when it imitates, but that in all the different branches of art there are a few good, original and yet thoroughly Indian things being produced—but oh how few of them!

In all the many fine buildings of Bombay I saw only two or three—the best, the building now occupied by the Censor's Office—which were beautiful, and modern, and Indian, all three. But what a delight those few buildings gave! In Delhi there is a new temple built by the family of Birla who own a great commercial undertaking. It is quite unlike the old temples. Nothing in it is copied. Instead of statues and carving, it has plain polished marble and pictures let in to the wall—pictures illustrating the old books—the songs of the Rig Veda and the Ramayana. Some of these pictures are poor stuff, but some are really beautiful things. Some parts of the temple are not quite beautiful and appear not quite suited to worship, and not quite Indian in design. But taking it, as a whole, this temple at Delhi is a thing of great interest, and is an important step towards the evolving of a new, yet typically Indian, sort of temple. In the years to come, that temple will be surpassed by others whose architects have been led aright by the beautiful parts of it, and have been taught to avoid or to alter the parts in it that are commonplace or ugly or unworthy of the very fine conception which its architects had. But it is a brave attempt, and far more Indian than the official Government buildings of New Delhi, fine buildings, but oh how British!

To come nearer home—how many of our newest buildings in Trivandrum are just copies of European ferro-concrete buildings, entirely un-Indian, though not so ugly as the Victoria Jubilee Hall of 50 years ago. Surely that is one of the ugliest buildings in the world! It is indeed well named, entirely European in style, typical of the Victorian age, the age of the industrial West, and in the world of art one of the darkest ages that has yet been seen.

The new Legislative Assembly Hall is a fine building, but one would hardly describe it as Indian in style. It is simply an imitation of a good European building. Directly art starts imitating, it is finished, its inspiration is gone; and it

is time for it to look for new inspiration, or it will die.

No! Let us not imitate. There is a cry in some Indian artistic circles now – "Back to Ajanta". But however beautiful the pictures at Ajanta may be—and many of them are very fine indeed—we must not go back, not even to Ajanta. Art is only alive if it is progressing, like everything else in the spiritual sphere.

In some parts of India, notably in Chettinad, several interesting brand-new temples have been built. They are beautiful, and Indian—but they are not art, for they are just copied from the old. They are beautiful because they are copied from fine temples, but art is a creative thing, and a copy is never creative, and therefore never art. A copy may be good handicraft, but that is all.

We have a fine heritage of music; but what are we in India doing with it now? We take a Carnatic ragam, and add to it an entirely unsuitable accompaniment, based on the cheapest and most debased music of the West, and lo! we have the modern cinema tune, neither Indian nor Western and certainly neither beautiful nor musical. The cinema has a grand opportunity to lead the way in the development of Indian music into a beautiful, up-to-date, yet truly Indian thing. But from the days of Chintamani onwards it has taken the wrong path through borrowing too much from the worst the West has produced, and not from the best, and in trying to combine two incompatible things; for when you harmonize Indian music it ceases to be Indian, and in the country of India it therefore may even cease to be art.

As Dr. Cousins recently said in a lecture on art, "A work of art is given its identity, *i.e.* its separate existence, by unity. A modernistic metal handle rivetted on a South Indian clay waterpot would turn the pot's exquisite unity of simple form into a mocking caricature". That is what the cinema is doing to the beautiful and simple tunes of Indian music. But a new and beautiful and modern and yet truly Indian music may yet come from the cinema. We must hope that this may be so.

Lastly—*education*. Here, in India, is art being taught properly? I am not an expert on teaching, but I am informed by an expert that the way drawing is taught in most of the schools here is 30 years out of date. Boys and girls are taught to draw largely from copies, from drawings and not from objects; to draw set things, not to exercise their own imagination; to draw in order to pass an examination, not in order to see beauty around them and to look out for beautiful things; not in order to possess the most fascinating and uplifting of all hobbies. Can we wonder that almost no students at all take Art as a subject at the University? They have never been taught at school to do anything original; all copy, copy.

When I paint a picture as I often do by the roadside, or in some village street, or in some field with a fine view, the boys of the village crowd around to see. And what do they say—what question do they ask? "Is that for an examination?", or "Is that for a competition?" "No" I say "I'm doing it because I enjoy doing it". The boys who have learnt drawing at school to pass an examination simply don't understand that. And as long as art is taught in order to pass an examination or as long as painting or drawing is done simply in order to get money, it is not real art.

Art must be done for art's sake. The *good* workman is the one who finds *joy* in his work, the good artist is he who produces a *good thing* because he can't help doing so. Let our art teaching be a thing that brings joy, interest, enthusiasm, and appreciation of the beautiful, to the children, and never mind about the examinations—they will be passed all right if the child rejoices in his work! And the foundations will then be laid for a generation of Indians who will produce a new, beautiful and truly Indian art.

A talk broadcast from Trivandrum.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN INDIA

BY MR. P. C. JAIN, M.A., M.SC. (ECON.) London,
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INDIA'S industrial production, except only in few cases, has increased during the last five years. The Indian manufacturers, with the assistance of the Supply Department, have made a tremendous effort to remove many hurdles from their path. A number of basic materials such as acids, dyes, and tools had to be manufactured in India for the first time in order to sustain increased industrial production. There is no doubt that if we did not lack a machine-manufacturing industry and, in consequence, did not suffer from shortages of coal, transport, and technical equipment, production could have expanded to much higher levels. India possesses such raw materials as iron ore, bauxite, raw cotton and jute, bamboo, and sugarcane in abundance and this combined to our hydro-electric resources and man-power would have permitted a much greater increase in industrial production. The shortage of skilled labour and backwardness of scientific and industrial research have to a certain extent been overcome and if we did not suffer from other limiting factors they could not restrain our progress because as production expands labour is trained and industrial research is made easier, and developments in these would have accompanied further industrialization of this country.

SOME STATISTICS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

		1938-39	1943-44 (a)	Percentage increase or decrease.
Cotton piece-goods	million yds.	4269	4,842	+13·4
Jute goods	(000) tons	1,222	938	-23·2
Paper	(000) cwts.	1,184	1,436	+21·3
Tea	million lbs.	452	543	+20·2
Factory Sugar	(000) tons	940 (b)	1,216	+29·3
Matches	million gross boxes	21·06	14·83 (c)	-29·6
Cement	million tons	1·50 (d)	2·06 (d)	+37·3

(a) Provisional. Source *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India.*

(b) Figure is for 1937-38 as the output in 1938-39 amounted to a low figure of 0·65 million tons due to exceptional circumstances.

(c) Figure relates to 1942-43. More recent statistics are not yet available.

(d) Estimated figures.

So far as information about production is concerned, the Indian industries at present can be divided into three classes. In the case of such industries as cotton and jute textiles, tea and sugar, regular statistics are published. In the second category we have such industries as iron and steel, coal, chemicals, and cement in which the publication of statistics has been discontinued but reliable, though approximate, estimates of production can be made. For such industries as munitions and armaments, which belong to the third category, even these rough estimates are not possible.

Due to the war, as is partially evident from the above table, the output of all industries except jute, matches, and coal has expanded. The production of cotton piece-goods in 1943-44 amounted to 4,842 million yards which is nearly 13½ per cent. higher than the pre-war output. The cotton textile industry also experienced shortages of coal, man-power, and dyes but production has been kept up by special efforts on the part of mill-owners and the Textile Control Board. During the last four years the number of types and designs of cloth has been reduced and the number of picks in cloth has been cut down in order to secure bulk production. More mills are now working multiple shifts than in the past and machinery has been readjusted to war-time production in order to expand the output. The mills experienced shortages of dye-stuffs, bobbins, and starch and considerable amounts of these are now being manufactured in India and special priorities have been granted for the import of mill-stores and machinery. Finally, more than a dozen mills have been 'taken over' by the Government as they failed to speed up production. These measures have helped in increasing the production of cotton cloth but its 'distribution' is still very defective and consequently the consumers continue to experience serious difficulties in getting it.

The jute industry, in spite of better organisation and repeated rationalization, has been less fortunate. The production in 1943-44 amounted to 0·94 million tons as against an output of 1·22 million tons before the war. The industry has both steam-driven and electrically-driven mills. The former were handicapped by an acute shortage of coal chiefly due to the difficulty of transport. The electrically-driven mills could have increased production considerably but they were disabled by the agreement about loom-hours and it was only at the end of summer 1944 that a scheme was enforced according to which the electrically-driven mills can work a larger number of loom-hours on payment of a certain penalty. The requisition of some mills by military authorities for purposes of storage and house accommodation has also reduced the output. Finally, there has been an acute shortage of labour as the military construction work, where higher wages are paid, attracted the labourers. Faced with these difficulties and in the absence of active demand from foreign countries the Indian jute industry has remained relatively depressed.

In the case of sugar, paper, and cement, production in 1943-44 was, on an average, 29 per cent. higher than in the pre-war year. In the case of these industries the raw materials are available in India in plenty; there is also a huge internal market to be

supplied; and these industries were well established even before the war. Production has consequently increased, and it could have increased much more if certain extraordinary difficulties were not experienced. A shortage of coal, labour, and transport has very much handicapped these industries. In sugar manufacturing the shortage of coal did not matter much as the bagasse provides most of the fuel but the output of paper and cement has been kept low because of shortage of coal. In 1942-43, the paper mills also experienced a shortage of raw material as bamboo was required for military constructions and other raw materials became scarce because of inadequate transport facilities. In the case of sugar, cane was being diverted from factories to *gur*-making industry and in order to prevent this the *gur*-making industry had to be controlled and higher prices were fixed for cane purchased by the factories and in order to make this possible sufficiently high prices were fixed for sugar. The price of sugar was fixed at Rs. 11-12. per maund (Marhowrah C 28) in April 1942 and it was raised by stages to Rs. 16-12-6 per maund in October 1944 and consequently the price of cane was increased from annas eight per maund in 1942-43 to annas fourteen in the present (1944-45) crushing season. This device helped to maintain the supply of cane to factories. In addition to this, assistance was given to sugar factories in obtaining sulphur and machinery and in the U. P. and Bihar all restrictions against maximum production were withdrawn as early as the 1942-43 season. But in spite of all this, the production of sugar has only increased from 7·78 lakh tons in 1941-42 and 10·70 lakh tons in 1942-43 to 12·16 lakh tons in 1943-44 as the recovery of sugar went down from 10·28 per cent. to 10·02 per cent. and the crushing season was shorter. The machinery in most cases has become old and worn out and in many cases due to transport shortage the cane got dried up thus leading to low recovery.

The cement industry has suffered by a shortage of coal, chemicals, and machinery. In consequence the output could not be increased as much as was necessary. The result was, as in the case of paper, that the public supplies were almost cut off. The distribution of cement was taken over by the Supply Department in 1942 and in the beginning only 10 per cent. of the output was released for non-military use and it was only later on that this share was increased to 20 per cent. Similarly, by an order under Defence of India Rules issued in November 1942 only 10 per cent, of mill output of paper was allotted for public use and only as late as April 1943 this share was raised to 30 per cent, thus reserving 70 per cent. of mill output of paper for Government use.

The production of coal in India reached the peak level of 26 million tons in 1940 but subsequently it came down and in 1943-44 it is estimated to amount to 22½ million tons which is the target fixed under the Colliery Control Order. The lower output of coal is partly explained by shortages of labour and coal-cutting machinery. And it is not so much the low production as the defective distribution of available supplies which is the chief

cause of trouble. A major part of the responsibility for this rests upon the shortage of transport caused by the short-sighted policy of the Government in refusing to start a locomotive industry when there was still time.

The production of chemicals, iron and steel, and munitions has considerably increased. In 1943, we produced 73,500 tons of sulphuric acid as against an output of 26,000 tons in 1939. Before the war, we did not produce any alkalies at all but in 1944, the productive capacity is estimated to amount to 70,000 tons and we now manufacture, among others, caustic soda, soda ash, and bleaching powder. The production of dyes, colours, drugs and medicines has also increased though exact figures are not available. The output of iron and steel now stands at a higher level and whereas in 1939 we produced one million tons of steel ingots and castings and nearly twice as much pig iron, the output of finished steel now is not less than 1¼ million tons per annum. It is not possible to estimate the extent of increase in the output of munitions and armaments but the number of workers employed in Ordnance factories has increased from 15,000 in 1939 to 1,30,000 in 1943. These factories, after the war, would partially be converted to peace-time production and to that extent would help in further industrialization of India.

The Problem of Minorities in India

BY PROF. R. VISWESWAR RAO

At a time when the problem of minorities has become the central problem of Indian Politics, and is engaging the anxious attention of all the well-wishers of the country, the suggestions of the present writer on this problem, we are sure, will be read with great interest by our readers.—ED. *I.R.*

IF anyone were to put the question, as to what the central problem of Indian Politics is, one can really say that it is the problem of minorities. As the Simon Commission Report says: "India is a land of minorities and the spirit of toleration is absent". The Commission, indeed, regretted the absence of settlement between the various communities, which is a stumbling block to the establishment of self-government in India.

The problem of minorities has been attracting the attention of the people and the Government since a decade. The important parties which are vitally concerned with this problem are Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims, it is well known, differ from the Hindus both in race and religion. They number about 70 millions. The other minorities do not take much interest in this problem since they feel that it is better to throw in their lot with the majority community. It is well known that there is a sense of cultural and political inequality in the minds of the Muslims and there is also the fear that they may not get "fair deal" from the majority community.

In India, we have the existence of religious, racial, and linguistic minorities.

It is well known that the co-operation of all these communities is *sine-qua non* for the success of any form of democratic government in India. Till recently, the principle of separate electorates has been tried to solve the problem but instead of solving the problem, the grant of separate electorate has accentuated communal jealousies. The principle of separate electorates is fraught with disastrous consequences, as it divides the nation into water-tight compartments. Many of the British statesmen, including Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for India, referred to the absence of communal settlement which is a standing obstacle in the way of granting self-government to India. But here one cannot feel sorry for the fact that the British should ever have granted separate electorates to any community and the problem of minorities really, arises from the date when Minto conceded the right of preferential treatment to the Muslims.

THE PIRPUR REPORT

Some time ago, the Muslim League appointed a committee to enquire into the dismemberment of India and all the efforts of the British for two centuries in the direction of establishment of political unity in India are intended to be frustrated by this move. If there is one lesson, which the present war has taught, it is the danger of the existence of small States. Small European States like Denmark, Poland, etc., fell before Hitler like a pack of cards.

SUGGESTIONS

In all solutions of the problem, one should never forget the fact that there is a distinct type of thought and life in India which has been enduring through centuries and that has been the greatest contribution of India to the world. Indeed, several suggestions have been put forward for a new approach to national unity. We should never forget that we all belong to the land of India and that we should all contribute our quota to the greatness of India. We may belong to different races and religions but it is the land and our love towards it, that should bind us all together. Indeed, none of us should try to dismember India. It must be united and one.

Here, it may be stated that the object of the British policy should be to bring about political unity on a federal basis. It is only a federal Government that can harmonise the antagonistic forces of communalism, provincialism and autonomy of the Indian States. The British Government should declare in unequivocal terms that the problem of Indian constitution can be considered only on the basis of an undivided India.

The cultural autonomy of the minority may also be recognised. The minority should be given the right to the acquisition of the nationality, use their mother tongue and improve their culture and literature. The racial problem of Canada was solved only in this way and this method may be tried in India with advantage.

Fundamental rights, guaranteeing elementary and common rights like the right to equality of treatment in the eye of law, to freedom of speech, etc., to all people should be incorporated in the constitution.

Even so far as the legislation is concerned, we can have an arrangement wherein matters of common concern will be decided by the general legislature and matters affecting the religion and culture of minorities may be left to the decision of members who belong to that particular minority.

PROVISION OF APPEALS

In the above cases, one objection may be raised and that is what the minorities should *do if that they have a just grievance against* the action of the majority. An arrangement can be made whereby minorities can prefer appeals to the judges and their decisions shall be final. The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. did much to protect the rights of the individual and our federal court can be vested with powers to deal with such cases. Even appeals may be allowed to be sent to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If such a method is adopted, minorities cannot have any legitimate grievance. The independence of the judiciary is essential here.

The Governor's special responsibilities are to be continued. Till yesterday, many people used to condemn the Governor's special responsibilities. But it may be pointed out that it was the special power vested in the Governor of Ceylon, that saved our Indian Minority in Ceylon some time back when the legislature actually passed a measure with a view to drive the Indian Minority away from that island.

Indeed, it may be pointed out that, all the laws affect all the people alike and the minorities should never fail to notice that the best safeguard on which they have to depend is the goodwill of the majority community. They must identify themselves with national aspirations. Principles of moderation and mutual confidence will have to prevail. Separate electorate can never protect the rights of the minorities. It is true, that they may secure "die hard" representatives of the communities on the legislature but, that retards the growth of democratic spirit in India.

The minorities, just as they have rights, have also some duties to perform. They should mix with the majority communities and identify themselves with the nationalistic ideas. The protection of their just rights, then, as the late Mr. M. Briend said, becomes a "sacred duty". All possible means, on the lines suggested above, should be adopted for bringing about mutual goodwill amongst the various communities.

The dawn of responsible government is postponed on the plea of communal discord. It is hoped that the leaders of all minorities realise the gravity of the situation and contribute their share wholeheartedly to the common weal. It may not once again be mentioned, that it is the land of India that should bind us together as united we stand, divided we fall. India expects her sons and daughters to do their duty at this critical juncture in her history.

JAIPUR UNDER SIR MIRZA ISMAIL

BY "HISTORICUS"

"THE world's destiny has been changed by five cities", said Philip Guedalla, the famous historian and biographer, in his last book—*The Liberators*; and enumerating his list, turns to Athens "where Greek hands forged the instrument of liberty which they have never lost", to Rome "where strong Latin minds enthroned law supreme in the ordering of life", to Jerusalem "where the mind of man groped towards something far above him", to Paris "where clear thought and high courage wrote the French Revolution into history and set free men the world over singing the *Marseillaise*", and to London "which has stood so often against abuses of authority, overcame a nightly siege in 1940 and changed the history of the world".

Men with a sense of history will ere long realise—some have already realised—that to-day in India, the destiny of Rajputana is being changed by one city. *That* city is indisputably Jaipur, where under the benevolent auspices of a young and far-sighted ruler and a statesman of eminence and vision, great things are happening. There is the eloquent tribute of Mr. Herbert L. Mathews of the *New York Times* that American visitors to India are going to find Jaipur "more thoroughly transformed and improved than New York after Robert Moses got through with it". Nor is it mere external appearance that is changing.

There is the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Ghanashyam Das Birla that during the short time he has been here, "Sir Mirza has been able to achieve what was not achieved,"—really what was not even attempted—"during the last twenty years" or more. Of undoubted importance as it is from the administrative point of view, his work in and for Jaipur is of far greater significance from the larger historical viewpoint, due to its inevitable repercussions on the life and temper of the whole of Rajputana where ancient States call for modern rejuvenation.

Here, in this vast area, the largest continuous non-British territory in India, Nature and Man and Circumstance have long conspired to put out the lights of culture and freedom, and maintain an order where obscurantism and feudalism have done their worst. The din and roar of national upheavals which occasionally rent the skies everywhere else is, in these sandy and barren regions, but a far-off echo. Here, power wherever it was exercised, was allied to intrigue; whispering galleries functioned best and low murmurs filled the air that men breathed; long-sweep 'salaaming' was elevated to the level of a ritual. Rajputana, where chivalry and heroism once cast a spell, seemed to have struck "a pause in history". But luckily—thanks to the imagination and foresight of the Maharaja of Jaipur—there has arrived one who, while fighting a rearguard action against the forces of re-action, is definitely making headway as the man with a mission.

As a recent English visitor said in the Journal of the United Service Institution of India: "Sir Mirza is accomplishing wonders in Jaipur, commercially, industrially and

artistically. With vision and vigour he is developing the State's resources, and raising the standard of living of the people". There is no aspect of administration which has been neglected. Every department is overhauled and re-equipped. Places cut off from each other are linked up by pucca roads; new industries are springing up at a rapid pace; mines in Khetri are being explored; irrigation projects are being speeded up so that, in the words of His Highness, "miles of sandy deserts will become smiling green fields with a happy and prosperous peasantry"; efforts are being made to banish illiteracy from the State within twenty years; panchayats in villages and municipalities in towns are being established on progressive lines; and post-war reconstruction plans are being examined by experts.

Nor is this all. Among the outstanding achievements must be mentioned the codification of existing laws and the enactment of new ones; the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive; the raising of the Chief Court to the status of a High Court with the Hon'ble Sir Sarat Kumar Ghose, formerly of the Calcutta High Court, as the Chief Justice; the reorganisation of the postal system, the establishment of State insurance and co-operative societies, the opening of the Jaipur Bank (as a result of which, the resources of the big businessmen and commercial magnates of Jaipur who represent the industrial aristocracy of India, are for the first time harnessed to the advancement of the State); the division of the whole State into four units under Deputy Commissioners; and the scheme of higher educational expansion in the wake of which a University—the first of its kind in Rajputana—will be established at Jaipur.

But by far the most important—and significant—development is the one which relates to the introduction of constitutional reforms. This act of bold statesmanship in a State, which has not so far had even an elected municipality, is of a far-reaching character. Shortly Jaipur will have a Legislative Council with full plenary powers and with an elected majority, and a Representative Assembly on the Mysore model. For the first time, the man in the street will have his voice heard, and what matters more, will have a hand in the shaping of things. For him, it is like "the fall of Bastille" in the feudal world in which he was born and bred. The emergence of the common man in Jaipur out of age-long shackles will inaugurate a new era in the whole of Rajputana; "the pink city" has already become its very hub; it is thus that Jaipur is entitled to the distinction of being *the* city which has changed the destiny of Rajputana. We have the enduring testimony of Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar that "Jaipur in this chaotic period of unsettlement and dislocation is doubly blessed in the personalities and ambitions of its Ruler and its Prime Minister. Both seem intent upon securing a better life for the population of the State and jointly they have set an example and given a welcome lead to this quarter of India known to history as Rajasthan". There is little doubt that the present Ruler of Jaipur and Sir Mirza Ismail will go down to history as the "Liberators" of Rajputana.

WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY?

THE author of this book,* an American lawyer, adduces a great deal of historical evidence to prove that the responsibility for this war really rests with the German people. "Conditioned by centuries of false indoctrination, ... the German people have ever been arch-conspirators against civilization. They have deliberately plotted to destroy it and subdue all mankind to serfdom. They have ignored all civilized standards and restraints and have made barbarism an ideal. They have distorted nationalism into a ritual of international murder." This is the author's indictment against the German people. As the author is sure of the ultimate victory of the Allies, he deals with the problem of what to do with the German people. He suggests (1) the punishment of the violators of international law at the dictates of humanity, (2) prophylactic precautions against the recurrence of German militarism, (3) economic and financial policy of reconstruction, (4) eradication by education of the poisonous doctrines of pan-Germanism. These remedies, he suggests, so that Germany may safely join the community of civilized nations. Further he suggests that, as soon as the Allies achieve victory, they should occupy Germany and suspend its sovereignty. The Peace Treaty must be suspended for ten or twenty years or perhaps more. The people as a whole must be taken into "protective custody", to use a German expression in its sincere sense. Their state, the corporate entity through which they have acted, must be dissolved. Their nationhood must be forfeited until such time as they demonstrate their reform by the acceptance of civilized standards. In short, the author advocates that German sovereignty must be suspended and the country must be completely occupied by the forces of the United Nations.



THE BIG THREE

He further makes an earnest plea for the mental disarmament of Germany.

* WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY?—By Louis Nizer—Hamish Hamilton, London. (Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay). Rs. 7-14-0.

According to him, the corruption of the German mind has been a continuous, consistent process for centuries. "The Nazi youth oozes racial hatreds and rides in superman complexes. To root out this poison, we cannot rely on German re-education any more than on German self-imposed disarmament or German self-rule generally. We must unwind the German so that he will not sprint at us again." This task must be entrusted to an international university. Such a university could truly represent the nations of the world and act for them without fear or political bias. Courses in humanities, modern civilization and philosophy could be mapped out by the authorities of the international university to meet the peculiar pre-disposition of the German youth. In short, all the forces of the arsenal for the invasion of the German mind must be employed in this noble task.

A CHINAMAN WITHOUT RHYME

(BUT NOT WITHOUT REASON)

BY MR. BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

In bygone time there lived a man,
A Mongol-Tartar, Ghengis Khan,
Who conquered, slaughtered, hacked his way,
From blue Danube to far Cathay.

Cities he looked upon as Filth,
The festering sore of Greed, and Guilt.
"Level them flat", he gave command,
"And make them useful pasture land,
So that a Horse might run o'er it
Without tripping, and make them fit
For noble Warriors, such as we,
Lords of the Earth, from sea to sea.
Exterminate those people, who
Live basely by the Hoe, and Plough:
A Warrior's Horse is worthier far,
Than those base servile people are."

* * *

There was a man, unknown to fame,
Yelutchonsay (such was his name),
Who said, "Most dread invincible lord,
List but a moment to the word
Of a poor Chinese Mendicant,
Homeless, and without land, or rent—
Petchli, Chantong, Leaotong, Chausi,
You've doomed to death, yield annually
Enough to keep both you and me:
Five hundred thousand ounces pure
Of Silver, and, what is much more,
Four hundred thousand Measures full
Of Rice, clean garnered-carded wool,
Bales upon bales, as much as you please,
Richer than Colchis' Golden Fleece,
Eight hundred thousand robes of Silk,
Yellow as cream, or white as Milk,
Or gayest colours, rich and rare,
Great lords like you are used to wear—
Think twice, and stay your mighty hand,
And spare this peaceful smiling land.

* * *

Struck by these words, said Ghengis Khan,
"There's something in that humble man.
Let those fair smiling cities stand,
I cancel now my dread command."

* * *

Thus 'twas, one man, unknown to fame,
Of harsh unpronounceable name,
Insinuated peacefully
A sound, and rational policy

Into the mind of Ghengis Khan,
A barbarous, Mongol-Tartar man,
This happened in a bygone time—
Alas! for that good Chinaman I cannot find
[a rhyme.

THE SIXTH WAR BUDGET

BY MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.

—o—

THE Sixth War Budget happens to be also Sir Jeremy Raisman's last War Budget.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE (IN CRORES)

	1943-44 (Revised Estimates)	1944-45 (Budget Estimates)	1944-45 (Revised Estimates)	1945-46 (Budget Estimates).
Revenue ...	254·50	284·97	356·88	353·74
Expenditure.	346·93	363·18	512·65	517·63
Deficit ...	—92·33	—78·21	—155·77	—163·89

It will be seen that the Budget reveals a prospective deficit of Rs. 163·89 crores for 1945-46. The Budget for 1944-45 produced a deficit of Rs. 189·79 crores due to an excess of defence expenditure, amounting to about Rs. 96 crores and this is attributed to the fact that much of the fighting against the Japanese took place inside instead of outside Indian frontiers. For 1944-45 the total revenue receipts is expected to be Rs. 356.88 crores, an improvement of Rs. 48 60 crores over the budget estimates against which expenditure is shown at Rs. 512·65 crores to leave a deficit of Rs. 155 77 crores, whilst a deficit of Rs. 163 89 crores is anticipated in 1945-46 against which only minor changes in present taxation are proposed. The Finance Member has indicated that the whole of the gap might be filled by borrowing and the more important consideration was to equate rupee outgoings whether in India's account or on Allied account with total rupee incomings whether by taxation, sales of bullion and other devices for absorbing surplus purchasing power. In spite of the Financial Settlement on allocation of defence expenditure, India has paid a heavy price. There is a clear case for the United Nations to bear a portion of the actual cost incurred in defending India within the last twelve months from Japanese offensive as the defence is as much the concern of the United Nations as it is of India.

TAXATION

The Budget reveals an estimated deficit of Rs. 155·77 crores in the current year and a prospective deficit of Rs. 163 89 crores for 1945-46. To meet Rs. 8·60 crores of this deficit, the following additional taxation is to be levied:

(1) An increase in surcharge on income-tax by 3 pies in the rupee on slabs of income above Rs. 15,000 and on incomes taxable at the maximum rate.

(2) Rates on inland postal articles to be raised to a uniform 6 annas for every 40 tolas.

(3) surcharge on telephone rentals to be raised from one-third to one-half and on trunk call fees from 20 per cent. to 40 per cent.

(4) Surcharge on ordinary and express telegrams to be increased by one anna and two annas respectively.

(5) Standard rate of duty on unmanufactured tobacco to be raised to Rs. 7-8-0 with no surcharge; rates for related items, namely, cigars, cigarettes and manufactured tobacco to be fixed to correspond.

(6) The highest class of flue-cured tobacco in the excise tariff is to be sub-divided into three and subjected to a duty of Rs. 7-8-0, Rs. 5 and Rs. 3-8-0 per lb. respectivsly when used in the manufacture of cigarettes containingg different porcentages of imported tobacco.

(7) E.P.T. to be maintained at the present rate for another year and the compulsory deposit scheme to be continued.

(8) Special depreciation allowances to be granted for new buildings erected for plant and machinery after 31st March, 1945, in addition to normal depreciating allowance; the former not to be deducted in arriving at the written-down value.

The scope for major charges in the sphere of central taxation is now so limited that the Finance Member has not introduced any but at the same time he has indicated the sources of additional revenue for the Provinces and at the same time emphasized the necessity for greater efforts to combat evasion of existing tax obligations. It will be difficult to subscribe to the view of the Finance Member that 'it will be necessary in the post-war years to impose taxation of a magnitude comparable with that existing at the present time'. Taxes on non-agricultural income can hardly be expected to continue to play the overwhelming part in the scheme of national

finance in the future and the E. P. T. will cease to play a prominent part after the war.

By far the most important of the new tax announcements is that which differentiates for income-tax purposes between earned and unearned incomes, for it is the only method by which the depreciation of the human machine can be adequately recognized in taxation. The proposal is to grant exemption of one-tenth of earned income subject to a maximum of Rs. 2,000 and the exemption will not apply to the income of companies or in respect of dividends, interest on securities or income on property. It will be given only for income-tax, and not for supertax and the total cost of the relief so granted is expected to cost the exchequer some Rs. 3½ crores for the first year and in order to offset this, it is proposed to increase the surcharge on slabs of income above Rs. 15,000 by 3 pies in the rupee. This small relief on earned incomes is a practical gesture to a very large number of the higher grades of salary-earners.

In the field of indirect taxaton, tobacco duties are to be increased along with enhanced rates for telegrams, telephone rentals and the whole yield from all new taxes is estimated at Rs. 8 60 crores. Certain suggestions for the rationalisation of the country's tax system in the future are made by the Finance Member, particularly in regard to augmentation of Provincial revenues and reducing their inelasticity.

Discussing the possible sources of taxation, the Finance Member has given a hint to the Provinces about agricultural income-tax. More money will be raised in future by the levy of estate duly and sales tax in the post-war period. As for agricultural income-tax, most of the Provinces in British India might follow the example of Travancore which has already levied 2 annas in the rupee. At present there is no incometax on coffee or rubber, and in the case of ten companies, 40 per cent. is liable for income-tax and E.P.T. The levy of agricultural income-tax would probably affect dividends by about half a per cent. in the case of tea companies since they need to pay only agricultural income-tax on 60 per cent. of the profits, whereas in the case of rubber and coffee, the dividend may be about 1 per cent. and all these are made on the assumption that the prices of agricultural commodities would remain at the present level. Industrialisation will tend to contract revenues from customs duties particularly if India adopts a protectionist policy in the post-war period and in the view of the Finance Member, we must look to Central Excises ultimately to replace customs duties as the chief instrument of commodity taxation. But this is a question for the future and there is reason to think that customs duties will continue to play a major-part in the central revenues for many years to come. The suggeston for an extension of state ownership of industries deserves to be considered as a source of additional revenue.

BUDGET AND THE STOCK MARKET

The Budget for 1945-46 has produced a favourable reaction on the stock exchange by a rise in the tone of the market. New taxation is limited only to the extent of covering the increase in the deficit for 1945-46 by bringing about Rs. 8·6 crores. Of the new taxes, there is only one direct tax and that is the increase in the surcharge of 3 pies in the rupee on slabs of income over Rs. 15,000. This surcharge is terrible in the case of incomes which pay tax at the maximum rate. Last year's taxation proposals aimed at bringing in fresh revenue for Rs. 23½ crores. The present proposals are expected to get an income of about one-third of the amount fixed for last year. It should be said that industries have been let off without any additional burden and expectations have been fulfilled. But the grant of a special allowance by way of depreciation on machinery and buildings erected after 31st March, 1945, does not go far enough to encourge industries in the post-war period though some industries like the Textiles are likely to be benefitted to some extent.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Lord Wavell's Mission

THE Viceroy's visit to London for personal consultations with H. M. Government has naturally aroused great expectations. Lord Wavell has been Viceroy for some 18 months and if by the visit he means to make a genuine attempt to resolve the deadlock, His Excellency would have deserved well of this country. The main reason for the consultations is doubtless the inexorable march of events connected with the war. As the struggle is coming to a close in Europe, there must follow an intensification of the war with Japan, and India's importance as the vital base of operations will be increasingly realised. The Soldier Viceroy cannot be oblivious of the importance, nay the wisdom, of having behind him the united and enthusiastic support of the whole nation in the great task that is impending. And what could secure such enthusiastic co-operation but a truly national government, enjoying the complete confidence of the people! Unfortunately, though everyone is convinced that the Cripps offer will no more hold good, Mr. Amery is harping on the old formula

that the policy announced by H. M. G. in the draft declaration of March, 1942—the Cripps offer—still holds the field.

But the Viceroy must know better. In the face of 11 successive defeats in the Assembly and the criticisms levelled against his government in Britain and U.S.A. and the recent pronouncements of official representatives, he knows where the shoe pinches and how it must be rectified. If the Viceroy and the British Cabinet could hit upon a bold and imaginative policy that will enthuse Indians, the long looked for settlement would have been achieved. Merely to insist on agreement among all the parties as a pre-requisite for a new declaration is to play with words. Why, as Professor Edward Thompson shrewdly points out in the *Times*,

if Britain were occupied by a conqueror who offered her self-government on condition of an agreement between the Catholics and Protestants, Britain would have never won freedom except by a successful rebellion.

Congress Ministry in the Frontier

The Congress has returned to office in the North-West Frontier Province—the pivot of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan with a hundred per cent. Muslim population—after a lapse of nearly six years. Congress decision to accept office in one Province is welcomed in all quarters as a momentous gesture which will have a wholesome reaction in other Provinces where Section 93 is still operative. It must gladden the heart of C. R. whose move in this direction is thus bearing fruit. Congress acceptance of office, will, it is hoped, mark the beginning of the end of the deadlock.

It will be recalled that the Muslim League took advantage of the enforced absence of Congress leaders to step into the breach. But the League Ministry has never been popular. The moment the released Congressmen took their seats in the Frontier Assembly, the days of the League Ministry had to be numbered. And Sirdar Aurangazib Khan's Ministry was trounced by 24 votes to 18 on a direct vote of no confidence, and not merely on a cut motion as in other Assemblies. So there was no alternative for the Sirdar but to quit and give place to Dr. Khan Saheb. The Governor acted wisely and promptly in calling on the Congress leader to take charge. Evidently with Mr. Gandhi's approval, Dr. Khan Saheb has shouldered the responsibility. Dr. Khan Saheb's first act on resuming charge was, as might be expected, the release of the interned leaders and it is just like the Frontier Gandhi to declare that he would not come out of the prison if his colleagues had not been released as well. And so with a fine contingent of patriotic men, the Frontier has taken the lead in an attempt to resolve the deadlock which must have far-reaching effect on other Provinces.

Coalition Ministry for Assam

League Ministries everywhere are having a bad time. They never had much public favour anywhere, and the way they have been managing their affairs has lent support to charges of corruption and incompetence. The Saadulla Ministry in Assam has fared no better. Only on March 17 the Ministry was saved from censure by the casting vote of the chair.

In fact the Ministry had always been in a precarious position. But the situation in Assam politics took a dramatic turn when the ministerialist party in the Assembly formally accepted the Congress proposal for a coalition Cabinet in which the Congress would not accept office but would give moral and active support on certain specific conditions. The main terms of the agreement signed by Sir M. Saadulla, Mr. Gopinath Bardolai and Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhury, representing the principal parties in the Assembly, include the restoration of civil liberties, release of political prisoners, reorganisation of the Supply Department and reshuffling of the Cabinet. This broad agreement on general policy and co-operation of parties in actual Government, will, it is hoped—usher in a better era for Assam. Apart from everything else, this geniune attempt to convert the Ministry into one that would be broad-based on popular support is a welcome experiment in solving many problems—including the problem of minorities—that must have wholesome reaction in other Provinces as well. It is a pleasing gesture that Mahatma Gandhi has shown in welcoming this attempt in Assam. Gandhiji gave a free hand to Mr. Gopinath as he gave perfect freedom to Dr. Khan Saheb in the Frontier. In a letter to Mr. Gopinath, Gandhiji wrote :

> Do what is best, cost what it may. Kill corruption. Adopt that alternative which is the best under the circumstances. I know that the difficulties will be many but we have to cut our way through.

Budget and the Finance Bill

As we go to press the Central Assembly has rejectd the Finance Bill even in its recommended form. The result was foreseen. The Council of State has passed the Bill but the Assembly may stick to its verdict; and then it will have to be certified! It is a repetition of the old, old story. Under any other democratic constitution this absurd farce of debate, defeat and certification would be unthinkable. During the Budget debate no less than 11 cut motions were carried against the government, and every department came in for downright censure. The speeches on the Finance Bill likewise showed that, Congress or League, everyone was equally critical of government actions. Members of the Exeecutive put up a feeble defence and they knew—none better—that they cannot count on people's confidence or support. And yet, under the Government of India Act, they could remain where they are. Speaking on the Finance Bill, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party, put the case trenchantly when he said that the issue on which he asked the vote on this occasion was the issue of India's freedom. He referred to the San Francisco Conference and said;

> If any genuine friend of ours, any genuine representative of ours went to that conference, the first and foremost thing that he will do there will be this: he will first demand that he will not remain there unless and until India was recognised and declared by Britain by her own free will as an independent country.

The Bengal Ministry

It is an ironic commentary on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan speech that Bengal too has followed quickly on the heals of Assam and Sind in carrying a cut motion against the Nazimuddin Ministry by 106 votes to 97. But like the school master in *The Deserted Village* "even though vanquished he could argue still." Sir Nazimuddin and his colleagues wanted to sit tight and carry on. But the speaker rightly ruled that the adverse vote was an unmistakable censure and that the House could not function unless a new Ministry was formed!

And so, for the moment, Bengal comes uuder the rule of the Governor.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

The Late Earl Lloyd George

EARL LLOYD GEORGE, the veteran statesman who led Britain to victory in the last world war, died at Criccieth, aged 82.

He will go down in history as the "Man who won the war", even as Mr. Churchill will be remembered for his part in the present war.

Lloyd George, always known as the Father of the House having been member of the Commons for 54 years, first took office in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's administration as President of the Board of Trade. His settlement of the railway dispute in 1906 marked him out for higher powers and responsibilities. And under Asquith, he was elevated to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

The "Munitions scandal" of 1915 induced Lloyd George to accept the Ministry of Munitions. But his faith in Asquith as a war leader grew dim and in December 1916, he formed a national government of his own, supplanting his Chief by methods only justified by his victory in the war. His main idea of an unified Allied command was secured in 1917 when Marshal Foch was appointed to that post. Speaking at the Mansion House on November 9, 1918, the Premier was enabled to say, "Germany is doomed."

The organisation of peace proved as difficult as winning the war. The famous "coupon election" of December 1918 confirmed his position at Versailles where all the world assembled to make peace.

His Ministry itself fell in 1922. He never returned to office. Though he was the leader of the Opposition in the later years, he preferred to write history instead of making it. The volumes of his "War Memoirs" gave rise to unexampled controversy, the echoes of which died only at the onset of this war.

Nazi Retreat

Tne whole German western defence line has been eliminated and Kesselring's armies are, at the time of writing, (29 March) in a general retreat. In some areas east of the Rhine it is a rout, and it is now extremely doubtful whether the Germans can recover even temporarily their ability to offer even token organised resistance.

On northern sector of the West front, British armoured columns drove to within one and a half miles of Borken over 20 miles east of the Rhine, only slight resistance being met, says *Reuter's* special correspondent with the British Second Army.

At the other end of Field Marshal Montgomery's front, the Ninth United States Army pushing in all direction, is virtually in the outskirts of the great Rhine part of Duisburg.

The general advance east of the Rhine is progressing. The five Allied armies have combined into two major groups. The Second British and the Ninth Armies have linked up and the First, Third and the Seventh American armies had joined on a 200-mile front. All reports speak of the progressive deterioration of German forces.

General Eisenhower, Allied Supreme Commander on the western front, announced that the German defence line had broken and they had no strength to make a future stand.

Russian Drive to Austria

Marshal Stalin, in an Order of the Day, dated 27 March announced that Marshal Koniev's forces have captured Strehlen, south of Breslau. The Order says: "Troops of the First Ukrainian Command, continuing their offensive captured in Silesia the towns of Strehlen and Rybnik, large road junctions and powerful strong-points in German defences."

Russian troops have now reached the Austrian border.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

A TREATY BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM. By Sir Sultan Ahmed. Kitabistan, Ailahabad. Rs. 2-4.

Yet another attempt to settle the deadlock and solve the communal tangle is made by Sir Sultan Ahmed, Member for Information and Broadcast, in a thoughtful brochure, which, we understand, has also been presented to the Sapru Committee.

In the first part of the book Sir Sultan puts forward the novel and interesting suggestion of a treaty between India and Britain together with the conditions under which the treaty should be signed.

He believes that if the Cripps proposal had been accepted. it would have helped India to attain independence. But he does not absolve Britain of any further responsibility and wants that Britain should make another gesture to India.

He agrees with Sir Walter Layten that without an Indian settlement, the task of building up a permanent world order will be much more difficult, if not impossible.

Sir Sultan's solution for the communal settlement may not be endorsed by all, but everyone will agree that he has approached the subject with an unbiassed mind and made an earnest effort to solve an admittedly difficult problem. He envisages an union of several units as so many sovereign federated states with a strong centre.

The centre to have power and authority over defence, foreign relations, currency, customs, etc.

The federal assembly to be composed of 40 per cent. Muslims, 40 per cent. Hindus, 10 per cent. Depressed classes, and 10 per cent. the remaining minorities.

The Cabinet to have the same communal ratio as the Assembly.

The army to have 50 per cent. Muslims and 50 per cent. Hindus.

The author does not claim that his solution is either perfect or complete.

THE BRITISH COLONIES. By Vincent Hoslow. No. 68. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs. Oxford University Press, Madras and Bombay. As. 6.

To-day the Colonial Empire of Britain comprises diverse association of communities. The diversity of races and peoples who compose the Empire has created complex problems regarding the life and welfare of colonials and Britain's attitude towards them. The author of the pamphlet describes some of the problems confronting Britain, like the idea of Self-Government in colonies, the question of liberty, and building of communities and points out the responsibilities under which Britain has accepled trusteeship of the Empire.

THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC. By C. R. Srinivisan, Editor, *The Swadeshamitran*. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Introduction by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. University of Travancore, Trivandram.

The four lectures on journalism delivered under the auspices of the Travancore University by this doyen of the Vernacular Press in South India cover a wide field—dealing with the development of the periodical press in India, the profession, the place of news and comments, circulation and advertisement as well as organisation and control—in fact the entire relation of the press to the public is general. Mr. Srinivasan is an old and experienced journalist and he presents in a small compass, with consummate ease and elegance, the history of the trials and the perils no less than the achievements and prospects of the Indian Press.

THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET—The Admiralty account of Naval Operations —April, 1941 to January, 1943, Mac-Millan & Co., Ltd., Mount Road, Madras. Rs. 1-8.

This book, which is beautifully got up and profusely illustrated, contains a lucid account of the operations of the Royal Navy from the time when the Italian fleet was greatly weakened by the losses inflicted at Taranto and Matapan; and the German attempt to capture the Suez and dominate the entire Mediterranean was made and successfully frustrated by the Allies which enabled them ultimately to take the initiative and begin the advance that eventually drove the enemy from Africa. The story concludes in January, 1943, when Tripoly fell into our hands and the Navy again assumed command of the great supply routes of the Mediterranean.

SIMONE: By Lion Feuchtwanjer. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Rampart Row, Bombay. Rs. 6-14.

Here is an extremely interesting story of the fall of France by one of Europe's most famous authors, Mr. Lion Peuchtwanjer. Inspired by the life of Joan of Arc and the memories of her radical father, Simone, an obscure Burgandian girl, revolts against the passive acceptance of the German occupations, destroys the stock of petrol of her wealthy uncle and attempts to rally the people of her town to resist the mechanised hordes of Germans. Like St. Joan, Simone is betrayed by her own people—by her family and is condemned to the Grey House. In this poignant tale full of passion and heroism, we note the struggle between the selfish Frenchmen who carried on their business as usual and others to whom the Nazi occupation never meant a conquest of mind.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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CONQUEST OF SELF. By M. K. Gandhi. Being Gleanings from his writings and speeches compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

THE GLORY THAT WAS GURJARADESA. Part III. The Imperial Gurjaras. By K. M. Munshi. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Rs. 15.

THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE INFORMATION SERIES. (1) Government-Congress-League Declarations, (2) Fundamental Rights. 7, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi.

MEN I HAVE MET. By K. R. R. Sastri. Allahabad University, Allahabad.

A SECULAR STATE FOR INDIA. By Lanka Sundaram. Rajkamal Publications, Delhi.

GREAT REBELS. Studies in Life and Letters. Edited by Saroj Acharya, Book Forum, 72, Harison Road, Calcutta.

CHINA HANDBOOK, 1937-1944. A comprehensive survey of major developments in China in seven years of war. Chinese Ministry of Information, Chungking.

MYSTIC EXPERIENCES. Tales of Yoga and Vedanta from the Yoga Vasishtha. By Bhagavan Das. Indian Book Shop, Theosophical Society, Benares City. Re. 1-8.

TELUGU LITERATURE. (The P. E. N. Books). By P. T. Rajan. The International Book House, Ltd., Bombay.

CHINA TODAY. In art drawings. By Yeh Chien-Yu. Foreword by Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul General for China. Introduction and Commentary by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, M.A., D.Phil. The Book Emporium, Ltd, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA. Past and Present. By Anathnath Basu. The Book Emporium, Ltd., Calcutta.

THE FOUNDER OF PAKISTAN. By Khan A. Ahmad. Pakistan National Movement, 16, Montagu Road, Cambridge.

THE MILLET OF ISLAM AND THE MENACE OF INDIANISM. By C. Rahmut Ali.

THE MILLET AND THE MISSION. By C. Rahmat Ali.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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March 1. Mr. Churchill gets unanimous vote of confidence *re.* Yalta decisions.

—Indian Budget proposals published.

March 2. India invited for Empire talks prior to San Francisco Conference.

—Sir Stafford Cripps re-admitted to Labour Party.

March 3. Constitution of Arab League signed at Cairo.

March 4. Finland declares war on Germany.

—British and American troops reach Rhine.

March 5. Budget session opens in the Central Assembly.

March 6 American troops break into Cologne.

March 7. Lord Dawson of Penn, King's physician, is dead.

March 8. Mr. Amery rejects proposal for fresh approach *re.* Indian question.

March 9. Japs occupy Indo-China.

—Mandalay Hill captured by 14th Army.

March 10. Government suffers two defeats in the Assembly.

March 11. Hitler urges Germans to fight frantically.

—Adjournment motion *re* delegation to San Francisco ruled out in Central Assembly.

March 12. Aurangazib Khan Ministry in the Frontier resigns as a sequel to no confidence motion.

—Sind Cabinet resigns.

March 13. Order on Bihar leaders revoked.

—European group's cut motion passed in Assembly.

March 14. Dr. Khan Saheb forms Cabinet in N.W.F.

—Sind Cabinet reformed.

March 15. Mr. Churchill addresses Party Conference on prospects of general election.

March 16, New Frontier Ministry take oath of office.

—Frontier Congress leaders released.

March 17. Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri presides over the Silver Jubilee session of the Liberal Federation at Lahore.

March 18. Heavy raid on Berlin.

—Raids on Japan.

—Mr. William Phillips resigns his post as a personal envoy.

March 19. Debate on Finance Bill in the Assembly.

—Select Committee reports on Income-tax Bill.

March 20. Surplus Budget for Madras.

—Mandalay falls.

March 21. Lord Wavell flies to London.

—Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, to act in his absence.

March 22. Soviet gives notice of termination of Soviet-Turkish treaty.

March 23. All-parties Ministry formed in Assam.

March 24. Allied forces cross the Rhine.

—Death is reported of Kallenbach, friend of Gandhi, in South Africa.

March 25. Sind Muslim League rejects Congress move to Coalition Cabinet.

Ma-ch 26. Earl Lloyd George is dead.

—Sir Shadi Lal is dead.

March 27. Assembly rejects the Finance Bill by 58 votes against 50.

—Allies enter Frankfort.

March 28. Recommended Finance Bill thrown out.

—Gen. Eisenhower announces that German front line is broken.

—Bengal Ministry defeated by 106 to 97 votes.

March 29. Mr. Nausher Ali, Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, rules that after the adverse vote the Nazimuddin Ministry cannot continue to function.

March 30. Reich Government quits Berlin.

—Naval battle off Okinawa.

March 31. Section 93 invoked in Bengal and Governor takes over administration.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR INDIA

We hear nowadays a great deal about post-war, political and economic planning, but very little about social security that we need for our peasants and workers.

Time is perhaps not yet ripe in India to step at once to the ideal of security for all without distinction. But a beginning may be made immediately. Without such a beginning, post-war industrial progress would become meaningless.

Given industrial and agricultural development, India would be able to afford a new social plan provided every one pulled his weight and awoke to a sense of social responsibility, says Mr. N. C. Bhattacharya in *India*:

Sir William Jowett, the Minister-designate of the new Ministry of Social Insurance, described the British social insurance plan as an act of supreme faith in the future of Britain. He also said that, if the Government had not felt satisfied that the challenge would be answered by a fresh outburst of creative energy such as had marked Britain's history in the past, the Government would not have made these proposals. In India, too, we must act with faith in the future. The distinguished framers of the Bombay Plan have truly remarked that the real capital of a country consists of its resources in material and man-power; money is simply a means of mobilising these resources and canalising them into specific forms of activity. Lord Wavell in the course of a speech delivered at the Pilgrim's Luncheon in London, shortly before his departure for India, spoke as follows: "It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for war, but that no nation has ever yet produced money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace—poverty, lack of education, unemployment, ill-health. When we are prepared to spend our money and our efforts as freely and with the same spirit as against Hitler, . . . we shall really be making progress."

We, in India, are up against the quadruple alliance of slavery, hunger, disease and ignorance. A scheme of social security for India would be the surest bulwark against these enemies.

DANGEROUS DRIFTS IN EUROPE

Mr. William C. Bullit, former American Ambassador to Russia and France, has written an article in the *Life* magazine after a visit to Rome. In it, he attempts to see "the world from Rome." Here are a few points:

"In the Italian view (Mr. Bullit reports), Great Britain will emerge from this war a very tired victor—and then who will stem the Communist tide in Europe? All men throughout Italy ask, whether this war will result in the subjugation of Europe by Moscow instead of by Berlin. . . . The Romans expect Soviet Russia to dominate the whole of Eastern Europe from Finland and East Prussia to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Being of the same race as Machiavelli, the Italians cannot conceal their admiration for the skill of Soviet Imperialism. But no hope whatever is held in Italy that Rumania will remain an independent State. The Romans believe that Hungary will be occupied by the Red Army. . . Russia endeavours to set up a Communist Government in Yugoslavia. They fear that even Austria may fall under the control of Moscow. This prospect terrifies them. Bolshevism on the Brenner would, they fear, mean Stalinism soon in Lombardy. In any event, they hope that the British Army will reach Austria before the Red Army and will instal there a democratic government under a monarchy. . . . In Rome it is hoped that the United States will support Great Britain in her next anti-Russian deal."

This is a dangerous drift, says *Free India*, and if these views of the ex-Ambassador are really shared by intelligent Americans also, sensational events would seem to be in store for the world.

THE TWO-NATION THEORY

Professor D. N. Banerjee, writing in the *Modern Review* for March, analyses Mr. Jinnah's contention of the two-nation theory and refutes his arguments *seriatim*. He examines their "history and tradition", their "names and nomenclatures", their "laws and customs" and finds nothing to justify Muslim pretensions to separate nationality. Finally he observes:

The only view, therefore, which can stand the scrutiny of logic, reason, and justice is that no part of India is the homeland of any particular community. India being the common motherland of all the communities that live within its boundary to-day, every part of it is the common homeland of all those communities. A contrary view is sure to lead to inter-communal bitterness and, ultimately, to a civil war in this country. A parrot-like repetition of an irrational view or slogan *ad nauseam* will not help anybody's cause, notwithstanding the philosophy of propaganda taught by Hitler and Goebbels. No one can befool all the people all the time.

Apart from this, insistence on the view that the Muslims of India constitute a separate nation distinct from the rest of the population of India will ultimately act as a boomerang to themselves.

Either the Muslims of India form a part of the population of India—and, therefore, form a part of the Indian people—or they do not. If they insist that they do not so form a part, while living within the geographic boundary of India, then the rest of the people of India cannot be blamed if they begin to look upon the Muslims as foreigners and aliens in India—at best *domiciled aliens*, to use a term of International Law. And such a view on their part is sure to have far-reaching economic and political consequences. The question is not one of sentiment, but of logic and reason. These non-Muslim Indians have been fighting and suffering during the last sixty years for the ending of one alien rule, namely, the rule of the British people over them. The Muslim separationists would be in a dreamland if they thought now that these non-Muslims would ever agree or submit, having regard to the record of Muslim rule in the past in relation to their culture, religion, temples, deities, art, and architecture, etc., to the imposition over them of another *alien* rule, namely, the rule of the Muslims in the proposed State of Pakistan. It would be too much to expect it.

We have already in India many absurdities, aays Mr. Banerjee.

We should not multiply them and make ourselves a laughing-stock of the whole civilized world, by creating a Hindu National State of India, a Muslim National State of India, a Sikh National State of India, etc,

INDIA'S STERLING ASSETS

One of the major economic consequences of the present war is the change in the position of India in the field of International finance. She has long been a debtor country and the foreign debt of the Government of India was over Rs. 400 crores before the present War, and every year she had to pay about £30,000,000 to Britain in addition to what the British investors in private enterprises in India were earning in the way of profits. During the present War, the Government has been able to liquidate most of the foreign liabilities, and the Reserve Bank of India has accumulated sterling assets worth about Rs. 1,200 crores.

Writing on this subject in the latest issue of *Triveni*, Dr. V. S. Krishna Rao says that the question of the liquidation of the sterling assets of India is to be decided by negotiation between India and Britain.

Britain would naturally press for the acceptance of goods spread over a large number of years, while the interest of India requires the conversion of at least a part of the balance into other currencies. As Britain is indebted in a similar way to several other countries, it is not possible for her to concede this to all her creditors but it should be emphasised that the case of India is a special one. Accumulation of sterling assets by countries like Australia and Canada did not involve so much suffering as in the case of India. The accumulated balances do not represent the voluntary savings of the Indian people and they are due to the encroachment on the consumption of the people which is already low. The only way in which this could be made good is by helping India to have an economic organisation that would ensure adequate living standards.

A satisfactory solution of the question depends on the co-operation of not only India and Britain but also the assistance of other countries like the U.S.A. The writer concludes:

The United Nations have decided, rightly or wrongly, that different international economic problems should be dealt with by different bodies after the War. They have agreed to have one body for Rehabilitation, another for monetary problems arising out of current trade transactions and a third for long-term lending. The settlement of war-time balances is one of the essential conditions for reconstructing world economy after the War, and so another international agreement is necessary on this question.

GOVERNMENT AND THE DEADLOCK

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, in an article in the *Spectator*, enlarges on the suggestion he recently put forward, that the British Government should make an announcement that they would be prepared to implement any agreed settlement that might be put up on behalf of India within a period of one year from the cessation of hostilities against Japan, but that, failing such a settlement within that period, His Majesty's Government would themselves place before Parliament proposals concerning the future constitution of India which would secure for India the position of equality with the Dominions.

Sir Zafrullah Khan, after stating that the British Government could not be acquitted of all responsibility for the Indian political deadlock, says:

It has been suggested that the period of one year within which the Indian parties would be asked to come to an agreement, is too short for the purpose. This overlooks the fact that the period is to run from the cessation of hostilities against Japan, and if an announcement of the kind suggested by me is made immediately, that would give at least two years to the parties in India to come to a settlement. The exact length of the period, however, is not material. What is desired is that the period should be definite and not too long. A period ending with December 31, 1947, would serve the purpose just as well.

Sir Muhammad adds:

Once India is placed in the same position as the Dominions, it should have the right of amending its own constitution in accordance with the procedure that might be laid down in the constitution itself. The object of this procedure should be to secure that an amendment should take place only with the consent of the various parties and interests concerned. All the necessary fact-finding has already been done, and a good deal of the labour spent upon framing the Government of India Act, 1935, could be drawn on in framing the new constitution. The Sapru Committee is also sitting, and its report may help to clarify the latest position taken up by the political parties in India.

Sir Muhammad goes on to add that the new constitution must leave the door open to Indian States to come into the picture if they so desire, but should not make the coming into force of the constitution conditional upon their consent or accession.

Again, safeguards for the protection of minorities, with regard to religion, culture, education and language must be so framed as to be capable of judicial determination, so that any breach or contravention of them may be set right by judicial action. There should be no room in the new constitution for Special Responsibilities of Governors and the Governor-General.

"It might be asked", Sir Muhammad says,

whether any constitution framed by Parliament to which the principal parties in India were not consenting parties, would have a fair chance of smooth working. Such a constitution would fail to give complete satisfaction, as the claims of every one of the parties would have to be subjected to a good deal of pruning to make them fit into any workable constitutional pattern. As the constitution would vest the power of amendment in the legislature set up by it, that should be an inducement to the political parties to start working it, so that, in due course, they might be able to give it the shape that they might agree upon among themselves. Nevertheless, there would be a certain amount of risk that some parties might not be willing to co-operate in working the new constitution. That consideration must be kept in mind by those who are actually engaged in framing the constitution, and it would, no doubt, result in the constitution being moulded into a pattern which might enable it to function even if some parties did hold aloof.

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AMERICAN EXPOSURE OF BRITISH PROPAGANDA

A revealing report of an interesting radio discussion by four persons arranged by the American Forum of the Air on "What's holding back India's Freedom?" has appeared in the press in India. The Indian case was well presented by American Socialists. There were four speakers, Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs to the British Embassy; Mr. Norman Thomas, a Socialist leader; Congressman Emanuel Geller of New York and Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Indian trade consultant and American correspondent of the Orient Press.

Sir Frederick boiled down his question to this:

Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British and under what arrangements? A problem in practical politics for Indians to solve.

Mr. Thomas followed him and said:

In the imagination of the world India long has been the crown and symbol of Empire. It is Imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people.

The third man to speak was Mr. Ahmad who spoke like a Muslim League propagandist and said:

The Muslims, the orthodox Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi-Nehru Congress party. I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India.

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit. He said:

Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of class and caste. I point these out because these are the very arguments that are advanced for keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared, ruled from above and from outside. An absentee-landlord sends its overseers —who must somehow manage to keep their jobs —to attend to the needs not of the inhabitants but of the employer, exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low; but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgable chasm exists in India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self-government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States than there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged.

RACIAL PROBLEM IN AMERICA

An editorial in a student publication at Williamburg in U.S.A. with the title "Lincoln's job half done", declares that Negroes differ from whites only "in surface characteristics" and should be permitted to "join the same clubs and marry among us." It adds: "Of course, this cannot be done to-day or to-morrow, but perhaps the next day. . . Neither they nor we are ready for it yet.

"Only chaos (such as the southern States experienced during the reconstruction) would result if such a plan were initiated before the Negroes and others were educated for it. . . . The myth of white supremacy is exactly the same as Hitler's contention of nordic supremacy—nonsense."

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

SOME ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PAKISTAN. By Dr. Radhakumnd Mookerji. [The Hindusthan, Vol. I, No. IV].

THE GANDHIAN PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By R. Vernon. [The New Review, March 1945].

AMERICANS LOOK TO INDIA. By Elizabeth Davidson. [Prabuddha Bharata, March 1945].

INDIA AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION. By K. N. Katju. [The XX Century, February 1945].

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Professor Amarnath Gupta. [The Hindustan Review, November-January].

POLITICAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA. By S. Mukhopadhyaya and Hsino Ling Wu. [The Modern Review, March 1945].

TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO EAST AND WEST. By Lawrence E. Moore. [The Aryan Path, March 1945].

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT. [The Voice of India, February 1945].

INDIAN STATES

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Hyderabad

THE TUNGABHADRA PROJECT

His Highness the Prince of Berar unveiled a pylon to commemorate the inauguration of the Tungabhadra Project on the Hyderabad side.

Replying to an address presented on the occasion, His Highness said that with the inauguration of the Tungabhadra Project, the harnessing of the waters of this river together with the completion of other similar schemes would usher in "an era charged with great possibilities of agricultural and industrial development in His Exalted Highness' Dominions. Areas irrigated by rivers have often been the cradles of human culture by reason of the prosperity accruing from the benefits of nature's bounty and there is every reason to hope that the waters of the Tungabhadra, spreading prosperity and navigation facilities and conveying light and power to town and country, will bring a new culture and a new standard of living to these lands in which conditions of chronic scarcity have hitherto caused much anxiety."

His Highness was glad that after negotiations lasting many years, difficulties were solved with a friendly exchange of views.

AMENDING ACTS

An amendment to the Hyderabad Legal Practitioners' Act, seeking to discourage legal practitioners of British India from practising in the Hyderabad High Court, has been referred to a select committee by the Hyderabad Legislative Council.

Another amendment which has been referred to the Secretary of the Judicial Department for report stressed that retired judges of the Hyderabad High Court should not be permitted to practise as legal practitioners after their retirement from office, except before the judicial committee.

Mysore

MYSORE D.P.I. FOR REORGANIZATION

Total expenditure on public instruction in Mysore State for the year ending June, 1944, according to the Government review of the report of the Department of Public Instruction, amounted to Rs. 8,97,200 as against Rs. 8,07,900 in the previous year.

In the course of his report, the Director of Public Instruction has stressed the need for the reorganization of the studies in high schools so as to provide such variety as would suit the main types of abilities and aptitudes of pupils on the one hand and the requirements of their after-school life on the other hand and for the necessity of trained teachers in the department for all grades of education. The Government say that these will be considered when proposals in the matter are submitted to them.

Referring to adult education in the State, the Government say that during the year under review a special grant of Rs. 80,000 was sanctioned to the Mysore State Literacy Council besides the continuance of the usual lump sum grant of Rs. 20,000 for carrying on the work of adult literacy in connection with the rural reconstruction drive in the selected hoblis (groups of villages) in the State. 1,133 adult literacy classes and 318 libraries were opened by the Literacy Council during the year.

EDUCATION & MEDICAL RESEARCH

In a Lashmipathi (of Madras), President of the National Council of Rural Reconsruction and Indo-Ceylon Goodwill Mission, will shortly be settling down to Bangalore as head of the Research Department of the Ayurvedic units to be run by the Government of Mysore with Bangalore as their headquarters.

Baroda

BARODA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The first session of the Baroda State Women's Conference was inaugurated at Baroda, on March 10, by Her Highness Maharani Shanta Devi Gaekwad, Mrs. Hansa Mehta presiding.

Her Highness, in her address, welcomed the idea of all women's institutions in the State amalgamating and becoming a branch of the All-India Women's Conference. She referred to the proud record of Baroda of half a century of reform for the uplift of women's status and its readiness for further progress whenever needed. She emphasised the important role of the home in life and observed, "one good mother is worth a thousand schoolmasters". The present war, she said, had proved that women could do men's task bravely and creditably over and above their own.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, as an old Barodaite, spoke of the good work done in the State for the uplift of women and appealed to the audience to convey to every door the message of the All-India Women's Conference, namely, equal rights. She advised them to develop a sense of individuality and be economically self-reliant. Reminding them of the various problems of life such as food-supply, education, practical knowledge, etc., she emphasised that women should evince ever greater interest in the solution of these problems, so that women as a class might achieve real progress.

Mrs. Chanchalben Parikh, welcoming the delegates, read out messages of good wishes received from many.

Kashmir

KASHMIR INFANTRY IN BURMA

News has reached this country of the glorious part played by the 4th Jammu and Kashmir Infantry on the Burma Front. Leading the attacks on Vital Corner, Kennedy Peak and Fort White, this Infantry, now serving with the 5th Indian Division, also participated in the famous advance from Tiddim, which resulted in the final link-up with the East Africans near Kelemyo.

This battalion joined the division just before the capture of Tiddim. Shortly afterwards it became the spearhead of the division's advance and though ground and fighting conditions were entirely new to the men, they acquitted themselves with great credit.

At Kennedy Peak one company of the battalion captured a Japanese 75 mm. gun and considerable quantities of ammunition and stores. Another company pushed forward seven miles the same day to a feature known as Elephant, where Jap resistance stiffened and three attacks had to be put in before the enemy were routed.

The battalion did not give the Japs any rest, and through their efforts the enemy were forced to evacuate Fort White, leaving behind quantities of stores and two anti-aircraft guns undamaged.

KASHMIR CONSTITUTION ACT

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has amended the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act. By virtue of this amendment, both the popular Ministers, Mr. Mha. Beg and Wazir Ganga Ram, recently appointed from amongst the members of the Praja Sabha, will retain their seats in the State Assembly.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE CATTLE

An encouraging account of what is being done in Travancore to improve the quality of its cattle appears in the current edition of the *Travancore Information and Listener.*

Experiments have been carried out to discover the best type of bulls to raise the quality of the local stock. Bulls from adjoining Provinces and States were not wholly satisfactory, so the Travancore Agricultural Department went further afield until it discovered a type of Sindhi bull which, crossed with the local cattle, has sired very healthy calves. Now a stud bull farm has been opened for the breeding of pure Sindhi bull calves.

An interesting development in Travancore has been the adoption of a milk-recording scheme, as sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. Cows which conform to the standard aimed at are registered and the milk yield recorded under the direction of the Imperial Council.

CONTRIBUTION TO WAR FUND

The Maharaja has donated a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund on the occasion of the visit of Lord and Lady Wavell to the State.

Another sum of Rs. 1 lakh was donated by Her Highness the Maharani for the same object and a cheque for this was handed over to Her Excellency Lady Wavell.

Kathiawar

FOOD PROBLEM IN KATHIAWAR

Kathiawar, the land of small States, has in recent months experienced acute food shortage and thanks to the recent decision of the Government to supply food-grains to Kathiawar the food crisis has been averted. The problems of growing more food crops and equitable distribution of food-grains are naturally the most important problems to be tackled and Rajkot State, the nerve centre of Kathiawar, has given a lead in the matter as can be seen from the following paragraphs.

Immediately after rice imports were stopped and the State could not get suffitient supplies, the cultivators were asked to grow more paddy and a crop of 46,092 maunds was produced in 1944 as compared to 15,842 maunds in the previous year. Rajkot requires about 1¼ lakh of maunds per year and it is hoped to make the State self-sufficient in a few years.

Cultivators have been discouraged from growing commercial crops like groundnut and those who brought waste lands under cultivation of food crops are exempted from irrigation charges. Facilities for credit in the form of loans are given by the Agricultural Bank of the State. The State has also agreed to purchase surplus crops from cultivators. Difficulties of marketing and the unsocial activities of middlemen have been reduced to the minimum.

Indore

INDORE TENT WORKERS

The workers in tent factories at Indore, who were on strike in October and December, 1944, for about three weeks altogether, will get an increase in their wages.

In this war industry labourers are not directly employed by Government contractors. They are engaged by sub-contractors and that too on piece-work basis. The matter was, however, sympathetically taken up by the Commerce Department of the State and settlement has been arrived at whereby the workers will receive an increase of 18¾ per cent. in their wages with restrospective effect from November 1, 1944. This is the second conciliation of its kind in Indore by mutual agreement, the first being one regarding compensation for involuntary unemployment in mills due to coal shortage.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

The Liberal Federation, which met at Lahore in the third week of last month, passed a resolution demanding for Indians in S. Africa full citizenship rights. Deploring the failure of the Government of the Union of S. Africa to abolish the Pegging Act, the resolution stated in part:

In view of the uncompromising attitude of the Government of S. Africa towards the legitimate demands of India, the Federation feels that it was a mistake on the part of the Governmet of India to have sent the High Commissioner to S. Africa and it urges the Government of India to recall the High Commissioner forthwith and to adopt all fiscal and commercial sanctions against S. Africa until the Pegging Act is abolished.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir moving the resolution, said India was unanimously agreed on this question. The new High Commissioner should never have been sent to S. Africa. It was unfortunate that the Government of India should not have seen their way to accepting this unanimous proposal. This was a gesture which could not have harmed anyone. Government should have bowed to the public opinion.

Urging economic sanctions agatnst S. Africa, Sir Cowasji said their countrymen in S. Africa were prepared to undergo the hardships and losses following the application of such a measure against the S. African Government. As a matter of fact, they themselves had suggested this. A certain amount of inconvenience might be caused to some industries in this country in regard to imports of certain things from S. Africa but this was a question of the honour of their country, and no small considerations should come in their way. The Government of India must respect the wishes of the people of India in this matter, and apply economic sanctions against S. Africa.

The debate in the Assembly and the strong words used against Dr. Khare, the Commonwealth Member by Mr. Liquat Ali Khan and others reveal the strength of feeling on the subject in India.

U.S.A.

U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

The text of President Roosevelt's letter sent to Mr. Samuel Dickstein, Chairman of the House of Representatives Immigration Committee, which is studying the legislation on Indian immigration, reads:

I regard this legislation as important and desirable and I believe that its enactments will help us to win the war and establish a secure peace.

I am sure your committee is aware of the great services which India has rendered to United Nations in the war against the Axis. The Indian Army, raised entirely by voluntary enlistments, has fought with skill and courage in Europe, Africa and Asia. India has also furnished and will continue to furnish a substantial amount of raw materials and manufactured products of great assistance in prosecuting the war.

The present statutory provisions that discriminate against persons of East Indian descent provoke ill-feeling, now serve no useful purpose and are inconsistent with the dignity of both our peoples.

East Indian persons would be approximately 100 immigrants yearly. There can be no real danger that this small number of immigrants will cause unemployment or provide competition in search for jobs.

It is my hope that Congress will take steps to remove the present provisions of our immigration and naturalisation laws that discriminate against persons of East Indian descent.

Testifying before the House Immigration and Naturalisation Committee, Representative Celler, co-author of the Bill with representative Luce affirmed the need for quick passage of the Bill.

As we go to press, we learn that the House Immigration Committee voted by ten votes to six to postpone consideration indefinitely of the Indian Immigration Bill.

Unexpectedly strong opposition was encountered in the executive session of the Committee from the Republican members who held that Indian immigration and naturalisation would provide too much cheap labour in the United States.

It is understood, however, that the Democratic Representative, Mr. Emmanuel Celler and other supporters of his Bill will continue to present various alternatives and will try to get positive action as soon as possible.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

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SETTLEMENT IN INDIA

The present Indian deadlock is "a disaster even from the Imperial standpoint", says one of Britain's leading experts on India, Mr. Edward Thompson, in a letter to the *Times*, of March 20.

He adds:

In the post-war world, unless we enter it with a willingly united community of people, it will be only by courtesy that we shall rank as equals in strength and authority with the U. S. S. R. and the United States. We cannot afford to go forward with India resentful. It is a mistake to imagine that only Congress leaders are estranged from us.

In its leader on the subject, the *Times*, summarising the correspondence that has appeared in its columns, makes these two points:

(1) Britain must bear the responsibility of taking such action as may be necessary to secure effective execution of her declared policy towards India; (2) the present reliance upon the Cripps offer in its "take it or leave it" spirit no longer suffice.

The *Times* comments:

This is, in fact, fraught with peril to Indo-British co-operation both during and after the war. There is a general conviction that it is for this country to take the political initiative.

The *Times* continues:

The suggestions for positive action appear to fall under two main headings. First, it is proposed that Britain should now begin a gradual remodelling of the structure, staffing and procedure of the Governmental machine in preparation for a complete transfer of power to Indian hands, and secondly, that Britain should approach the communal problem from a new angle, namely, that the persistence of antagonisms now sundering the parties and interests of India constitutes a reproach to British as well as to Indian statesmanship—a reproach which both countries must co-operate in removing as an essential preliminary to India's assumption of her new position in the world, Britain, in pursuance of her declared policy, must work to this end no less zealously than India.

CENSURE ON VICEROY'S COUNCIL

By 61 votes to 53, the Central Assembly, on March 9, passed the Congress Party's cut motion to censure the Viceroy's Executive Council by reducing the demand under "Executive Council" to one rupee.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, ridiculed the claims of Indian Members of the Council that they had acted, patriotically and asserted that they had acted in a manner that was a standing disgrace. The confidence of the people was *the real measure of patriotism* and none of the Indian Members had this: indeed, said Mr. Desai amidst laughter, in the case of one or two of them, their own families did not agree with them!

To what purpose were the two and a *half million Indian troops being used*, asked Mr. Desai.

For whose democracy were they shedding their blood? We are willing to undertake the responsibility for fighting if only we are fighting for our freedom along with the freedom of others.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, criticising the present Government, said:

Give up this pretence. . . . The world knows that the Government of India has neither the backing nor the goodwill nor the co-operation of the people.

INDIA AND WORLD SECURITY

An official report issued after twelve days' private meeting of the British Commonwealth Relations Conference declared that Members of the Commonwealth should "re-examine their own attitude on racial questions and treatment of dependent peoples." The report said, this was essential because of "our challenge to the doctrine of master race and our espousal of the cause of humanity regardless of race or creed."

The Conference also recognised the vitally important role that India plays in Commonwealth communications and strategy.

Utterances of the Day

MR. T. R. V. SASTRI'S PLEA

Presiding over the Silver Jubilee Session of the Liberal Federation at Lahore, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri asked for an immediate declaration by the British Government granting the status of Dominion Status to India and urged the release of political prisoners and Congress detenus to facilitate a solution of the political deadlock in India. He said:

The Government must immediately declare that India shall have the status of a Dominion at the end of the war. The Cripps offer contained that declaration, and the answers of Sir Stafford Cripps to questions put to him, made it clear that the status of India shall be the same as that of the other dominions, and that India shall have the same right, either to remain within the Commonwealth or leave it.

That declaration must be made forthwith, and implemented so far as possible by the British Government now. The intricacy of the problems in other countries did not bar them from taking steps when the war is on, and the Indian problem presents no features more difficult to resolve than the problems they are solving now elsewhere.

The Governor-General should have released political prisoners and Congress detenus long ago. As soon as it was reasonably clear that public security no longer demanded their detention, they should have been released. Neither the public peace nor the safety of the State any longer requires their detention.

For a solution of the deadlock, mutual consultations between the members of the Working Committee of the Congress is necessary, and their continuance in gaol and the refusal of the Government to allow mutual consultation only adds to the difficulties in the way of finding a solution.

Mr. Sastriar concluded:

As for Britain's attitude to the future of India, words promise but action denies. Words uttered in adversity are forgotten on the turn of the wheel of fortune. Conduct seems to reinforce the assertion: 'what we have we hold.' But, some leaders of thought in England have deplored this attitude, and have urged the need to give independence to India. An independent India will be an asset even in the present war against Japan.

Everything plainly indicates the need for unity and the united effort of all parties in India. None but the wilfully blind can fail to see it.

PROF. RUSSELL ON INDIA POLICY

Bertram Russell, addressing the Cambridge University India Mijles, said:

I hope there will then be a new departure of British policy in India. We are all agreed. It is impossible to keep up our position in India; even if it is possible, it is neither justified nor desirable. Of course, in the war, people have to surrender their liberties as we have done in this country. That also applies to India. But as soon as we have got a Government of the people with liberal-mindedness we can demand we want a change for the better of India and set to work for that change. I know of the Cripps offer. I know it is still there. I know the offer of Dominion Status as soon as the war is over. But it is not what we want to do. The question is what does the Indian want? At any rate, it is felt by the vast majority of Indians and by many other people, especially by the people of the U.S. that our promise is not honest, that we do not mean to keep our undertaking. Indians and many people in the U.S. want *unequivocal, definite and unambiguous* declaration for India. Therefore, if I were a part of the Government, I should announce immediately at a certain date, say, 12 months after the end of the Japanese war, we, British, shall wash our hands of India. I should announce that now, so that Indians may have plenty of time to get together and see how best they can work together.

What kind of Government for India? I do not think we should be too much hampered by the differences in India. After all, they are there everywhere, as they are among our own people. But, because we have differences, nobody here wants the foreigners to settle our differences. That applies to India. It is for Indians to settle their differences. It is not any of our business. I should, therefore, announce that 12 months after the Japanese war, we shall abandon our responsibilities for India.

I do not think we ought to insist on the Dominion Status idea. That India should become a Dominion is futile and quite contrary to her geographical necessity. Other dominions had historical affinity with us, but India culturally has not and won't belong to us. Her affinity will be with Asiatic countries; her history and culture are contrary to ours. Moreover, it is a pity to ignore one of the most important factors. It is that this Dominion Status gives the right to secede and everyone knows ndians will exercise it and use it to quit from the empire. Make no mistake about it. So, why should we have this futile process when we know fully well that India will get out of empire? At least you will get a situation similar to that of Southern Ireland. The Irish have been given nominally Dominion Status. Though for all practical purposes this has done no good to anybody, the Irishmen are outside the empire except for their passports only, which facilitate their coming to Britain.

Political

PROF. ABDUL MAJID'S HOPE

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan, in a statement to the Press on the defeat of the Frontier Ministry on the no-confidence motion, says:

The liberty-loving Pathans of the Frontier Province have done well in censuring and throwing out the Muslim League Ministry, which has all along been a minority Ministry. The defeat of the Pakistani Ministry is a clear vindication of the fact that the Frontier Province is solidly behind the Congress; that the little finger of the Mahatma is the mightiest force indeed and that in a predominantly Muslim Province the feeble voice of Gandhiji still drowns the strident bugle of the vivisectionists, who in reality, are out and out reactionaries. The protagonists of Pakistan are now realising that it is utterly impossible to keep the people off the right for a long time simply by stunts and slogans. The brave Pathans know that who only the Congress and no other party left the Congress has struggled ceaselessly for the emancipation of India and that the Muslim League is simply out to strengthen the foundation of British Imperialism, by widening the gulf between the two major communities of this country. It is being increasingly felt that the fissures in the Pakistan fortress have become irreparable and that ere long the communal castle will completely collapse.

THE BIHAR INTERNEES

The home internment orders issued by the Government of Bihar on five members of the Congress, Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, ex-Premier. Mr. Anugraha Narayan Sinha, former Finance Minister, Professor Abdul Bari, Deputy Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, Mr. Murli Manohar Prasad, Editor of the *Searchlight*, and Pandit P. Misra were withdrawn on March 13.

The Government's decision to withdraw the internment order on the five Congressmen followed an interview, Mr. Anugraha Narayan Sinha had with Mr. R. E. Russell, Adviser to the Governor and the Chief Secretary, at which Mr. Sinha clarified certain points sought by the Government.

The Provincial Government have issued a *communique* announcing their decision to cancel the internment order and publishing the correspondence that passed between them and the interned leaders.

CONGRESS & CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

"Congressmen, whose only calling is service of the people, will serve mutely and without caring for the consequences that may befall them by reason of their service. That is the true meaning of do or die," Mahatma Gandhi observed in a Press statement regarding the ban on constructive workers of Akola and elsewhere.

Mahatma Gandhi says:

A Conference of Congress workers, limited in numbers and by special invitation, was recently banned in Akola by the District Magistrate. The order is reported to say that discussion will take place among other subjects on the work and programme of the Congress, particularly in villages.

It passes comprehension how a Conference, where only discussion could take place, can "hamper the prosecution of the war" or how the constructive programme, no matter how influentially worked, can hamper the prosecution of the war.

REPEAL THE ORDINANCES

Speaking during the debate on the Finance Bill in the Assembly, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari stated that it was made clear from answers to questions in the House that certain ordinances would remain part of the permanent structure of law in this country.

He added that a Committee should be appointed to investigate whether it was still necessary for all the ordinances to stand, or whether some of them could be repealed. They could, for instance, repeal the ordinances of August 15, 1942, which empowered members of the Allied forces to put civilians to death under certain circumstances.

NATIONAL WAR FRONT

The Central Assembly passed a resolution by 55 votes to 43, asking for the abolition of the National War Front. The Government announced a new scheme in which emphasis would be shifted to Informative and Factual Propaganda regarding nation-building activities. The administrative control of the new organisation would be under Provincial Governments.

Educational

BETTERING THE LOT OF TEACHERS

"If we desire to have an organised system of education in this country, we ought to have 22 lakhs of teachers, whereas at present we have, in British India, only 521,000 teachers of all grades", said Mr. M. S. Sundaram, who is shortly proceeding to America as the Educational Liaison Officer to the Government of India in the U.S.A. addressing a meeting of teachers, at Madras.

Mr. Sundaram said that the teacher was as much a professional man as a lawyer, a doctor or an engineer, and the belief that any man who knew anything could become a teacher, was as absurd as saying that anyone who knew anything about hygiene or physiology or blood circulation could treat patients. They, in this country, were not lacking in man-power or in woman-power: but one would like to ask what prevented them from being attracted to the teaching profession. He would say that so long as teachers were not regarded as highly respected members of society but remained as under-dogs, and teaching was looked upon as the last of the professions which mattered, no one would be attracted to it voluntarily.

MOTHER TONGUE AS MEDIUM

"I have no doubt whatsoever that if those who have the education of the youth in their hands will but make up their minds, they will discover that the mother tongue is as natural for the development of the man's mind as mother's milk is for the development of the infant's body," writes Mahatma Gandhi in a foreword to a revised brochure, entitled "The Medium of Instruction," brought out by Principal S. N. Aggarwal.

"How can it be otherwise?" asks Mahatma Gandhi. "The babe takes its first lesson from its mother. I, therefore, regard it as a sin against the motherland to inflict upon her children a tongue other than their mother's for their mental development."

TECHNICAL TRAINING FOR INDIANS

The first batch of students was expected to go abroad for technical education in the early autumn this year, said Mr. J. D. Tyson in reply to Mr. T. S. A. Chettiar in the Central Assembly on March 13.

So far as students sent abroad in 1945-46 for technical courses were concerned, the Central Government would meet the entire cost in respect of those who were sent with a view to meeting the requirements of the Centrally-administered areas. They would meet half the cost in respect of students sent on behalf of Provincial Governments.

The number of students to be sent under these different categories would be decided after the requirements of all the Provincial Governments and departments of the Central Government had been ascertained.

The selection would be made by a special Board which would be appointed by the Government of India for this purpose.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Sir S. Radhakrishnan will resume his duties as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions at Oxford and proceed to Oxford at the end of April for a three months' stay in Britain. He has been exempted from residence for the duration of the war, and will continue as Vice-Chancellor of Benares University.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

The Bengal Government have appointed a committee, with the Director of Public Instruction as chairman, to consider and make proposals for the development of higher engineering and technical education in the Province, with special reference to the expansion of facilities now provided.

Legal

AGRICULTURISTS' DEBT RELIEF ACT

A full Bench of the Madras High Court consisting of their Lordships, the Hon. Sir Lionel Leach, Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Wadsworth and Mr. Lakshmana Rao, answered a reference which related to the question whether the Madras Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act (Act IV of 1939) could cover promissory notes debts within the Negotiable Instruments Act.

Their Lordships, after hearing the reference, observed that if Sections 7, 8, 9. and 13 of the Madras Act IV offended against Sections 32, 78 and 90 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, "we must in view of judgment of the Federal Court hold that the Act was ultra vires' to that extent. It is obvious that these sections of the Madras Act do run counter to sections of the Negotiable Instruments Act enumerated and therefore we feel constrained to hold that the latest decisions of the Federal Court governs the matter. That is the answer we give to the question referred."

PLEA FOR COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE

Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor of the *Indian Review*, Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor, *The Hindu*, and Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor, *Swadesamitran*, have sent a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy pleading for the commutation of the death penalty awarded to the accused in the Kulasekharapatnam Rioting case.

A telegram to H. E. Viceroy "praying for the commutation of the death penalty of Kasinathan and Rajagopalan, prisoners in Kulasekharapatnam, Case" has been sent also by the President of the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation.

SIR S. VARADACHARIAR

Sir S. Varadachariar, Judge of the Federal Court of India, has been elected an Honorary Master of the Bench of the Inner Temple. This is stated to be a unique distinction for a Judge in India.

DR. SAPRU ON THE SINGLE BAR

In the course of an address to the Madras Advocates' Association on March 13, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru stressed the need for a single Bar. He said that they should try to evolve an All-India constitution for the bar. If the members of the Bar were an evil they were an indispensable and inevitable evil to be put up with. In nearly every country, where the liberty of the people was concerned, the leaders had always been drawn from the legal profession.

Paying a tribute to the Madras Bar, the speaker said, "I recognise in the Madras Bar, a senior Bar of India: Madras has been in several branches our educator."

JUDGE'S CONSCIENCE ACQUITS

Mr. Uttam Chand Kaka, a prominent Congressman who was being tried in the court of the Sub-Judge, Mr. Ghaznavi, for having read the Independence Pledge on January 26, has been acquitted.

The magistrate told Mr. Uttam Chand: "The Crown counsel has urged three years' rigorous imprisonment for you, but my conscience feels that you are not guilty; hence I acquit you."

Reading of the Pledge had been prohibited by the Government of Sind by by an order passed under Rule 56 of the the Defence of India Rules banning meetings and processions on January 26.

MR. N. P. ENGINEER

The appointment of Mr. Engineer, Advocate-General of Bombay, to be the Advocate-General of India, comes as the climax of a very distinguished legal career.

Mr. Engineer started as a solicitor in Bombay about 35 years ago, like the late Right Hon. Sir Dinshaw Mulla; and, like him, some years later was admitted as an advocate of the High Court, where he soon established a commanding and lucrative practice. In 1936 he was appointed an additional judge of the Bombay Hight Court, and in 1942 he was appointed Advocate-General of Bombay.

Insurance

OVER-ALL COST OF INSURANCE

Mr. J. C. Setalvad, in a statement on the limitation of over-all cost proposed by the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly for Life and General Insurance Companies working in India, says :

"In view of the difficult problems the Indian Insurance business is facing and is likely to face in future, it is imperative that a reasonable form of limitation is imposed statutorily, providing the limits beyond which the expenses of insurers should not exceed. The position at present of Indian life insurance is weak. Of the 159 offices whose valuations have been recorded in the Insurance Year Book, 31 offices showed a deficit, 56 offices showed a nominal valuation surplus, and 22 offices showed a surplus. It is well known that 90 per cent. of the business is on a participating basis, for which privilege the insured pays substantially higher premium than is justified for his basic contract. It is correct therefore to say that of the 159 offices, as many as 137 offices showed an actual or a *de facto* deficit.

This is due to the following two factors, *viz*, (1) net interest earning capacity of insurance offices being sharply reduced and (2) expenses of management of most of the offices being far in excess of the provisions included in the premium rates. Unless the position is radically readjusted, it is apprehended that not only will most of the offices who have shown real or *de facto* deficit continue to do so but many of the 22 offices who showed, at their preceding valuation, a surplus, will either show a real or *de facto* deficit. This is a very grave position, and if the life offices who are trustees of the policy-holders are anxious to fulfil their obligations, it is imperative that the whole business must be rationalised, and expenses reduced to the level implied in the premium rates. This can only be done by fixing a statutory maximum, keeping in view the size of offices, beyond which insurers should not spend. In this process of readjustment, the insurers should set aside their domestic differences of opinion and adjust the cost between the various interests, concerned, *viz.*, the agents, chief agents and the management. General insurance business is a powerful arm of the national economy of every industrialised country. India has been an importer of insurance, and this has resulted in an unfavourable balance of payment to the extent of about a crore of rupees every year. To correct the position from this point of view, it is necessary that India should have a well organised indigenous insurance market conducted on sound financial principles, which will offer an unquestionable security to the insuring public and which will command the respect of the international insurance market. In the present conditions under which the business is conducted, this is not possible.

INSURANCE POLICY COMMITTEE

The Government of India has summoned meetings of the Post-war Insurance Policy Committee in Bombay and will deal with the proposal for post-war reconstruction.

Interest to the controversy regarding limitation of over-all expenditure has been added by the decisions of the seventeenth annual session of Indian Life Assurance Offices' Association held in New Delhi on March 6 and 7. It is learnt that the Conference by a big majority adopted a resolution welcoming the principle of limitation of over-all expenditure for betterment of Indian insurance. Suggestions were made for the limitation of chief agent's commission and were adopted. Regarding licensed agents, the Conference was unanimous that renewal commission should not be reduced and that the existing percentage should be continued.

Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan, Superintendent of Insurance, Central Government, will preside.

Trade and Finance

INDIAN DELEGATION AT CANBERRA

The Indian Industrial Delegation reached Canberra on March 11.

The delegation leader, Mr. Datar Singh told the Australian Cabinet at a luncheon in Parliament House that India felt she was in a position to supply Australia's textile requirements replacing Japan during post-war years.

Indian textiles should be given the same preference as other British countries. Closer economic co-operation was necessary. Mr. Datar Singh said he was convinced that there were great trade increase possibilities.

The mission had for its main objective:
Firstly, to determine how far Australia could provide India with capital and consumer goods immediately and in the post-war period but immediate action was necessary;

Secondly, to discuss the possibillties of a trade pact between Australia and India similar to that with New Zealand and Canada;

Thirdly to explore the establishment of direct shipping lines between the two countries;

Fourthly, development of textile trade replacing Japan with preference given to India the same as other countries of the British Commonwealth;

Fifthly, to arrange for the exchange of techinicians and students.

Premier Curtin said that the possibility of trade development between the two countries was great. He hoped that the mission's efforts would be successful. "Australia," he said, "regards India as a brother in the welfare of the British Common-wealth and anything we can do will be done willingly."

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

Sir Cyril Jones, Finance Secretary announced in reply to Raja Yuvaraj Dutta Singh that the Government of India contemplated sending a delegation from India at a suitable time to discuss with His Majesty's Government the problem of the liquidation of the Sterling Balances.

THE MADRAS BUDGET

As the Legislature is not functioning, the budget of the Government of Madras for 1945-46 has been issued to the public in the form of a press communique.

The budget estimate for all the standing activities of the Government in the coming year shows a total revenue of Rs.41,25,29 lakhs and a total expenditure of Rs. 40,45,14 lakhs, leaving a net surplus of Rs. 80,15 lakhs.

The communique states that the Government have made a much larger provision for new schemes of expenditure in 1945-46 than they have done in previous years during the war. A sum of Rs. 55,43 lakhs is provided for the introduction of free compulsory elementary education in selected areas in each district. Provision is also made for additional grants to local bodies amounting to Rs. 133 59 lakhs.

The provision made in the budget for capital expenditure (excluding the net outlay on State Trading Schemes) is Rs. 175 62 lakhs, of which Rs. 172.22 lakhs represents remunerative expenditure. It includes Rs. 62.50 lakhs for the Tungabhadra Project and Rs. 37 lakhs for electricity schemes.

"BUY BRITISH" PROPAGANDA

"Buy British" will soon be heard again in 26 countries outside the European battle area. Thus did the British Government reply to month-old complaints, mainly by the London *Daily Mail*, that it was letting United States business men get the jump in capturing export markets disrupted by the war, states a report.

Travelling under expedited passports, hundreds of salesmen and other trade representatives have already left England, so Under-Secretary for Overseas Trade Harcourt Johnstone disclosed. They will prepare the ground for the day when British goods become available for export.

Women's Page

WOMEN IN COAL MINES

Mrs. Renuka Ray moved in the Assembly a cut to discuss the need for the immediate re-imposition of the ban on the employment of women underground in coal mines.

She said that there had been consistent and insistent protest throughout the country. Last year, when the question was raised in the House, Government gave the assurance that it was only a temporary measure and that the ban would be re-imposed, but it appeared the Government had no such intention.

Dr. Ambedkar said that he felt very unhappy in taking the decision to employ women underground, but circumstances were such that it was impossible to take any other action. He referred to the situation arising from the fall in coal production since 1941 and said that in our own country women did work in mines as early as 1937. The Government of India had taken steps from 1929 to close the employment of women underground and had prescribed how each year the number of women employed should be reduced. According to that programme no women would work underground after 1977. This decision was taken long before the international labour convention was passed.

The All-India Women's Council, at its meeting in December 1934, dealt with the disadvantages of Government's proposals for the restriction of women labour in mines and came to the conclusion that if the women were removed from underground work, the conditions of distress would be so great in the miner's homes that it would far outweigh the advantages. The A.-I.W.C. however, decided to support the international convention, notwithstanding the fact that they saw grave objection to the course pursued by the Government of India.

The cut-motion was carried without a division.

GIRLS IN CHRISTIAN COLLEGES

There are 304 more women students studying in the colleges than there were in 1942, says the *N. C. C. Review*. There are 101 more Christian women studying in the colleges than there were in that year. The only colleges that have no women students are St. Paul's, St. Columba's St. John's, Palamcotah.

There are 12 colleges that have women students which provide no hostel accommodation for them. But in every case the number of women in these colleges is still quite small. When the numbers, especially of Christian girls, increase, colleges provide hostel accommodation and supervision by a qualified women member of the staff. Wilson College, which has a far larger number of women students than any other college, 340, has a hostel in which 33 students can stay; of them 11 are Christians and 22 non-Christians. The women students have separate facilities for badminton and tennis, and they have a physical training instructress. Similarly, the Scottish Church College has 156 women students, and of these 45 are in hostels with suitable facilities and supervision. In the *Andhra* Christian College, out of 97 women students 48 are in residence and of them 45 are Christians. There are 112 women students in Kottayam College; of these 101 are Christians and 54 are in hostels.

A BHARATPUR NOTIFICATION

In Bharatpur State old widowers will not be allowed to marry young girls. It is understood that the Bharatpur State has issued a notification which says that no Hindu widowers above 50 will be allowed to marry a woman below 25. The notification also bans dowry, and announces that defaulters will be sentenced to two years' imprisonment or a fine up to Rs. 1,000 or both.

Literary

LIBRARIES IN LIBERATED AREAS

An organisation has been set up in the U.S.A. to provide books for devastated libraries in the liberated areas. The Germans have destroyed priceless volumes but, fortunately, copies of many exist. Every effort is being made to supply these books without delay.

While in the U.S.A. educational foundations, libraries and cultural societies have united to supply books to liberated areas, little has been done in other Allied countries. It is suggested that similar attempts be made to find books for devastated libraries and for areas which are short of books.

In fact, what is needed to-day is an exchange between nations of books which represent their culture and tradition. This would pave the way for international understanding.

HINDI IN THE ASSEMBLY

Mr. Rajmal, referring to Sir Cowasji Jehangir's remark in connection with his Hindi speech in the Assembly, said it was strange that in the Assembly in his own country he was not allowed to speak his own language.

Sir Cowasji intervening explained that he had not objected to the Hindi speech, but there was no arrangement for recording it.

The President, Sir Abdur Rahim, speaking in Hindustani, pointed out that no objection had been raised to his speaking in Hindi.

LORD ALFRED DOUGLAS

Lord Alfred Douglas, scholar and poet, died last month in London at the age of 74. He was the eldest surviving son of the eighth Marquis of Queensberry. He figured in several law suits and in 1923 was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for a criminal libel on Mr. Churchill.

A poet of both light and serious works, Lord Douglas has been described as the greatest master of his age of English sonnet. He wrote a large number of works and was a close friend of Bernard Shaw.

Personal

LORD WAVELL AND SIR JOHN COLVILLE

His Majestey's Government have invited His Excellency Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to come to London by air for personal consultations. His Excellency left for London on March 21.

His Majesty the King has approved that during His Excellency's absence, His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, who is the senior Privy Councillor among the Presidency Governors, should act as Governor-General and Crown Representative and that Sir Henry Knight should act as Governor of Bombay during the absence of Sir John Colville.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO SAN FRANCISCO

The Government of India have been invited to take part in the Conference to be held shortly in London and San Francisco on the world security organisation, says a *communique*.

The Governor-General-in-Council has selected the Hon'ble Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar and the Hon'ble Sir Firoz Khan Noon as two of India's representatives, and at the invitation of His Excellency the Crown representative, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari has agreed to serve as the third. The Hon'ble Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar will lead the delegation.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the Agent-General for India in Chungking, who is now on leave in India, will be the head of the Secretariat attached to the delegaton.

WILLIAM PHILIPS

Mr. William Philips has resigned as the President's Personal Representative with the Indian Government with the personal rank of Ambassador. Mr. Phillips' resignation, it is said, was due to the illness of his wife. He will continue to work with the State Department "in connection with important matters in relation to the Department and Foreign service."

OPTHALMOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

The Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, inaugurated the Eighth Conference of the All-India Ophthalmological Society at Hyderabad (Deccan) on March 8.

The Nawab said that the science they practised was comparatively young and had still great potentialities. He advised them to realise the vastness of the task confronting them, for its magnitude was such that their best endeavours could but touch the fringe of the problem. He realised that they were working against heavy odds with the prevailing dearth of specialised practitioners and well-eqnipped eye hospitals, and trusted that co-ordination of the labours of individual workers would help in combating the existing obstacles. The Nawab of Chhatari hoped that the conference would prove to be the best means of effecting such co-ordination.

The Nawab of Chhatari assured the conference of every help from H. E. H. the Nizam's Government in furthering the task of the Society.

An appeal in the name of the Society to the public, rich and poor alike, to will away their eyes on death for the purpose of transplantation, was made by Dr. E. V. Srinivasan, presiding over the conference. Dr. Srinivasan said that if there was a response to the appeal, it will become "an easy matter for choosing a great number of blind persons and making attempts to restore their vision."

THE PASSING OF LORD DAWSON

Lord Dawson of Penn, the King's personal Physician, died in London on March 7.

Lord Dawson, who was 79, had been physician to more Royal personages than any other man. He attended on Edward VII in 1907 and continued his duties to George V, Edward VIII, when he was Prince of Wales, and the present King, George VI. He attended on Queen Alexandra, Princess Victoria, Princess Arthur of Connaught, Queen Maud of Norway and the Princess Royal.

Health

MILK DIET FOR CHILDREN

What is more suited to children's diet, buffalo milk or skimmed milk powder? Buffalo's milk has a high fat content, while skimmed milk is rich in mineral content and protein.

Dr. R. Naidu, head of the Radium and Research Department, Tata Memorial Hospital, maintains that a mixture of equal quantities of buffalo milk and skimmed milk powder is not only ideal for a child's milk diet but is also cheap. Compared with the practice of adding water to reduce the high fat content of buffalo's milk, this is a better method.

Dr. B. C. Das Gupta, Executive Health Officer, Bombay Municipality, holds the view that infants up to the age of one require fat content in their milk but those going to school could easily do with skimmed milk. From this it appears that Dr. Naidu's suggestion should be implemented.

If a mixture of buffalo's milk and skimmed milk powder could have been used to implement the cheap milk scheme for children, then many will feel that the municipality might have done better on this issue. If such a mixture had been used from the start, much of the present troubles over Bombay's milk supply might have been avoided.

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR PUNJAB WORKERS

The Speaker of the Punjab Assembly has admitted the notice of a Bill for the coming session of the Legislature, providing for a scheme of voluntary and compulsory health insurance of workers of the age of 16 and above, receiving wages less than Rs. 100 per mensem.

The Bill seeks to give to workers medical treatment allowances and payments to their wives at the rate of Rs. 15 for every confinement. Women will be entitled to maternity benefits six weeks before and after, in addition.

Currency and Banking

BANKING COMPANIES BILL

In communicating their views to the Government on the Banking Companies Bill, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, while welcoming the need for separate legislation, has pointed out the inadvisability of sponsoring such a legislation in the absence of thorough investigation of the conditions of banking in this country. In between the period of 15 years since the Central Banking Committee made the investigation, the country has witnessed cataclysmic changes in its economic conditions. During this interval, there have been extreme inflation and deflation, low prices and high prices, slump, prosperity, constitutional autonomy and irresponsible Government. The period witnessed a wave of bank failures. The Reserve Bank of India was ushered in.

In the opinion of the Chamber, the Bill appears to be directed against small banks who played an important part in the credit structure of the country. In the post-war years, when there is a crying need for increasing production and distribution in rural areas, these small banks that are bound to play an important part ought to have received recognition from the Government.

Inasmuch as there is the Reserve Bank to discharge the functions of the Central Bank, there is no need any longer for a separate charter for one single joint stock bank.

RUPEE NOTES AND COINS

The number of rupee notes and coins in circulation was almost equal at present, said the Finance Member in reply to Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar in the Assembly recently. The average cost of paper and printing of a rupee note was two-thirds of a pie. Under present conditions it was difficult to estimate the average life of one, five and ten rupee notes. The average life of a rupee coin was estimated at 50 years.

U.S. GOLD DOLLAR FOR CHINA

Solid Gold Dollars minted in the United States of America have been in circulation in Chungking for sometime now. They bear the portraits of Marshal Chiang-kai-shek and weigh one ounce each.

Railways

ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Sir Edward Benthall, Transport Member, declaring open the Indian Railways Exhibition at New Delhi on March 10, said: "India's life-line—her Railways—has done its job."

The performance of the Indian Railways did not compare badly with the Railways in the United Kingdom, he said. With the same tract mileage, 40 per cent. of the number of engines; half the number of carriages and one-fifth of the wagon capacity, the Indian Railways lifted proportionately more tonnage, ran more miles and carried more passengers than the English Railways. The Indian Railways had to make considerable strides in its speed of running and providing amenities for passengers of all classes before it could catch up with the Railways of the other countries.

Sir Edward said that he could visualise a time in the not far distant future when the Toofan Express would run down to Calcutta in 18 hours, with an average speed of 50 miles per hour with all carriages and all classes air conditioned in one form or another.

B AND A RAILWAY

Mr. Justice Sen of the Calcutta High Court has awarded Rs. 36,400 as damages in favour of the plaintiff, Shrimati Kalyani Basu, her three minor sons, a minor daughter and her mother-in-law against the defendant, the Governor-General-in Council as the owner of the B and A Railway (formerly E.B.R.) in connection with the death of Mr. Bhupendra Kishore Basu, an advocate, as a result of the Dacca-Mail accident on August 5, 1940.

The plaintiff's case was that Mr. Basu was a passenger and as a result of the derailment, he sustained serious injuries and died the same evening in the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. S. M. Kalyani Basu was the widow of the deceased.

SRI TYAGARAJA

In the course of an address delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of Sri Tyagaraja festival, under the auspices of Sri Krishna Gana Sabha, Hyderabad. Mr. T. V. Subba Rao, President, Madras Music Academy, said:

Though Tyagaraja is essentially a composer of Carnatic Music, his merits rest on such fundamental qualities common to all civilised systems of music, that he is understood and appreciated by all lovers of true music in every age and country. If you ask me what is the finest flower of Indian culture, it is Tyagaraja.

Other composers of the West or the East may occasionally equal him in the technical excellence of the art or in the touching appeal of the sentiment of the *sahitya*. But none has succeeded so well as Tyagaraja in the simultaneous presentation of both these qualities in the same supreme measure.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The formation of a travellers' department, the setting up of a National Museum at New Delhi, involving an expenditure of about Rs. 6,25,000 annually, the establishment of a School of Architecture, travelling museums and the organisation of a National Cultural Trust, are some of the suggestions made by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for the cultural reconstruction of India in the post-war period.

PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS

The Archaeological Survey of India has issued Volume XII of the South Indian Inscriptions of the Pallava rulers of South India. The records have been arranged in dynastical and chronological order and each inscription has a prefatory note in English drawing attention to salient points of the contents, so that the publication may prove useful even to scholars who are not conversant with South Indian languages.

The Pallavas were great builders, their legacy to India included the interesting group of monuments at Mahabalipuram, particularly known as the Seven Pagodas.

C. K. NAYUDU AND RANJI FINAL

Bombay won the Ranji Trophy final on March 9 by 374 runs. Holkar concluded their second innings for 492 runs—Compton not-out 249. C. K. Nayudu was dismissed for four runs.

A purse of Rs. 18,000 was presented to Col. C. K. Nayudu at a public reception held in his honour at the Cricket Club of India. Sir Homi Modi, President of the Cricket Club of India, who presided on the occasion, paid a glowing tribute to Nayudu's career as one of the greatest Indian cricketers. The purse was the net profits made by the Cricket Club of India and the other five gymkhanas during the Golden Jubilee cricket match played in Bombay last month.

In wishing Col. Nayudu many years of happiness, Sir Homi said that there had been a lot of controversy in the Press over the preparation of the wicket, which was considered a batsman's paradise. He suggested that the leading cricketers of India, who were then in the city, should get together and suggest ways and means whereby the wicket will be "sporting" and afford both the bowlers and the batsmen a 50-50 chance.

Col. Nayudu, in a brief reply, thanked the Cricket Club of India and the other gymkhanas for the unique honour they had done him and said that he wished to thank publicly all those cricketers with and under whom he had played for all the co-operation and help they had given to him during his career. He suggested that the National Cricket Championship should be played on a league system, each province playing each other twice, so as to make the games more interesting than they were at present.

ALL-INDIA 44-MILE CYCLE RACE

In the seventh All-India 44-mile cycle race held at Dewas last month under the auspices of the Maharaji Chamnabhai Physical Culture Institute, Chanbasappa of Jamkhandi State (Deccan), came out first. The distance was covered in 3 hours 5 minutes and 38 seconds.

V-4 THAT CAN HIT NEW YORK

The V-4, the new super-flying bombs which, the Germans claim, can hit New York, are now ready for launching, according to a German engineer who, until recently, was at one of the V-Bomb experimental stations. He, however, decided to come to Sweden where he has been interned, but granted special conditions because his knowledge is useful to the Swedish General Staff. He said that the V-4 weighs 15 tons, travels 18 miles per second and attains a height of 120 miles. Its great disadvantage is that it is difficult to make by mass production; the Germans therefore could not send enough against New York to undermine morale.

BRITISH SCIENTISTS FOR INDIA

At a special meeting of the Governing Council of the Indian Institute of Science, held in Bombay, it was decided to accept the offer of the British Government to loan the services of 3 senior scientists for appointment as professors in the Indian Institute of Science for 3 years. These professors will be in charge of Metallurgy, Applied Science with special reference to internal combustion engines and Aeronautical Engineering.

MANUFACTURE OF PENICILLIN

A committee is to be appointed to advise the Government of India on the steps to be taken to establish the manufacture of Penicillin. This was one of the decisions made at the eighth meeting of the Governing Body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, held in New Delhi on March 13, under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member of the Planning and Development.

TELEVISION WITH COLOUR EFFECTS

An improved Television System, having a "standard of definition approaching that of cinema and possibly incorporating colour and stereoscopic effects" is proposed by Lord Hankey's Television Committee in a report published last month.

WALT DISNEY'S PLANS AFTER VICTORY

Mickey Mouse, who was banned in Germany by orders of Hitler, is now making preparations to go back to Germany.

His creator, Walt Disney, revealed in New York that he has dubbed the sound tracks of several of Mickey's pictures into German, in readiness for the day when American films will again be allowed in Germany. He will probably be the first film star to crash the German post-war-market.

"Dubbing these pictures into German has given me more pleasure than anything I've done in a long line," said Disney.

"Several years before the war, Hitler banned all Mickey's pictures and all his likenesses in story books and toys, because he said that German children must not learn to love a rodent. Mickey was not compatible with Nazi ideas of a master race. Well, Mickey's going to be in Berlin long after Hitler's gone."

"GOING MY WAY" BEST PICTURE OF 1944

The film "Going My Way" has won the title of the outstanding picture of 1944 in the Academy Motion Pictures' arts and sciences awards. Bing Crosby has won the award for the best male performance of the year for his work in "Going My Way". Ingrid Bergman won the Women's award for her performance in "Gaslight."

Leo McCarey won the Director's title and also the award for writing the best original motion picture of the year "Going My Way". This is the first time in 17 years that an Academy winner has captured two titles.

FILM BOSS'S INCOME

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer chief Louis B. Mayer received during the last financial year a salary of 949,764 dollars (£237,441), largest earned by anyone in the United States. After paying taxes he had 132,800 dollars (£33,200) left.

Automobiles

IMPORT OF AUSTIN CARS

"The Government of India hope to obtain a certain number of light British cars for the use of essential users some *time during the year*", *said* the Supply Member, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, in reply to Mr. Jinaraja Hegede at question-time in the Assembly recently. "The number of cars expected was about 2,000, most of which will probably be 10 horse-power Austins, but it cannot be stated even approximately when they will arrive."

Q: Are these cars going to be paid from the sterling balances?

A: Payment for these cars will *pro tanto* reduce the sterling balances. There was no information yet what the price per car would be, he added.

Q: Are similar orders being placed in U.S.A. for big cars? If so, how are they going to be financed?

A: The possibility of obtaining some higher powered cars from the U.S.A. or the U.K. is being explored. The question of finance will be considered after the availability has been ascertained.

INDIAN BICYCLES

Bicycles of Indian manufacture were purchased in 1943-44 by the Supply Department, said the Supply Member in reply to a member in the Central Assembly. In September 1943, he added, an enquiry inside in the U.K. revealed that British cycles could be produced at about half the price paid for Indian cycles.

The quality of Indian cycles was also *not* as satisfactory as expected. The purchase of Indian-made cycles was, therefore, stopped. No British cycles had, however, so far been imported by the *Supply Department*. A little over 8,000 cycles were imported *into India in* 1943-44 from the U.S.A.

Aviation

AIR SERVICE TO INDIA

The British Overseas Airways Corporation, to whom the now British Government White Paper proposes to give full power to operate services to India, has a plan all ready for post-war expansion, says *Reuter's* air correspondent.

An official of the Company stated that the Corporation had been working on this plan, for two years to be ready for immediate development as soon as the war in the Far East permits.

Its experience of fourteen years of operating Air Services to India will be used to make travel to the east as speedy and comfortable as possible. The plane which the Corporation expects to use immediately after the war is the Tudor Two.

The Tudor Two is a plane being built by the Avaroe Company which make the famous Lancaster Bomber. It is driven by four Rousroyce engines and is made of all metal. Its maximum speed is 330 miles per hour and has a maximum range of 4,000 miles.

Passenger accommodation will be probably 27 with all special fittings required for changes of temperature between England and India.

Lord Knods, Chairman of the British *Overseas Airways Corporation*, stated that the Boac proposed to run services after the war to Middle East, South Africa, India, Australia and New Zealand.

AIRSICKNESS

About 17 per cent. of all people making a first flight are airsick. On a second flight airsickness attacks only four per cent. and only 0·5 per cent. after two flights, according to Air-Marshal Sir Harold E. Whittingham, addressing the Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene, Britain.

ROYAL INDIAN AIR FORCES

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve that in future the designation of "Royal" shall be prefixed to the *Indian Air Force*, which will henceforth be designated "Royal Indian Air Force".

Industry

INDIAN PAPER INDUSTRY

Mr. R. W. Mellor, Chairman of the Indian Paper-Makers' Association, which has entered on its fiftieth year, at its annual meeting at Calcutta on March 9, expressed the hope that India would be in a position after the war to supply its own full requirements of paper, except only a few specialities and those mechanical newsprint qualities which were made extremely cheaply and economically in countries abroad.

Mr. Mellor said that it was difficult to plan ahead for the pulp and paper industry in India on a realistic basis until they had an opportunity of considering how the present very much increased production of paper was likely to fit into the national peace-time economy.

When the unusual Government and Army demands would begin to decline, more paper, he thought, would be available for civil consumption.

U.S. HELP FOR POST-WAR INDUSTRIES

Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani, in an article published in the *Asia and America* entitled, "You can do business with India," advocates American industrial assistance in building India's post-war industries in exchange for a market in India for American goods. He says that India is laying plans to move up to "the third rung from the sixth on the international industrial step-ladder" and wants the United States and the United Kingdom to supply India with machinery, equipment and technical knowledge.

INDIA TEA INDUSTRY

Mr. H. C. Bannerman, Chairman of the Indian Tea Association, addressing its annual general meeting at Calcutta, on March 9, said that the two most important problems of the tea industry were the development of markets and the welfare of labour. The first was in the hands of the International and Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, and so far as the second was concerned, they were all agreed that the welfare of labour must continue to receive their most careful attention.

Agriculture

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

Sir Norman Strathie, Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras in charge of Finance, replying to press criticisms on his Budget proposals in respect of agricultural income-tax, observed at a press conference in Madras, that it was the net profits that are assessable. No income less than Rs. 1,500 a year would be taxed. The rate of taxation for incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 3,500 will be nine pies in the rupee, between Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 5,000 one anna in the rupee, between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000 one anna six pies, between 10,000 and Rs. 15,000 two annas and above Rs. 15,000 two and a half annas. Companies will be taxed at a flat rate of two annas in the rupee.

Different slab rates are provided for taxing the agricultural income of an undivided Hindu joint family. While an individual with an income of Rs. 6,500 will be taxed Rs. 226, an *undivided* Hindu joint family of *two brothers and a* son by a *deceased brother*, with an *income of Rs. 6,000, will* be taxed only at four pies in a rupee on a third of the income, viz., Rs. 125.

Sir Norman said that the new taxation will come into force in 1945-46 and that the assessment will be on the income for 1944-45. He mentioned that the Board of Revenue estimated a total revenue of about Rs. 40 lakhs a year from this source.

REGIONALISING IN INDIA ON SOIL BASIS

Regionalisation of agriculture and animal husbandry in India and expansion of the activities of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research were the most important items discussed at the meetings of the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, held at New Delhi on March 6, 7 and 8. The Vice-Chairman of the Council presided.

The proposed regionalisation scheme divides India into three regions on the basis of their soil, rainfall and main agricultural product.

Labour

CAUSES OF STRIKES IN INDIA

Messrs. Dange, Khedgikar and Pramanik, Members of the All-India Trade Union Delegation to the World Trade Union Conference, have issued the following reply to a circular issued by the Indian Federation of Labour:

"If strikes have taken place in India, it is due to the reactionary policy of the British Government in India which refuses increases in wages in spite of a rise of 150 to 200 per cent. in the cost of living, fails to control prices and allies itself with reactionary profiteers against the working classes. Indian Federation of Labour lines itself behind the Government in this policy. It has shamelessly supported the Government of India in sending thousands of women to work in pits in violation of all international conventions, while we in the All-India Trade Union Congress have offered hundreds of unemployed gold-miners for coal pits to save women.

"We are not ashamed of our nationalism if it means to demand democratic liberties for 400 million people. Every anti-Fascist people in the world demand this."

WORKERS IN ASIA AND AFRICA

The following memorandum has been drawn up to be presented to the World Trade Union Congress by delegates from America:

"As an elementary gesture of solidarity with the oppressed and exploited millions of industrial and agricultural workers in the colonies in Asia and Africa, we appeal to the Conference to endorse and support the following immediate demands:

"Abolition of the colour bar and all racial discrimination in public and private employment; 2. Abolition of forced labour, child labour and all forms of slavery. 3. Abolition of all past law and legislation and the establishment of the right of free assembly, free speech free press, free movement for equal pay", etc., etc.

General

CONGRESS "DIAMOND JUBILEE"

The Diamond Jubilee of the Indian National Congress will be celebrated all over India this December and Bombay where the first session of the Congress was held, proposes to observe the occasion in a fitting manner. The Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Mr. S. K. Patil, has already begun preparations in this behalf.

The spacious building—the Gokuldas Tejpal Pathasala where the first session was held in Bombay in 1895 under the presidentship of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee still stands intact. When the golden jubilee was celebrated in 1935, a marble tablet was raised in front of this building.

LATE RAJA NARENDRANATH

The passing of Raja Narendranath at the age of 80 marks the end of a great career in the political and social life of the Punjab. The Raja played a distinguished part in the public life of the Province.

The Punjab Premier, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, said, "The late Raja was the link between the present and the past. Himself a symbol of communal harmony, he not only preached it but also practised it. His death removes from the public life of the Province, a towering personality and creates a void which it will be difficult to fill."

THE LATE MR. K. S. GUPTA

Mr. K. S. Gupta, Congress Member representing Ganjam and Vizagapatam, suddenly collapsed and died in his seat in the Assembly on the afternoon of March 5.

Mr. Gupta was speaking on the Budget and was vehemently criticising the food policy of the Government when he said, "Sir, I am not feeling well and I sit down." He then slumped in his seat.

SIR ARTHUR HOPE'S TERM

His Majesty the King has been pleased to approve that His Excellency the Hon. Sir Arthur Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C., Governor of Madras, should continue to hold office for a further period of six months expiring on 12th September 1945.

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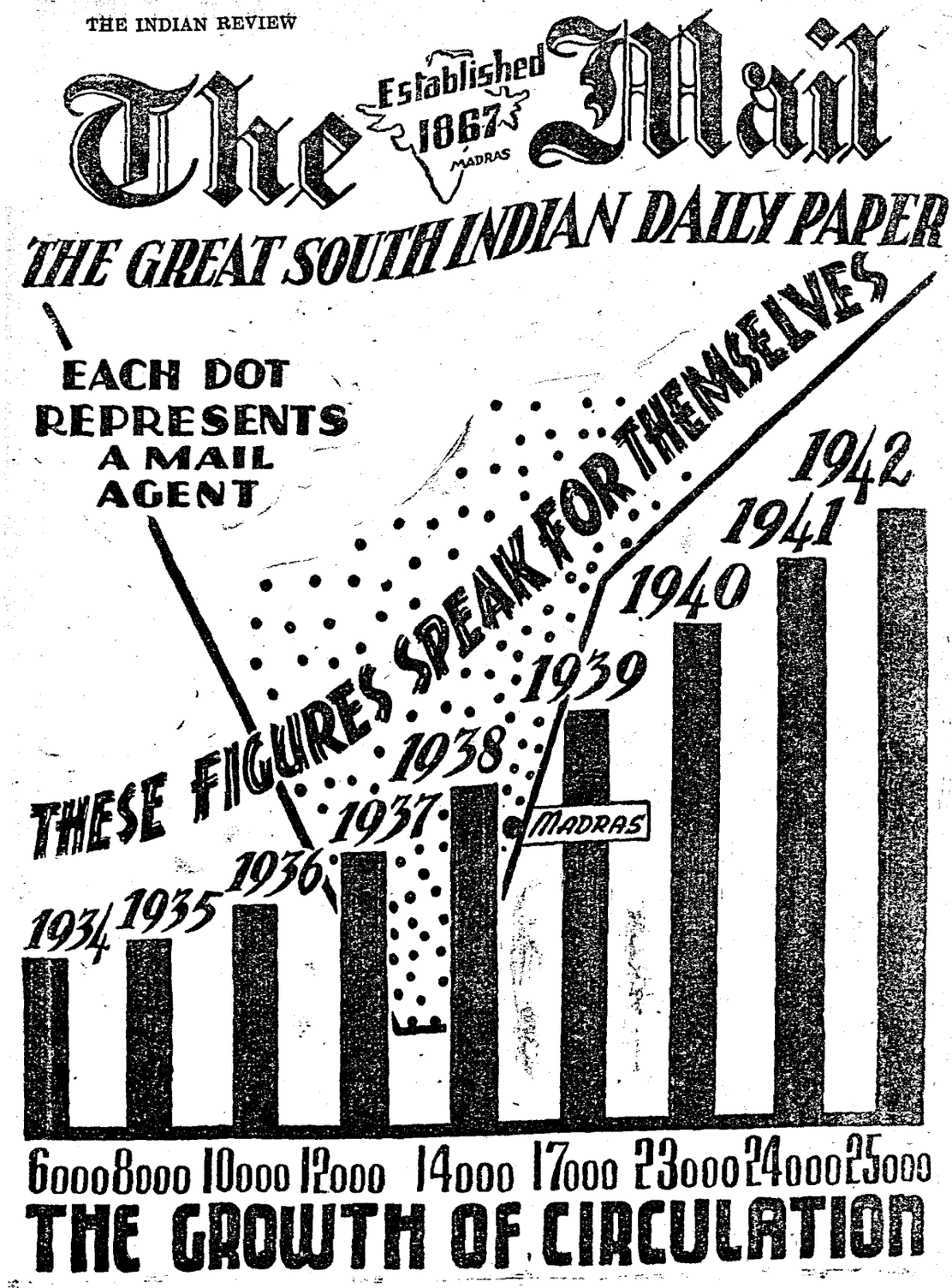
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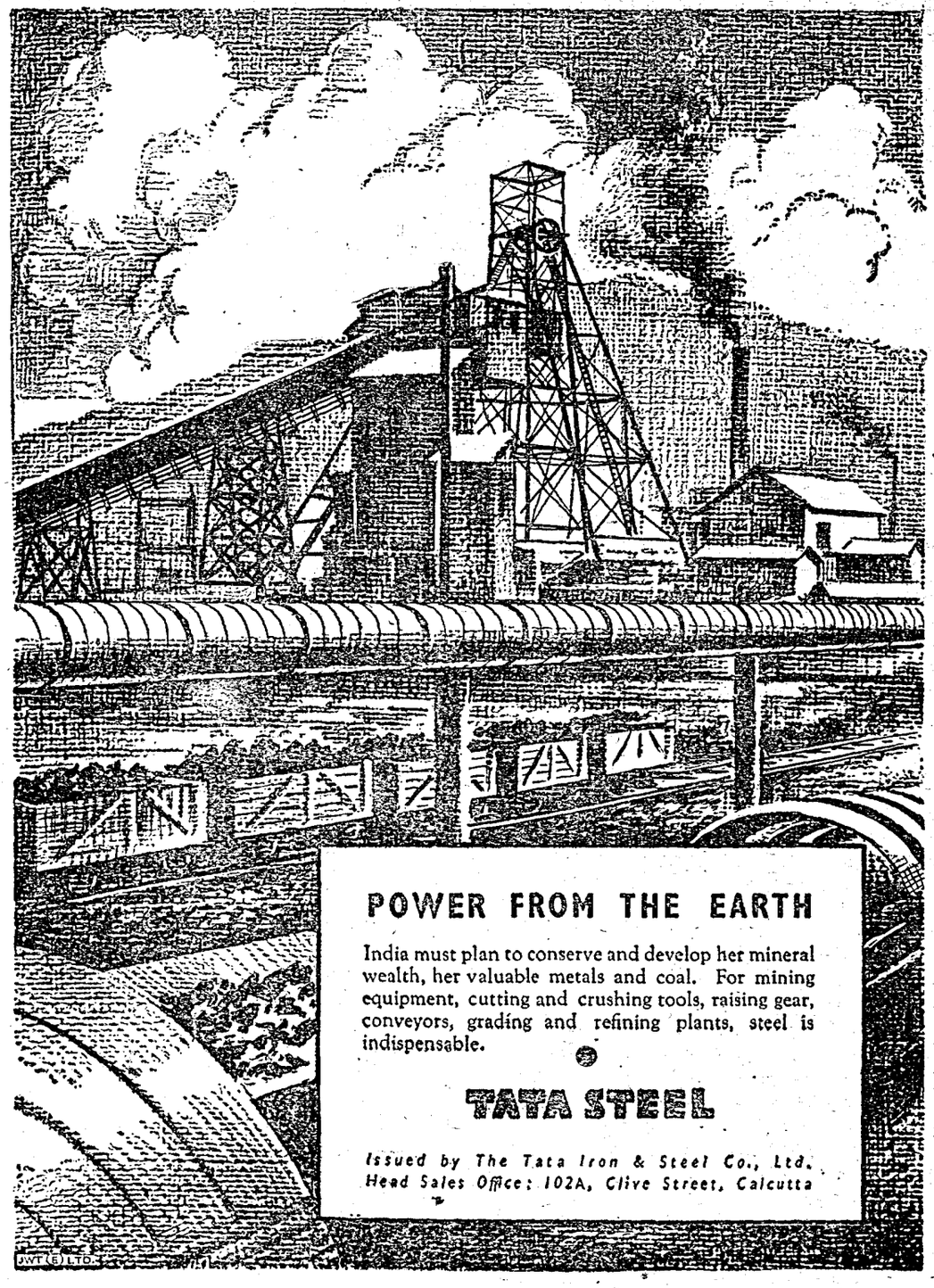
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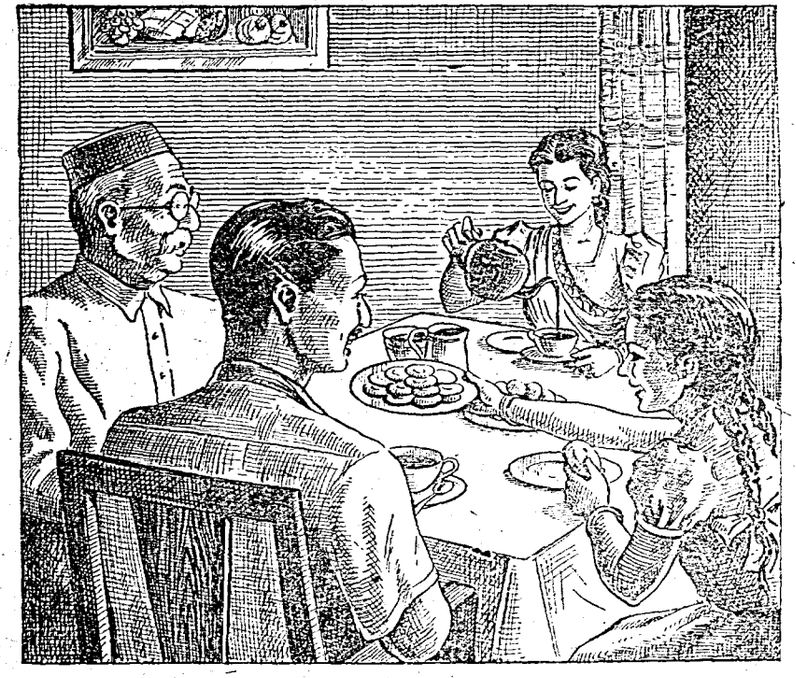
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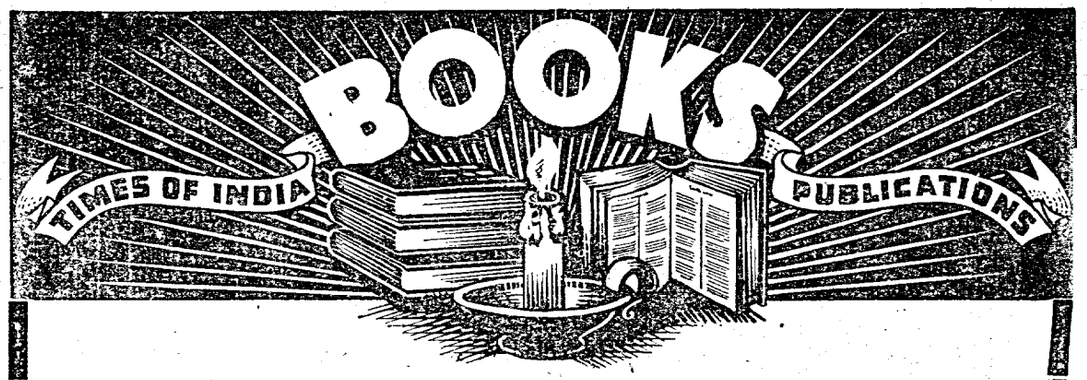
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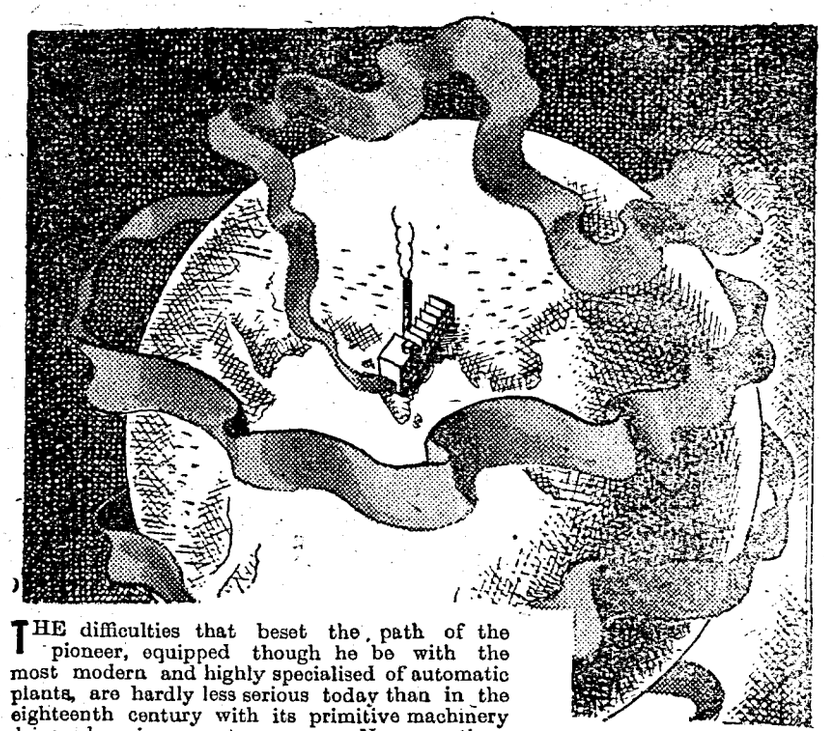
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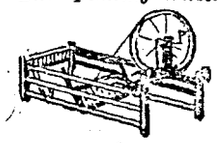
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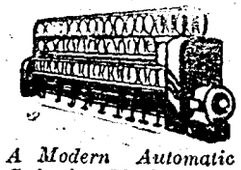
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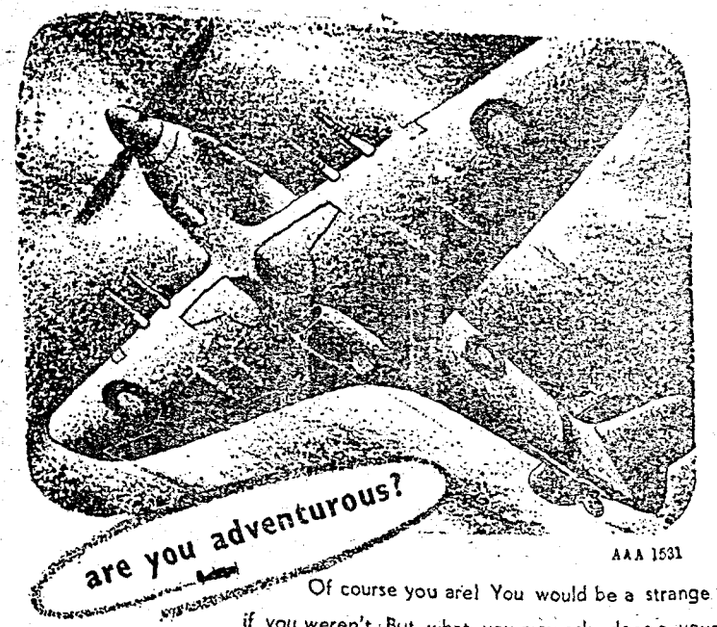
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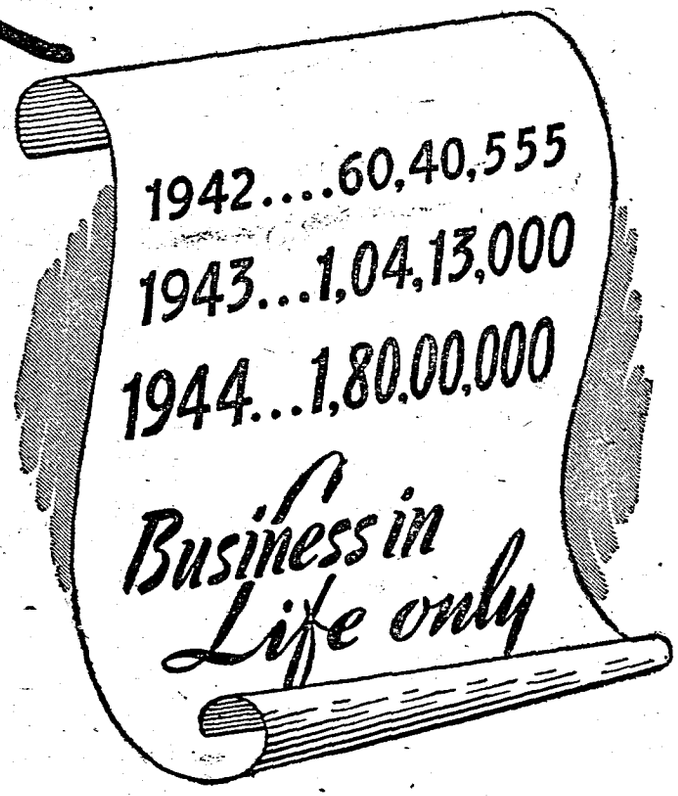
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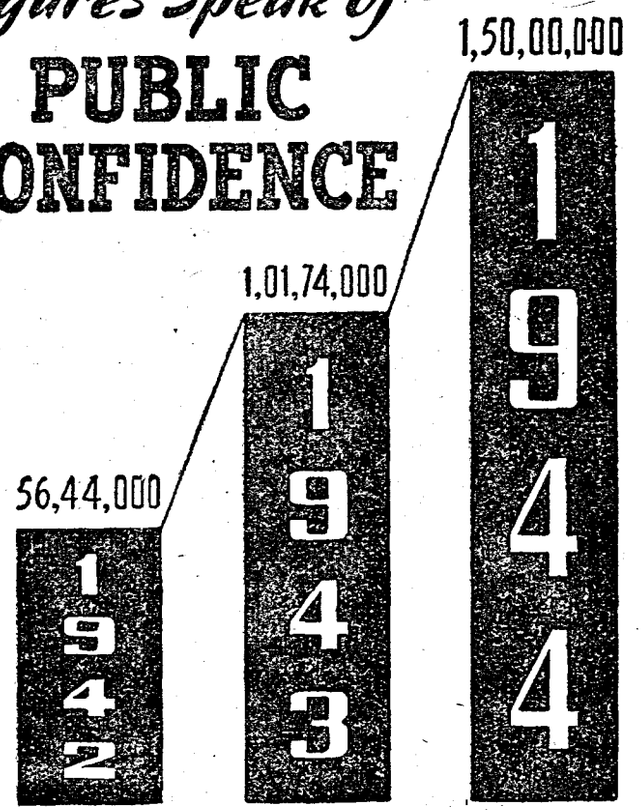
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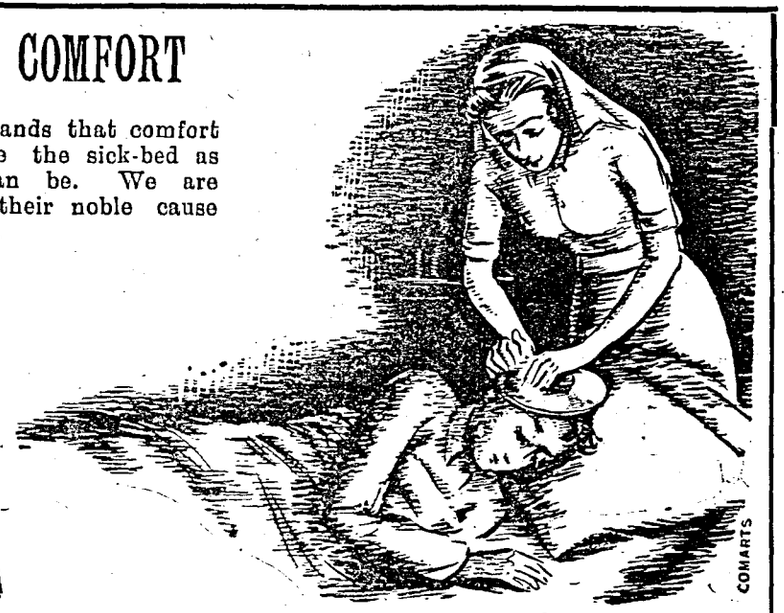
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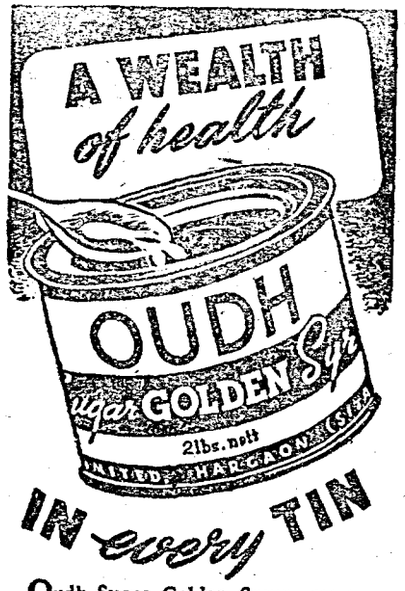
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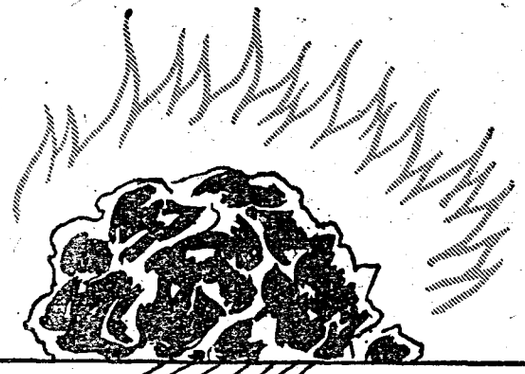


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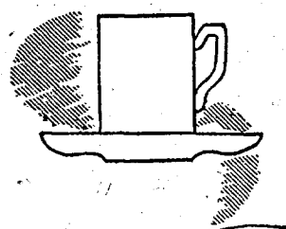
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CURRENCY UNITS

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THERE is a tiny island in the Pacific, which, until it was brought into prominence by the war with Japan, can have been known to very few. It lies on the steamer track some 1,600 miles from Hongkong and is so small that it is hardly visible on an ordinary table atlas since it occupies scarcely more space than the "a" in its little name of Yap. Little though it is both in name and extent, it is likely to have a name in history quite unconnected with the Japanese occupation. For there is another island even more minute among the Palau group 400 miles to the west. This island is composed of volcanic rock of no particular value in itself but which became of importance since cut and measured pieces of it were used by the Yap islanders as a basis for barter and eventually as the standard for all business and trade transactions. If men returned from this volcanic island to Yap having lost their stone, they were on good evidence of original possession *credited* with it. The value was in the effort to obtain the stone, not in the stone itself.

These old Palau stones are still to be seen on Yap although no more are being quarried. Nevertheless, the record of the stones and the lost stones are kept and the credit continues good.

The bearing of these interesting customs on modern ideas of economics is of unusual interest.

It is, indeed, possible that it was a knowledge of these facts which led Ruskin to devise the illustration which has been defined as one of the simplest and truest definitions of money.

"Money itself", he says, "is only a transferable document giving claim at sight to some definite benefit or advantage. Thus if a dozen men cast ashore on a desert island pick up a number of stones, put a red spot on each stone and pass a law that every stone marked with a red spot shall give claim to a peck of wheat—so long as no wheat exists or can exist on the island the stones are not money. But the moment as much wheat exists as shall render it possible for the society always to give a peck for every spotted stone, the spotted stones would become money and might be exchanged by their possessors for whatever commodity they chose to the value of a peck of wheat which the stone represented."

The spotted stone would be a unit of accountancy, a *currency unit.* In itself it would have no intrinsic value in that way differing essentially from *gold* which having a value of its own confuses the issue and consequently, has been the cause of infinite trouble.

Recently rumours may have reached us of the great danger of a return to the "*Gold Standard*", but it is doubtful whether very many of the general public really know what the gold standard is and why it should be so dangerous to return to it.

The *gold standard* was originally established with the object of ensuring the stability of the Bank of England. According to the Act of 1844, confirmed in May, 1925, the price of gold, *i.e*, its value in monetary units, is fixed by law and the Bank of England is obliged to buy gold at £3-17-9 a standard ounce. This is the so-called *gold standard.* In practice, however, it was found that to make all business transactions depend on the value of a single commodity, itself varying according to the conditions both of its production, and of its hoarding by various countries, resulted in price fluctuations and consequent widespread unemployment and misery. In September, 1931, the gold standard collapsed.

In place of the "gold standard" alternative *currency units* have therefore been devised by monetary reformers, or old ones have come again under consideration. A brief account of these may be of interest and also may lead to a clearer conception of what currency really is and in what way it affects the daily life of all of us.

Gold has still continued to exercise its curious mesmerism. An attempt to escape from the actual use of gold coins was proposed by J. F. Darling in a unit to be called the REX to be current throughout the British Empire. It was not to be composed of precious metal at all but would be simple money of account in which a super bank of the Empire would keep its accounts. One REX would *represent* 113 grains of fine gold, *i e*, the gold content of the old sovereign. Gold could be *exchanged* for an equivalent in REX. It was claimed that the REX and not the gold would be the basis of the currencies of the Empire. Thus we can see that it is dimly becoming apparent that the whole matter is simply a question of accounting which does not require a unit of any intrinsic value at all. All that is needed is a *measuring rod* which will *remain constant* like a yard or a pint. The REX is still tied to gold which must, of necessity, *fluctuate* in value seeing that its quantity is variable depending solely on fortunate discoveries or intensive mining industry. In the case, *e.g.*, of starving labourers in time of famine gold is of no moment when *work* has to be done since the labourers cannot *eat* gold. Without work no adequate supply of food or clothing can be forthcoming.

Thus it is easy to see that the thoughts of money reformers turned to a *food currency* making food a standard of value. In his paper on *A Currency for India*, Maurice Frydman would propose to make *rice* the standard of value for India as indeed it practically was at one time. Instead of asking so many measures of rice for a rupee, the villager would enquire how many rupees for a measure of rice. Rice would be constant, the rupee would vary. Thus the ryot would control his own market. The staple food of the country would be the standard of value, the real currency *unit.* Thus every village plot becomes a gold mine, every villager a gold digger. The food rupee would be an internal currency. International trade would be looked after by a special bank dealing in foreign currencies, with which to smooth out differences between imports and exports. Here again we come back to some kind of metal medium. It is supposed that any excess of grain could be disposed of to chemical industry.

Another form of food currency is the *Wheat* note, a food voucher to be the equivalent of the £ note and inscribed:

Deliver to the bearer on demand 120 lbs. of wheat or the equivalent value of any other food.

This is similar to the "corn money" issued on one occasion by a body of farmers in Iowa, U.S.A. This was issued in the form of 25 cent notes based on a sale of 12,900 bushels of corn to the local Merchants' Association at 25 cents a bushel, the money to be spent in the local shops by the following night. It was reported that one note changed hands 22 times within 3 hours of its issue. This brings to mind the results achieved by the "negative interest" of Silvio Gesell. He pointed out that while gold was practically indestructible the goods purchased by gold suffered deterioration in course of time. Thus "money" value expressed in gold did not keep step with the real value of commodities. Let money depreciate *pari passu* with commodities and there would be no inducement to hoard rather than to spend. Thus would result what is practically "free money".

All these are consciously or unconsciously based on the old gold unit. Thus Irving Fisher in his "*compensated dollar*" seeks to vary the mint price of gold as general prices rose or fell. The *Uniate* system proposed by Kersey would convert every nation's money into "uniates" on the basis of a multiple ratio table. Thus the basic unit would be the "Une" 2/- British and ½ dollar U.S.A. The *Une* would be divisible into cents or 100 *cetinunes*. He proposes a new paper currency the "*Lex*" written £ and equivalent to 10 unes. There would be a metallic currency of 4 silver and 2 copper coins. The *Une*= 100 cents, the *Sem* 50 cents, together with 25 or 20 cent. pieces and the *Dece* 10 cents.

It is clear that these units of currency do not need to have any intrinsic value in themselves. They merely *represent* the value of so many goods and services. The old puzzle of the "dud" note thus finds its explanation. The story goes that a traveller called at his hotel and handed the hotel cashier a note for, say, 100 rupees for safe keeping while he went out into the town on his "lawful occasions." The cashier put it into the hotel safe. Meanwhile the hotel butcher happened to call and presented his bill for the meat supplied during a given period. As the bill came to Rs. 100, the cashier handed over the note given him by the traveller. The butcher used it in similar fashion to pay his doctor who as a resident in the hotel used it to pay his board and lodging and so the note went back into the hotel safe. Eventually the traveller came back and asked for his note which after it was handed to him, he tore up remarking with a smile that it was a "dud". Nevertheless, every one had been paid although only a worthless bit of paper had circulated. What mattered was that the hotel-keeper had his meat, the butcher had the services of the doctor, while the doctor had his board and lodging at the Hotel. Thus we have a fair exchange of *goods* and *services*. It is clear therefore that business reward depends on goods supplied or services rendered, not on "money" which is only the *token* of such services. It is immaterial

whether such tokens or counters are in the shape of bits of metal or wood or paper so long as each is a definite "promise to pay." The simple fact is that with the coming of the cheque system the need for gold or any kind of token of intrinsic value became obsolete.

Whether due to fundamental disbelief in the honesty of the ordinary man, or from ingrained materialism of outlook, some form of token was still demanded which, if not of actual value in itself, could be seen and handled, or at least visualised materially. Thus we hear of notes stamped in real buck skin, whence the term "bucks" for dollars. The semi-mythical "Learned Elders of Zion" spoke of wooden tokens in which to reckon up the available assets of a community.

The Gold obsession continues even in high quarters which perhaps is not surprising having regard to the immense vested interests represented by the Kentucky gold-hoard of the U.S.A. and the gold-mining companies of the Rand, not to mention minor centres such as Kolar. Lord Keynes has done his best to avert complete subjection to the dominance of gold, such as would result from a definite return to the Gold Standard, by the invention of a new unit, the *Bancor*, representing as its name indicates a compromise between the banking and the gold-holding interests. According to the Keynes plan, there will be an international clearing house which will provide machinery for clearing balances of international payments and for meeting deficiencies. All currencies will be related to the Bancor, though parities will not be permanent or fixed. Debtor countries will be entitled to tender gold in settlement of their international debts but creditor countries will not be entitled to insist on payment in gold. The quantity of international money will no longer be dependent on gold production. By the Keynes plan the clearing house would keep its accounts in Bancors. Its actual assets would comprise claims expressed in the currencies of deficit countries.

Unfortunately the U.S. plan supported by Mr. Morgenthau virtually involves a return to the gold standard since there is no provision in the plan to take payments in goods and services. A new unit is proposed called the *Unitas* weighing 137·14 grains of fine gold equal to 10 dollars which will be freely convertible into gold. The value of each member currency will be fixed by the fund in terms of gold, of *Unitas*.

It remains to be seen whether the American plan or the Keynes plan or some other is finally accepted. There is a strong body of opinion among thoughtful people that any linkage with gold must lead to the restrictions and consequent miseries of the old gold standard.

Is it not possible then to demonetise gold altogether and by a change in view-point to obtain freedom, so that in the prophetic words of Lincoln, money should be the servent of man and not man the servant of money?

Here, in India, there have been voices crying in the wilderness. Sir Montagu Webb wrote of "India's Plight" urging an increase in money tokens, through the remonetisation of silver which would supplement the inadequate gold supply. From his famous colony

at Gosaba in the Sunderbands Sir Daniel Hamilton spoke of the "*Man*-standard."

The following incident was mentioned in a letter to Sir Basil Blackett in the early days of the "New Economics" to illustrate the value of *man* as compared to *money*. Some jewellery, including a fine ruby ring, was taken to a firm of silversmiths to be valued. They were pronounced to be unsaleable and practically valueless although the same firm had ten years previously stated them to be worth Rs. 500/- The demand was uncertain and the admittedly fine ruby might not attract a customer for an indefinite period.

Just previous to this conversation the head of the firm in question had been talking to an "out of work," to all appearances a down at heel "derelict." He had sent the man off to dig potatoes at a wage of 8 annas per day. Thus at 5 years purchase the man was worth Rs. 1,000 but the jewels were worth nothing. For the man could *work*, the jewels were dead.

I remember when I first met Sir Daniel Hamilton, he brought out his copy of Adam Smith and drew my attention to the lines;

> Labour alone, therefore, never varying in its own value is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared. It is their real price, money is their nominal price only.

While there may be some confusion here as between prices and value still we see the beginning of what is now familiar as the "Man-hour", as a *measure* in some degree of value. Almost at the same time when I was discussing these matters with my business and financial friends, Hitler was screaming: "So long as the German people *work*, I am not afraid." The unorthodoxy of his economics does not necessarily make them erroneous, any more than his conception of modern warfare, the use of the tank and the aeroplane were ill-conceived, though in advance of older schools of military thought. A wicked use of a method does not affect the correctness of the principle involved. It is possible that the financial pandits of the City and of Wall Street were as slow-minded as the War Office authorities who turned down the ideas of de Gaulle.

In any event, it was clear that the mesmerism of *gold* was lifting and some other *standard* began to be talked about and others besides Sir Daniel Hamilton spoke of the *man* standard. The word standard was derived obviously from the old gold standard but, in itself, is an unfortunate expression. As I had found, value is variable, and therefore a standard *value* is impossible. What is really desirable and no doubt is meant to be implied in the term standard of value is a fixed *measure* of value, a unit of accountancy from which values can be computed. Consequently the man-*standard* becomes the man-*hour* by which the cost and consequent value of a commodity at any period may be estimated. Thus we were getting away from the thought of money as a *commodity* and its true function was becoming more apparent, *viz.*, as a medium of exchange, a *token* representing a *claim* to goods and services; resulting from former services already rendered.

On December 13th, 1938, a speech was delivered in London by Mr. Glyn Thomas, which was afterwards published in a pamphlet entitled: "The Pound Foolish and the Hour Sterling." In this attention was drawn to the fact that Germany and Itlay had proclaimed as their foundational

monetary policy that the issue of money should be directly related to the production of goods and servtces. This course has been advocated and explained by the writer in his publications as far back as 1933. The quality of the "hour-sterling" as a unit consisted in the fact of its being a universal measure, the factor of *time* instead of space being employed as a measure. These ideas found their more general expression later in the term "Man-hour."

The "*Man-hour*" unit is now receiving very general attention, *e.g.*, in the writings of Sir Richard Acland and other modern economists. The Technocrats defined the Man-hour by the following illustration: 2 men working 8 hours a day take 3 days to build a piece of stone wall, *i.e.*, to say, the work represents 48 Man-hours. This definition, however, has its obvious limitations. We need to know what kind of a man is employed and what is his hourly remuneration. It is true, as the old saying goes and as Ruskin has more recently urged, "time is money", but it would surely seem that there are other factors which have to be considered in any satisfactory currency unit. The man can be replaced by the machine and you get the *machine-hour*. So we have time, man-hour and machine-hour, all factors of cost.

The above considerations lead to a still more inclusive conception, *viz.*, the *Electrical Dollar* of Dr. John Pease Norton of the Technocracy Movement. At the opening of the ninety-first meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and its 41 affiliated societies as reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* in its issue of December 27, 1932, Dr. Norton urges that America should go off the gold standard and adopt electrical energy in the form of kilowatt hours as its currency. He claimed the advantage of absolute stability and reduction of one-fourth of the national debt. At start legislation would be needed to define the standard value within the U.S.A. as the *electrical dollar*, to be legal tender for all transactions and contracts for less than 5 years. The electrical dollar might be defined as 40 kilowatt hours. The k.w.h., he contended, was pretty much the same in quantity and quality everywhere and does not vary much in the cost of large-scale production.

Without any knowledge of these American proposals, the present writer published in the well-known Calcutta business paper *Capital* in its issue of 3rd March, 1932, a concept which went somewhat further since it included *energy* in general as measured by a *food constant* and its corresponding energy value. This currency unit was termed the ERN—the term being derived from the *Erg*, the unit of energy and *nitrogen*, the most constant element in human nutrition. The whole question is discussed in some detail in the booklet "Energy and Economics" orginally published in *Current Science* for May, 1935, and reprinted with an Introduction and Appendices in 1941.

Some explanation of the chemical and physical principles involved may perhaps be useful at this point.

Among the many irreparable losses occurring during the "blitz" in England, two stand out which were suffered by the

City of Manchester when the headquarters of the famous Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society at 36, George Street, was destroyed and with it the experimental apparatus originally used by the two great Manchester philosophers, John Dalton and James Prescott Joule. Sad that just prior to the centenary of John Dalton, these precious and carefully preserved relics were reduced to molten and splintered fragments.

To Dalton we owe quantitative chemistry through his discovery that chemical combination takes place in definite proportions, that, *e.g.*, only two parts of hydrogen would combine with one part of oxygen to form ordinary water as represented by the symbol H_2O, any excess of either element remaining uncombined. Dalton showed that this principle governed all chemical combinations so that quantitative exactitude became possible in dealing with chemical changes, even, as later demonstrated, in those taking place within the human body in the ordinary processes of what is known as *metabolism*, *i.e.*, changes accompanying the ordinary intake and consumption of food.

In the domain of physics Joule some 30 years after Dalton brought similar quantitative concepts to the attention of the members of the Literary and Philosophical Society. He caused a paddle wheel to rotate in a given volume of water and by connecting it with the controlled falling of a known weight he was able to show that energy developed by the fall of a given weight would raise the temperature of a given volume of water so many degrees and no more. This is what is known as the *mechanical equivalent of heat*. By similar methods it may be shown that quantitative relations exist between all different forms of energy, thus so many units of mechanical energy are equivalent to so many heat units, and vice versa so many heat units are convertible into so many mechanical units, etc. In general terms all the changes are comprised in what is known as the *law of the conservation of energy*.

So fundamental is this law and so profound has been its influence on the progress of civilization during the century since Dalton and Joule, that it seems sad that it should not be familiar to every truly educated person, certainly to those in high places who largely are called upon to control the destinies of the human race. Thus although most people are sware that only a certain mileage can be expected from a gallon of petrol in a given type of motor car the idea of using *energy* as a measure instead of petrol seems difficult to comprehend.

The following may perhaps be a rather simpler illustration. Energy is defined scientifically as the power of doing work. The higher you lift the weight of a grandfather's clock, the longer the time during which it will function. Apropos of this definition and as a light relief, the following famous verses may be quoted:

There was a man who had a clock,
His name was Mr. Mears.
He wound it regular every night
For five and forty years
And when that ancient time-piece proved
An eight-day clock to be
A madder man than Mr. Mears
You wound not wish to see.

Mr. Mears evidently had wasted a good deal of *time* in his little nightly walks to and from the clock!

It may be that the idea of *nitrogen* and its function in the food ration is less familiar even than the idea of *energy*. Nitrogen is probably best known as a harmless gas comprising four-fifths of the air we breathe and serving to dilute the more vigorous gas oxygen, the need for which is generally recognised. Nitrogen itself is merely breathed in and out of the lungs without appreciable change. Oxygen begins to start a process essentially as much a process of combustion as the consumption of the petrol in the motor car cylinder. The lungs may be considered as the cylinders of the body. Where then it may be asked, does the nitrogen come in? As it exists as a gentle restrainer of oxygen in the lungs, it has no further part to play, but it finds its way into the body by a circuitous route. Through the activities of sundry lowly organisms occurring in fertile soil, but only visible under the microscope, the nitrogen of the air is induced to combine with certain elements in such a way as to be assimilated by plants through which it finds its way into the bodies of animals and men, in what is known as the *food cycle*. Among nitrogenous foods are meat of various kinds, fish and eggs, peas and beans, milk and cheese. Nitrogen is present in these foods in all manner of different combinations all coming under the general name of *protein*, but the actual daily necessary weight of the element nitrogen has been found to be constant, *viz.*, for an adult 10 grams. When this is burnt in the bodily engine, it gives out 300 units of heat known as *calories*. Thus we have a constant unit of *energy* and a constant equivalent unit of *food*. This is the idea which bases the ERN.

The ERN is really a unit of wealth. It is the unit of energy equivalent to a standard daily ration of nitrogen. The latter may be taken within reasonable limits as 10 grams, the equivalent energy being 300 calories. In the Cauvery Falls the Mysore Government has an unfailing source of energy units, every 300 calories of which is equal to 1 ERN. In its fields is produced so much protein nitrogen, every 10 grams of which is equal to 1 ERN. We have, therefore, in the ERN a means of assessing accurately the wealth of an agricultural country on the one hand and or a manufacturing country on the other. Quite recently, Prof. Saha has introduced the concept of, "*Energy Index*", which means the energy available from all sources per head of the population.

It will thus be seen that in the ERN we have a currency backed not by a limited and fluctuating material metal such as either gold or gold plus silver as advocated by the bi-metallists, but ultimately an inexhaustible backing, since hydro-electric energy depends on rain, raised from the sea by the sun's rays, and nitrogen also depends on the vitalising energy of the sun applied to the growing plant and to the biological factors concerned with nitrogen fixation.

I was interested in looking up my press-cutting books to find that Father Basenach, of Madras, well known as an economist, and with whom I had a friendly discussion before the Madras Rotary Club in 1932, in a long article on Post-War Economics mentions the ERN and the "Bancor" of Lord Keynes as being equally available as currency units, but it must be remembered that whereas the ERN is simply a measure like a yard or a pint pot, gold is a commodity of which there is a definite and finite supply and which consequently cannot be properly used as a unit since it alters in value *itself*, and is in fact a false measure. Gold, indeed, may be considered as an "India-rubber inch."

The present age is surely the age of *energy*, of movement, of *kinetic* rather than of static conception. For such an age may not the ERN be the long sought after International Unit?

INDIA AND CHINA

BY PROF. A. R. WADIA, M.A.

A book from the fertile pen of Sir S. Radhakrishnan is always welcome, and a book by him which aims at contributing "a little to the revival of cultural understanding between China and India" is doubly welcome.

Though China and India have been next door neighbours, the intercourse between the two has always been something of an event, for the snow-capped heights of the Himalayas have served to divide more than to unite. When an intrepid seeker after truth like Hiuan-tsang faced as far back as the seventh century untold dangers to be in the spots hallowed by Buddha, and took years over his adventure, one can appreciate the change of times when an Indian thinker in the twentieth century just took a few hours to fly over the same high mountains, made Chungking his home for a fortnight, spoke to various leaders and addressed several meetings, took his measure of things Chinese and was back again in India to tell his countrymen about the wisdom and culture of old China and the passionate patriotism of new China, India and China, both conscious of their ancient cultures, both fallen on evil days, yet both proud and keen on their own resurrection and struggling to play their part in the future making of Asia and of the world, seek each other's aid in realising their aspirations. The visit of Sir Sarvapalli, even though so brief, is symbolic of the mutual respect and admiration that these two ancient countries bear to each other, and it was in the fitness of things that the leading thinker of India should be specifically invited to carry a message of hope and strength to war-torn China.

One might expect that the Indian visitor to China would enlighten China about things Indian, just as much as a Chinese visitor to India would be expected to enlighten India about things Chinese. Sir Sarvapalli has done that, but oddly enough he has chosen to speak to Chinese audiences on their philosophers and teachers, noting points of similarity between the teachings of the Chinese sages and the Indian seers. And so the book under review may well be taken as a brief introduction to the Chinese thought from the earliest centuries.

In the Introduction the visitor has noted the peculiar cheerfulness of the Chinese temperament: "To-day a great shadow hangs broad and heavy over their lives. The war and the consequent misery have deprived them of their joy and freedom, and yet you rarely see a sad face". This is truly a high compliment and bears out Pearl Buck's analysis of Chinese character, rooted in good earth and keenly sensitive to beauty of every type. But one is forced to differ from the learned author when he seeks to emphasise "a common cultural and spiritual background" of the two countries and "similar ideals of life and fellowship." He misses here the genuine democratic greatness of China, whereas India even to-day remains caste-ridden, and the shadow of untouchability

* INDIA AND CHINA. By Sir S. Radhakrishnan Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Rs. 6.

has not disappeared simply because the victims of it are given a new name and called Harijans. This also explains the political difference between the two countries, for China has been able to put up a heroic defence against heavy odds, and developed a unity of purpose even as between the Kuomintang and the communists, while India has remained divided, even though a goodly measure of independence can be achieved for mere asking and without fighting, if only her children will trust one another, for mutual trust is the basis of unity and without unity no country has ever achieved real political independence. That is why there is hope for China, and the success of China, let us hope, will not fail to have repercussions on India, and Indians too may drop their religion of caste and make it possible for a real democracy to emerge out of the dust and ashes of centuries.

As compared with the influence of Confucius on Chinese life, the influence of Buddha in Chinese history has perhaps been exaggerated, but if "a return to the historical Buddha" is essential for China, as Sir Sarvapalli would have it, such a return is far more necessary for India. One can but trust that the political leaders of India would learn the simple truth that their endeavours are bound to be futile, unless they reorganise the social foundations of their society. Other oriental countries, both Muslim and Buddhist and Shintoist, have learned this lesson. India has yet to learn it, and only then can she hope to hold up her head in pride and command the ears of the world.

The address on *War and World Security* has a topical interest, and couched as it is in the usual bright and crisp phraseology of Sir Sarvapalli, it must have had a deep impression on the people that heard it, as it has on those who read it. There may be nothing new or original in it, but the old thoughts have been freshly and vigorously put and he looks forward to a new world where men will look to men as equals and nations will live in harmony with nations. He cautions the world against the war-victorious pride of the conquerors and against a second Versailles. The voice of China and India may not go far in the immediate future, but in the years to come, once they have set their own houses in order, they can hope to have an influence in the councils of the world, commensurate with their millions of inhabitants, no more dumb through the palsy of age, but self-conscious and vocal and vibrant through the sap of rejuvenated youth. That is the hope that the book leaves on the mind of the reader.

General Lu Chao, Military Commander of the National Government of China, toasted Sir Radhakrishnan with simple tea instead of the more fashionable wine. Perhaps this too is symptomatic of the new age, when the flavour of a good cup of tea will drive out of existence the intoxicating alcohol of the West, and let the curse of drunkenness, whether individual or political and social, be just a memory of the past.

Mr. Y. H. Ku of the Ministry of Education, Chungking, aptly sums up in the traditional simplicity of Chinese poetry the meaning of Sir Sarvapalli's visit to China, and the reviewer cannot do better than end with it:

> Once he came to China.
> Those he had not met
> Put the mark of friendship on his forehead
> Calling him their own.
> He felt the Chinese heart, knew the Chinese mind.
> This he said to his friend:
> Wherever saints and sages are, culture is born anew.

ABROAD IN WAR-TIME

BY MISS MURIEL LESTER

TO-DAY, six years ago, I was in Madras. Mrs. Subbarayan, a perfect hostess, was bringing into my room late on Christmas Eve a little brass lamp to help me keep our festival. A week later I had arrived at Sevagram with an international party of African, Chinese, Japanese, Welsh, Canadian, American and English friends from the Tambaram Oecumenical Conference. After the four o'clock prayers next morning, Gandhiji asked his visitors to contribute anything we liked to New Year's Day. There was a pause as we racked our brains, finding nothing. Then the gentle rich voice of the African woman, Mina Soga, rose up into the quiet air. The unfamiliar rhythm and beautiful cadences held us all. She was asked to translate the hymn for us. It seemed to initiate a good New Year. But it was 1939 and its heritage of tragedy soon became obvious.

I was on a long speaking tour in the United States when war was declared. It was necessary for me to work out a pattern of behaviour for a "Non-Violence person" from a belligerent nation, staying in a neutral country. Being one of a team of twenty speakers under the direction of the National Council of Churches, I often had to speak three or four times a day and the evening meetings were attended by thousands of people. I wrote straight off to the British Ambassador in Washington, Lord Lothian, telling him where I was and declaring my pacifism. I thought he would be within his rights to intern me at once. Instead we had some interesting correspondence and, later on, talks over the tea table at the Embassy.

I was proud of the quality of British democracy that left me free to continue for 18 months to address meetings literally all over the States. Then came an invitation from Latin America, a strange and surprising opportunity. In a slum Sunday school in Montevideo some years before the children had had a lesson about the East End of London and boys and girls use of Bow; about their own place called "Children's House" about the mothers and fathers and friends who had built up the work there and in Kingsley Hall about the great Mr. Gandhi, who had stayed for ten weeks with them when he was King George the fifth's guest in London at the Round Table Conference in 1931.

After the lesson, one of the boys had said, "Can't we ask the lady who runs Kingsley Hall to come and tell us more about it?"

This request was translated from Spanish into English and despatched to New York City. It failed to reach me, but a couple of years later it was sent again, just when I was there and wondering where to go next. So, with the lecture fees I had earned in America I bought a return ocean ticket to take me through the Panama Canal, down to Peru, Chile, the Argentine, Uruguay and up again *via* Brazil to New York City.

It was a difficult job to get visas in war-time from the Consulates of so many different countries. Each seemed afraid of trouble coming through travellers but my agent managed it at last with the help of the British Embassy.

In Lima I was introduced to the old Inca civilization by the Curator of the Indian Museum, himself a descendant of those wonderful exponents of Non-Violence who were massacred by the invading Conquistadores, themselves tragic victims of European pride and gold lust.

Unfortunately ten days were not long enough to get into touch with Haya de la Torre, the champion of truth and the common man, whose name is one to conjure with throughout the great southern continent. He was always in hiding or in prison but his trusty devotees could have arranged an interview if time had permitted. No public meetings were arranged for me in Peru but in the other countries I spoke a good deal, especially in Uruguay, in city and village, in church and college, over the radio and to tiny groups.

Then trouble began. The United States withheld my permit to return, then promised me one for two months' stay. The British Consulate at Buenos Aires refused to endorse my visa unless I promised not to speak about the war. I refused to give the promise but eventually my papers were put in order and I flew to Rio de janeiro to catch up the liner which had left during these protracted conversations.

I felt very happy as I climbed the gangway of the great ship in Rio's spectacular harbour and we set off for the North. There was a two months' speaking programme awaiting me in New York and then I was to set off from the Pacific Coast for Asia once more.

The news of the signing of the Atlantic Charter reached us just before we anchored off the island of Trinidad. Then a British Officer came aboard, questioned me for an hour or two, took me ashore with him, and had me locked into an Internment Camp.

Staying there for ten weeks was a valuable experience. We had brown-skinned police guarding the gate and standing at each corner of the camp with fixed bayonets. All our warders and wardresses except one were island folk. There was some splendid human material in that camp, people from France and Germany, Italy and Poland, Russia and Czecho-Slovakia, Ireland and Switzerland. Most of us deteriorated as a result of being in the absolute power of the people instead of having to make our own choices, earn our own bread, exert our own wills. We had plenty of food, excellent medical and dental attention, unlimited leisure. This became a curse to many; self-pity, resentment, cynicism, boredom, self-disgust and bitterness drove some to the verge of breakdown. There were fights, furies and fears. One went mad but most possessed their souls in patience. Some were saviours of the rest. Many are there still.

We used to rig up a light outside our hut, close to the barbed wire fence that separated us, Aryans, at night from our friends, the Jews, and after supper we would sit on each side of the silly, prickly barrier, each with our Shakespeare, and read plays together. We would get up before sunrise for an hour's prayer and reading of Scripture. We tried to make music from bamboo pipes and combs covered with paper.

Then one day a question was asked in Parliament and I was brought home, a free woman once more. I arrived in Scotland in mid-November, 1941.

24th December 1944.

Thoughts on Post-War Reconstruction

By Mr. EDDY ASIRVATHAM, M.A.

"POST-WAR reconstruction" is an over-worked subject. But the mere fact that it is over-worked is not an excuse for ignoring it. When a war is on, our thoughts invariably turn to the possibility of a better order of things after the war is over, but even before it is quite over we make a hasty retreat to the old order of things, making the minimum changes possible in order to save our faces. Sir S. Radhakrishnan is right when he observes: "While fighting, we talk of the emergence of a new world and when the fighting is over, we strive to restore the old order. If this process is repeated, this war is a waste and all our sacrifices are a mockery."

If reconstruction means constructing or restoring something which had fallen down where it was and exactly as it was, it is not a proper kind of reconstruction. To give an illustration, as a result of unprecedented floods in Madras in October, 1943, a great many huts came tumbling down. Reconstruction does not mean the restoring of these huts exactly as they were and where they were. The right kind of reconstruction calls for something which will be in keeping with the needs of the time. In some situations destruction may have to precede reconstruction, even as the Great Fire of London in 1666 was a godsend in giving Sir Christopher Wren the opportunity to build a new and better London. If the old foundations are sound, they may be allowed to remain and a new superstructure built on them. But if they are not sound, there should be no hesitation in clearing them out of the way. There is no *a priori* answer to the question whether changes should be evolutionary or revolutionary. Is all depends on the seriousness of the malady. Where a major surgical operation is required, it is foolish to administer a palliative. In certain situations, revolution may very well be a part of evolution, as it illustrated by the law of mutation in biology.

FORMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

1. *Freedom from fear.*—Roosevelt rightly places freedom from fear and insecurity in the forefront of his four freedoms. If this freedom is to be secured, we need an effective world organisation. The League of Nations was, no doubt, conceived in good faith, but it was "a forum for debate rather than an instrument of action." As a contemporary puts it, the League could fire only blank cartridges. In post-war years we should have a World Court whose decisions will be backed up by an International Police or Peace Force. In the years immediately following the war, it may be necessary to disarm Germany, Japan, and Italy; but the final solution is to renounce all national armaments in favour of an international force. We do not want the policing of one-half of the world by another half. It should be "the policing of the world by the world and for the world." We have no enthusiasm for the idea which is gaining ground to-day that the world should be divided into three or four "Security Zones" with one or other of the United Nations in charge of it. A

world federation of some sort is the only right solution. But if such an ideal is difficult of realisation at the present stage of human development, we might at least take certain preliminary steps in that direction. Instead of having absolute sovereign national States in all matters, we might have a world government in the field of high politics, a regional government in the field of economics, and a national government in the field of education and culture.

2. *The Orderly Liquidation of Imperialism.*—Whatever virtues imperialists might see in the colonial system, those who are under its heel have a different story to tell. The evils far outweigh the good, and without a liberation of all colonial countries there can be no new order worthy of the name. This does not mean that when the war is over, the colonial possessions could be set free with a wave of the hand. It may be necessary to have an international supervision of backward areas, but this should be for a specific purpose or purposes and for a limited period. There is no justification for using colonies for national exploitation. If India is to continue to be a part of the British Commonwealth, it should in fact as well as in name be a free association of free nations. "The British Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations" ought not to become a pseudonym for "The British Empire *for the sake of* the Commonwealth of Nations."

3. *Constructive Economic Planning for the Whole World.* For this purpose also we require an effective world organisation; or, at least, a series of regional organisations. The Atlantic Charter promises, within broad limits, equal access to all nations (including the vanquished), to the raw materials and trade of the world. But there are already clear indications that attempts will be made to keep certain countries predominantly agricultural in order that highly industrialised countries may prosper. According to Mr. Morgentheau, post-war Germany is to be made an agricultural country in order that she might not use her industrial plant for war purposes at a moment's notice.

There is enough wisdom in the world so to pool the resources of the world that every nation will be a gainer and none a loser. But fear of the unknown makes people cling to the evil post. The years following the Ottawa Agreement of 1932 showed clearly that a ring fence empire is no solution to our economic problems. *The Times* writes: "In the seven years between Ottawa and the outbreak of war, Great Britain and the Dominions simultaneously learned that their most obstinate economic problems, and the hopes of solving them turned on their trade relations not with one another, but with the rest of the world".

Each considerable area, comprising one or more countries, should aim at a balanced economy, without necessarily having recourse to the discredited doctrine of autocracy.

4. *Improved Economic Standards for Individuals.* The wealth of a country is to be measured not by its credit balance or favourable trade, but by the contentment of its people. It is of no avail to have a prosperous country if the common people do not have all their reasonable

civic needs adequately met. Our emphasis in the future should be more upon distribution and consumption than upon production. The consumer, rather than the producer, should be made the starting point of policy. While no particular form of socialism or communism is a panacea for all our economic ills, we must recognise the fact that nobody is an absolute owner of his wealth. The State must control wealth in the interest of welfare. England is already more than half socialistic and her present-day schemes of social security take her still nearer the socialistic goal. Our economic life should be so well organised that unemployment and poverty will become things of the past. By an extension of the insurance principle the government, the employer, and the employee should be enabled to work out an elaborate scheme of social security in order that nobody may be in want. Sickness, untimely death of the wage-earner, accident, old age, and the like should not drive anybody to the wall. The social services of the State should be extended and strengthened in such a manner that a small wage ought to be enough for most people in inducing them to bring out their hidden capacities. There should be equal opportunity for everybody to equip himself with the necessary arms for the battle of life. Talent should not be allowed to perish for want of opportunity.

5. *A Free and United India.*—So far as India is concerned, without political freedom there can be no true reconstruction. To argue that what India immediately needs is economic regeneration, rather than political freedom is to shut one's eyes to facts. Has any one ever heard of a country being able to order her economic life the way she thinks best without political freedom as a pre-requisite? The reported statement of Mr. Amery that Indian soldiers in Italy were "cheerfully indifferent and rather contemptuous of politics" comes with ill-grace from one who is himself an arch politician. Continual bondage in one form or another can only perpetuate slave virtues. Freedom is essential for our self-respect, if not for our very existence.

Freedom is likely to be a mixed blessing if India cannot remain united. Even if Partition is conceded because of the strongly-held views of a certain section of the nation, there should be inviolable treaties (say, for 50 years) between the new States guaranteeing common action in such matters as defence, foreign policy, communications, customs, and currency. While the need of the hour is to form larger and larger areas of co-operation, it is suicidal to divine and sub-divide ourselves till we became completely pulverised.

6. *An Educated India.*—It is not a matter for pride that after two centuries of British rule the percentage of literacy in India is as low as 15. Travancore, we are told, has a literacy percentage of 80. The Sargent scheme seeks to provide free compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 (not free in the case of High School children) at a cost of 312 crores of rupees per year when the scheme is in full swing. It does not say where the money is to come from or the huge army of teachers necessary to

put the scheme through. Yet it is a step in the right direction. It renders lip service to the Wardha principle of education centering in a craft, but does not develop it fully. What free India should do is to effect a workable compromise between the Sargent and Wardha schemes, secure universal literacy within a measurable length of time, and free education from the requirements of officialdom for a multitude of docile clerks. True education should give a person knowledge and the capacity to utilise that knowledge as well as individual satisfaction and contentment.

7. *An Industrialised India.*—The Bombay Plan is holding the ground in this field of our national activity. It contemplates three five-year plans costing something like 10,000 crores of rupees. It aims at universal employment, increased wages, and a higher living standard all round. A criticism levelled against it is that the scales are weighted too much in favour of Big Business. Whether this is true or not, India urgently needs a plan for building up her industrial life. India should produce her own industrial requirements and not merely be a dependency of Britain or an assembler of parts produced abroad. She should build her own ships and aeroplanes with State subsidy, if necessary. Railways, mines, and, perhaps, even land might be nationalised. India should produce her own tools, and for this purpose there should be a strong bias in favour of technical education.

8. *Improved conditions of agriculture.*—The yield per acre is less than in some advanced countries or even less than what it was in India sometime ago. According to Mr. Amery's own confession, the production of foodstuff per head in India has declined in 30 years by more than one quarter.

Some of the agricultural needs of India are the education of the cultivator, collective farming where possible, new forest laws and model farms, artificial manures, basic industries producing large tractors and small agricultural implements, more land brought under cultivation, greater irrigation facilities, metalled roads connecting villages, elimination of the middlemen as far as that is possible, development of co-operation, more food crops than cash crops, better cattle, and more cattle fodder.

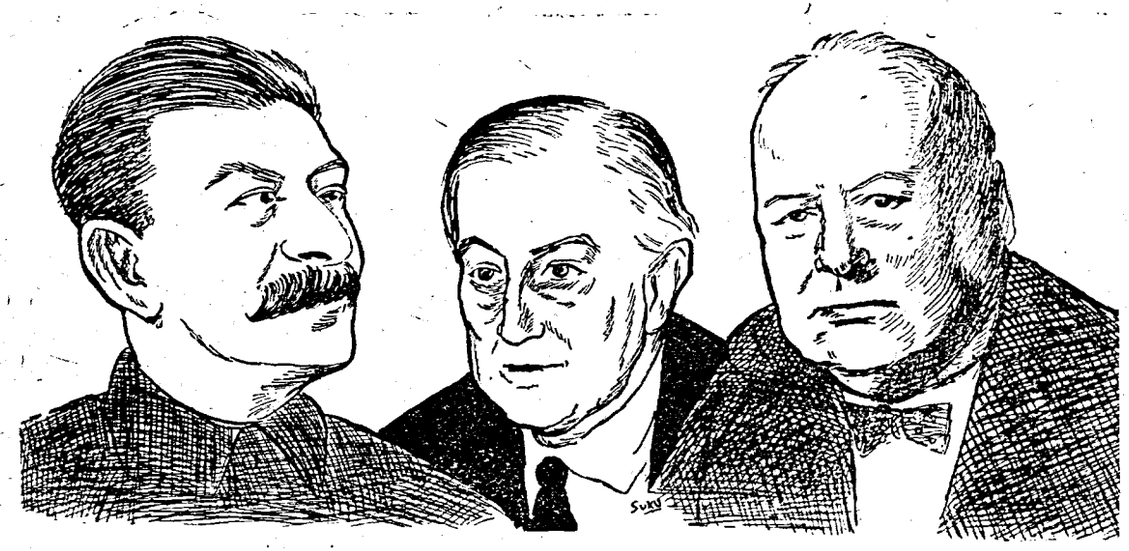
9. *A Healthy India.*—National health is the greatest asset which any country can have and no government worthy of its name can neglect this need. While the average span of life is 62 in England, it is as low as 26 in India (according to Prof. A. V. Hill). Deficiency diseases are on the increase. Between 100 and 200 millions suffer from malaria yearly. The mortality rate is four to eight times that of Britain.

The resisting power of the people is very low either because they are underfed or improperly fed. The improvement in our national diet is a crying need of the hour. The typical diet of the poor class South Indian is something on which even a rat cannot thrive. A balanced and nutritive diet should be within the easy reach of all. Millions of children do not get even a cup of milk a day. There is need for a greater use of buttermilk, skimmed milk, fresh fruits, greens whole wheat, etc. Vegetables are often cooked beyond

recognition. Government can do much in making proper foodstuff available. But it cannot change our food habits. In a matter like this, people should help themselves. If Government should interfere, there is likely to be a revolution, for a great many people love their stomachs and their palates more than they care for their self-respect. A hungry stomach and radiant health are a contradiction in terms.

10. *Production of Strong, Vigorous Personalities.*—The family, the church, the school and the university should make concerted efforts to build in youth such active qualities of character as truthfulness, straightforwardness, manliness and courage, consideration for the feelings and conveniences of others, and co-operation. Excellence in the realm of passive qualities alone—hospitality, forbearance, etc.—is not enough. Youth should be imbued with the service ideal and the spirit of constructive citizenship. It should be trained to subordinate self, caste, and community to the needs of the country. It is regrettable that on account of perverted notions of religion, community, and culture even educated people think more of their individual and group needs than of the national needs.

The sure foundation of a better world order in the social, economic and political fields is the production of better men and women everywhere.



THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WITH STALIN AND CHURCHILL

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

—(o)—

[The sudden death of President Roosevelt has deprived the U.S.A. of one of its greatest citizens who guided the nation for twelve long years through the storm and stress of many a crisis in her history. The United Nations have lost in him a powerful ally and farsighted leader whose indomitable will and perseverance made such a dramatic change in the fortunes of war. Liberal causes all the world over have lost in him a bulwark of strength and an inspiring leader. It is sad to think that Roosevelt has not lived to witness the fruition of his own labours, and to shape the peace to come for which he laboured so strenuously through all the years of war to victory. It is felt that Roosevelt will leave a memory as great and illustrious as either Lincoln or Washington. The following accounts prepared by the U.S.O.W.I. are of timely interest.—ED. *I.R.*]

THE name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt achieved a world-wide significance unique among American statesmen.

To the oppressed peoples of Europe and Asia he was a symbol of deliverance from German and Japanese savagery, the leader who forged the productive might and fighting skill of the United States into an invincible weapon of liberation.

To the republics of Central and South America he was the creator and sponsor of the good neighbor policy which ushered in a new era of hemispheric co-operation.

To the people of the United States he was the man who stood for fair play, who sponsored and secured the passage of more social legislation than any other American—the man who told America during the depth of the great economic depression that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Thirty-second President of the United States, Roosevelt was the first man to be elected three times to that office, being elected subsequently for a fourth time in 1944.

This major departure from American tradition was largely the result of the recurring crises of the past 16 years.

Bitter controversy marked his third campaign for the Presidency in 1940. His victory in that election, in the face of the traditional American aversion for the prolonged vesting of power in one man, reflected the nation's growing awareness of its impending involvement in global war, and its faith in a man who had shown a realistic understanding of the threat to all democratic peoples in German and Japanese aggression.

Roosevelt early recognized the danger signals in Europe and the Far East, warned of the need for adequate military and naval preparations and succeeded as early as 1933 in persuading the U.S. Congress to increase naval and military appropriations. In 1937 he called for a "quarantine" against aggressor nations.

It was not, however, until the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in 1941, that the United States became in fact the arsenal of democracy, producing and shipping to the beleaguered people of Britain, Russia and China, the weapons which America's industry had begun to produce on a gigantic scale.

In 1940, with the passage of the Selective Service Act, the United States began the mobilization of its manpower into a modern army.

Roosevelt was born at Hyde Park, in New York State's Hudson River Valley, on January 30, 1882. His father, James, was a landowner, his mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt, the daughter of a New York shipping merchant. Theodore Roosevelt, the 26th U.S. President, and a Republican, was his fifth cousin.

He was married in New York City on March 17, 1905, to Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, niece of the then President, Theodore Roosevelt. Their children are James, now a colonel in the Marine Corps, Elliott, now a brigadier general in the Army Air Forces, Franklin D., Jr., lieutenant commander in the Navy, John, a lieutenant in the Navy and Anna Eleanor, married to Major John Boottigor.

EARLY LIFE

Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was to become the world's foremost leader in reforms for the benefit of the average man, was born and reared in a prosperous family. He attended Groton preparatory school in New England and there won a Latin prize but did not particularly distinguish himself as a scholar or an athlete. From Groton he went to Harvard, where he became editor and president of the university's daily newspaper. He was graduated in the class of 1904 with the degree of bachelor of arts, stayed another year for graduate work, then entered the Columbia University law school where he studied for three years. He was admitted to the New York State Bar in 1907. For three years he was managing Clerk with a New York law firm, then became a junior member of another.

ELECTED TO STATE SENATE

In 1910 the Democratic party leaders of Dutchess County, New York—at that time a Republican stronghold—saw in young Roosevelt a promising candidate for the state senate. Roosevelt, after a vigorous campaign, edged out a victory and became the first Democrat elected to the state senate from that district in 28 years. He was not yet 30 years old.

At Albany, the state capital, he made a mark by leading a small bloc of Democrats in a successful move to defeat the leading candidate of the party for the U.S. Senate. Roosevelt charged the candidate's record disqualified him, and he managed to force the substitution of another. It was a victory over a political machine and marked him as a leader with independence and ability.

The following year, 1911, he helped to organize a New York State campaign for Woodrow Wilson as the Democratic candidate for President, and in 1912 was a delegate to the national convention that nominated Wilson.

When Wilson was elected he made Roosevelt Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This gave full rein to his enthusiasm for ships. He converted useless yards into naval supply plants, started the building of a naval reserve by training civilian units, and helped break up a coalition of armor plate manufacturers. He was soon recognized as a strong Navy man. After the

United States entered the first World War in 1917, the young Assistant Secretary was largely responsible for the placing of a mine barrage across the North Sea, from Norway to the Orkneys, and for the building of swift submarine chasers. In the summer of 1918 he inspected U.S. warcraft in European waters and after the armistice he supervised the demobilization of U.S. Navy stations and bases. In February 1919, he returned to the United States with President Wilson and began speaking in favor of the League of Nations.

NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN 1920

In 1920 he was the Democratic Party's nominee for vice-president, the running mate of James M. Cox of Ohio. He resigned his Navy post and in the ensuing campaign made 800 speeches. The election resulted in a Republican victory, and Roosevelt returned to private life and the practice of law.

In 1921, while on vacation at the family's summer home at Campobello Island, off New Brunswick, he was stricken with infantile paralysis. For a time his life was in danger, then he recovered but had partially lost the use of his legs. He went to Warm Springs, in the southern state of Georgia, where he was helped by the healing natural waters, and after a time was able to walk with the use of canes and leg braces.

For a time his infirmity was naturally discouraging, but he soon found new interest and purpose in life. He resumed the practice of law in New York in 1924 and took on a number of other jobs. In that year Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York, sought the Democratic nomination for President. The Democratic Party's convention was held in New York. Roosevelt went to the platform to make an appeal for Smith's nomination and he received an ovation.

Four years later Roosevelt again presented Governor Smith's name to the convention, calling him "the happy warrior," an allusion to Wordsworth's poem Smith was nominated. At Smith's insistence Roosevelt was drafted as the Democratic nominee for Governor of New York. This office Roosevelt won by the narrow margin of 25,000 votes, but in 1930 he was re-elected by the unprecedented plurality of 750,000 votes.

SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

The New York legislature was preponderantly Republican, but cordial relations prevailed between it and the governor. Roosevelt's administration was marked by the passage of a number of social welfare laws, tax relief for farmers, and a constructive conservation program, including the reforestation of denuded areas. In 1931 the economic depression had brought widespread unemployment, and Roosevelt invited other state Governors to Albany to discuss measures to meet the situation. New York was the first state to appropriate funds for unemployment relief.

In 1932, he was nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic Party. He flew to Chicago to accept, and pledged a "new deal" for the American people. He was elected by majorities in 42 of the 48 states and took office at a time

when the nation was at the bottom of the worst financial depression in its history. The stock market collapse of 1929 had been followed by business and industrial paralysis, with an estimated, 12,000,000 persons unemployed. He declared a bank holiday to give the harried institutions a chance to catch their breath. On the day after his inauguration, he summoned an extraordinary session of Congress, to meet March 9.

The President already had called to his aid authorities on economics, finance, the social sciences, law and government—many of these experts were from the universities. Their function was to bring forward plans for recovery that would fit into the framework of the American Government. With the support of men and women of all political affiliations in Congress, a program of social and economic reform was enacted.

The first measure was an emergency banking act, ordering the surrender of all gold to the government, and providing for the assistance of embarrassed institutions. Other acts to ensure depositors' funds and facilitate the flow of money were passed. There followed measures in many fields: the Agricultural Adjustment Act (stabilizing farm income); the Home Owners Loan Corporation (protecting householders from mortgage foreclosure); the Federal Securities Act (putting operations in the stock market under regulation); the Tennessee Valley Authority (a federal power and conservation project with a wide area of service); the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; the Emergency Transportation Act; the Public Works Administration; the Works Progress Administration; the Commodity Credit Corporation; and the National Recovery Act.

SOUGHT TO ENLARGE SUPREME COURT

When this last measure (NRA) was nullified by the U.S. Supreme Court, which found it unconstitutional, Roosevelt sought authority in 1937 to enlarge the court. This provoked a storm of controversy. His proposal was forced into discard by his legislative opponents less than a year after he had been elected by the greatest plurality in the history of America's Presidential elections. The public reaction was that the Supreme Court was not to be tampered with. Yet his popular strength was not impaired.

Roosevelt early recognized danger signals in Europe and the Far East. He warned that war anywhere would endanger the peace of the Western Hemisphere. He fostered a Good Neighbor Policy which drew the nations of North and South America into a closer fraternity. He recalled Ambassador Hugh Wilson for consultation, a move interpreted widely as a protest against Nazi persecution of minorities. In July 1939, he asked Congress to repeal the arms embargo of the Neutrality Act. This, Congress did not do, but in November he effected his purpose by obtaining the cash-and-carry act under which belligerents might purchase supplies in America and carry them away in any but American ships. Axis nations howled that this aided the nations they had marked for doom.

After Germany invaded Denmark and Norway, Roosevelt ordered U.S. protection

extended to Greenland and Iceland. When in June 1940, Mussolini ordered Italy's attack on France, the President, in a commencement address at the University of Virginia, said: "The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor."

Roosevelt's politics brought criticism from some quarters of America, and rage from the Axis, but by 1940 the plans of the aggressor nations were plain to most Americans. Few were surprised when the Democrats named Roosevelt for their candidate a third time. Again he was elected with an impressive majority of the electoral vote (carrying 38 of the 48 states) but a smaller plurality of the popular vote, which proved the biggest in U.S. history. When the election was over, partisan disputes were laid aside and ranks closed again.

Roosevelt had appointed two Republicans to key posts in his Cabinet: Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War, and the late Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy. A few months later the President outlined America's role as "the arsenal of democracy." Under lend-lease, munitions were supplied to Britain, China, Russia and other nations fighting against the Axis.

In 1941 he declared a state of national emergency, to replace the limited emergency declared in 1939, and Americans began building greater industries for defence—and after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941—for war. He had sought to prevent this by a direct appeal and warning to Emperor Hirohito over the heads of the Japanese administration, as he earlier had made appeals and warnings to Hitler and Mussolini.

After America's entry into the war, Mr. Roosevelt as President and Commander-in-Chief took the leadership in mobilizing the manpower and physical resources of the nation, creating war agencies under his emergency powers and proposing much legislation for the consideration of Congress. In pursuance of the higher strategic and political objectives of the war he played a leading part in enhancing Allied solidarity by conferences with leaders of the United Nations—at Casablanca in January 1943, at Quebec in August 1943, at Cairo and Teheran in November of the same year, and at Yalta last February; besides the frequent visits of Allied leaders to Washington.

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HARRY S. TRUMAN THE NEW PRESIDENT

Roosevelt's successor, President Truman, a name that reminds one of the "Pilgrims Progress" in his first speech to the U.S. Congress on April 16, said that the grand strategy of the United Nations in the war "must and will remain unchanged and unhampered." "Our demand has been and it remains unconditional surrender. So that there can be no possible misunderstanding, both Germany and Japan can be certain beyond any shadow of doubt that we, Americans, will continue the fight for freedom until no vestige of their resistance remains."—ED. *I.R.*

HARRY S. TRUMAN, who now becomes President of the United States, was elected Vice-President on November 7, 1944. He was sworn into office on January 20, 1945, as the third Vice-President to serve under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A native of the middle western state of Missouri, Truman served ten years in the United States Senate, and at the time of his election to the vice-presidency, was head of an important Senate Committee investigating the defence and war programs.

The so-called "Truman Committee" was established at his suggestion in March, 1941, in an effort to prevent waste of manpower, money and materials in the war industry expansion program. The committee of 10 Senators through investigations and constructive criticism brought about consolidation of conflicting agencies into the War Production Board.

The committee investigated such varied war problems as rationing, priorities, corporate cartels and war building and construction costs.

Truman was a National Guard private who rose to the rank of Captain and fought at St. Mihiel and the Argonne in the last war. He volunteered his services as a reserve officer at the outbreak of the current war only to be told by Army authorities that he could make a greater contribution by remaining in the Senate.

BORN IN MISSOURI

President Truman will be 61 on May 8. He was born on a farm near Lamar Missouri. He was married in 1919 to Bess Wallace, his childhood sweetheart, and they have one daughter, Mary Margaret Truman.

Truman was nominated by the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last July on the second ballot to run as vice-presidential candidate beside President Roosevelt. He succeeded Henry Wallace, who failed to be re-nominated.

When Truman was first elected to the upper house of the U.S. Congress in 1934, he described himself as "just a farmer who happens to be in the Senate." He further distinguished himself for modesty by writing, for the *Congressional Directory* a biography of himself that made three lines of fine print.

Truman was not conspicuous in his first term. He worked hard at his job and left speech-making to more prominent personalities. He gave no hint that he was destined to become the "watch-dog" of America's industrial mobilization for war.

Truman foresaw the war and knew America could not avoid it by any pretence of isolation. He has long urged that

America play a leading role in securing a lasting peace in the post-war world.

STARTED PUBLIC LIFE AS JUDGE

He started his first job at 3 dollars per week when ten years old. By 1903 he was doing considerably better as an employee of a bank, but when his father asked him to return as partner, to the family farm, he did so in 1906 and still says the next ten years were the happiest of his life.

But the world war came and Truman, a member of the National Guard of Missouri, went first to Camp Doniphan, and then to artillery school at Fox Sill, Oklahoma, and then was assigned as captain commanding, Battery D, 129 Field Artillery, July 11, 1918. He did well enough, in the military sense, to be given a majority and later, a colonelcy in the Reserve.

Married in 1919 to Bess Wallace, his childhood sweetheart Captain Truman did not return to the farm. In 1922 he was elected judge of the Jackson County Court in Missouri, a position for which, under Missouri law, no knowledge of law was required. Feeling, however, that such knowledge "would assist him in his judicial career," the judge studied two years at the Kansas City Law School—only to fail of re-election in 1924. In 1926, however, the constituency made amends by electing him presiding judge, and re-elected him in 1930. Immediately after his second term expired, on November 6, 1934, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and November 5, 1940, was re-elected for a term to expire on January 3, 1947.

ORIGIN OF TRUMAN COMMITTEE

It was in February, 1941, that a letter from his home state brought Truman of Missouri into his own. A constituent wrote to him about waste of manpower, money and materials in the construction of a Missouri Army camp. After investigation, covering 30,000 miles and nearly all the construction of camps in the United States, the Senator arose with an array of facts which demanded no less than an investigation of the entire defence effort. The charges he made were so sweeping as to seem fantastic. The Senate, discounting them, gave Truman only $15,000 of the $25,000 he had asked for his committee; but they assigned him seven Senators as committeemen—five Democrats like himself, two Republicans, six of them newcomers to the Senate—and by Senate Resolution 71 authorized him to proceed.

This was in March, 1941. By May the Committee had issued its first 98-page report, one section of which, according to General Brehon Somervell of the Army Services of Supply, saved the country $250,000,000.

Up to the middle of 1944 the Truman Committee—officially the Senate Committee Investigating the National Defence Program—had been allotted, by degrees, $400,000, of which nearly $100,000 was still unspent. It never employed more than 15 investigators and 18 typists; the bulk of the work was done by the Senators, their counsel, Hugh A. Fulton, and innumerable plain Americans. Most of the raw material which the Committee processed into reforms and savings was provided by citizens who wrote letters. Once on a trail, the Committee could subpoena witnesses and, though it had no power to punish wrong-doing, could bring not only wrong-doers but also bunglers to the public attention. It was public opinion, roused by the Truman Committee, which caused a man who wanted $1,500,000 for his interest in a concern the government was taking over, to settle for $175,000; and a public prosecutor—working on Truman evidence—who sent certain dishonest contractors to jail.

The Committee's purview extended from the design of landing craft to the fruit-juice situation—it caused 30,000,000 cans of grape-fruit juice to be released to a thirsty public—and was busy with problems so diverse as lodgings for service families, lend-lease, the seaworthiness of Liberty ships, foreign air bases and post-war re-conversion of industry—in addition to its perennial work on the re-pricing of war contracts. Of these last, Truman and his committee took a reasonable view; saying that when contractors, strange to the products demanded, had no idea of costs, they necessarily fixed prices high; but that, with standards fixed, contracts could now be revised downward. He agreed that profits are essential; but he said his committee existed to ensure that "nobody shall profit inordinately on the blood of those boys in the foxholes."

AERODYNAMICS IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

BY MR. A. C. BANERJI, I.E.S.

THE knowledge of aerodynamics is essential for a proper appreciation of the fundamental principles of the Sciences of Aviation and Meteorology. A thorough grasp of these principles is a *sine quanon* for any original work in the theory and practice of these sciences. In post-war India aviation is bound to become one of the chief means of transport. For proper designs of machines and their handling a good grounding in Aerodynamics is necessary. It is an acknowledged fact that theory has helped a lot in finding out devices for giving stability to the machines and overcoming the resistance of air while flying. In fact, every step in the rapid development which has recently taken place in aviation has been the result of close collaboration between the theoretical and practical workers in the field.

In the domain of Meteorology, knowledge of weather conditions is very necessary for agriculture, aviation and shipping. Weather forecasting has been very helpful in minimizing loss to life and property by giving timely warnings of impending storms, floods, etc. The United States Weather Bureau has done signal service by predicting times of occurrences of devasting floods in the Mississippi valley and the dreadful American tornadoes. The Indian Meteorological Department has also been very helpful in making timely forecasts of tropical cyclones. As the science of forecasting is still in its infancy, there is much scope here for theoretical work in aerodynamics, to collate the observational data, to indicate the lines of further research and to make proper deductions.

It is expected that there will be considerable expansion of the Departments of Aviation and Meteorology in post-war India. A band of fully trained young men with special knowledge of Aerodynamics would be required by these Departments. So, Aerodynamics should be introduced as a special subject in the Mathematics curriculum of our Universities which are evidently the proper place for imparting instruction to our young men in the theory of the subject.

THE SAPRU PLAN

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[We publish below the text of the Resolution which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as Chairman of the Conciliation Committee, cabled to Lord Wavell in London on April 1. The Resolution suggests the formation of a National Government at the Centre and the restoration of autonomy in all Provinces. The Sapru Committee's Proposals for the Future Constitution of India were issued on April 8. They indicate the outlines which the Committee feels would suit the conditions in India. The recommendations, they say, do not constitute a full blue-print for the future constitution. They are essentially suggestions made for the constitution of the country at large.—ED. *I.R.*]

I. CABLE TO LORD WAVELL

IN view of the internal situation, particularly relating to the economic life of the people and in view of the rapid pace at which international events are marching and in view of the necessity of India being represented in her own right and by her own representatives at all international conferences and peace conferences, if any, this Committee strongly recommends that the following steps be taken at once:—

(1) All political prisoners and detenus be released immediately:

(2) India should, by a Royal Proclamation, be declared an independent State and treated as a Dominion equal and in no way inferior to any other Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, even though, pending the framing and coming into force of a new constitution, the Government of India may have to be conducted in conformity with the provisions of the Act of 1935 subject to the minimum necessary modifications;

(3) (A) The proclamations issued in several Provinces under Section 93 of the Act should be withdrawn forthwith and the Legislatures allowed to resume their normal activities; (B) Popular Ministries should be re-established in these Provinces and allowed to function under the provisions of the Act (C) in the formation of such Ministries, the Prime Minister representing the largest single party in the Legislature should be required, as far as possible to include in the Ministry persons commanding the confidence of other parties in the Legistature;

(4) In addition to the restoration of autonomy in all the Provinces of British India, a National Government should replace the present Executive Council at the centre.

For this purpose the Committee would recommend for consideration the following two alternatives:—

AMEND 1935 ACT

The First Alternative: (A) Section 5 of the Government of India Act, 1935, should be so amended as to provide for the issue of a proclamation by His Majesty bringing into being forthwith a federatian of India without insisting on the entry of Indian States as a condition precedent as provided in sub-section (2) of the said section, Indian States being at liberty to accede to the Federation in accordance with the terms of Section 6 of the Act.

ALL-PARTY MINISTRIES IN PROVINCES

(B) Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935, with the proposed amendments should be brought into force and steps taken immediately to hold elections to the two Houses of the Federation Legislature and to appoint a Council of Ministers in accordance with the provisions contained in that part.

Provided, however, that in the formation of such a Ministry the Prime Minister, representing the largest single party in the Legislature shall, as far as possible, include in the Ministry persons commanding the confidence of other important parties in the Legislature,

INDIANISATION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Second 'Alternative: Schedule IX of the Act may be continued in force but should be so amended as to provide for altering the constitution and functioning of the Governor-General-in-Council for the following lines:—

(a) Except for the Commander-in-Chief who may continue to be ex-efficio member of the Executive Council in charge of war operations and matters ancillary thereto, the entire Executive Council should consist of Indians commanding the confidence of the parties in the Central Legislature; the provision in sub-section (3) of Section 36 which requires that three at least of the members should be persons who have been in the service of the Crown in India for a period of at least 10 years being repealed.

(b) No officials belonging to the permanent services shall be nominated to either House of the Central Legislature. The nominated block in each of the 2 Houses shall consist entirely of non-officials nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council.

(c) In the 9th Schedule of the Act the provisions excluding from the control of the Legislature expenditure under heads Ecclesiastical, External affairs, defence, tribal areas and other items incurred by the Governor-General in his direction, shall be repealed.

POLITICAL ADVISER SHOULD BE INDIAN

(d) The Political Adviser to the Crown Representative should be an Indian with the rank and status of an Executive Councillor though he may not be a member of the Executive Council.

(e) The decision as to when the general elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures should take place should be left to the National Government at the centre and the popular Governments in the provinces.

2. The Committee greatly appreciates your initiative in proceeding to London for the purpose as it believes of ending the present political deadlock in the country and trusts that the suggestions that it is now making will be of assistance to you and His Majesty's Government in solving the problem that faces you. The Committee is continuing its work.

II. THE RECOMMENDATIONS

These proposals are confined to British India only. When the Indian States decide to come into the Union, as the Committee hopes they will, it is obvious that arrangements will have to be made in consultation with them for necessary adjustments and additions.

The recommendations of the Sub-Committees on Scheduled Castes and aboriginal tribes and on Minorities adopted by the Committee will soon be published separately.

THE CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY

The constitution-making body shall be constituted in the manner prescribed in Clause 'D' of the draft resolution of His Majesty's Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps subject to the following modifications:

(1) The total strength of the body shall be 160 distributed as follows: Special Interests, *viz.*, Commerce and Industry, Landholders, Universities, Labour and Women 16; Hindus, excluding Scheduled Castes 51; Muslims 51; Scheduled Castes 20; Indian Christians 7; Sikhs 8; Backward Areas and Tribes 3; Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 1; Others 1.

(2) It is because Clause 'D' of H. M. G's declaration provides for election by a joint electorate composed of members of all the Provincial Legislatures under the system of proportional representation that the Committee has decided to recommend that in spite of the disparity in the population strengths between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes, the Hindu community

should, in the interests of promoting communal unity, agree that the representation of the Muslim community on the constitution-making body shall be on a par with that given to Hindus other than Scheduled Castes.

(3) No decision shall be valid unless it is supported by ¾ths of the members present and voting.

(4) His Majesty's Government shall enact the constitution on the basis of the valid decisions of the constitution-making body supplemented wherever necessary by its own awards on matters in which the requisite majority for decision was not forthcoming.

DIVISION OF INDIA

The Committee having considered carefully the resolution of the Muslim League passed at Lahore in 1940, the various other resolutions of the League and the published version of the talks betwen Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi and having also considered the "C. R." and Gandhi proposals, is emphatically of opinion that any division of India into two or more separate independent soverign States is unjustified and will endanger the peace and orderly progress of the whole country without any compensating advantage to any community, and that the political unity of India should therefore be maintained.

INDIAN STATES

Provisions should be made in the constitution for the accession from time to time of Indian States as units of the Union on such terms as may be agreed upon. The establishment of the Union should not, however, be made contingent on the accession of any Indian State or of any minimum number of Indian States. The Union should be brought into being and should commence to function at the earliest possible date, even if no Indian State has acceded to it as a Unit by then.

NON-ACCESSION AND SECESSION

No province of British India may elect not to accede to the Union nor may any Unit—whether a Province or a State which has acceded—be entitled to secede therefrom.

PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES

While it is not desirable that the new constitution should be delayed by the realignment of Provincial boundaries on linguistic or cultural considerations, the Constitution Act shall indicate the machinery and prescribe the procedure for such realignment of old Provinces and for the creation of new Provinces after it has come into force and on such realignment or creation of Provinces, all consequential amendments may be made in the constitution.

HEAD OF THE STATE

The Committee submits the accompanying suggestions for the consideration of the constitution-making body. They have been placed before the Comittee by one of its members who has great experience of the administration of Indian States and of the working of the Government of India Act (1935) in relation to them. As the Indian States are not represented on this Committee and as the suggestions are of a very vital and far-reaching character, the Committee has thought it desirable to express no opinion on the merits of the several alternatives suggested, beyond stating that a clear definition of the Head of the State is necessary, as the several resolutions adopted by the Committee assume the existence of a Head of the State and the exercise by him of certain powers and functions. The member responsible for these suggestions agrees that they or any variant of them involving the participation of the Indian States cannot be finally adopted except with the consent of the Indian States.

(1) There shall be a Head of the State (*i.e.*, Union) in India who shall be the repository of (a) all such powers and duties as may be conferred or imposed on him by or under the Constitution Act, and (b) such other powers as are now vested in His Majesty the King of England, including powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, provided that, in relation to his powers, the Head of the State shall conform to the traditions, usages and conventions which are binding on the constitutional Head of any State.

(2) The office of Head of the State shall have a tenure of five years, and ordinarily no person may hold the office for more than one term.

FIRST ALTERNATIVE

The Head of the State shall be elected by an electoral college composed of the members of the two Houses of the Union Legislature either without any restriction as to their choice or subject to their choice being confined to the rulers of Indian States, having a minimum population or revenue or both, to be named in a schedule of the Constitution Act.

SECOND ALTERNATIVE

(3) The Head of the State shall be elected by the rulers of the Indian States referred to above from amongst themselves.

THIRD ALTERNATIVE

The Head of the State shall be appointed by His Majesty the King of England, on the advice of the Union Cabinet, either without any restriction as to his choice or subject to his choice being confined to the rulers of the Indian States referred to above.

(4) In case the third alternative in para 3 is adopted and a link with the British Crown is maintained, the Secretary of State for India together with all the control that he or the British Cabinet exercises over Indian administration should, in any case, be abolished.

(5) The Head of a unit, other than an Indian State, shall be appointed by the Head of the State on the advice of the Union Cabinet.

UNION LEGISLATURE

(A) The Union Legislature shall consist of the Head of the State and two Chambers—the Union Assembly and the Council of State.

(B) The strength of the Union Assembly shall be so fixed that there shall be on the average one member for every million of the population.

(C) Ten per cent. of the total strength shall be reserved for the representation of the following special interests: Landholders; Commerce and Industry; Labour; Women.

(D) The remaining seats shall be distributed among the following communities: (1) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes, (2) Muslims, (3) Sikhs, (4) Indian Christians, (5) Anglo-Indians, (6) Other communities.

(E) (1) In case the Muslim community on their part agrees to the substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates and in that case only this Committee would recommend that, in the interests of promoting national unity, the Hindu community should agree that in the strength of the Central Assembly, excluding the seats allotted to special interests, such as Commerce and Industry, Landholders, Labour, etc., Muslim representation from British India shall be on a par with the representation given to the Hindus (other than Scheduled Castes) in spite of the great disparity in their respective population strengths.

The Committee desire to emphasize their view that if this recommendation is not to be implemented in its entirety, the Hindu community should be at liberty not merely not to agree to the claim for parity of representation but to ask for a revision of the Communal Award.

(II) The Committee considers that the representation given to the Sikhs and Scheduled Castes in the Government of India Act is manifestly inadequate and unjust and should be substantially raised. The quantum of increased representation to be given to them should be left to the Constitution-making body.

(F) For the Union Assembly, there shall be adult franchise, for seats other than those reserved for special interests.

(G) For the special interests, there shall be special constituencies. There shall be direct election to the Union Assembly. As for election to the Council of State, the question shall be decided by the Constitution-making body.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Lists of the matters, in respect of which the power of making laws for peace, order and good Government and the functions pertaining to the administration of those laws shall fall within the spheres respectively of the Centre and the units, shall be embodied in the Constitution Act.

The detailed drawing up of these lists should be left to the Constitution-making body. The Committee, however, would recommend that the following principles, among others, should guide the Constitution-making body in the distribution of powers and functions between the Centre and the units:—

(A) The powers and functions assigned to the Centre should be as small in number as possible, provided that they shall in any case include (i) matters of common interest to India, as a whole, such as foreign affairs, defence, relations with Indian States, inter-unit communications, commerce, customs, currency posts and telegraphs. (ii) Settlement of inter-unit disputes; (iii) Co-ordination where necessary of the legislation and administration of different units; (iv) Such other matters or action as may be required for ensuring the safety and tranquillity of India or any part thereof or for the maintenance of the political integrity and economic unity of India or for dealing with any emergencies.

(B) While all matters not assigned to the centre exclusively or concurrently must be declared to fall within the sphere of the units, a list of these should, for greater certainty, be given in the Constitution Act with the rider that all residuary powers—those not included in either of the two lists—shall vest in the units.

(C) All customs barriers between one unit and another shall be abolished and there shall be free trade within the Union, provided that, where the abolition of existing customs barriers affects prejudicially the finances of a unit, it shall be entitled to adequate compensation out of the revenues of the Union.

UNION EXECUTIVE

(A) Subject to the provisions of Clause (B), the Executive of the Union shall be a Composite Cabinet in the sense that the following communities shall be represented on it, *viz.*, (i) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes, (ii) Muslims. (iii) Scheduled Castes, (iv) Sikhs, (v) Indian Christians, (vi) Anglo-Indians.

(B) The representation of these communities in the Executive shall be, as far as possible, a reflection of their strength in the Legislature.

(C) The Cabinet shall be deemed to be duly constituted notwithstanding the absence from it temporarily of representatives of any of the communities mentioned in Cluse (A) where on account of a whole community refusing to join or remain in a Cabinet, that community goes without representation therein, the vacancies may, pending the availability of members of that community, be filled by appointment of members of other communities and the Cabinet commence or continues to function, provided it commands a majority in the Legislature.

(D) The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the Legislature.

(E) The Cabinet shall be led, guided and held together by a Prime Minister who shall ordinarily be the leader of a party which by itself or in combination with other parties is able to command a stable majority in the Legislature. A convention should be created that the offices of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister should not be monopolized by any one community.

(F) The other members of the Cabinet shall be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(G) One of these Ministers shall be designated Deputy Prime Minister and it shall be a standing rule that the Deputy Prime Minister shall not belong to the same community as the Prime Minister.

(H) The Cabinet shall be elected by the Central Legislature in a joint session by the system of the single transferable vote. The elected Ministers shall hold office for the duration of the Legislature. The Legislature shall elect from among the Ministers, a President and a Deputy President who shall not both belong to the same community.

MINISTER FOR INDIAN STATES

There shall be a Minister-in-charge of the functions in relation to Indian States and with him shall be associated a body of persons not less than three and not more than five in number who shall be called Indian States' Advisers and who shall be chosen in the manner agreed upon with the Indian States. The Minister shall consult the Indian States' Advisers in all important matters and shall obtain their concurrence in respect of certain matters to be specified in the Constitution Act.

JUDICIARY

(1) There shall be a Supreme Court for the Union and a High Court in each of the Units.

(2) The strength of Judges in each of these courts at the inception of the Union as well as the salaries to be paid to them shall be fixed in the Constitution Act and no modification in either shall be made except on the recommendation of the High Court, the Government concerned and the Supreme Court and with the sanction of the Head of the State, a Governor-General or President as the case may be provided, however, that the salary of no judge shall be varied to his disadvantage during his term of office.

(3) (a) The Chief Justice of India shall be appointed by the Head of the State and the other Judges of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the Head of the State in consultation with the Chief Justice of India.

(b) The Chief Justice of a High Court shall be appointed by the Head of the State in consultation with the Head of the Unit and the Chief Justice of India.

(c) Other Judges of a High Court shall be appointed by the Head of the State in consultation with the Head of the Unit, the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and the Chief Justice of India.

(4) A Judge of a High Court or a Supreme Court shall be appointed for life subject to an age-limit prescribed by the Constitution Act, but he may by resignation addressed to the Head of the State resign his office.

(5) (a) A Judge of the High Court may be removed from office by the Head of the State on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body if on reference being made to it by the Head of the State, the Supreme Court reports that the Judge ought on any such grounds to be removed.

(b) A Judge of the Supreme Court may be removed from Office by the Head of the State on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body, if on reference being made to it by the Head of the State, a special tribunal appointed for the purpose by him reports that the Judge ought on any such grounds to be removed.

(6) As regards other matters connected with the appointment and function of the Judiciary, the provisions embodied in part IX of the Government of India Act of 1935 seem suitable with such modifications as may be required for being fitted into the framework of the new constitution.

DEFENCE

The Committee strongly recommends that under the new constitution, there should be a portfolio of defence which should be held by a Minister responsible to the Legislature and that the actual control and discipline of the army should be placed in the hands of a Commander-in-Chief under the new Government.

The Committee further recommends that a National Army should be created and developed as rapidly as possible.

It is unable to suggest at this stage what the strength of this Army should be as this will depend, apart from the vital question of finance on a number of other factors, such as, the nature of the post-war world settlement and the efficacy of the international organization for the maintenance of world peace.

Among the measures which should be adopted for the creation of such an Army, the Committee recommends the following :—

(1) (a) Such British units as temporarily may be required for the efficient defence of India and such officers as may be needed for officering the National Army until an adequate number of Indian officers becomes available shall be obtained by a treaty or agreement entered into by the Union Government and His Majesty's Government, specifying, among other things, the terms and conditions of their re-employment by the Union.

(b) As soon as the war is over, all direct recruitment of British officers to the Indian forces should cease. Such British officers as do not belong to the Indian Army and are not required for specific appointments should be reverted to the British Army establishment.

(2) An institution should be established for the training in sufficient numbers of officers of all the three arms—air, land and sea—and all defects existing in the present system which prevent rapid Indianisation or the creation of Indian officers capable of assuming leadership should be forthwith removed.

(c) If it is found that the present educational system does not produce a sufficient number of young men suitable in every respect for a military career, steps should be taken at once to remove this defect.

(4) University Officers Training Corps should be established where they do not exist and largely expanded and measures taken not only for ensuring supply of officers to fill vacancies in peace-time, but for the rapid expansion of the cadre in the event of a military threat to India. Such measures should aim at creating a reserve of young men with service training who can be rapidly absorbed as officers when expansion takes place.

(5) The Committee would emphasize that the maintenance of law and order is essentially the responsibility of the Unit Governments and that they should, if necessary by increasing the strength of their police forces, equip themselves adequately for the discharge of the responsibility.

The Committee would, however, make it clear that the services of troops on the Union Army establishment should be available for being requisitioned only when the civil power finds itself unable to cope with any particular situation.

The Committee further recommends that a balance should be maintained between the respective arms and that special attention should be paid to Navy, Airforce, mechanised units and such other branches as may from time to time be developed.

The Committee recommends that steps should be taken, even before the coming into being of the new constitution to adopt and give effect to the measures as far as practicable.

REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SERVICES

(3) The orders now in force at the Centre regarding the representation of the communities in public services may continue

in operation till the Union Government under the new constitution comes into being.

The Committee, however, recommends that the 8⅓ per cent. of the seats now allotted to the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, and the Anglo-Indians and Parsis may be spift up between the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and Parsis in the proportion of 3½ per cent. for Sikhs, 3 per cent. for Indian Christians, and 1-5/6 per cent. for Anglo-Indians and Parsis.

The special provisions relating to Anglo-Indians in certain services under Section 242 of the Government of India Act of 1935 are not to be affected by this recommendation.

PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

The Chairman and Members of the Union Public Services Commission shall be appointed by the Head of the State in consultation with the Prime Minister.

The Chairman and Members of the Public Services Commission of Units shall be appointed by the Head of the Unit in consultation with the Prime Minister of the Unit.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

A comprehensive declaration of fundamental rights should be incorporated in the future constitution of India assuring (A) The liberties of the individual; (B) The freedom of Press and Association; (C) Equality of rights of citizenship of all nationals irrespective of birth, religion, colour, caste or creed; (D) Full religious toteration, including non-interference in religious beliefs, practices and institutions; (F) Protection to language and culture of all communities.

It should further contain specific declarations on the lines indicated in the reports of the Scheduled Castes and minority sub-committees, for the complete abolition of disabilities imposed by tradition and custom on the Scheduled Castes and the safeguarding of special religious customs like wearing of kirpans by the Sikhs.

The precise formulation of these rights should be undertaken by a special committee of experts at the time of the framing of the new constitution.

MINORITIES COMMISSIONS

(A) The Constitution Act shall provide for the establishment at the Centre and in each Province of an independent minority commission which shall be composed of a representative for each of the communities (not necessarily a member of that community) represented in the Legislature.

(B) Subject to the possession of such qualifications or experience, as may be prescribed, the Member representing each community who need not necessarily belong to the same community, shall be elected by Members of the Legislature belonging to that community.

(C) No Member of the Legislature shall be eligible for membership of the Commission.

(D) The term of office of Members of the Commission shall be the same as, and synchronize with, the term of office of Members of the Legistature concerned.

(E) The functions of the Commission shall be :—(I) To keep a constant watch over the interests of minority communities in the area: (II) Without attempting to deal with stray administrative acts or individual grievances, to call for such information as the Commission may consider neeessary for discharging their functions.

(III) To review periodically—for example once every six months—the policy pursued in legislation and administration by the Legislature and the Executive in regard to the implementing of fundamental rights assured by the constitution to minority communities and to submit a report to the Prime Minister.

(F) The recommendations of the Commission shall be considered by the Cabinet and the Prime Minister shall, as soon as possible, place the report of the

Commission before the Legislature with a full statement of the action taken or proposed to be taken in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission.

In case any of the recommendations are not accepted wholly or in part, the statement should also contain full explanations of the decisions taken by the Government. Facilities shall be provided to the Legislature for a discussion of the report and the decisions of the Government thereon.

MINORITIES IN THE PUNJAB

The Committee recommends that the case of the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Indian Christians relating to their representation in the Punjab Legislature should be examined with the utmost care by the Constitution-making body.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The intention to make a motion in the Union Legislature for an amendment of the Constitution shall be notified to the public and such motion shall not be taken up for consideration by the Legislature until the expiry of at least six months from the date of such notification.

It shall not be deemed to have been approved by the Unit Legislature unless it has secured the support in each of the two Chambers of a majority of not less than two-thirds of its sanctioned strength.

Further such amendment shall not have effect unless it is also approved by the Legislatures of not less than two-thirds of the Units provided that no amendments shall be made at all for a period of five years from the coming into force of the new constitution in respect of vital provisions of the constitution which should be listed in a schedule to the Constitution Act.

Amendments of a purely formal character may be decided through the ordinary process of Union Legislation.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY

The Committee recommends that the principles here enunciated constitute a fair and effective basis for political settlement in India.

It strongly recommends to all communities and parties to accept them, and in particular to the majority parties in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 to assume constitutional responsibility.

In the event of these proposals being unacceptable to the various communities and parties and their failure to reach an agreement on any other basis, His Majesty's Government should set up an interim Government in India and proceed to establish machinery for drafting the new constitution generally on the basis of the principles underlying these proposals, enact it in Parliament and put it into operation at the earliest possible date.



GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON

Gen. Patton, famed for his lightning advance following the Normandy break-through, watches his armoured vechicles roll through Germany.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

M. Molotov on Indian Independence

STRANGELY enough, it was not the part played by the Indian delegation that rivetted the attention of the Conference to India, but an unexpected though very welcome reference to this country by M. Molotov, the Soviet representative. The occasion was M. Molotov's objection to Argentine's inclusion and the exclusion of Poland. He said:

> We know India is not an independent nation. She is a dependent nation. But we know too that a time will come when the voice of an independent India will be heard.

The House was visibly stirred, and M. Molotov repeated the last sentence and went on:

> The time will come soon when the voice of India will be heard. But now she is not independent. Nevertheless, on a request from the British Government the Indian delegation was invited.

The point of the argument was, if the Indian Government which is by no means a Sovereign State could be invited, why not the Provisional Government of Poland?

But Indian observers over there view this gesture as "the first authoritative Soviet recognition of the unrepresentative character of the Indian delegation."

The Sapru Proposals

Elsewhere, in this issue, will be found the full text of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's cable to Lord Wavell on behalf of the Conciliation Committee. The Committee should be congratulated on the speed with which it has tackled an admittedly difficult problem and the promptness with which it has submitted its suggestions in time for the consideration of Whitehall. Criticisms are bound to be plentiful, particularly as the Committee has taken a middle path, but there is no doubt it has made a notable contribution to the solution of the present deadlock which all men of reason and goodwill are anxious to see ended. Apart from the arrangement for the interim period, the Committee has formulated a scheme of a new constitution, in answer to a challenge from more than one quarter to produce such a constitution. Complete agreement, on a matter of such complexity, is out of the question in a subject country teeming with dissensions. But an approximation to general acceptance is an attempt worth striving for, and the Committee in formulating its proposals has answered this challenge with commendable thoroughness and promptitude. The Committee is

> emphatically of epinion that any division of India into two or more separate independent Sovereign States is unjustified and will endanger the peace and orderly progress of the whole country without any compensating advantage to any community.

Having made this point clear, it has made every effort to placate the Muslims and other Minorities. In fact there are some who feel that this process of appeasement has gone too far.

Amenities for Indian Troops

While praise for the heroism of the Indian troops has been abundant, not much attention seems to have been paid to their comforts. When the British press complained of lack of amenities to their nationals in India, the Prime Minister sent Lord Munster on a flying visit to this country and no doubt British troops in India are now much better cared for. The visit of Indian press correspondents to the Middle East and to Italy revealed woeful lack of attention to the needs of the Indian heroes abroad. They confirmed—Indian and Anglo-Indian press alike—what was already known of their discomforts and even discrimination in their treatment. These complaints synchronised with those made before the Defence Consultative Committee two years ago, said Sir Frederick James, and they still remained unremedied. When Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, in right Satyamurthi style, pressed for an adjournment motion in the Central Assembly neither the War Secretary nor the Defence Secretary made any attempt to deny the charges. In fact they accepted the indictment in a

way and only pointed to the C-in-C's concern in the matter as evinced by the facilities afforded to the Press representatives! Is that enough? The War Secretary promised to note the suggestions but added it would take time to implement them. With a suavity that must have completely disarmed the apologists of Government Mr. Krishnamachari told the House:

"It looks as if, in order to enable Mr. Trivedi (War Secretary) to implement the recommendations made by the House, the war must continue for 2½ years more!"

The effect of the retort was devastating and the House voted for the adjournment without a division.

Commercial Safeguards

The eleven clauses in the Government India Act, 1935, compendiously known as the commercial safeguards, have been repeatedly assailed by every section of the Indian public. At the Round Table Conference Gandhiji urged that such safeguards, if any, should be "in the interests of India" Sir Samuel Hoare tried to placate Indian opinion by describing them as "framed in the common interests of India and the United Kingdom". But no amount of casuistry could take the sting out of these "safeguards"; and when Mr. Manu Subedar brought in the other day a resolution in the Central Assembly recommending their removal from the Act of 1935, the House voted without a division. Much play has been made by the European opposition on the score of reciprocity. Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas exposed the fallacy underlying the argument on the principle of reciprocity.

I want to point out that so far as trade with Great Britain is concerned the effects of reciprocity will be of little or no value to India. It has to be noted that in spite of the relations between Great Britain and India during the last hundred years, there is no Indian House or firm established there which does commercial business with India on a scale which can be computed in any responsible proportion to what is being done by British House. If after a hundred years, the enterprise of Indians in London is at such a low ebb as this, I only wish to point out that reciprocity cannot mean much to us for a long time.

Indian Delegation to San Francisco

Protests against Government nominations to the Frisco Conference have poured in from all quarters since the announcement of the Indian delegation. Government have, no doubt, ignored these protests but there can be no two opinions on the strength of public feeling on the subject. Strangely enough, the members of the delegation seem pleased with the status assigned to them. Sir Feroz Khan Noon has even thought fit to claim a standing for the delegation altogether imaginary. He assured a London audience that India was practically a Dominion and that

His Majesty's Government do not know that under their very noses India has grown practically to Dominion Status without their knowing it.

He declared that the Indian delegation to San Francisco was an independent delegation and had "full freedom to do what we consider best in the interest of the country and the Government." The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri has pricked this bubble about the illusory independence claimed for the delegation; while Sir Chimanlal Setalvad poured scorn on their claim to represent a "soverign nation."

Sovereign nation indeed! When the salaries of these so-called representatives as well as the salaries of the whole Executive Council of the Governor-General were refused by the Central Legislative Assembly only a few days ago and still in spite of that vote, the Members of the Council defying the vote of the Assembly are still holding offices and claim to represent India at San Francisco.

As a matter of fact, they can represent none but their British employers. Sir Mahomed Habibullah who represented this country at the League of Nations in Geneva in 1928 confessed that the delegates had first to gather at the India Office to take their tips. That is exactly what the present delegation had been doing in London, prior to their departure to U.S.A. Why, Sir B. L. Mitter, as Law Member, explained the position in the Council of State, in words that cannot be mistaken.

I wish this House to remember that the Indian delegation receives its instructions from the Secretary of State who has the constitutional right of supervision over the delegation.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

San Francisco Conference

THE United Nations' Conference to build a World Security Organisation opened on April 25, at San Francisco before delegates of 46 nations.

Welcoming the delegates in a radio speech from Washington, President Truman said:

We must make certain that another war will be impossible. We represent an overwhelming majority of all mankind. We hold a powerful mandate from our people. We must prevent—if human mind heart and hope can prevent it—a repetition of the disaster from which the entire world will suffer for years to come.

He added:

We fully realise today that victory in war requires a mighty united effort. Certainly, victory in peace calls for and must receive an equal effort.

If our friendly policies should ever be considered by belligerent leaders as merely evidence of weakness, the organisation we establish must be adequately prepared to meet any challenge. We can no longer permit any nation or group of nations to attempt to settle their arguments with bombs and bayonets. We will then be forced to accept the fundamental philosophy of our enemies that 'might makes right.' We must once and for all reverse that order and prove by our acts conclusively that *right* has *might*.

After addresses of welcome, Mr. Stettinius, U. S. Secretary of State, said:

The vital national interests of each of the United Nations require that all of the United Nations work together to make peace and freedom secure. It is with this clear understanding of what the realities demand of us that we fortify our high vision of a permanent structure of organised peace.

A hitch over the Chairmanship of the Conference, started by M. Molotov, having been satisfactorily settled by agreeing to Mr. Eden's compromise the Conference settled down to work.

It was decided that the Big Four delegates should preside over the plenary session in rotation. They were to delegate their power to Mr. Stettinius so that he might conduct the business of the Conference. This included chairmanship of the Steering and Executive Committee.

Germany admits defeat

German broadcasts and news transmissions now admit that Germany has lost the war. With the Soviet flag flying over the Reichstag, with the German Army in Italy broken and incapable of effective resistance to the Allies, with Allied forces marching into Austria, penetrating the so-called Bavarian redoubt, and squeezing the enemy in a mighty pincer movement in the Western Baltic Provinces, the war is now definitely racing to its end.

Surrender in Italy

As we go to press all fighting in Italy has ceased. The long campaign which opened in September 1943, with Field-Marshal Montgomery's landing at the base of the Peninsula and the hazardous invasion at Salerno, has come to a victorious conclusion with the unconditional surrender of the entire forces under the General Vietinghoff-Scheel.

Hitler Falls at Post

The German Radio announcing Hitler's death on the afternoon of May 1, said that the former Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy, Admiral Doenitz is his successor. Admiral Doenitz speaking over the Radio later said: "The Fuehrer has fallen at his Command Post."

"My first task", he said, "is to save the German people from destruction by Bolshevism. If only for this task, the struggle will continue."

Mussolini's End

Mussolini has had an inglorious end. He was captured near Milan. After a ten-minute trial at Giuliano Di Mezzegra near Como, Mussolini was sentenced to death. It was at 16-10 on April 28 that a firing squad of 15 men of the Garibaldi Division ended Mussolini's life.

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The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

BEGGAR MY NEIGHBOUR: The Case for India. By Lionel Fielden, International Book House Ltd., Bombay.

Business took Mr. Fielden to India. He took with him the pomp and glory of the west, its latest discoveries and modern conveniences. His stay in India disillusioned him. What profits it if the west has won the world but lost her soul. And keeping a nation in bondage is a sure sign of a lost soul. What justification is there for England to hold on to India? Is it the Hindu-Muslim differences? But are there not parties and differences in England itself? Is it the incapacity to rule? But have they not governed in the provinces with credit? India must be made free. England must quit. She "must transfer power to a Government composed of Eleven Elected Prime Ministers of India or formed by an Indian Leader such as Sapru, Rajagopalachari, Jinnah or Nehru". Only so can all the communal differences be made to compose. So long as there is a third party tilting the balance, there could be no agreement between dissenting parties. The failure of Cripps' Mission was a tragedy. But when Churchill declared "We mean to hold our own" he asks "So the Atlantic Charter is a wash-out, and the Cripps Mission just what Indians thought it was—a move of expediency in a game of greed and domination." More and more Englishmen have come to realise that the acid test of England's *bona fides* is Indian Freedom and on that touchstone will be judged whether the cause of freedom in the world survives or perishes.

The book is written by a sincere friend of India who has had the vision to see the problem as it is and suggest a way out.

INDIA'S STERLING POSITION AND THE WAR. By Bimalendev Dhar. Co-operative Book Depot, 54, College Street, Calcutta. Rs. 3.

This book is a significant and useful contribution to the study of the growth and utilisation of the prodigious accumulation of India's sterling balances during the present war. Mr. Bimalendev Dhar's suggestions regarding the methods for repatriation of the sterling loans are eminently practical and advantageous from the Indian angle in view of its economic implications. He also briefly reviews the currency plans of Britain and America and points out that the recent British suggestions for scaling down the sterling assets of India are highly injurious to India's economic stability and pleads for an honourable and just settlement.

EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION IN INDIA. By A. N. Sen. The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, East Calcutta. Rs. 2.

In this thoughtful and provocative pamphlet, Mr. A. N. Sen offers some criticisms on the report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-war Educational Development in India and gives due outlines of a modified scheme. Himself a reputed educationist, he traverses a wide ground in the sphere of education—Nursery, Primary, Post-primary, Secondary, University, Technical, and their inter-relations. More, his constructive proposals are extremely valuable in that Mr. Sen wants to build on the existing structure rather than demolish the present framework. He is fully alive to the existing conditions in India and its historic background and is aware of its primary and plenary needs. That is why his scheme is not only economical but also highly suggestive.

ECONOMICS OF NON-VIOLENCE. V. L. Mehta. Hamara Hindustan Publications, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay.

According to the author of this thoughtful little pamphlet, non-violence, absolute and uncontingent, is the highest ideal that man's mind on its onward march has visualised so far. He points out that the doctrine is subtle, comprehensive and intricate and that its practice in human relationships makes for peace. Outlining the scope and method of the new social structure to be built on a non-violent basis, he enforces the supreme necessity for economic equality as the basic need for an enduring social order.

I MADE MY OWN DOLLS. By Thera Stowell, Thacker & Co., Ltd, Bombay. Rs 6-14.

This, as its title indicates, is a practical book on doll-making with full-sized patterns. The patterns given have all been made over and over again, we are told, and have stood the test of being sold with professional models. The good results achieved prove the excellence of the patterns. The book ought therefore, to prove not only entertaining but practically useful to those trying to make dolls, either as a pastime or even as a lucrative piece of business.

A SOCIALIST ANSWERS MASANI. By M. G. Desai. People's Publishing House, Bombay, 4. As. 8.

Here is a socialist's protest against Mayor Masani's distortions of socialism and tirade against the Soviet Union and it is extremely cogent and compelling in its argument. It is an answer to Mr. Masani's 'Socialism Reconsidered' by Mr. M. G. Desai, a socialist journalist who was one of the accused in the famous "Meerut Conspiracy Case" and it is refreshing to note that it is not the stock communist answer. A pioneer in explaining socialism and the role of Soviet Russia to the Indian Public, Mr. Desai's effort is an effective reply to the Masani's "neo-fascism".

THE PRESENT FOOD SITUATION IN INDIA. By Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi. The India Book House, Hyderabad, (Dn.) As. 12.

In this able, searching and suggestive pamphlet, the author surveys briefly the food situation in India and shows that India could meet not only the entire requirements of her nationals but also have a small surplus in normal times. He points out how the increasing demands made on the food resources of the country on account of war have caused the crisis on the food front.

BOOKS RECEIVED

SOIL EROSION. By Sir Harold Glover. The Position of Women. By Lakshmi N. Menon, Oxford University Press.

POLAND, FINLAND (in Tamil). By T. Krishnamurti. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Dinamani Publications, Madras.

OH: YOU INDIANS. A Reply to Oh! You English. By David Naphtali, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS. By V. S. Bendrey. With a Foreword by Khan Bahadur Professor Shaikh, Abdulkader Sarfaraz, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Rs. 7.

CONGRESS AND COMMUNISTS. By P. C. Joshi, People's Publishing House, Bombay. As. 6.

LIGHT FOUNTAIN. By Prisny Sivananda, Publication League, Ananda Rutir Rishi Kesh, Himalayas.

THE INDIAN DEADLOCK. By K. M. Munshi, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Rs. 2.

COCHIN'S RICE PROBLEM. By Rama Varma, (Appan) Thampuran, State organizer. A National War Front Publication.

THE GOSPEL OF SAINT AMERY. By Jove, Kitab Mahal, Rs. 2.

INDIANS IN BRITISH INDUSTRIES. By H. C. Mooker, jee, Saraswaty Library, College Street Market, Calcutta.

BANKERS' ADVANCES AGAINST GOODS. By D. S. Sastri, M.A. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

EDUCATIONAL REORGANISATION IN INDIA. By A. N. Sen, The Book Co.. Ltd., Calcutta.

QUEEN COSMETIC. A Dialogue in Doggeral. By Mary Roop Krishna. New India Publications, Lahore.

CENSUS OF INDIA 1941—Vol. XIX Cochin. By B. V. K. Menon, B.A., B.L. Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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April 1. Sapru Committee cables to Lord Wavell suggesting Royal Proclamation.
April 2. Mr. Jinnah criticizes Sapru plan.
April 3. Nagpur High Court orders stay of execution of Ashti and Chimur prisoners.
April 4. Empire talks begin in London.
April 5. Russo-Jap pact of April 13, 1941, denounced by Soviet Government.
April 6. Japanese Cabinet resigns.
April 7. Nazis trapped in Holland.
April 8. Mr. Ernest Bevin attacks P.M's plea for coalition.
April 9. Assembly carries motion *re* service conditions of Indian troops abroad.
April 10. Hanover falls.
April 11. Spain breaks with Japan.
April 12. Sudden death of Roosevelt.
April 13. Mr. Truman, Vice-President becomes President in place of Roosevelt.
April 14. Von Papen captured.
April 15. Vienna falls.
April 16. President Truman announces there will be no change in war strategy.
April 17. Gandhiji's statement on the aim of Frisco talks.
April 18. Mr. Phillips announces American relief plan for India.
April 19. Lords approve Bill for continuance of Sec. 93 rule in Provinces.
April 20. Sec. 93 rule approved by the Commons.
April 21. Russians enter Berlin defences.
April 22. Street fighting in Berlin.
April 23. Mr. William Phillips is appointed Special Asst. Secretary of State.
April 24. Allies capture Ulm.
April 25. San Francisco Conference opens.
April 26. Marshal Petain surrenders.
April 27. Red army links up with Western Allies.
April 28. Himmler offers unconditional surrender to Britain and U.S.
April 29. Mussolini shot by partisans.
—Hitler and Goebbels reported dead.
April 30. Deadlock over Polish issue in the Frisco Conference.



BENITO MUSSOLINI
Shot by partisans at Milan along with 17 other Fascists.



HERR HITLER
Reported to have fallen at his command post on May 1.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

SOLUTION OF THE DEADLOCK

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a special contribution to the *Foreign Affairs* suggests the following solution to the deadlock.

"If the British Government make up its mind, more than one solution could be found for the present deadlock in India. The simplest solution would be to restore the autonomous political Governments under the Government of India Act, 1935—ordering first elections if it is preferable to do so—and to ask each one of the eleven Provinces to send one representative to the Viceroy's Council, and to invest the Council with full authority to co-opt a few others and run the interim Government of India for the duration of the war.

"It is wholly wrong to keep the present absolutist Government going. It is wrong, because it is unjust to the people of India; it is also wrong, because it is most unwise to foster bitterness and hatred in a vast population.

"Either have a Government as I have indicated above, or a Federal Government formed according to the plan in the 1935 Act should be brought into existence at once. It is only then that the demand for an agreed constitution made by the British statesman can pass as genuine. Further it is only this that would compel reasonableness on the part of the minorities, who are unwilling to give the majorities what must be given under any form of working democracy. There can be a definite understanding that as soon as the first terms are agreed to, as a result of national adjustment or arbitration, such terms will replace the relevant provisions of the Federal constitution as laid down in the 1935 Act. There is no reason why the constitution agreed to by Parliament after great deliberation should be in the archives, without being put into effect."

INDIAN ENGLISH

"I am not apologizing for Indian English, nor even merely advocating it. I am writing an apology for Indian English in the sense of proclaiming it as a message," writes Procrustes in *New Horizons*.

I have a read, and what is worse, have had to use in teaching, a good many examples of alleged Indian English, and I have found them all merely to be examples of loose construction of sentences whose several parts do not cohere together quite so logically. They are only the results of hasty thinking in a medium whose pitfalls are not self-evident to a foreigner. Some of these pitfalls in our use of English are not our racial characteristics, but the result of an anxiety complex that arises in our attempt to speak that language as to the manner born. This complex would not have arisen if we had approached the language as free men for whose service the language existed and not as slaves condemned to exist for it. The English of great Indian writers like Aurobindo Ghose, Tagore, Gandhiji, Radhakrishan and Nehru, shows this intellectual emancipation on their part and marks therefore the peak of Indian English, of which the English of the mentally liberated average Indian is the level base.

Mention of these eminent writers reminds one of the most outstanding causes of our people abusing the English language, in which case the Englishman, if not the Anglo-Indian, has some justification for feeling annoyed.

This abuse does not consist in slips of grammar or idiom, which are not such awful mistakes as one would think, but in the disaster that always accompanies our youthful writers whose common ambition is always to produce literature while writing English. In England and in the English and Anglo-Indian homes of India, English is learnt by children naturally as a language for every-day prosaic purposes, while in Indian schools English is studied first and last as a fine art (literature). As you could learn music only by making musical efforts, it is argued, even so you could learn English (literary English) only by being literary. The consequence of this fallacy is a lot of unconscious comedy, and not merely that. It is the law of art that you could create beauty only of things that you can ordinarily understand and use. Learning language solely through its literary expressions is therefore not exactly the way in which to equip oneself for employing it for literary purposes or for lay.

THE POLISH IMBROGLIO

The controversy over the Polish question has not abated. The Yalta decision about Poland has not settled an issue that is still bristling with difficulties. Maurice Frydman, writing in the *Polish News*, contends that the terms "London" or "Emigre" Government are derogative and misleading.

There is no other Polish Government to distinguish it from by these denominations. The Lublin Committee, which was formed at Moscow, began to work at Lublin and transferred itself to Warsaw, cannot be called a national and democratic Government, even by the most violent stretching of these very elastic words. Both inside and outside Poland, Poles wholeheartedly recognize and support the Polish Government, the only fully constitutional, democratic, representative and legally valid government the Poles have. The Lublin Committee is merely an organ of Russian military occupation.

The Yalta decision merely sets its seal on what is virtually the fifth partition of Poland by which

Poland is going to lose 42 per cent. of her territory, vital to her historically, ethnographically and economically (almost all her wheat and oil) for no fair and just reasons, but because Stalin has made up his mind.

And what special virtue or sanctity could be attached to it?

The Yalta meeting did not wait for a peace Conference, nor even for a plenary session of the United Nations. It did not pass through the essential stages of open discussion, population referendum, plebiscite under international control and final settlement of frontiers with full regard for local interests on the border line. A line settled with the enemy as a reward for betrayal was sanctioned and 42 per cent. of Poland's land handed over to a neighbour who has neither right to it nor need of it, handed over definitely and for ever.

Public opinion in Poland has an impression that the British Government are rather supporting Russian policy against Poland. Turning from questions of frontiers to the form of Government in Poland, the writer says that the Sovietisation of Poland is in full swing on the plea of "military necessity."

What has deportation of the educated classes to Russia, or shooting of the members of the Polish Underground Army to do with "military necessity"? Why should an obscure Moscow official become the "President" of "liberated" Poland? Why a sweeping programme of political, economic agrarian and educational reforms has been launched by an "ukaze" from Moscow? Was it so impossible to have instead an Allied Control Commission right from the beginning and to give the unhappy country a chance to wipe its tears and to lick its wounds, to sow its fields and to mend its tools, to refill its granaries and its wardrobes, to rebuild its houses, its schools and churches? Human beings are dying of fear and want, of cold, hunger and disease.

Was it not the first duty of the "liberators" to put their skill and industry to this most urgent task, asks the writer.

But the most ambiguous and disquieting fact is the British Prime Minister's plea for the Soviet insistence on a "friendly" Polish Government. This apparently innocuous demand may become a trap.

If Poland has to be independent and sovereign within the framework of the United Nations' scheme of collective security, will not Russia's freedom and independence be as well protected as Poland's? What has Russia to fear from Poland? With Germany crushed, Japan broken, Europe weak and poor, the British Commonwealth in a turmoil and America busy with her own post-war problems, Russia has nothing to fear from anybody. Insistance on a "friendly" Polish Government may mean in the best case a "supervision" from Moscow—in the worst an outright dependence on the Kremlin "dictate."

And then the offer of British citizenship to Polish troops was, in the expressive words of the writer, a "bear's caress."

Surely the Poles have not shed their blood so recklessly for a British passport. If the Yalta Conference leaves a chance open, that they may not like to return to their country, it means that the "free and democratic Government" in Poland may turn out to be too repulsive to many. Does it not prick the rainbow bubble of the Prime Minister's assurances?

BRITAIN'S STAKE IN ASIA

"The political and economic power derived from the possession of India acted as a cementing force for British interests throughout Asia. Indeed, India is the key to the whole situation, not only because of the British stake there, but because an independent India would ultimately, as result of its location, population and resources, become a greater power in Asia than any outside nation could hope to be."—An extract from a paper titled "Independence for Colonial Asia—the Cost to the Western World", prepared by Mr. Lawrence K. Rosinger and issued by the Foreign Policy Association of America.

FUTURE OF THE FAR EAST

Discussing the future in the Far East, Bertrand Russell writes in *Glasgow Forward* that the formula of unconditional surrender in the case of Japan, even more than in that of Germany would be foolish and prolong the war unnecessarily.

What we should demand of Japan is clear surrender of all her conquests on the mainland of Asia and in the islands outside Japan proper and total disarmament for a period of years. Without the raw materials acquired in Manchuria and China the Japanese cannot be a powerful military nation. There is some hope that without formally abandoning our silly formula, we may inform Russia and allow Russia to inform Japan what terms we in fact intend to impose. Perhaps by means of this device our actions may be rendered less inept than our words.

How the Japanese will react to defeat it is impossible to foretell since in all their long history, they have experienced only either isolation or victory.

Perhaps when their fanatical beliefs have been proved mistaken they will lose social cohesion and revert to the condition of anarchic civil war, but perhaps if the victors are wise, there may be a sincere change of heart in Japan and the hitherto submerged liberalism which has found no outlet in recent years mey have an opportunity to control the Government. While severity may suffice for security of the world outside Japan in the first few decades after the war. In the long run, something more constructive is needed. Since we must hope that Japan will ultimately take her place in the organization of friendly co-operative nations, this must depend mainly on two things: Commerce and Education. The Japanese must in due course be allowed to take their share in trade in the Far East, although commercial interests both in Britain and America are likely to oppose all measures for enabling them to do so.

As for education, a number of their best students should be sent to Western Universities.

Those who combine competence with a liberal outlook should be given the task of reorganizing schools and universities in Japan. There are as I know, very considerable liberal elements among the educated classes in Japan. If wise use is made of these elements the general outlook may be radically transformed for the better within one generation. In any case, Japan can have no future as a great Imperial power. There is no need given modern vigilance to fear a revival of her recent career of conquest

The future of China is more difficult to foresee than that of Japan. The Chinese are faced with very difficult problems both economic and political.

The peasants of China have always been desperately poor. Japanese devastation has made them even more destitute of bare necessaries than they were before. Ports and most important industrial regions have been in Japanese hands for many years. It is likely that Manchuria, including Port Arthur and the Chinese Eastern Railway, will be claimed by the Soviet Government on the ground that it belonged to the Tsarist Government before the Russo-Japanese war.

America and Great Britain may dislike this claim, but will acquiesce in it as a reward for Russian help. In these circumstances, it will be impossible for China to establish tolerable economy without considerable outside help not only in the form of immediate relief but also in long-term capital investment which can only come from the United States, but here political troubles may raise obstacles which will be difficult to overcome.

The conflict between Chungking and Communists has continued to smoulder and is likely to burst into flames as soon as the Japanese menace ends.

Chinese Communists unlike those of most other countries, are an Agrarian party standing for abolition of landlords. Promotions of co-operation between actual cultivators is essential if the appalling poverty of the peasants is to be relieved.

INDIA'S TRIBUTE TO BRITAIN

In spite of the fact that India has become a creditor nation, our country still remains a significant source of profit to Britain, says the *Commercial India*, Bombay.

According to this paper, the British investment in India is about £670 millions.

The interest charges on this alone at the British rate of 6⅞ per cent., it states, will come to £46 millions to which should be added the Home Charges of £33 millions. From these two sources alone, Britain derives an annual income of nearly £70 millions. Besides, the annual Indian tribute to Britain on other counts to-day comprises as follows: Trade £30 millions; Shipping £20 millions; remittance by the Britishers serving in India £6 millions; thus the total annual Indian tribute to Britain comes to £130 millions, which constitutes 10 per cent. of India's national income of £1,300 millions.

The truth of the saying that India is the most precious jewel in the Empire Crown can be seen plainly from the above figures.

THE GOAL OF HUMAN LIFE

If a man closes his eyes for a few minutes and asks himself what he really is, he will be in a great quandary. He will see, to his great dismay, that he does not find himself. But still he has been toiling hard throughout his life on the supposition of his material existence! But if he be bold and daring enough to pursue his thoughts, he will discover that there is something in him which is non-self or more than self, that there is some Existence in him which is at the back of all existence, writes Swami Pavitrananda in an article in *Prabuddha Bharata*.

Whatever name you may give to that Existence, he adds, to discover that for oneself is the goal of human life. 'Know thyself,' said the wise man of Greece. This is as much true now as it was more than two thousand years ago. Man must know himself, if he wants peace for himself or for the world. The Man who has known himself, supplies spiritual sustenance to millions of persons for thousands of years.

INDIANS IN KENYA

In an article on the future of Indians in Kenya in the April issue of the *National Review*, Capt. R. E. Russel Smallwood says: "To the Indian must go much credit for East Africa's rapid development: Europeans and Africans alone could not have achieved it. But the war is changing the East African scene and Africans are at last preparing to enter the realm of trade.

The Indian problem, as a whole, is entering a new and vital phase. While in the past legislation was designed mainly to solve the Indo-settler disputes, the question must now be considered first and foremost from the standpoint of native interests. Being ignorant of politics, Africans have not yet stood out against Indian aspirations; nor indeed do they fully understand them.

Upon one point, however, both Africans and Europeans are unanimous—increased Indian control, either economic or political, must be prevented.

GELDER ON GANDHI

"Do not underestimate Gandhi. He packs all punches—He knows all our weaknesses—he has endurance and skill of a Joe Louis. He is right in there in the middle of the ring after more than 20 years prize-fight of all prize-fights with a most powerful opponent in the world. Who do I think will win? It is your guess as much as mine. Know what you are up against and you won't crack jokes about 'that toothless old hoodum in loincloth'."

This high praise of Gandhiji is contained in an article by Stuart Gelder in SEAC weekly, *Phoenix*.

If we have learned one lesson, in this war, he continues, it is not to underestimate the opponent. "Do not underestimate Gandhi. I think the most disconcerting thing about him is his complete honesty. He is not afraid to contradict himself. As Louis Fischer has pointed out, he thinks aloud. He may say one thing in conversation and twenty minutes later, say emphatically something diametrically opposed. If you ask why then did he express the first opinion, the answer is because he thought of it.

I have heard so many ignorant wiseacres think they have dismissed Gandhi by saying he is inconsistent. It has been a matter of controversy for two thousand years why Christ advised his disciples to turn the other cheek and himself whipped money changers from the temple. But only a halfwit would conclude that this apparent inconsistency dismisses Christ's claim to be Son of God."

INDIAN STATES

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Hyderabad

DECCAN HISTORY CONFERENCE

The first session of the Deccan History Conference met at Hyderabad (Dn.) an April 11 under the presidentship of Mr. W, V. Grigson, Revenue Member, Nizam's Government.

H. E. H. the Nizam, in the course of a message to the Conference, said:

> In a wide perspective, the history of the Deccan provides a study in miniature of the history of India itself, of different races and cultures and their indelible impress on the developments that have haken place in the course of ages. The integration of these factors in the history of India as a whole by a process of specialisation and synthesis is likely to provide an interesting approach to the study of the inter-play of forces in the north and the south which determine the course of history of India. Such a study would not be of purely academic interest if it is made to embrace important aspects of the life of the people at different epochs rather than being confined to chronology of wars or rise and fall of dynasties. Such a wide view of history would assist practical application of historical knowledge to many of the present problems which confront an administrator or sociologist. My Government is keenly interested in all these efforts and welcomes co-operation in all these activities of those outside scholars who take interest in the study of history of India.

Mr. W. V. Grigson, in the course of his presidential address to the conference, stressed the need for establishment in Hyderabad not only of folk museums to portray the life of the village and tribal populations but also of a museum of Qutb Shahi and Mughul life from a vast amount material which is still in the hands of private owners..

A SCHOOL FOR EVERY VILLAGE

The Nizam's Government has sanctioned an education scheme costing Rs. 12 lakhs under which every village in the Dominions will have a school.

This was revealed by Nawab Sir Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Retiring Education Member, replying to an address at a farewell function arranged by the staff of the Education Department recently.

Mysore

MYSORE SERICULTURE

The Government of Mysore have under their consideration, proposals involving an expenditure of about Rs. 14 lakhs for the development of sericulture industry in the State at present and in the post-war period.

The proposals include, it is further understood, the starting of 12 mulberry nurseries in several parts of the State, the opening of depots to be attached to the existing farms for stocking and selling manure required by the sericulturists, opening of two new stations for rearing foreign race seeds, starting additional 180 grainages for improving supply of disease-free layings, starting four fully equipped cocoon markets with provision for store-room, stifling chambers, etc., establishing an up-to-date Silk Conditioning and Testing House, opening of a Central Training School at a cost of about two lakhs of rupees for imparting higher technical training, plant breeding, silkworm breeding, the chemistry of sericulture, silk reeling and sericultural textiles and the opening of a Research Institute in Chennapatna at a cost of about Rs. 3 lakhs.

IRRIGATION IN MYSORE

That a five-year programme of irrigation works, 29 in number, involving an estimated expenditure of Rs. 200 lakhs and aimed at bringing 60,000 acres under irrigation, was under the consideration of the Government of Mysore, was revealed by Mr. M. Narasimhiah, Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Mysore, presiding over the joint annual session of the Mysore Engineers' Association and the member of the Institute of Engineers (local branch) at Sivasamudram.

Mr. N. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Mysore, who delivered the inaugural address, stressed the important part that Engineers would have to play in development and planning schemes in the post-war period.

Baroda

MEDICAL COLLEGE IN BARODA

Four fourth class dispensaries, two subsidy dispensaries and two dispensaries on co-operative lines have been started by the Medical Department of the State during the half-year ending January, 1945.

Nine maternity homes were opened and nine more were sanctioned during the same period. The work of constructing an eye ward at Patan Hospital and of maternity homes at several places was in progress.

Three medical officers and one sub-assistant surgeon were deputed by the department to Bombay for higher studies in medicine.

BARODA MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

The Baroda City Municipal Corporation extends over an area of 8·47 square miles and serves a lakh and a half citizens. The income of the corporation increased owing to greater import of goods in the city, increased receipts from rents of land, income from trees, ete. The incidence of taxation per head was Rs. 6-8-6 during the year 1943-44.

The figures show that while the net increase in income was only Rs. 81,000, the increase in expenditure amounted to Rs. 2·70 lakhs.

The general health of the city was good but the anti-malaria campaign was continued.

BARODA APPOINTMENTS

Sir B. L. Mitter, K.C S.I., has been appointed Dewan of Baroda State from April 1.

Mr. Bhadrashilrao Gaekwad, the present Acting Dewan, has been appointed Vice-President of the Executive Council.

Mr. R. G. Allen, the present Commissioner of Agriculture, will be in charge of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction.

Col. Dr. S. M. Pagar, the present Education Member, has proceeded on leave from April 1, prior to retirement.

Mr. S. M. Basrur has been appointed General Manager of the Gaekwad of Baroda State Railways.

Travancore

BEGGAR HOME FOR TRIVANDRUM

Striking tributes to the inspiration and examples of Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Travancore and the Maharani were paid by Sachivothama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, while opening, the new buildings of the Sri Chitra Home for the destitute and the infirm at Trivandrum on April 19.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyer urged the gathering to establish similar institutions in every centre of the State.

He announced that it was the intention of the government, beginning with the coming budget until the beggar problem in the urban areas at least was adequately solved, to set aside Rupees 1 lakh for dealing with the begger problem. The Dewan stressed the necessity for the evolution of a band of social workers dedicating their lives for the service of the unfortunates in the land.

Mr. V. S. Subramania Iyer, President of the Home recalled how the home was started 10 years ago with an endownment of half a lakh of rupees made by His Highness which had now grown to nearly a lakh. The home could accommodate over 300 beggars in comfort.

TRAVANCORE SENATE

A meeting of the Senate of the University of Travancore was held, on April 13, at the Legislative Chamber under the presidentship of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor.

As recommended by the Syndicate, the Senate decided to institute M.Sc. course and Professorship in Statistics in the University, to utilize the endowment of Rs. 50,000 offered by the Travancore University to the Muslim Endowment Committee for the starting of a course of study in Islamic History and Culture and the institution of a readership therein and to institute an employment bureau in the University.

Rajkot

TEXTILE CONTROL

As a result of the conference held last month at which the Additional Textile Commissioner, Rajkot State, the President and Secretary of the Rajkot Cloth Merchants' Association were present, Sri K. S. Banesinyi, the Dewan Saheb presiding, it was decided that the work of distribution of the cloth quota should be handed over to the Syndicate formed by the Cloth Merchants Association.

Among the terms are that only cloth dealers who were in the trade during the basic period 1040-41 and 1942 would be entitled to become members of the Syndicate, license holders should be members of the Syndicate and will be nominated by the State, all profit excepting quota holder's 3 per cent., from the sale of cloth by the Syndicate shall be pooled and distributed among the members according to their share capital, the liability of the members shall be limited, that the entire stock of time barred cloth shall be distributed by the Synndicate to subject to a maximum of 5 yards per head on ration cards, and that the Syndicate should bear the administrative overhead charges.

Mayurbhanj

INDUSTRIAL PLANNING

The Government of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj are continuing to concentrate on the policy of giving assistance and encouragement in developing industries already established and starting new ones with a view to a rapid industrialisation of the State. They participate in the share capital of the industries set up and give such concessions and facilities in the manner of land acquisition, supply of materials, raw products and food grains to employers of labour as they might require in the early stages. The Government take both financial and supervisory interests in every one of the Joint Stock Companies registered in the State for the purpose of turning out manufactured goods.

Kashmir

CHILDREN'S LABOUR

The Kashmir Government intends to introduce a bill in the State Assembly seeking to prohibit the pledging of the labour of children in the State.

It is stated that in certain places in the state people take advances pledging the labour of their children. Government wants to end this social vice.

KASHMIR BUDGET

Khan Bahadur Mirza Jafar Ali Khan, officiating Prime Minister of Kashmir, presented the budget for Samvat 2002 (1945-46) to the State Assembly on March 26. The Revenue of the State has been estimated at Rs. 4,46,66,000, indicating a deficit of Rs. 14,15,000.

Cochin

RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENT BOARD

With a view to associate the public with the administration of Devaswams (Religious Endowments) the Maharaja has constituted an advisory board consisting of four members. His Highness has nominated Prince Kerala Varma as President, Mr. T. S. Narayana Aiyar, a former Chief Judge, Brahmasree T. T. Kunju Judge, Brahmasree T. T. Kunju Nambodiri and Mr. T. T. Krishna Menon as members.

VOTING FACILITIES FOR SERVICEMEN

H. H. the Maharaja has promulgated a proclamation affording facilities to those electors of certain constituencies who are serving in the various branches of His Majesty's Armed Forces and the Cochin elections provided they had their permanent residence at the time they left the place for active service.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

MR. MANILAL ON S. A. POSITION

"Unfortunately there is a split in the South Afriean Indian community. The Natal Indian Congress is working only for the vested interests, and being afraid to face the masses it does not hold open sessions, but only Committee meetings. The majority of the Indians in South Africa are with the Anti-Segregation Committee", observed Mr. Manilal Gandhi in the course of a talk with pressmen in Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi added: "General Smuts is in favour of India getting independence. He does not want trade segregation, but favours residential separation of Indians by mutual agreement and without recourse to legislative measures".

Referring to the retaliatory measure of the India Government, Mr. Gandhi said: "They are mere eye-wash".

GANDHIJI ON KALLENBACH

"South Africa has lost a most generous-minded citizen and the Indians of that sub-continent, a very warm friend," observed Mahatma Gandhi when interviewed about Mr. M. Kallenbach's death—his old associate in South Africa.

"In Hermann Kallenbach's death" Mahatma Gandhi continued "I have lost a very dear and near friend. He used to say to me often that when I was deserted by the whole world, I would find him to be a true friend going with me, if need be, to the end of the earth in search of Truth. He used to spend at one time £75 per month on his person alone. But he so revolutionised his life that his monthly personal expenses amounted to under £3. This lasted while we lived together in a cottage seven miles from Johannesburg. When I left South Africa, he reverted in large part to his original life, though mostly eschewing the things of life he had deliberately left."

Ceylon

INDIANS IN CEYLON

Mr. Abdul Aziz, President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, told the Soulbury Commission that about 95 per cent. of the Indians in Ceylon could be regarded as permanently settled there; if full powers are transferred to the people, there should be certain settled arrangements as regards the interests of minorities.

Replying to questions on the Fundamental Rights which the Congress wanted to be embodied in the constitution, Mr. Aziz referred to the denial of village community franchise to Indians and the restriction on the Indian vote to the State Council.

Lord Soulbury: "Quite a number of these Fundamental Rights you mention have apparently not been denied to you."

Mr. Aziz: "The purpose of mentioning these in the constitution is that there is an apprehension that these may be denied.

Lord Soulbury remarked that what he had seen in some of the estates did not bear out the Congress statement of total lack of facilities for Indians on the estates.

Mr. Aziz replied that care might have been taken to show the Commissioners round the best estates.

U.S.A.

U. S. CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

The Senate Emigration Committee on April 26 opened the hearing on a new bill which would make eligible for naturalisation some 4,0000 Indians now resident in the United States. A Justice Department official and Prof. John Cooper of Washington Catholic University appeared as witnesses during the brief session and several Indians submitted statements.

Dr. Mubarak Khan, President of the Indian Welfare League, presented a statement supporting the new bill.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✱ DEPARTMENTAL ✱ NOTES

Questions of Importance

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GANDHIJI ON AIM OF FRISCO TALKS

In a statement on the task confronting the diplomats of the world at the San Francisco Conference, Mahatma Gandhi observed:

I reiterate my conviction that there will be no peace for the Allies or the world, unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud and are determined to hammer out real peace based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all war. In such a world only, the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation.

INDIA—A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF IMPERIALIST DOMINATION

(1) An indispensable preliminary to peace is the complete freedom of India from all foreign control, not merely because it is a classic example of imperialist domination but specially because it is a big, ancient and cultured country which has fought for its freedom since 1920 deliberately by truth and non-violence as its only weapon.

Though the Indian soldier has fought, not for India's freedom, he has shown during this war, as never before, that he is at least an equal to the best in his fighting qualities. I cite this to answer the charge that India's peaceful struggle is due to its lack of soldierly quality. The inevitable deduction that I draw from this is that non-violence of the strong is infinitely braver than their violence. That India may not yet have evolved such non-violence is another matter. If it is the case, it does not detract from the statement that it has battled non-violently for freedom and that not without considerable success.

(2) Freedom of India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near and that in no case will they henceforth be exploited.

PLEA FOR JUST PEACE

(3) Peace must be just. In order to be that, it must neither be punitive nor vindictive. Germany and Japan should not be humiliated. The strong are never vindictive. Therefore, the fruits of peace must be equally shared. The effort then will be to turn them into friends. The Allies can prove their democracy by no other means.

(4) It follows from the foregoing that there will be no armed peace imposed upon the forcibly disarmed. All will be disarmed. There will be an international police force to enforce the lightest terms of peace. Even this retention of an international police will be a concession to human weakness, not by any means an emblem of peace.

INDIA'S DELEGATE MUST BE ELECTED

If these foregoing essentials of peace are accepted, it follows that the camouflage of Indian representation through Indians nominated by British imperialism should be dropped. Such representation will be worse than no representation. Either India at San Francisco is represented by an elected representative or represented not at all.

The following from the Congress Resolution of 8th August, 1942, shows clearly what free India stands for:

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

Thus the demand for Indian Independence is in no way selfish. Its nationalism spells internationalism.

George Bernard Shaw, famous author and playwright, told *Reuter* that he thoroughly endorses Mr. Gandhi's statement that "Germany and Japan must not be humiliated; and the fruits of peace must be equally shared."

"Of course," said Shaw, "the two nations must disarm, Germany and Japan have got to give in, but I should like this to be in the form of an armistice."

Utterances of the Day

LORD LISTOWEL'S PLEA FOR INDIA

Lord Listowel, Under-Secretary for India, addressing at Peterborough the Youth Conference on India, hoped that Britain and India would go forward as friends and partners in splendid enterprise, banishing abject poverty and safeguarding peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The time factor in this constitutional drama is all important, and whether we will it or not, we are hastening with the certainty of fate towards the climax in the last act. Time forgets not nor forgives, and any unreasonable delay in granting the essentials of self-government would poison our relations with India for many generations to come. Let it not be said in respect of our dealings with India as the people often say to-day of our past dealings with Ireland. "They gave too little and too late."

But the time is past when we can dress India in our ready-made constitutional garments. The Indians must settle between themselves the cut, size and material they want.

There is finally a broad assumption without which these conditions of evolutionary progress to full nationhood could not be conceivably fulfilled. I mean the assumption that British statecraft, which has raised from infant dependency the largest fraternity of free and equal nations in history, will never declare itself bankrupt.

"We have not forgotten, whatever our critics may say," said Lord Listowel,

Our repeated and solemn promises about self-government for India or that our good name will be called in question by many so long as these promises are not fully redeemed. At the end of this grim war, there is no doubt that the world will be waiting with impatience to see whether India alone among the victorious partners in the grand alliance is to remain indefinitely without an equal and wholly independent status.

MR. BHULABHAI'S CALL TO BRITAIN

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, presiding over the Punjab Civil Liberties Conference, quoted President Roosevelt's words: "The mere conquest of our enemies is not enough. We must go on to do all in our power to conquer doubts, fears, ignorance and greed, which made this horror possible". Commenting on this statement, Mr. Desai said:

The real issue is, what is to be the world of to-morrow if the motive of ambition and greed is going to produce the same series of wars leading to the same series of destruction. If Mr. Roosevelt's statement means anything, it means that the war would have been fought in vain if the subject races who had been made to fight in this war for freedom and in the name of freedom, were to remain in subjection after the war.

The question of India's independence should be made a major issue. It is my primary duty to tell you that our voice should be a common united voice. If peace is to be founded on genuine freedom, then the freedom of the subject races is the real issue. I am more concerned to-day with the declaration of India's freedom than with anything else. Britain has not to fight a war to free us. Britain has only to realize that every free country is a genuine friend. Britain has only to realize that every free country is a genuine friend. Britain has only to reorganize its psychology and make up its mind. A small revolutionary psychological change can make us free.

We must first get freedom to govern ourselves and then we can fashion laws for providing the individual and personal freedom of our citizens. It is for this that we want the freedom of our leaders. Let us sink all our differences and even our ideologies for the sake of attaining India's freedom.

I, therefore, appeal to the people of India, "not to miss what may happen to be the last opportunity to gain our freedom, by subordinating provincial personal, ideological or even religious differences. Let us gain our freedom; the future will look after itself when we are a free people.

SIR ARCOT'S SPEECH AT FRISCO

The Chairman of the Indian Delegation, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, told the San Francisco Conference that it was due to unity with others, that the Great Powers had been able to achieve success. He said:

I believe in Sovereign rights, but I believe the world has come to a stage when emphasis rests, not so much on independence, as on interdependence (applause). While the small nations realize that the main responsibility is on the Great Powers, I humbly suggest to the Great Powers, that they also serve who also stand and wait; and that the smaller nations who have made contributions in time of stress, are not negligible factors in maintaining security.

While we are all thinking of the security of armed force to prevent aggression, we are likely to forget the basic factor in all these considerations the cause which leads to aggression, economic and social injustices (applause).

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar spoke as "an Asiatic," and said that India was ready to take her rightful place in the work of peace, and in combating aggression.

Political

EXTENSION OF SECTION 93 RULE

Mr. Amery, moving that the House of Commons should approve the India (Failure of Constitutional Machinery) Orders, relating to Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, and Bihar, said that their purpose was to extend the authority of the Commons for another year in regard to the system of direct rule in these Provinces—a rule which the House was familiar.

Mr. Amery said the House has deliberately limited its authority to 12 months in order to emphasize that the situation was regarded as provisional and abnormal. If, in any of these Provinces, political leaders were prepared to come forward and form a Ministry, prepared to support the war and give reasonable assurances of stability and support of the Legislature, it would be the duty of the Governor to constitute that Ministry.

The House agreed.

WAVELL'S MISSION IN BRITAIN

The *News Chronicle* has published a sensational despatch from its correspondent in India, Mr. Stuart Gelder. The despatch says: "Lord Wavell has gone to England to tell Mr. Churchill and his Cabinet that he is not prepared to continue as Viceroy unless they give him power to take steps to end the deadlock by releasing Congress Working Committee members and by reopening negotiations".

Mr. William Gallacher, Communist M.P., commenting on this, said that "one indication is Lord Wavell is a man of progressive ideas. As a progressive politician, he must have felt it very difficult to carry on a reactionary policy as directed by the India Office. I quite see that he is reduced to a position of impotency by Mr. Amery who is quite incapable of understanding the new democratic forces now pulsating through whole humanity. Mr. Amery must be made to resign before anything can be done for India."

Mr. William Dobbie, front bench Labour M.P., said, "Mr. Gelder's disclosures of Lord Wavell's disappointment did not surprise me. I have a feeling that 18 months' experience of Indian affairs must have proved a good eye-opener to the Viceroy. His visit to London for prolonged talks with the Cabinet are sure indications of his sense of frustration made acute by successive defeats in the Central Assembly."

More realistic circles believe that there is no truth in the reports that the Viceroy has threatened to resign unless he is given a free hand in Indian affairs.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES' ADDRESS

A survey of the advantages and shortcomings of the Indian Legislature in war-time was given by Sir Frederick James, Member of the Legislative Assembly, at a meeting of the East India Association in London.

"The present set-up at the Centre is not satisfactory," said Sir Frederick, "and it is not really adequate to bring India successfully from the war period to the post-war period—the most difficult and dangerous period, quite apart from the many constitutional problems ahead. I sincerely hope that something can be done in the near future to strengthen the Centre politically and administratively, and give it a greater sanction of public support."

The Central Legislature had, he stated, the virtues neither of the British Parliament nor the American Congress. The fact that the Opposition knew that they would not be immediately charged with the responsibility of forming an alternative Administration if and when they defeated the Government, produced a state of frustration, a tendency to irresponsible action and a measure of irritation on both sides. He added:

There is much unity on the demand for an interim National Government at the Centre epresenting the major parties.

Educational

LIST OF TATA SCHOLARS

Twelve students from five Indian Universities have been awarded scholarship from the J. N. Tata Endowment for higher education abroad in the current year. Half of these will proceed to the United States and the others to Britain.

Engineering and Chemistry are the lines of study favoured by most of these scholars, including various branches such as chemical engineering, automobile engineering, metallurgy, fuel technology, dyestuff research, pharmaceutics, geology, and soil research.

The names of the scholars are Mr. R. B. Contractor (Bombay); Mr. D. F. Vasunia (Bombay); Mr. Minocher K. Patel (Benares Hindu University); Mr. K. I. Narasimham (Bombay); Mr. G. C. Basak (Calcutta); Mr. K. A. Balakrishna (Bombay); Mr. S.K. Mohile (Bombay); Mr. M. V. Kamath (Madras); Mr. S. K. Chakravorty (Calcutta); Mr. T. K. Cherian (Benares Hindu University); Mr. P. Sankaramurthi (Madras); and Mr. O. Talibuddin (Lucknow).

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SCHEDULED CLASSES

Rs. 3 lakhs per annum for 5 years from 1944-45 had been sanctioned for scholarships to be given to students belonging to the Scheduled Classes, of which approximately half was intended to be spent on scholarships for study in India, and the other half for study abroad, said the Development and Planning Member, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, in reply to an Assembly question. A special committee to consider the applications had been set up.

It was also intended that adequate representation should be given to minority communities, including the Scheduled Classes, provided that suitable candidates from these communities were forthcoming, in the recently announced scheme to send approximately 500 students overeas for technical education.

A UNIVERSITY FOR THE SIKHS

The need to establish a Sikh University at Amritsar, was stressed by Sirdar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, M.L.A., in the course of his presidential address delivered at the 32nd session of the Sikh Educational Conference at Sheikhpura.

"Our aim," he said, "is to have a separate Sikh University at Amritsar. The establishment of an Engineering College will bring us much nearer to our goal. The Khalsa College, Amritsar has got all the facilities for the location of such a college on a most suitable site. Let the funds be raised, not only voluntarily but also by levying a cess on the Sikh revenue and income-tax payers. I hope the Government will facilitate the passing of a cess bill for this purpose. The Engineering College will prove a coping stone in the edifice of a Sikh University at Amritsar".

TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

Prof. Humayun Kabir in his presidential address at the 23rd session of All-Bengal Teachers, Conference held at Krishnagar observed:

The present educational system in India requires thorough overhauling. It has failed to meet the demands of our Individual and social life. It was designed to look to the interest of an alien rule and could not but hamper the growth of education in the true sense of the term. It saps initiative of the people and induces meek submission.

It has led to a weakening of national character and has made us unable to face the challenge of life.

SIR C. R. REDDY

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddi was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University by 52 votes against 32 votes secured by Mr. B. Sambamurti, at the meeting of the Senate of the University.

Legal

SIR SHADI LAL

We regret the death of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Shadi Lal.

Sir Shadi Lal, who was the first Indian to be appointed permanent Chief Justice of any High Court in India, was made a Privy Councillor on retirement from the Lahore High Court.

As Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Sir Shadi Lal worked with great distinction.

Sir Shadi Lal had been ailing for a long time and the news of his death was received in Lahore and elsewhere in the country with profound regret. Sir Shadi Lal was 73 at the time of his death.

He was called to the Bar in 1899 and on his return to India joined the Lahore Bar. He became a law professor and subsequently Principal of the Law College, Lahore; a Fellow and Syndic of the Punjab University and Dean of Law Faculty. He was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council by the Punjab University in 1909, 1912 and 1913. After acting as a Judge of the Chief Court for short periods, he was appointed a Judge in 1914. He later became the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court in 1920 and occupied that office with distinction till 1934.

NEW ADVOCATE-GENERAL OF MADRAS

Mr. K. Raja Ayyar is appointed Advocate-General with the Madras Government, in succession to Mr. P. V. Rajamannar.

Mr. Raja Ayyar will assume charge of his duties in July. He was enrolled as an Advocate in 1912, having served his period of apprenticeship under the late Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, under whom he also worked as a junior for some time. He commands extensive practice and is one of the leaders of the Madras Bar, and is held in high esteem by the legal profession, by Judges, and the public. He has won many important cases, including some in the Burma High Court.

GANDHIJI'S PLEA FOR MERCY

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement on the reported rejection by the King of the mercy petition of the Chimur and Ashti prisoners:—

"If the news is correct that the Ashti and Chimur petition has been rejected, it is disturbing. I am opposed to state hanging in every case but most so in cases like these. Whatever was done by the people on and after 8th August, 1942, was done under excitement. If these hangings are now carried out, it will be cold-blooded, calculated murder and worse because it will be done ceremoniously and under the name of so-called law.

THE KULASEKHARAPATNAM CASE

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who met Sir John Thorne, Secretary to the Governor-General, recently in connection with the mercy petition of the condemned prisoners in the Kulasekharapatnam case has it is understood, addressed a letter to him pointing out that there is no pre-arranged plan in this case to kill any person. Mr. Rajagopalachari, it is gathered, has written a letter to him pointing out the Privy Council's decision in the acquittal of a man named Mahboob Shah of the charge of murder, citing the words used in Section 34 of the Indian Penal Code.

PRISON INTERVIEW

Observing that the use of the grille for interviews by political prisoners with their counsel is "very unnecessary and needlessly irritating", Mr. Justice Vivian Bose at the Nagpur High Court, in the course of his judgment in a *habeas corpus* application held that the High Court had no power to interfere and that he was unable to say that the Executive Government had no right or power to advise its Superintendents as to how they should act.

Mr. Justice Pollock agreed with this judgment.

Insurance

SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANS

An outstanding feature of the year, says a press correspondent, has been the preparations for a social insurance plan for India, similar to the Beveridge Scheme. The sickness insurance scheme contemplated by Government on a compulsory basis for factory workers in certain industries is a welcome beginning in social insurance and is expected to be a precursor of various other schemes of social security for the industrial population. The provision of compulsory insurance for payment of certain amount on sickness and of certain types of medical benefit should make the general population of the country insurance-minded, which will have very healthy repercussions on the expansion of insurance business in this country.

With ambitious plans for post-war agricultural and industrial development of the country ahead of us, the task of Indian insurance will be to adapt itself to changing conditions.

In the sphere of life insurance, it is being suggested that the problem is one of improvement of the existing companies instead of adding a few new ones. The Bill before the Legislature seeks to facilitate amalgamations. It is further urged that the policy conditions may be liberalised, at least to the extent of covering the barest minimum requirements of Section 113 of the Act, and that steps should be taken to educate licensed agents so as to fit them for the task of carrying the gospel of insurance. It is also suggested that policies up to Rs. 1,000 may be issued without medical examination. A further suggestion is that there should be held, as soon as practicable, a combined mortality investigation of Indian assured lives.

For the past few years, there has been a dearth of trained staff and the decision of the Indian Life Assurance Offices' Association during the year to introduce examinations in insurance and to arrange lectures at regular intervals for insurance personnel under training is a welcome move.

WAR RISK INSURANCE

The new schedule of cargo war risk insurance rates contains widespread reduction in respect of Persian Gulf, African, Indian, Australian and Mediterranean, as well as some South American and West Indian voyages. The changes include: Persian Gulf to or from Australia, 3 per cent. against 3½ and to or from the east coast of India, 2 against 2½, India to or from Alexandria, 2½ against 3 for the west coast and Ceylon and 3 against 3½ for the east coast.

INSURANCE 2,500 YEARS AGO!

Tribes in the southern areas of Palestine and Trans-Jordan about 2,500 years ago knew all about insurance. Arrangements were made in the Fifth Century B. C. by these tribes for mutual compensation in the event of the theft of their camels—important assets to nomad tribes—by raiding parties. The Association of Insurance Brokers in Palestine revealed this interesting fact in the first issue of their new monthly organ in Jerusalem.

INSURANCE MANAGEMENT

It is announced that the Government of India have decided to set up a committee to inquire into and recommend measures to check certain trends and undesirable features in the management of insurance companies. The committee will consist of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Chairman), Mr. Wajahat Hussain, Sir Alan Lloyd, Mr. J. K. Mitter, Sir George Morton, Mr. R. P. Shroff and Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan (Secretary).

ORIENTAL'S BUSINESS FOR 1944

The amount of New Life Assurance Business written by the Oriental during the above year was as follows:

87,369 Policies assuring Rs. 21,83,70,285.

The above figure while showing an increase of over 6¾ crores in the sum assured over the figure for 1943 constitutes a new record for the Company.

Trade and Finance

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

The Council of State passed without a division a resolution moved by Mr. Hossain Imam (Muslim League), asking the Government to send a deputation consisting of officials and representative non-officials to negotiate with His Majesty's Government to regulate the liquidation of India's sterling balances in the post-wart period.

Mr. Hossan Imam said that none could deny that the accumulation of our sterling holdings had resulted in depriving India of many of her requirements and the country had undergone a lot of hardships. Any arrangement arrived at must be mutual and not dictated. India was not anxious to pile up the balance any further as she was losing over Rs. 12 crores by way of interest earnings.

Sir Cyril Jones, Finance Secretary, recalled that it was arranged, after the Bretton Woods Conference, that the Indian delegation should visit the United Kingdom for exploratory talks with His Majesty's Government, but due to the course of the war it had not been possible to carry on the talks.

Sir Cyril added that Government's attitude towards this question was similar to the request contained in the resolution and he had no desire whatsoever to oppose it.

The House passed the resolution without a division.

HYDARI MISSION

The result of the Hydari Mission, summarised in an official announcement, is that the relief obtained under the heads of steel, leather, timber, woollens, cement and cotton textiles in 1945 is about Rs. 4 crores and in 1946 about Rs. 70 crores. Of these, the most important single item under which relief has been obtained is cotton textiles. In this item, the Mission has followed the same principles as in other items, namely, securing substantial reductions in the defence service demands, coupled with assistance for Indian industry to produce more for the civil consumer.

AUSTRALIAN TRADE WITH INDIA

Sir Dattar Singh, member of the delegation of Indian Industrialists to Australia, said: "In developing trade with India after the war, Australia should concentrate mainly on export of processed milk, and agricultural machinery and implements, as enormous quantities of the latter will be needed immediately after the war to carry out the Bombay Plan.

It is evident that if there is to be a reciprocal trade pact between India and Australia, there must be fuller interchange of news and factual information, and I will urge the Indian Government to establish a bureau of information in Australia and to seek the establishment of an Australian bureau in India."

Sir Dattar Singh said that the delegation's visit had been highly successful and that he had thanked the Commonwealth and State Governments and also the many private citizens who had made its task easier.

FACILITIES FOR EXPORT TRADE

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce have made representations to the Government of India, requesting them to relax the restrictions in the matter of export of goods, in consonance with the policy of relaxation already made in the import of goods. The Chamber have urged that this was the most suitable opportunity to help the businessmen by giving them the same facilities to export goods as was done in the case of imports.

WOOLLEN CLOTH FOR INDIA

A quantity of British Government surplus stocks of woollen cloth will be sent to India through normal trade channels as the result of a decision by the Board of Trade which has asked the National Wool Textile Export Corporation to co-operate in arranging export.

Women's Page

WORLD WOMEN'S LEAGUE

The annual Council of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom passed a resolution early last month reaffirming the belief that "the continued denial of independence for India is a fundamental contradiction of Britain's claim for moral leadership in the struggle for freedom". The resolution states the Council "views with dismay" that India is not an equal member with other nations assembled at Frisco Conference. Believing that India's contribution to the plans now being made is essential in the interest of the peace of the world and can only be made by representatives in whom the country has trust, it urges the immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners to facilitate the formation of such provincial and national self-government as will enable a free India to take her rightful share in the peace settlement.

BRITISH WOMEN'S WAR WORK

European British women in India between the ages of 18 and 50, who are not permanent Government employees, military or civil, number 14,300, says a *communique* issued recently giving figures of women registered under the Ordinance of Oct. 1944.

The main object of the Ordinance was to obtain a clear picture of the war work women in each district were in a position to do, so as to help the local authorities to offer an opportunity for such work for all women residing in their district and to find the most suitable work for each woman to do.

Of the total number registered under the Ordinance, 9,224 were found to be doing voluntary war work, 3,245 of them for more than 20 hours a week, 2,049 were unable to undertake war work for reasons deemed sufficient by local authorities, 772 were not engaged in war work owing to lack of opportunity, being in remote districts, etc., and 2,255 were doing no work for reasons appearing to the local authorities to be insufficient, though many of them had expressed willingness to undertake work when offered. It should be noted, the *communique* proceeds, that women in Government service were not required to register and that at the time of registration, 2,200 European British women were employed in the W.A.C. (I) besides those otherwise employed under Government.

Thus, out of 14,300 European British women registered under the Ordinance only 2,255 or about 16 per cent. who could take up war work had not done so.

GANDHIJI AND WOMEN WORKERS

Mahatma Gandhi, in his 70-minute talk to the 80 women workers attending the provincial instructors' training camp at Borivli, gave practical advice on the various problems that might confront them in their work.

Answering Shrimati Mridula Ben's questions as to what were the good and bad points of Indians, as a nation, Mahatma Gandhi observed that he was convinced that in the sum the former far outweighed the latter. Indians had many defects. India was a slave country and her slavery dated much farther back than the British conquest of India. Slavery of evil customs and superstitions, he knew, was the worst form of slavery, but the solace that he would find in India, he could find nowhere else. He had lived in England and he had spent the best part of his life in South Africa. Yet he could not adopt other countries as his home. In reply to a friend's query years ago he had said that he wanted to die in the lap of his mother. His own mother, who was a frail little woman, had died years ago. But Mother India, with her eighty crores of hands, eighty crores of feet and 40 crores of mouths, had beckoned to him from across the seas and he could not resist the call.

LLOYD GEORGE'S REPARTEES

Lord Lloyd George's capacity for quick retort was among the more potent weapons in a formidable political armoury. In Parliament and on the hustings he used it with devastating effect.

"If I were your wife," shouted a grim-visaged woman heckler at him once, "I'd give you poison."

"And if I were your husband," retorted Ll. G., "I'd take it."

Another story concerns his earlier days when he was advocating Home Rule for Wales.

"Home Rule for Hell", interjected a drunken navy.

"Quite right," quipped Lloyd George, "each man for his own country".

Ll. G.'s wit could often be cruel. Of Lord Simon, then Foreign Secretary, he once said: "He's sat on the fence so long that the iron has entered his soul."

GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY VOLUME

A cheque for Rs. 24,000, being net profits from the sale of the 75th birthday volume on Gandhiji, was handed over to Mahatma Gandhi, on April 12, by Mr. Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri, Mridula Sarabhai and Mr. D. G. Tendulkar—representing the panel of editors.

The first edition of "Gandhiji—His Life and Work", which was published on October 2, 1944, was sold out by February, 1945. A limited edition of 250 copies printed, on hand-made paper, priced at Rs. 75, was then produced.

MR. POTHAN JOSEPH'S NEW APPOINTMENT

Mr. Pothan Joseph, Editor of *Dawn*, has been offered and has accepted the post of Principal Information Officer, Government of India.

Mr. J. Natarajan, who has been officiating as Principal Information Officer, is expected to leave for the United States early in May to take over charge as Public Relations Officer to the Government of India's Agent-General in Washington.

MR. K. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR

Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, Adviser to H. E. the Governor, presiding over a public meeting held on April 5, under the auspices of the Music Academy, Madras, to felicitate Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, President of the Academy, on the occasion of his 61st birthday, congratulated Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar on his well-filled life of sixty years, and wished him many more years of such life. Whether in the profession of law which he chose or in the fields of music and education he brought to bear the same qualities of sincerity and diligence, the skill of a craftsman and the devotion of an artist, high endeavour and forgetfulness of self.

AMERICAN TRIBUTE TO GANDHI

"Gandhiji is the one person in the world who remains unaffected by the war and who has stuck to his principles. His name will shine out a hundred years hence when people will have forgotten the names of M. Stalin, Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The fact is that there is no greater internationalist than Mahatma Gandhi", said Prof. Davis of Yale University. who visited Sevagram, in an interview to the United Press.

DUKE OF WINDSOR

Probably the resignation of the Duke of Windsor from the Governorship of the Bahamas is due to the fact that he is anxious to get back to France to study European conditions on the spot. He was always interested in reforms and progressive ideas and it is only natural to expect that he would want to be present in Europe during the momentous reconstruction period.

MR. WILLIAM PHILLIPS

President Roosevelt's former Personal Representative to India, Mr. William Phillips, has been appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Mr. Edward Stettinus.

He will assist in handling departmental matters while many seniors are at San Francisco.

Medical

MEDICAL AID TO POORER CLASSES

Dr. Jivraj M. Mehta, President of the Indian Medical Association, at a reception given him by the Bengal Branch of the association, outlined a scheme for the formation of a society of medical men with 100 members in each province, to provide cheap medical service to poor and middle-class people.

The scheme, which Dr. Mehta placed before the members of the medical profession for their consideration, was that the medical men recruited should lend their wholetime services as life-members of the proposed society. They should be given a graded pay, besides other amenities, They would be allowed private practice, but their fees should go to the funds of the society.

Dr. Mehta explained that it was not proposed that free service would be rendered by the society to poor and middle-class families. What was intended was that a moderate fee, in some cases only a nominal fee, should be charged for the service rendered to such families.

Dr. Mehta referred to the present high cost of medical treatment in this country, and emphasized that it was urgently necessary that some means should be devised to give relief to the poor and middle-class people who could not afford such costly treatment. He urged that the members of the society he had suggested should be imbued with a missionary zeal and an idea of social service.

SUPER-PENICILLIN

Synthidin—a synthetic form of penicillin thousands of times more active than the natural drug and produced by American research workers on a British formula—will be on sale in Britain soon.

Synthidin kills germs which are unaffected by natural penicillin and can be used in diluted form. It is especially deadly to the germ of blood poisoning. Manufacturing costs are less than one-quarter of those for penicillin extracted from fungus.

Health

HEALTH MINISTRY AT CENTRE

The establishment of a medical college for every unit of 3 lakhs of population, the setting-up of a Health Ministry at the Centre and in the Provinces, and a scheme for advance training for doctors in the U.K., U.S.S.R., and U.S.A. are some of the important recommendations made by the Bhore Committee to the Government of India.

The Committee is reported to have made a severe criticism of the public health services, hospital administration and health legislation, which they consider inadequate and ill-co-ordinated.

CRAZE ABOUT VITAMIN TABLETS

Balanced diet can be carried too far, Lord Horder told the Food Education Society in his presidential address in London recently, reports the *Empire News*.

"The principle is sound and badly needs strengthening," he said, "but as for jiggering about with the individual courses of an individual meal that is sheer nonsense.

"I remember there was a very serious-minded person at one of our conferences who told us that she added vitamins to a plate of pea-soup to balance it. That shows you how far you can go when you get a bee in your bonnet."

PHYSICAL DEFECTS IN CHILDREN

An article in a recent issue of the *Indian Medical Journal* gives a statistical analysis of physical defects, in respect of some 400 students belonging to the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, Saidapet, as testified to by the College Medical Officer. According to the report, as many as 69 per cent. of the students show some physical defect or another—postural defects being the foremost, defective teeth and hookworm infection taking the second and third places respectively. Malnutrition is noticeable in 32 per cent. of the students. Other defects noticed are skin diseases and defective vision.

Currency and Banking

BANKING COMPANIES BILL

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, moved in the Assembly that the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Banking Companies be referred to a Select Committee. As compared with the detailed Banking Codes in the United States and Canada, the Finance Member said the present Bill was modest in scope since it attempted to lay down only the minimum essentials of sound banking.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari (Nationalist) asked for an early enquiry into the whole credit structure of the country in the light of the views of various committees which had reported in the past as well as the experience gained by the Reserve Bank of India.

Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Congress) criticized the Finance Member for leaving agricultural and industrial banks out of the scope of the Bill. The Bill, he said, would thus help neither the industries nor the agriculture of this country. The Bill sought to safeguard depositors but we, in India, were more anxious to borrow than to deposit.

PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK JUBILEE

Donations amounting to Rs. 75,000 were announced by Mr. Yodh Raj, Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Punjab National Bank, on the occasion of the concluding day of the Golden Jubilee celebration of the Bank on April 12. Of the total amount of donation, a sum of Rs. 50,000 has been earmarked for educational institutions and hospitals.

A sum of Rs. 25,000 has been donated for promoting social, economic, educational and moral advancement of the Indian people and for promoting inter-communal harmony between different castes and creeds in India.

The Chairman said that the Punjab National Bank, which was started with a modest capital of Rs. 20,000 in Lahore, to-day occupied the third place among India's big five banks and had accumulated assets of over rupees 50 crores and had 173 offices working all over the country.

Railways

ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS

A meeting of the Central Advisory Council for Railways was held at New Delhi, on April 14, says a Press note. The Council approved the policy of providing three classes of railway compartments in designing passenger coaches for the post-war period and the principle that the fares to be charged for the three classes should correspond to the present third class, inter class, and second class fares, though the actual rates would have to be based on prevailing price levels and other factors. Airconditioned travel, where it is considered necessary, would be an addition to these three standard classes. The Council also approved in principle the amalgamation of the M. and S. M. and S. I. Railways.

The catering policy on railways was reviewed and the Council recommended that those catering arrangements which were satisfactory should not be disturbed during the war, but after the war each catering contractor should be limited to an area not exceeding the equivalent of two railway divisions and preference should be given to professional local caterers, where these were available.

LIQUIDATION OF M.S.M. RAILWAY COMPANY

Stockholders are advised that the liquidators of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company are arranging to pay towards the end of this month a further three per cent. dividend for absorbing £1,50,000 still in their hands. It is anticipated an additional small distribution will be possible when the Company's liabilities in the United Kingdom and India are finally determined.

SIND-BOMBAY RAILWAY

The Railway Board has decided to give priority to the construction of the proposed direct Sind-Bombay railway as part of post-war development of railways in India. This decision was communicated to the Karachi mercantile deputation who intended to proceed to Delhi to place the matter before the India Government.

Art and Drama

RAGA—THE GLORY OF INDIAN MUSIC

Speaking at the Music Academy, Madras, Mr. T. L. Venkatarama Aiyar discussed music as an art and a science. He said that classical musicians like Thyagaraja, Dikshitar and Shyama Sastri had emphasized the importance of music as an art. To-day music had come to be democratised. Democracy may have great use in politics but in the realm of art, democracy had no place. It is the duty of all lovers of literature and of art to preserve and maintain the highest in art and not lower it in the name of democracy.

Tracing the growth of classical music in India, Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar said that in the Vedic period when the Sama Veda was sung, they did not have a variety of 'ragas' except 'Karaharapriya'. They had no 'ragas' and no 'talas'. By the time of Bharatha, the art had been developed and 22 'Sruthis' had become established. The subsequent development of the 'ragas' constituted the chief glory of Indian music. "The conception of 'raga' is unknown to other countries. Many of the present-day movements really did not understand the glory behind the 'ragas'. The 'ragas' have each a distinctive form. This is the ideal in South Indian music."

FESTIVAL OF ART FOR KIDS

"All children are individual artists upto about the age of 10." The Museum of Modern Art in New York is so convinced of this idea that it sets up an annual "Holiday Circus" in which young (4 to 8) hopefuls can draw, design and paint, their little hearts out. This year's festival, the fourth, opened recently states an American report. Adults are not allowed at any time because adults and fledgling spontaneous are emphatically don't mix.

Victor D'Amico, the Director of the Young People's Gallery, has contrived his small-fry atelier with a wonderland anteroom full of tricky gadgets. The workshop proper is stocked with everything a young artist ever dreamed about: painting tables with brushes, plenty of paint, and reams of paper.

Sport

SYDNEY CORDER OF POONA WHEELERS

Brilliant cycling by Sydney Corder of the Poona Wheelers was the main feature of the second annual open meet of the Bombay Cycling Club held at the Brabourne Stadium, Bombay, last month, when over eighty cyclists took part. Corder not only won the thousand metres time trial, thousand metres sprint, four thousand metres lap race and the two thousand metres combined team pursuit and four thousand metres team pursuit but also established a new All-India record for the thousand metres time trial with one minute 24 9 seconds, beating the record created by R. Rhead recently of one minute 26 seconds.

PHYSICAL CULTURE IN U.P.

Mr. J. L. Sathe, Adviser to the U.P. Governor (Revenue), inaugurating the first meeting of the Technical Committee of the Council of Physical Culture stressed the need of promoting an intensive as well as extensive campaign for physical fitness among the people. The campaign, he said, would have to embrace all possible kinds of games, exercises and recreations which would go to the promotion of physical fitness. It would not confine itself to only one line of approach.

The committee considered various schemes for the improvement of the physique of the people of the province and appointed seven sub-committees.

LIGHTWEIGHT CHAMPION

Zurita, world lightweight champion, according to the National Boxing Association, lost the title, being knocked out in the second round of a 15-round contest by Ike Williams, a Negro contender from Trenton, New Jersey.

CYCLE RACE CHAMPION

In the seventh All-India 44-mile cycle race held at Dewas (Jr.) under the auspices of the Maharaji Chamnabai Physical Culture Institute, Chenbasappa of Jamkhandi State (Dn.), came out first covering the distance in 3 hours 5 minutes and 38 seconds.

Science

TEST-TUBE BABIES

In a leading article headed "Without Prejudice", the *Daily Mail* takes to task Health Minister Willink for admitting in the House of Commons that he knows little or nothing of what is being done in the field of artificial insemination for humans.

Declares the *Daily Mail:* "The subject has transcendant importance. Its stupendous implications foreshadow nothing less than the strange inhuman 'Brave New World of Aldous Huxley".

The newspaper points out that it is known that three so-called "test-tube babies" have been born in Britain "long enough ago to have given the Ministry of Health time to have pursued all possible inquiries and to have been ready with some statement of principle or policy when the inevitable questions were asked."

Medical men have begun something which ranges far beyond their own provinces. There are moral, social and legal aspects which must be thoroughly investigated. Artificial insemination is not a thing which can be left to the caprice of practitioners but must be recognized and if necessary restricted by the will of the community.

Interesting questions that arise are: Will test-tube babies be legitimate or illegitimate? What would be the position regarding entailed estates and other property? Would a test-tube baby born of a British mother and foreign donor be British?

INVISIBLE GLASS

The American Association of University Women awarded its annual achievement prize of 2,500 dollars to Dr. Katherine Blodgett of the General Electric Research Laboratory. Schenectady, New York. Dr. Blodgett invented "invisible glass"—the process of depositing non-reflecting film on glass which has been used to increase the efficiency of submarine periscopes and aerial camera lenses.

Dr. Blodgett discovered "invisible glass" during long studies of methods for making films of almost infinitesimal thickness.

Film World

RANK'S FILM EMPIRE IN BRITAIN

The entire film industry of Britain to-day is in the hands of a single individual.

He is Mr. Arthur Rank who controls 608 key cinemas out of a total of 5,000. This works out at a third of the country's seating capacity.

He also owns 60 per cent. of British film industry's production facilities. To crown all, early in January, he was reported to have bought the Denham Laboratories, Britain's most modern Film printing organization in which Sir Alexander Korda built in 1936 for £300,000.

Feeling impelled to improve the educational and moral standard of films, he formed the Religious Film Society to provide some 700 churches with special films and projectors, was struck by the money-making potentialities in movies. He first launched out commercially in the Summer of 1934, aboard Lady Yule's yacht *Nahlin* lying off Bermuda, when he helped her and the late Major John Sewell ("Jack") Courtauld to found British National Films.

Rank now controlled two of the biggest British film companies (the other: Associated British Pictures, founded by the late John Maxwell). Undoubtedly his resources as director of more than 60 companies (Chairman of 23) helped him to feed the rapidly expanding film interests, yearly receiving a gross box-office income of around £1,000,000.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE

Shirley Temple, whose engagement to a United States Army Air Force Sergeant is likely to make films in Britain after the war. Now tall, slim, brunettee and 16 years old, Shirley made her first film when she was three and became a front rank star at five. She played her first grown-up part in her latest picture, "Since You Went Away." Her fiance, 24-year-old John Agar, is a physical training instructor.

Automobiles

MANUFACTURE OF MOTOR CARS

In the Central Assembly the Commerce Member indicated, in reply to Mr. Manu Subedar, that two companies had been registered in India for the manufacture of motor cars, and consent had been given by the Examiner of Capital Issues to the following issues of shares: Premier Automobiles, Ltd., Bombay, Rs. 2,25,00,000 and Hindustan, Motors Ltd., Okha. Rs. 4,87,50,000.

Q: What means have the Government got of supervising, checking, revising or otherwise controlling the nature of the contracts, which such firms could make with foreign companies or corporations?

Ans: No such means are expressly provided for. It will, however, be possible to consider the subject at the stage of releasing the invested capital from investment if any such measure of control is in operation at the time when such release is applied for. Control can also be exercised at the stage of allowing import licences, priorities, release of controlled materials, etc.

The Commerce Member stated that two factories in India manufactured types. A substantial portion of the capital of one of them had been subscribed by Indians. Figures regarding the output of the factories could not be divulged for security reasons.

CANADIAN CARS FOR INDIA

Details are now available of the Mutual Aid Agreement that was concluded between Canada and India in August last. A large part of the supplies of motor transport required for the Indian Army is being furnished by Canada and it is expected that the war supplies to be furnished to the Government of India in accordance with this Mutual Aid Agreement will consist of automotive equipment for the military forces in India.

The Agreement bears 11 articles, wherein it is said the Government of Canada will make available to the Government of India such war supplies as the Government of Canada shall authorise from time to time to be provided.

Aviation

TATA AIR SERVICE

Daily fast airmail services all the seven days in the week between Bombay, New Delhi, Karachi, Bombay, Madras and Colombo have been planned by the Tata airlines. Time tables have been drawn up and approved by the authorities and extra staff have been recruited to meet the requirements.

Before the war, Tatas were only running a skeleton service twice a week between Bombay and New Delhi. The journey used to take nine hours. The Karachi-Bombay, Madras-Colombo travel was still more tedious. Under the new time table the Bombay-Delhi journey can be done within five hours. One could leave Bombay in the morning and reach Delhi by noon and after finishing urgent engagements one could return to Bombay before sunset. Similarly leaving Karachi early in the morning, one can breakfast in Bombay, lunch at Hyderabad, early tea in Madras and late tea in Colombo, thus completing the Karachi to Colombo journey within 11½ hours.

BOMBAY-CALCUTTA SERVICE

The Bombay to Calcutta service, which remained a dream for a long time, took final shape last month. Tata's submitted their Bombay-Calcutta scheme to the Government of India for approval in 1935 and it has been now sanctioned as a bi-weekly service. The bi-weekly air service will operate for the Bombay-Calcutta journey on Mondays and Wednesdays and for the return journey on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The daily fast service between Karachi and Colombo *via* Bombay and Madras is expected to come into force from May 1.

BOMBAY TO DELHI BY AIR

The daily air service between Bombay and Delhi commenced on April 16. The first plane left Bombay on Monday 16th morning at 7-50 and reached Delhi at 12-25 p.m. The journey from Delhi began at 1 p.m. and the plane reached Bombay at 5-50 in the evening. On both the trips, the planes halted for 30 minutes at Ahmedabad for breakfast and tea.

Industry

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES

The Government of India, in a 6,000-word statement, explaining their future industrial policy, declare themselves in favour of taking under central control some twenty key industries. They make it clear, however, that before coming to a final decision they will consult provinces and leading Indian States. The industries proposed to be centralised include iron and steel, cotton and woollen textiles, cement, sugar, electric power and coal.

Under the Government of India Act, the statement points out the development of industries is a provincial subject, but it is open to the Centre to declare, by law, that the development of certain industries under central control is expedient in the public interest, and thereupon it becomes a central subject.

The statement emphasizes that the arrangement by which legislation will in due course be passed by the Centre for this purpose will have no long range constitutional implications. It is intended to be in operation for so long as the present constitution lasts.

Setting forth the fundamental objects of industrialization, the statement declares that the Government have decided to take positive steps to encourage and promote the rapid industrialization of the country to the fullest extent possible.

ALL-INDIA HANDLOOM BOARD

The Government of India have decided to set up an All-India Handloom Board.

The object of the Board is to help weavers to secure dyes and chemicals as well as designs and the marketing of the products. The Board will advise the administration of Government grants and aids and will be responsible for the general condition and work of the weavers. The Board will consist of 30 members, including the Textile Commissioner, who will be the Chairman and three non-officials nominated by the Government, 17 nominated by the Provinces and 4 by certain Indian States. The remaining 5 will be nominated by the Textile Board.

Agriculture

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

Sir Norman Strathie, Adviser to the Governor of Madras, conferred with the leading mirasdars of the Trichy district in the Collector's Office on the proposed levy of a tax on agricultural incomes. Mr. W. H. Mitchell, Collector, was present.

Sir Norman said that some form of taxation had to be introduced on earnings from land, and the Government thought that the best way to do this was by means of an income-tax. In theory agriculture was exempt from income-tax, but originally when income-tax was introduced in India, it included a tax on land. It was not until 1886, when the original Permanent Resettlement Act was passed, that agricultural income was excluded from the levy of income-tax.

The Adviser added that it was felt that rich agriculturists were not being taxed as much as rich businessmen. According to modern ideas, it was proper to tax the rich to finance the many good schemes which had been planned but could not be executed for lack of finance. If these schemes were desirable, there must be additional taxation to find the wherewithal to proceed with them.

Replying to a question from Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, former Minister, Sir Norman said that the income-tax would be levied on the net income of Rs. 5,000 and more, not on gross income.

CENTRAL IRRIGATION COMMISSION

The Government of India have decided to set up a Central Water ways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, a central fact-finding planning and co-ordinating organization which will examine the potentialities of India's rivers and assist in the co-ordinated and multipurpose development of rivers passing through more than one Province or State.

The Commission will be available to advise the Central, Provincial and State Governments on waterways, irrigation and navigation problems throughout the country.

Labour

DR. AMBEDKAR'S BILL

The Assembly passed Dr. Ambedkar's Bill to provide for holidays with pay for factory workers. Dr. Ambedkar accepted an amendment of Mr. Ananthasayanam Iyengar which raised the number of holidays with pay from seven to ten days in a year.

The House also adoped Sir Azizul Haque's Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, 1913. The Bill is intended to facilitate the withdrawal of an employer's contribution to provident funds.

"PEACE CHARTER" FOR U.S. LABOUR

A "Peace Charter" for labour and management intended to prevent industrial strife when United States war economy contracts to peace basis, was announced in Washington. The announcement was made jointly by Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, Mr. Philip Murray, Chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organization, and Mr. Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The charter, which must be submitted to the organizations headed by these three, declares that they support "private property and free choice of action under the system of private competitive capitalism."

LABOUR PROBLEMS IN INDIA

Industrial labour in India, though numerically unimpressive, is an important factor in the country's economic and political life, as a large part of India's wealth is produced by it and it is destined to play a progressive part in the affairs of the country, said Mr. Dinkar Desai, speaking on "India's Post-war Labour Problems" at the Tata Institute of Social Science, Bombay, recently.

Mr. Desai said that unless proper measures were taken to satisfy the basic needs of labour, strikes were likely to break out soon after the war was over. The Government plans for labour, he said, were propagandist. He feared that the Indian industrialists might make common cause with the British in the exploitation of the ignorant masses.

General

RECRUITMENT TO THE SERVICES

The Sapru Committee has cabled a resolution to Lord Wavell and the Secretary of State in London, recommending that no recruitment of non-Indian personnel for the I.C.S., the I.P.S., or similar services be made by the Secretary of State.

The resolution says:

In view of the promise of the establishment of full Self-Government in this country at the earliest date, this committee strongly recommends that no recruitment of non-Indian personnel for the I.C.S., I.P.S., or similar services should now be made by the Secretary of State, because recruits of the required competence are available in this country and the recruitment of non-Indians would prejudicially affect the working of the future constitution.

BRITISH AND INDIAN ARMY OFFICERS

The effect of the decision of the Government of India to grant the Indian Commissioned Officer a special war pay which will bring his pay to the level of the pay of the British officer, will be that an Indian Commissioned Officer will receive:

(a) Basic pay of rank and lodging allowance at the same rates as are admissible to single British officers.

(b) Family allowance under the new code applicable to married British officers.

AMERICAN FAMINE RELIEF PLAN

Plans for extending American famine relief efforts in the affected areas of Bengal and other Indian Provinces have been announced by Mr. William Phillips, recently President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India, when he launched a national campaign to raise $1,200,000.

Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by "The American Relief for India Incorporated", he said, "India's plight is the direct result of war and as such it becomes an American responsibility to help relieve the suffering. With thousands of American fighting men based on Indian soil, the United States cannot turn a deaf ear to India's cry for help."

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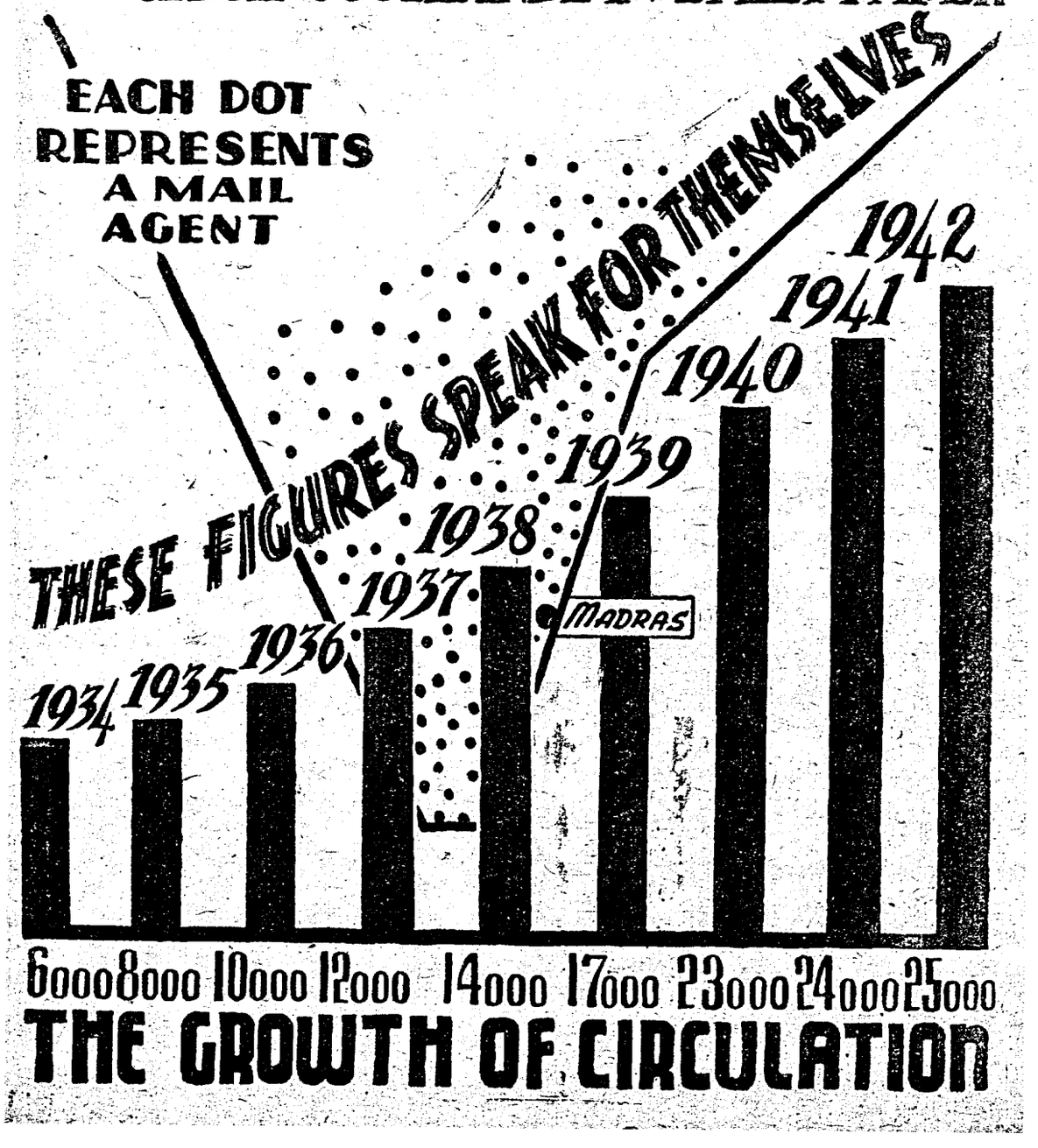
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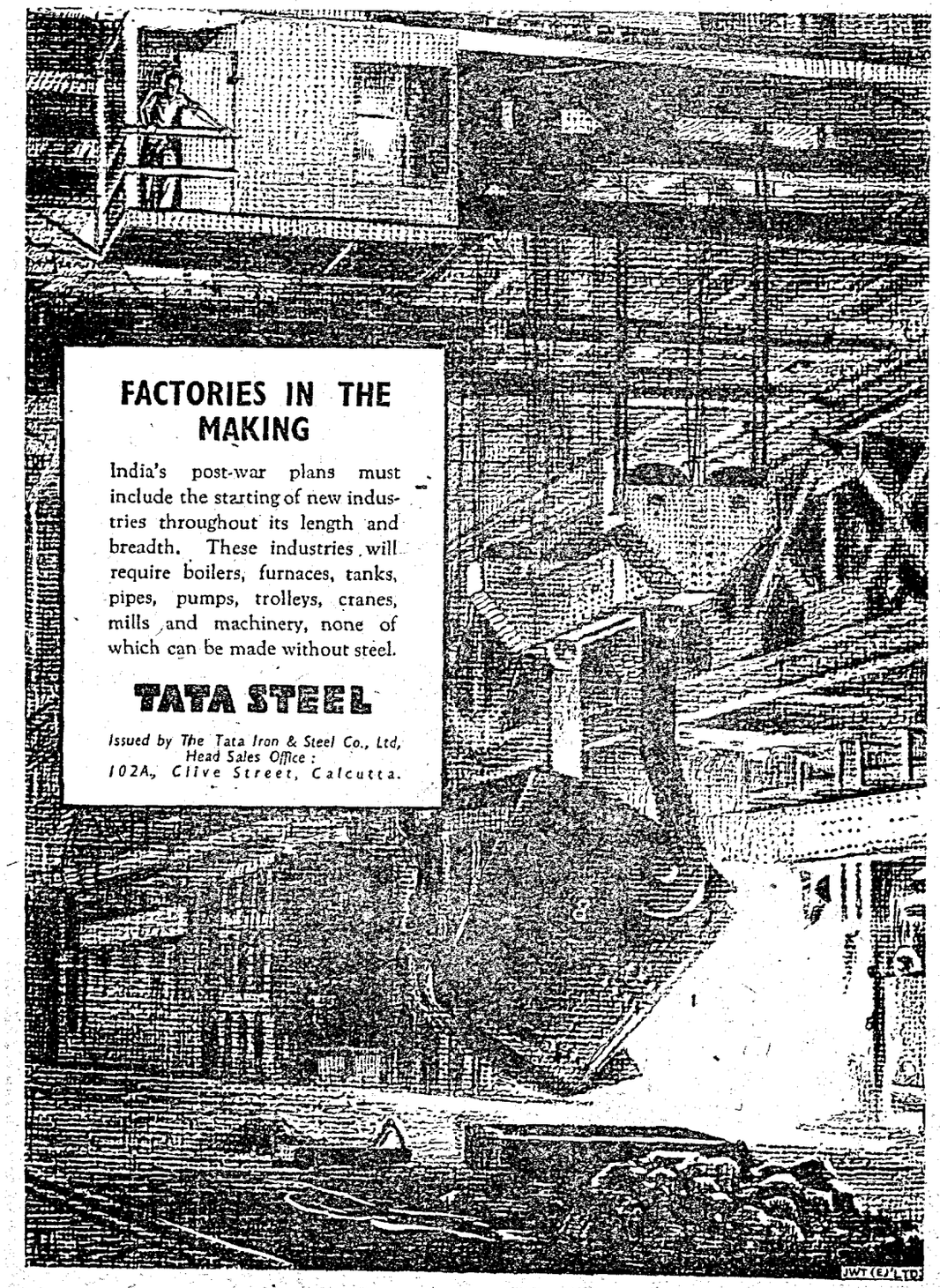
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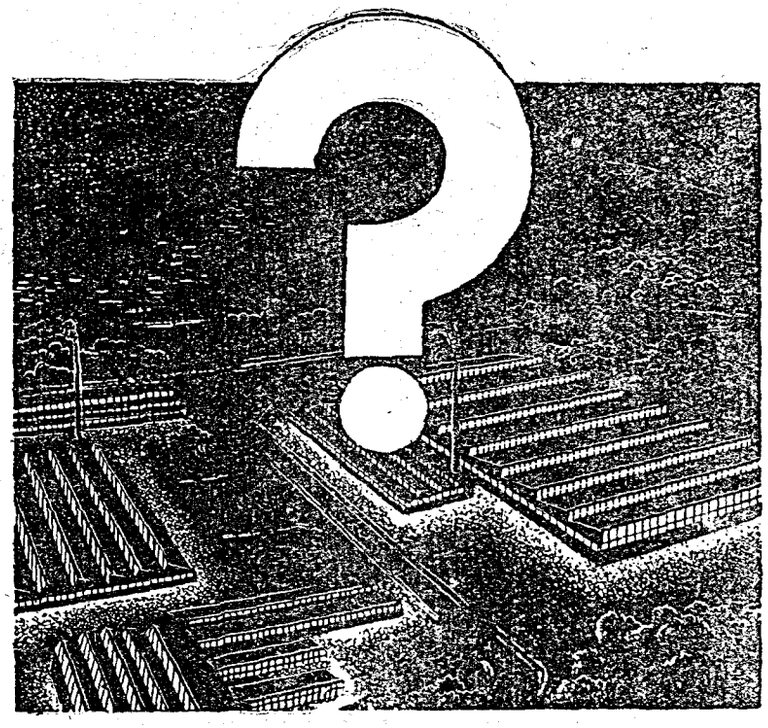
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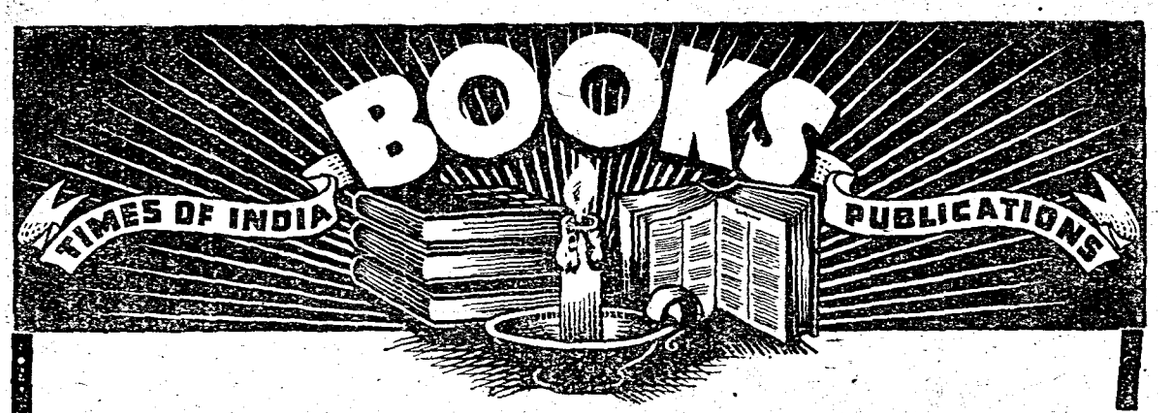
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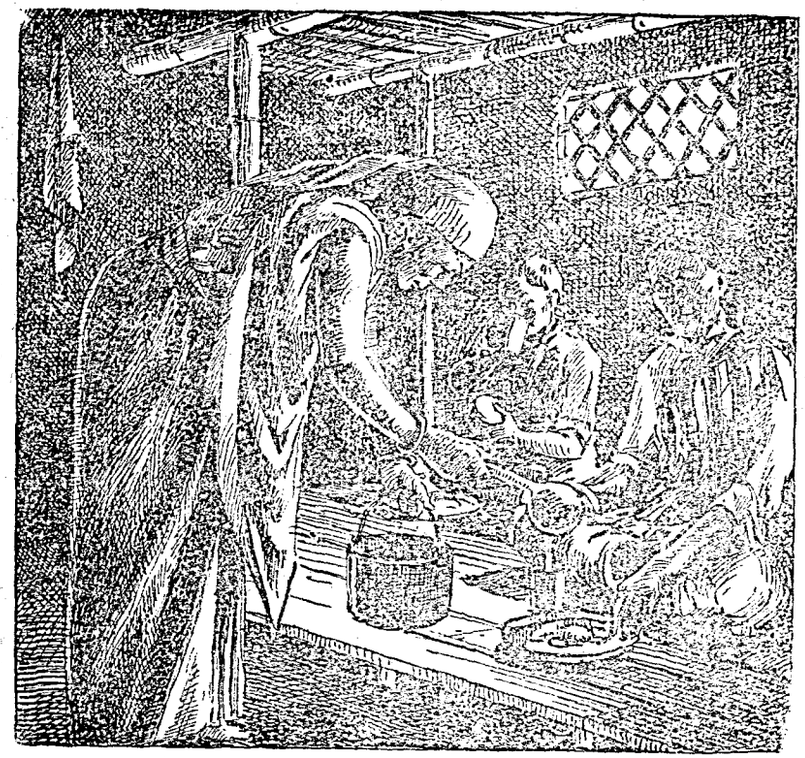
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Tea Time—In Sikkim

Among the Lepchas of Sikkim, tea-drinking is a custom of great antiquity. Something of the ceremonial of serving tea remains, even among the poorer classes—not of course as elaborate as the ritual tea-drinking of China, but suggesting the same ideas.

Individual drinking vessels are the rule, but the tea is prepared hot, with milk and sugar added, and is dispensed from the common vessel in a large spoon made of a halved gourd.

As between the valleys and the ridges of their steeply-pitched homeland, the inhabitants of Sikkim experience a climate which varies considerably, mostly within the colder ranges of temperature. Those whose work keeps them at home need hot tea to keep them warm, while those who work out of doors value tea as the best of thirst-quenchers.

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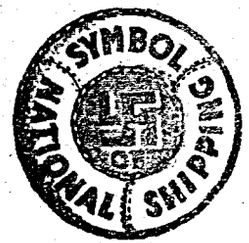
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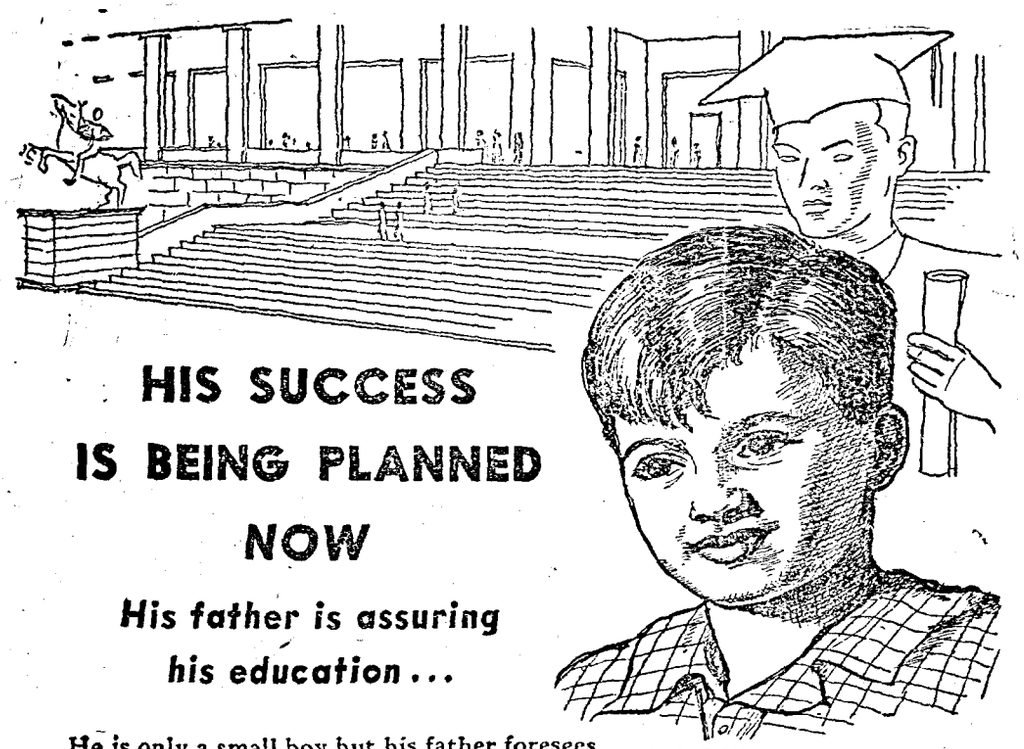
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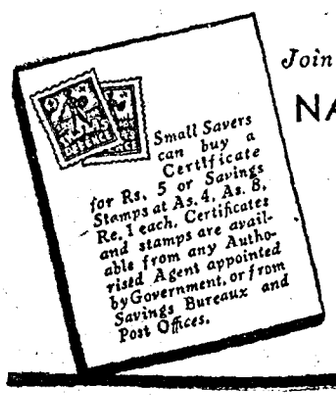


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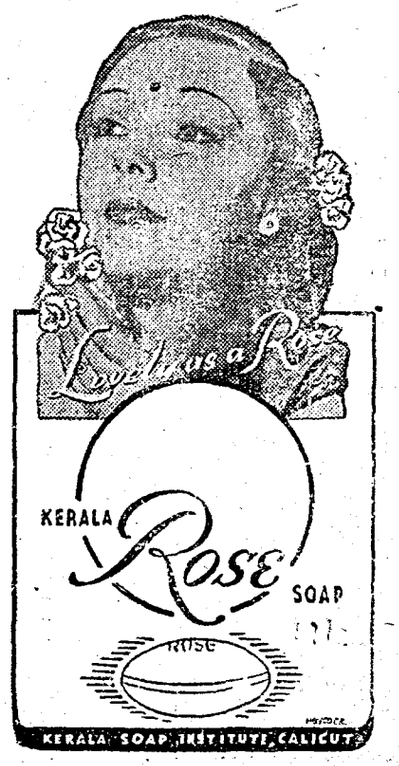
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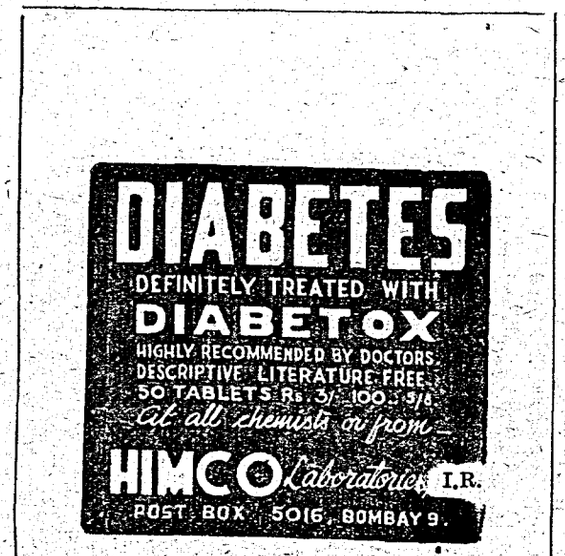
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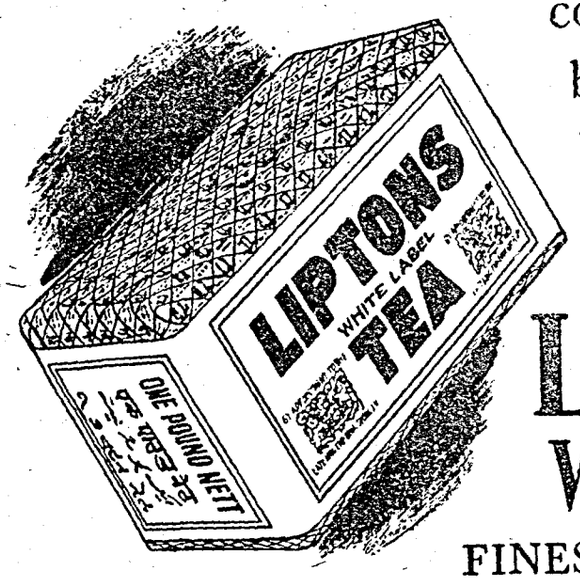
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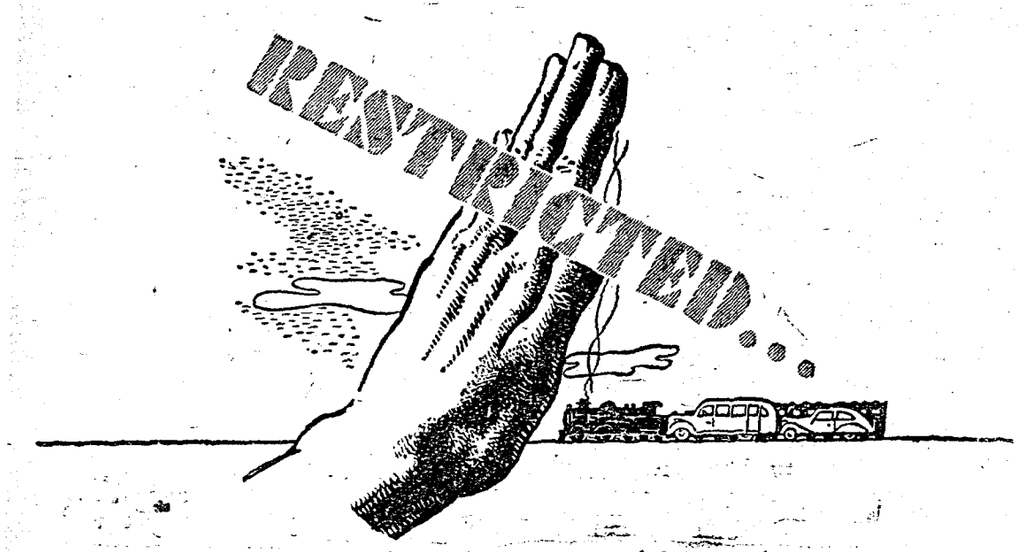


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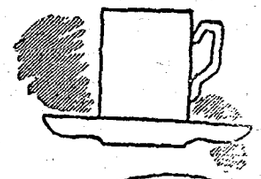
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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SALVAGING JAPAN

BY SIR ROBERT HOLLAND

JAPAN is on the way out. She will be defeated and stripped of her conquests. When victory comes, how is the country to be salvaged and remade? Who will devise the plan and control the execution?

We assuredly cannot hope that the authority will be a benevolent and all-wise Peace Council, representing all the United Nations. There will be no blue-prints for a Japanese Utopia, no pre-fabricated scheme—not even unanimity of purpose. Why? Because Japan's future is a "survival issue" for each of several great powers, affecting not merely territorial security and material prosperity but the stability of political institutions and the ascendancy of ideals and cultures.

The United States, Russia and China are the powers primarily concerned; the British Commonwealth also, but in a less degree. The interests of the Great Powers are, necessarily, not identical. Possession of armaments will be the determining factor in debate. The U.S., Soviet Russia, and the British Commonwealth will appear at the Conference "well heeled." China will be impotent at first, but may become a mighty force before Japan's destiny is determined. Discord about how to deal with Japan may lead to another great war, in which perhaps Canada and the United States might be the primary target, unless a basis for lasting agreement between the mighty neighbours can be discovered.

When equilibrium of power is tentatively established with victory, and unanimity of purpose is outlined, a definition of the common policy towards post-war Japan must be sought which will satisfy the security requirements of each of the four powers, particularly Russia, whose Far Eastern Territories would be gravely imperilled by a renascent Japan. Provision will have to be made for the material needs of all four, and due consideration will have to be paid to the special susceptibilities of each.

Per contra, if unity is to be achieved, each will have to abate its aspirations and modify its ideology.—Russia, her communiatic philosophy; China, her eclecticism; the United States, her conceptions about sovereign status and universal political independence; Great Britain, her doctrines as to the structure and functions of the Commonwealth and Empire. All will have to ponder anxiously the problem of reconciling divergent views as to the essential characteristics and operative ideals of the modern democratic state. Otherwise, the "world-family of democratic nations", as presaged

at the Tehran Conference, will never come into existence.

The problem of salvaging Japan, in its main features, will be a counterpart of the German and Italian problems. The chief ports and strategic centres of the defeated enemy must be occupied; war criminals must be surrendered; militaristic elements must be liquidated; disarmament must be enforced and effectively maintained; the parties representing worthy elements in the national life must be enabled to compose an administration acceptable to the people and commanding support. When the new government is formed, it must be allowed to function without interference from the victors so long as it is in being. Attempts to impose a particular form of government on a country, whether defeated or liberated, or to bolster it when in being, are pretty sure to end in disaster, because the creators become involved in obligations to sustain and guide their creation. Dual authority is set up, begetting intrigue, and indigenous rule is paralysed. Indian history affords illustrations of this.

Then an arduous task devolves upon the victors—that of fostering by precept and example, by tactful advice and by material aid, the economic rehabilitation of the country, the evolution of social security, and the intellectual, political and moral re-education of the people, so that in due time the country may be drawn into a genuine comity of democracies.

But in the case of Japan, there are peculiar complications demanding special treatment.

First, the prevalence of the God-Emperor myth, which engages the heart-felt loyalty of most Japanese to the Imperial Throne, and which is the psychological basis of their herd-impulses. There are two schools of thought about this. Western realists urge that the myth should be 'de-bunked', the Imperial family rooted out, and a purely democratic regime installed in its stead. Japanese post-war patriots, on the other hand, may be expected to hold that Japan's perversion is attributable solely to the evil militarists who stood between the Throne and the people and cut them off from his immaculate wisdom and pure thoughts: that when the usurpers are swept away, the divine effulgence will once more lead the people in paths of righteousness and that Japan will then play her pre-destined part in the evolution of world peace and prosperity. Persons credited with profound knowledge of Japanese psychology support the second theory.

It seems highly probable that if the Emperor and his family were banished by the United Nations, seven devils would enter in his place and indescribable chaos would result. Furthermore, the ultimate decision must in any case rest with the Japanese people. Forcible imposition of an unpalatable regime would require ruthless measures, involving massacres and last-ditch resistance. Doubtless, the Emperor must remain if the Japanese want to keep him. Our job will be to destroy utterly his identification with the miltarists: to encourage the Japanese people to concentrate their loyalty and devotion on the Throne as the focal point of inspiration in morale and good citizenship, but at the same time, to foster the liberal movement which undoubtedly survives in Japan and which, we may hope,

will endeavour to reorganize social and political life on the basis of individual rights. The people themselves must repudiate the evil doctrine grafted on to Emperor-worship by the militarists.

The next complication differentiating the problem of Japan from those of Germany and Italy derives from Japan's geographical position, from the peculiar character of her people, and from the cryptic nature of their language. Having regard to these factors, effective military occupation of the Japan Islands would be extremely difficult, costly and unremunerative. The terrain is ideally suited to guerilla warfare; the spirit of the people is uniformly warlike; they would be aflame with indignation at barbarian intrusion upon their sacred soil, and would resist to the last man and woman, preferring extermination to slavery. The occupying forces would suffer terrible and continuing wastage. If the Allies tried to set up an embryo administration with foreign personnel, in the hope of inculcating a democratic spirit, it would be impotent and derided. The bare idea of democracy would then become abhorrent to the Japanese, because associated with defeat and humiliation. There would be few 'Quislings'. The foreign personnel, however devoted and conscientious, would be baffled and frustrated at every turn by cleverly organized opposition; their necessarily superficial knowledge of the puzzling language would entangle them in misunderstandings and blunders and make them laughing-stocks of the common people. They, and the administrator generally, would be an easy target for ruthless "Secret Societies" which abound in Japan. The Japanese spirit could be cowed, and a desert of peace could be created, by very stern measures but our democracies are not likely to participate in that.

There are, however, latent sources of opposition to militarism in Japan, and recoil movements may be expected to follow hard upon defeat. Liberal elements will surely reappear when the "Imperial Rule Assistance Association" is dissolved, and the Constitution is purged of dictatorship accretions. Then, too, the Japanese have good cause to be realists. They have marked war's results in the destruction of their merchant shipping, the reduction of their stock-piles of essential materials, the attrition of their armies, the shrinkage of their man-power which is crippling industry, and the deterioration of the people's health as the result of mal-nutrition and continuous labour.

The Japanese have a remarkable talent for imitation and adaptation, and for rapid assimilation of what they regard as admirable achievements by other peoples. They have now learned that some of the models they selected were spurious. They will undoubtedly discard them and start over again, equipped by bitter experience with a higher standard of enduring values. Anyone who has lived in Japan knows that the character of the Japanese people is not wholly sinister, any more than that of any other nation. When the Japanese soul is purged by defeat, it is certain that much that is fair and noble will shine forth.

It will be for the Allied Nations to turn these factors to account, so that Japan may be redeemed and may eventually become a worthy member of the world organization of peoples.

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THE GERMAN SURRENDER

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THE war in Europe has ended. After a period of rumours and counter-rumours, the official announcement of the termination of the war in the West was made simultaneously from London, Moscow and Washington on Monday night, the 7th May. Officially the hostilities ceased at one minute after midnight on Tuesday, the 8th. Thus for the second time in a generation; Germany, which took up arms against all Europe in pursuit of her own ambitious plans, was laid low. Hitler's boast that "there will never again be a 1918. The German nation will never surrender" has been falsified by the united efforts of the allied nations, determined to end this scouge at any cost. Italy under Mussolini and Germany under Hitler rose from strength to strength and might have proved a blessing to themselves and to the rest of the world; but their immoral urge for power and their reckless pursuit of selfish aims proved their own ruin and the ruin of their countrymen. It is a remarkable instance of nemesis overtaking the tyrants in their own time and generation as in *Richard III.*

SURRENDER IN ITALY

Already by the end of April hostilities had ceased in Italy. The German forces under their Commander General Victinghoff-scheel unconditionally surrendered to F. M. Sir Harold Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean theatre at midday on May 2. The first unconditional surrender of any German armies in this war, this allowed the allies to advance unhindered to within 10 miles of Berchtesgaden. The total enemy troops who had surrendered were estimated at 1,000,000. "The collapse of the military tyranny of Italy was not victory in Italy alone, but part of the general triumph we were expectantly awaiting in the whole continent of Europe", said President Truman.

THE FALL OF BERLIN

Berlin, the biggest prize of the Allies in this great war, fell to the victorious Red Army on the same day (May 2). M. Stalin, the Supreme Commander of the Soviet armed forces, announced that 70,000 prisoners, including the chiefs of Berlin defence, had been taken. The Order, addressed to troops of the Red Army and the Red Navy, said:

Troops of the 1st White Russian Front commanded by Marshal Zhukov, in co-operation with troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front, commanded by Marshal Koniev, today, after stubborn street battles, completed the rout of the Berlin garrison, and captured the city of Berlin, capital of Germany, and centre of German imperialism and heart of German aggression.

The garrison of Berlin, defending the city, headed by the Officer-in-Command of the defence of Berlin, and General of artillery Webling and his staff today at 3 p.m., ceased resistance and laid down their arms and surrendered.

GERMAN COLLAPSE

With such a rout on both Fronts, complete surrender of the Germans was only a question of time. Meanwhile, reports of the death of Hitler and his colleagues in crime added to the tension of the situation. And General Eisenhowever, Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, announced that enemy break-down might be expected any moment, while preparations were a foot to receive the surrender offer from enemy quarters.

ADMIRAL DOENITZ'S SURRENDER ORDER

True to expectation, the German Flensburg Radio reported soon after, on May 7:

This is German Radio. We are now broadcasting an address by Reich Minister von Schweringon Krosigk to the German people; German men and *women—the High Command of the armed forces* have today at the order of Grand Admiral Doenitz declared unconditional surrender of all fighting German troops.

As leading Minister of the Reich Government, which the Admiral of the Fleet has appointed for dealing with war tasks, I turn at this graphic moment of history to the German nation. After a heroic fight of about six years of incomparable *hardness, Germany has succumbed to the over-whelming odds of her enemies.* To continue the war would only mean senseless bloodshed and futile disintegration. The Government, which has been feeling the responsibility for the future of *its nation, was compelled on* the collapse of all physical and material forces to demand of the enemy cessation of hostilities.

Admiral Doenitz in his order said:

In this gravest hour of the German nation and its Reich we bow in deep reverence before the dead of this war. Their sacrifices place the highest obligations on us and our sympathy goes out above all to the wounded, the bereaved and to all on whom this struggle has inflicted blows. No one must be under any illusions about the severity of the terms to be imposed on the *German people by our enemies.* We must now face our fate squarely and unquestioningly. Nobody can be in any doubt that the future will be difficult for each one of us and will exact sacrifices from us in every sphere of life.

We must accept this burden and stand loyally by the obligations we have undertaken. But we must not despair and fall into mute resignation. Once again let us set ourselves to stride the path through the dark future. From the collapse of the past, let us preserve and save one thing,—unity.

AT ALLIED HEADQUARTERS IN FRANCE

The final humbling of German Military might took place on Monday, the 7th May, at 2-41 p.m. in a drab red brick building at Rheims in the heart of France, which was General Eisenhower's Advance Head-quarters. Before the array of allied representatives General Gustavjodl, Chief of Staff of the German Army, signed the surrender documents.

The following is the text of the Military surrender:

Firstly, we the undersigned, acting by the authority of the German High Command, hereby surrender unconditionally to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force and simultaneously to the Soviet High Command, all *forces* [illegible] sea and in the air, who are at this d[illegible] nder German control;

Secondly, the German High Command will at once issue orders to all German military, naval and air authorities and to all forces under German control to cease active operations at 11-1 p.m. (Central European Time) on May 8 and to remain in positions occupied at that time. No ship, vessel or aircraft is to be scuttled or any damage done to their hull, machinery or equipment;

Thirdly, the German High Command will at once issue to appropriate commanders and ensure *the carrying out of any further orders issued by* the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force, and by the Soviet High Command;

Fourthly, this act of military surrender is without prejudice to and will be superseded by any general instrument of surrender imposed by *or on behalf of the United Nations and applicable* to Germany and German armed forces as a whole;

Fifthly, in the event of any of the forces under the control of the German High Command failing to act in accordance with this act of surrender, the Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force and the Soviet High Command will take such punitive or other action as they deem appropriate.

In his victory address after signing, the German Capitulation General Eisenhower declared in the room where the Germans surrendered:

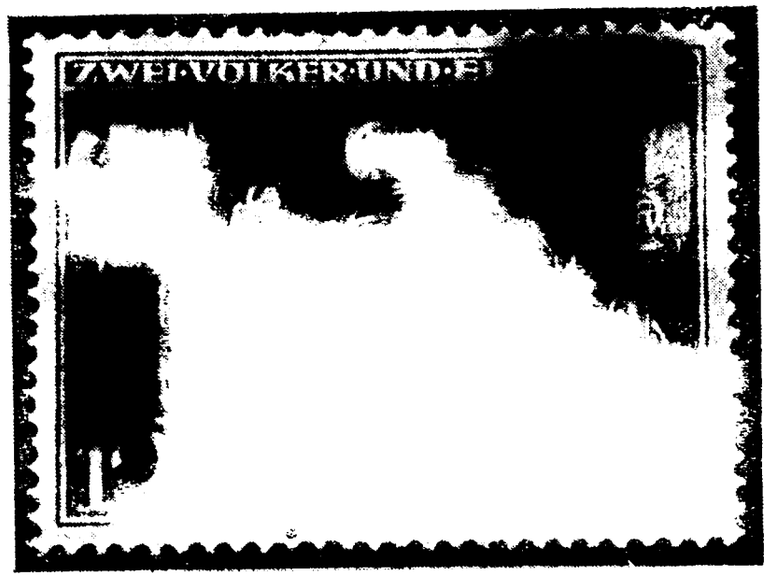
In January, 1943, the late President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill pronounced a formula which has now been fulfilled. The Allied forces which invaded Europe on June 6 last has with its great Russian ally utterly defeated Germany by land, sea and air. I think it is particularly *fitting that this unconditional surrender should* have been signed in the heart of France, a country which has suffered so much and one where resistance movements have helped us so much. This unconditional surrender has been achieved by team work. To every subordinate in this command of five million men who took part I owe a great debt of gratitude which I can never repay. They have earned deep and lasting gratitude of every citizen of all the United Nations.

General Jodl spoke in English, but then continued in German saying:

With this signature the German people and armed forces are for better or worse delivered into the victor's hands. In this war, which has lasted more than five years, both have achieved and suffered more than perhaps any other people in the world. In this hour, I can only express the hope that the victor will treat them with generosity.



Gen. EISENHOWER & Gen. MONTGOMERY



The stamp issued by HITLER & MUSSOLINI showing the Axis Partnership

THE IMPLICATIONS OF COMPLETE SURRENDER

The cease-fire orders to the German armed forces were broadcast from the Flensburg Radio by the German High Command on May 8:

With effect from 12 midnight, May ... parts of the armed forces in all theatres of war must cease all hostilities. No destruction of ammunition and equipment must be carried out. No ships must be sunk. Acts to the contrary are offence against ... High Command.

At one minute past midnight with formal "cease fire" on all fronts, the Third German Reich ceased its legal existence and its government ceased to function. Reuters military commentator explained the signifiance of the complete surrender.

Germany and her government will have become a subjugated, conquered and occupied country without further independent existence. Her government, her military leaders and all her armed forces still at liberty are then legally in the same category as prisoners ... All German property and all her ... in foreign countries are auto... red to the account of the Central Allied Control Commission, which will begin to function immediately. There will, therefore, be no armistice as in 1918 with stipulated terms of what the Germans have to hand over. As from ... minute past midnight the whole of German ... and all German military and private ... at the disposal of the Allies.

The final act of military surrender of all Germany's armed forces to Allied and Red Army High Commands took place in the Berlin suburb of Karlshorst at 16 minutes after midnight on May 9.

With this act of solemn surrender recognised, the heads of the German Army, the German Navy and the Luftwaffe acknowledged themselves militarily beaten to their knees and it will be difficult for post-war Germany to recreate the legend of a so-called invincible army being stabbed in the back. It will be recalled that this was the fable made current in Germany soon after Versailles. The allies now made sure that there could be no repetition of such amfiguous interpretations.

HISTORIC SIGNING AT BERLIN

According to the Moscow Radio, the event of the signing of unconditional surrender took place in the building of the former Berlin Military Technical College.

Four national flags; those of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France decorated the hall.

When the clock struck midnight, Marshal Zhukov and Air Chief Marshal Tedder entered. They were followed by other members of the delegation. Air Chief Marshal Tedder, and Marshal Zhukov, Gen... Spaatz, Mr. Vishinsky, Admiral Sir Harold ... and General de Lattre de Tassigny too... seats under the flags.

At the central table were representatives of the Allied countries and Generals of the Red Army commanding the forces which captured Berlin.

Marshal Zhukov, addressing those present, said:

We have gathered here—I, as the deputy of the Supreme Commander of the Red Army, ... de... of the fo... der, and ... and French General de... accept the terms of ... from the Commander of th... forces. I suggest that we ... the work and summon ... the German Command.

Then Marshal Zhukov gave the order: "Summon the representatives of the German High Command for acceptance of the terms ... nditional surrender".

Field Marshal Keitel, Admiral Friedeburg and Colonel-General Stumpf, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, then entered. In absolu... e Field Marshal Keitel and others took their s...

Mar...

question: 'Have they got the Act at hand and have they made themselves familiar with it? Do the representatives of the German High Command agree to sign this Act?

The same questions were put to the Germans by Air Chief Marshal Tedder.

"Yes, I agree," Field Marshal Keitel answered in a low voice, handing to Marshal Zhukov the document of the High Command signed by Grand Admiral Doenitz, authorizing Field Marshal Keitel, Chief of the German armed forces and simultaneously Army Commander, von Friedeburg as Commander of the naval forces, and Col. General Stumpf as representative of the air forces, to sign the Act of the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces to the Supreme Command of the Soviet armed forces and to the Command of the Allied Expeditionary forces

All necessary formalities being completed, Marshal Zhukov then suggested that the representatives of the German High Command should come up to the table and sign the Act.

One after another the Germans signed, while cameras clicked.

At 45 minutes after midnight the Act was signed and Marshal Zhukov announced.

The German delegation may retire.

Two thousand guns in Moscow fired thirty salvoes in Salute to the European victory and in celebration of Russia's victory day. M. Stalin recalled that Hitler had publicly declared that he would exterminate Russia so that she would never rise again and said:

The exactly opposite has happened. However, Russia has no intention to exterminate Germany. The period of war in Europe has ended and a period of peaceful development has begun.

With the final German collapse, London and Washington are expediting their plans for administration of occupied Germany. Occupied Germany, it will be recalled, will be controlled by an Allied Commission of four generals. The Americans have already nominated General Eisenhower and the British choice is believed to be between Field Marshals Montgomery and Alexander.

NOW FOR JAPAN

King George VI, in his Victory Day broadcast to the nation and Empire, warned the British people that they still had to deal with the Japanese,—a determined and cruel foe—"and to this we shall turn with the utmost resolve and with all our resources."

The King said:

Today, we give thanks to God for the great deliverance. Speaking from our Empire's oldest capital city, war-battered but never for one moment daunted or dismayed—speaking from London, I ask you to join me in that act of thanksgiving.

"We may allow ourselves a brief period of rejoicing", said Mr. Churchill in his broadcast,

but let us not forget for a moment the toil and efforts that lie ahead.

Japan, with all her treachery and greed, remains unsubdued. The injury she has inflicted on Great Britain, the United States and other countries, and her detestable cruelties call for justice and retribution.

We must now devote all our strength and resources to the completion of our task both at home and abroad. Advance Britania. Long live the cause of freedom. God save the King.

Now that the war in the West has ended the combined forces of the United Nations will now be diverted to the Pacific theatre. It is significant that President Truman has opened the door to a Japanese request for peace with his V-Day message stating that unconditional surrender could not mean the destruction of the Japanese people.



Air Chief Marshal Sir ARTHUR TEDDER



Gen. Sir H. ALEXANDER



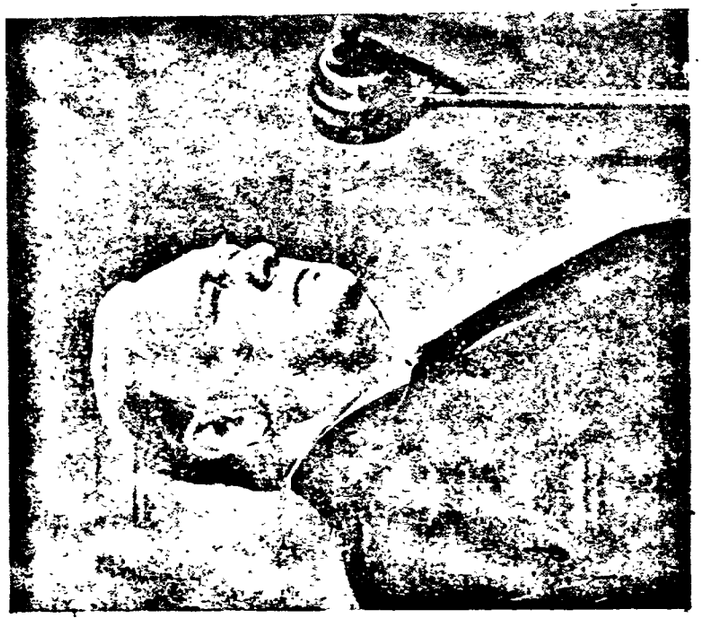
MARSHAL IVAN KONIEV



MARSHAL GREGORY ZHUKOV



Marshal STALIN



Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL



In India's biggest V. C. parade two heroes received the decoration from the Viceroy of India, Viscount Wavell, and one mother and two wives of soldiers who died in battle took their places in the parade at the Red Fort, Delhi, to receive the Crosses awarded posthumously.

Widow of Naik Yeshwant Chadge receives the decoration.



INDIAN SOLDIERS MEET THE KING



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THE PAKISTAN IDEA

By Mr. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, C I E.

PAKISTAN has, within the last five or six years, assumed the dimensions of a grave and vexing question in Indian Politics. Within this short period, much literature has gathered round it. Books have been written both for and against it. Among these books, Dr. Ambedkar's * takes a high place. There is not an aspect of the question that he does not touch on or discuss. Mr. K. T. Shah's "Why Pakistan and Why Not" is perhaps as full in the range of discussion, but its form, cast in the mould of a table talk between a number of people with diverse views, has its limitations as well as advantages. The facts bearing on the question are all brought together in this book of Dr. Ambedkar's. The statistical information in the body of the book and in the appendices, together with the maps, leaves little to be desired.

The first edition of the book was published under the title of "Thoughts on Pakistan" in December, 1940. This edition of February, 1945, published with the title "Pakistan or Partition of India" adds a Part V to the previous edition besides appendices and maps and naturally takes note of the events that have happened in the intervening perio note the omission of the lines of Meredith prefixed to the first edition :

> More brain, O Lord, more brain ! or we shall mar
> Utterly this fair garden we might win.

I liked those lines as containing an admonition to all of us that with intelligence, with vision to see what might be, we may win this fair Garden of India, and without them we shall mar, yes, mar it utterly.

When I read the first edition, I had the impression that the arguments all tended one way but the opposite conclusion was, or seemed, favoured. Pursuing the reference in the book to pleadings, issues, burden of proof, etc., I expressed my impression of the book as a "Judgment for India and Decree for Pakistan." That impression still persists, except for the last pages of the book which seem to embody a later, newly arisen and unconnected train of thought. I refer to the suggestion of International Arbitration at pages 412 to 414 of the book. It is to be with the consent of all parties if all agree, but if any one did not agree, even without such party's consent. Dr. Ambedkar says that a party who refuses to agree to a peaceful decision would be justly deemed an agressor, and an arbitral decision would be enforceable against such party. Arbitration is fair to both parties involving as it does equal risk to both. Decision one way buries age-long hopes. Decision the other way will only cure a recent obsession of those who had lived side by side with other groups inextricably mixed up in all parts of India for over eight hundred years. And for a decision, Dr. Ambedkar has drawn the pleadings, framed the issues dicated the burden of proof and even the arguments that might be urged on either side.

There are, however, some points that require to be consider econsidered. Dr. Ambedkar is not unaware of the between

*. By Dr. & Co., Ltd, Bombay.

unity desiring to sever and form an independent state and such section claiming severance to revert to a previous independent existence. Dr. Ambedkar refers to it, but ignores its bearing on the principle of self-determination. Self-determination used to be viewed as the right of any large group, but it is now recognized to be a partial view taking no account of the duty that might exist and against which it may have to be weighed. The principle served in the nineteenth century to unite small, snarling units into a coherent unity. In this century, it is used to disorganize existing unities and produce anarchy. For a very striking exposition of the relevant ideas, I cite Mr. Walter Lippman:

> Wilson made the mistake of identifying himself with the principle of self-determination. Forgetting Abraham Lincoln, forgetting the greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States, he never paused to consider the difference between self-determination and the principle of secession. To make the principle of self-determination the supreme principle of international life is to invite sheer anarchy. For the principle has been and can be used to promote the dismemberment of every organized state. None knew this better than Adolph Hitler himself. The principle of self-determination was his chief instrument for enlarging the Reich. . . At its worst, it rejects the ideal of a state within which diverse peoples can find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination, which has nothing to do with self-government but has become confused with it, is barbarous and reactionary. By sanctioning secession, it invites majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.

Self-determination as a principle is subject to other considerations of an economic, strategic, geographical or political nature and these might overrule the claim as they have done in a number of cases.

Dr. Ambedkar seems to me to treat much too light-heartedly the grave problems that arise on a scheme of partition. The shifting of populations from one area to another will not be agreed to except under irresistible pressure and cannot be executed without inflicting a degree of hardship and suffering which Dr. Ambedkar does not seem to realize. Wisely, as it seems to me, does the Muslim League refrain from proposing an exchange of population as part of their Pakistan scheme.

Referendum is not easy to carry out. It is known by experience to disturb existing good relations and sow a rich crop of misunderstanding and bitterness. And whatever the Lahore Resolution meant, it is now clear that the League wants the Punjab Province as it is, and not shorn of its valuable eastern districts. Mr. Jinnah's disquisition on nations and sub-nations expounded why he claimed the whole province.

Geography has marked out India for unity, as Dr. Ambedkar himself recognizes. History has slowly, with many a twist and turn, moulded it into unity, and there is every promise of an ancient, persistent dream becoming a modern reality. When this growing unity takes its full shape in freedom, it will be the fulfilment of our hope that India will take her place as a great nation among great nations and, with China to collaborate, help to preserve the world peace in this part of the world. Partition of India is the end of all that hope.

Dr. Ambedkar belittles the value of a feeling of motherland and its undivided and indivisible unity, but he is not without a realization of the value of an undivided India. Otherwise, I cannot understand why he wastes time and paper and ink on the question: "Must there be Pakistan?" India is dead in the hearts of

many who still use the word by mere force of habit. That India will attain freedom when Pakistan is agreed to—has always struck me as a flat contradiction. To Dr. Ambedkar, geographical attachment is irrational but many justly feel that devotion to motherland is inseparable from true patriotism. It may become superfluous at some time but that time is not yet.

Dr. Ambedkar invites Hindus to shed empty sentiment and judge of things in the light—of cold reason. Elsewhere, he asks them to respect the strongly felt sentiment of the Muslims. We are, all of us, in this and in every other land, a bundle of sentiments and prejudices and superstitions and contradictions. Reason has a place, has a high place,—but it has to function in the midst of these others. Reason recognizes that sentiment is not to be despised in the regulation of our lives in society. Reason may even recognize on occasions that sentiment has behind it a core of very solid reason. But sentiments are not all of equal validity. Why then should one be called on to set aside his own deep-seated and more valid sentiment and respect another's shallow sentiment, if sentiment it be at all, of recent origin. The shallow sentiment derives its strength from the intransigence of the Muslim League and the far more reasonable sentiment shares the weakness of its wobbling votary, the intellectual Hindu, among whom Dr. Ambedkar cannot escape being counted.

Why does Dr. Ambedkar, who has a strong array of arguments against Pakistan as neither good for the Muslims nor for the Hindus, turn round to the Hindus and say: "Muslims will not yield on Pakistan and therefore it is wise to agree to it" and pose the further questions: "Is it not wise to divide rather than to yield to the demand of fifty-fifty?" Why cannot they have undivided India and equal citizenship? The closing passage of the book does not leave them with an inescapable option between two cruel alternatives. International arbitration may yet uphold their claim to both unity and equal citizenship, while providing the amplest of safeguards for the rights of every group, in the country. In order to persuade the Hindus to agree to division, Dr. Ambedkar asks: "how many countries have not suffered division?" In every case people have yielded to force majeure, not willingly. If force or a bir ding decision prevails, we may have to submit. Not otherwise.

No one likes a settlement by an outside agency. But there is no chance of settlement with Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah was once an ardent nationalist, despising communal narrowness. In the effort to bring about reconciliation, he put forward terms, as he said, not because he wanted them, but in deference to the wishes of a community, which, if granted, would lead to a lasting settlement between the two communities. He resented and protested against the charge of communalism levelled at him. But ultimately he succumbed to what all along he had deprecated. The evolution of Mr. Jinnah is one more illustration of what many a puranic story has made familiar to us. A saint makes a slight deviation from his straight path most innocently and with the best of motives.

Almost unknown to himself, before he could realize what is happening to him, he finds he has slipped down to the bottom of the valley. In the story, the victim awakes and makes the laborious ascent again with many struggles and set-backs on the way. Not always does it happen in the same way in life. He does not wake, or waking, he is unable to move, being bound by the chains which he has forged for himself.

Mr. Jinnah's true place in public life may still be open to him, if he could get back. Dr. Ambedkar says that in 1939, instead of leading the forces that were ready to be led by him, he executed a somersault and plunged into the agitation for partition. Nothing suggested, and no one, that he should retrace his steps. Everything egged him on. Official and non-official Europeans maintained a diplomatic silence till long after. It was allowed to grow and the Viceroy's words conferred on him what he claimed to be a veto on constitutional reform without contradiction from any one. Offer followed on offer that he should have his heart's desire if he consented to join hands. Even Dr. Ambedkar encouraged his idea by inviting the Hindus to agree to it as inevitable. We have each of us in our hurry to find a solution offered this, that and the other. There is, besides, a thing like prestige for all of us, great men and small. In these circumstances, the idea of retracing steps could not occur to any one, least of all to Mr. Jinnah. It is not surprising that the invitation of some of his associates to turn from the Pakistan slogan to real politics fell on deaf ears. Unhurried in the midst of men in terrible hurry, he acted in the assurance that everything will come to him who waits. In a world of uncertain justice in which steady, unremitting and unabashed propaganda might prevail, Mr. Jinnah can afford to gamble. More than just rights are already secure and safe.

The one reason, which operates in the mind of Dr. Ambedkar to overrule the rest of his most weighty considerations against Pakistan is the impossibility, according to him, of maintaining the integrity of India with an army composed of Hindus and Muslims. At the last moment, in the face of a foreign Muslim invader the Muslim section of the army will desert and go over to the side of the invader. If we agree to Pakistan, we are secure against any such catastrophe. This is a surprisingly naive argument for one of Dr. Ambedkar's knowledge and intelligence. On the assumptions made, how can a Hindustan separated from a Pakistan in the north-west and north-east be ever safe? If the Punjabi Mussalman is ready to surrender to a foreign invader, if only he were a Muslim, Hindustan will have to face the Punjabis and their trans-frontier allies on the one side and the Eastern Pakistanis on the other as sure as fate and a separated Hindustan is no more safe with its new and unnatural frontiers. Hindus and Muslims have before now fought side by side against Muslims and Hindus on the other side. Muslim generals of Hindu rulers and Hindu generals of Muslim rulers, there have been. Christian nations are now fighting Christian nations. Yellow men are fighting yellow men in the east. Muslims have fought Muslims before now. The Punjabi Muslim has little to gain and much to lose by letting in even a Muslim foreigner. He may be disinherited, as may be the Hindu and Sikh. The argument that an undivided India spells insecurity and disaster whereas a separated Hindustan will make for permanent safety is a delusion or a mere additional padding to a pre-formed conclusion. The assumptions are wrong or, if they were right, they must be faced equally in a divided Hindustan and an undivided India.

One besetting weakness in all these discussions and nice political calculations is that they proceed on the assumption that communalism dominates our politics for ever. They take no account of the ambitions of leaders or the economic interests of men. Rival ambitions of Hindu leaders in politics and the similar ambitions of Mussalmans will soon operate to throw Hindus and Muslims as much on the one side as on the other. The diverging interests of the voters will divide parties on the lines of economic interests. Principles and policies will have to be framed to woo and win voters over. Politics may begin on communal lines but cannot long stay there. Bengal and the Punjab give some notion of how things will finally shape. I daresay that much depends on what we make of our politics in the coming years. The experience of the last ten years is not lost upon us. We have every inducement to be just and fair to each other and shape events wisely and well. And all sections of our people are too awake to allow things to slide again.

I do not like the alternatives with which speculating politicians play. Let us start together and separate at the end of ten years if we are then so inclined. Or let us separate now but keep the door open for those who desire to enter at any time later. These are invitations to disagree and separate or again seek undemocratic concessions as a price for joining or not seceding. I prefer the Sapru Committee's firm and decisive stand against separation now or secession hereafter.

THE CONTROL OF GERMANY

BY MR. JAMES BRYANT CONANT

(President of Harvard University)

MODERN science and technology have so transformed the art of war as to require us to rethink many of the problems involved in an international attempt to keep the peace. This is particularly true in regard to the implementation of the current phrase, the "demilitarization of Germany and Japan." Almost everyone is ready to subscribe to the propositions that Germany and Japan must be disarmed. But how many have explored the difficulties of insuring the success of such an undertaking for a sufficient span of time?

What is new in modern war is the rapidity with which devastating attacks may be launched from great distances on civilian centres of population. In terms merely of self-protection, therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that we must

collaborate to the full with other countries to remove the threat of a third world war.

Only ignorance can lead one to deny the alternatives which face the country. Either we must play our part in a world organization to preserve the peace, or we must convert this nation into an armed camp bristling with weapons. Either we must have confidence in an international arrangement in which we are vigorous partners and plan our military program in terms of such an arrangement, or else we must do it alone and arm to the teeth to defend our national independence.

As I see it, we have a double problem: first, the elimination of the most obvious danger to world peace—the renewal of the war by our present enemies; second, the construction of an international organization with the vitality and the power to handle the unpredictable threats to peace which are certain to arise.

It can be argued that the first problem will be automatically taken care of if we solve the second: that if we are successful in setting up an international association with the ability to use force to stop aggressors, we need not worry about the future of Germany or Japan. But dare we pin our faith on anyone procedure? Ordnance experts require at least two safety devices to protect a high explosive bomb from premature explosion; can we be less careful about the peace? Is it not the lesson of history that a once powerful and strong nation, badly defeated in war, will cherish the aims of renewing that war at the first opportunity, at least for a generation? If this has been true in the past, will it not be far more true in the future since the ruin of cities and towns by devastating aerial bombardment spreads suffering far wider than ever before among an entire population?

Must we not arrange matters so as to prevent Germany and Japan from even thinking of using military force? Must not this condition prevail for at least another 30 years? When the next generation now unborn has grown up and come to power we may hope, if we have been wise, that the bitterness and spirit of revenge will, to a large extent, have disappeared. When that time comes Germany and Japan, we hope, will no longer constitute a special problem. By that time an international organization should have gained sufficient support and strength to guarantee the peace.

If the disarmament of Germany is to be effective for a generation, I believe that a drastic change in the German industrial scene and a considerable degree of redistribution of European industry will be required. With many of Germany's industrial plants now reduced to ruin, the question turns primarily on the degree and kind of physical reconstruction to be allowed.

As far as aviation is concerned, Germany and Japan must both be prevented from the manufacture or use of airplanes even for commercial purposes for years to come. But the success of the robot bomb shows that control conventional aviation is not enough. The basic consideration is total industrial power.

To be sure, no one would now advocate that we should build up Germany as a great industrial country immediately after the war is won. But there will be those who wish to start the discussion of the disarmament of Germany from the premise that nothing must be planned which will seriously dislocate the economic life of the German people. Here is the real issue.

I submit that if we begin our approach to the problem of the disarmament of Germany and Japan by saying what must not be done because of economic repercussions, we have already decided against the proposition we are considering—against the proposition that the effective disarmament of our enemies is an absolute first condition for world peace. I do not minimize the difficulties of the ecomomic aspects of the problem. I do not belittle the importance to a peaceful future of an international flow of trade. But if the threat of a third world war is as great as I imagine, effective disarmament must have overriding priority in all discussions of the European and Pacific future. To me there is no question that even if the necessary measures require a reorientation of the economic balance of the world, we must apply them nevertheless. We must apply them, of course, in such a way as to make possible, at the same time, the rebuilding of the economic life of Europe on an altered basis.

To those who say that Europe will be in chaos for a decade without the rebuilding of industrial Germany, I would reply: which is worse, the scene you depict or a third world war? To those who bemoan the dislocations of trade and commerce incident to the disarmament of our enemies, I would reply: our children would bemoan our failure to remove a clear danger to the world in which they must live and rear their children.

Such measures as are employed must be determined and put into operation soon after our enemies are defeated, but these measures must be lasting in their results. No mere paper transactions involving ownership or management seem to me sufficient. Nor would I rely on political subdivisions of enemy territory. For, to be effective, the changes must be such that they cannot be reversed in a few months by a dictator. Alien management and ownership can be wiped out over-night by one who controls the internal police force of a country. New German States could be reunited in a few days by a forceful leader. All this might happen before other nations could act to meet the danger.

Only changes which it would take years to reverse can be considered safe. Moulton and Marlio, in their recent book, "The Control of Germany and Japan", have spelled this all out and have made the excellent suggestion that Germany's main source of electrical power be located beyond her borders. International operation of this main-spring of future industrial life would be the sort of industrial control which would be both effectual and not too crippling to the economic life of the German nation. But I have grave doubts if this or any other single measure alone will be sufficient. It is total industrial strength that tells.

To a certain degree, real disarmament requires prolonged supervision of some aspects of German life. But surely the less there is of this control the better,

both for Germany and for the enduring efficiency of the measures employed. It would seem preferable to make such drastic alterations in the industrial scene at the outset that relatively little continuing interference with Germany's internal affairs will be required.

Consider the situation in the 1950s. Which would be preferable, a Germany industrially strong still occupied by foreign troops ready to act if reconversion to armament manufacture starts, or a weak industrial Germany readjusted to a new life and free from alien soldiers? Which is likely to be more successful, a disarmament plan resting on military force which must act rapidly when the alarm is sounded, or a plan based on a low industrial potential?

Of course, military occupation of Germany will be a necessity for several years. Furthermore, careful inspection of all German factories and industrial facilities will be required in order to be certain that the initial terms of disarmament are fulfilled. This can be done largely by military men of the occupying nations. But as the years go by the supervision of Germany's disarmament, status will be less of a military problem and more a matter of industrial and technical inspection. It should then be placed in the hands of a corps of technical men responsible to an international organization. This inspection will have to be minute as well as rigid at the beginning but will become less of a burden as the economic and political life of Germany flows in the new and safer channels.

For a long period of time there must be available to the world from year to year information as to the potentialities of Germany and Japan for waging war. A reliable public report each year of their industrial status in so far as it affects rearmament will be needed, particularly during the period of five to 15 years from now, when the power of an international organization may well be on trial.

Can reports be made without the tight control of an occupying army? Eventually I believe they can, but let us not close our eyes to the great difficulties of this problem.

All doors must be open inside Germany to those responsible for preparing the reports. There can be no secrets from them. Yet the possibility of misuse of such inspectorial power is great. Business information of no military value might be transmitted to manufacturers in other countries. Even a greatly weakened industrial Germany would have some firms with new processes or new inventions and those firms would be entitled to develop their new ideas without disclosure to the entire world. Yet all new techniques must be assessed as to their possible application to the art of war. International inspection for a long period of years will be very difficult unless some measure of co-operation from the Germans can gradually be secured. And this co-operation would be forthcoming only if German technical men were convinced of the integrity and lack of national bias of the men employed by the armament commission.

Ways and means therefore must be found for recruiting a corps of civilian experts

of the highest calibre. A tradition of reliability and a sense of international responsibility must be developed that will prevent an abuse of the inspectorial powers.

In suggesting that the agents of international armament commission can develop a tradition which anchors their professional loyalties to an association of nations rather than to their own countries, perhaps I am open to the charge of indulging in Utopian dreams. Yet if we wish to operate the plan successfully, some such corps of inspectors must be developed.

If we contemplate the eventual creation of a commission to report on the armament of all countries, the difficulties I have mentioned will be magnified many times. An international organization of sufficient power to keep the peace must be provided with unprejudiced information. If we in the U.S. are to keep our armaments at a moderate level, we must be confident as to the status of other powers. Let us not forget, however, the vast difficulties in obtaining accurate information about military preparations in other countries.

Can the dilemma be solved by the development of a new type of public official of high integrity, loyal only to the international commission which employs him? One hopes that this would eventually be the case.

To-day we recognize the grave danger of another world war. Contrast this with the complacency of 1918 and 1919 when we assumed that all wars were over. To my mind, our concern with the future military situation of the country is a good omen. When we thought that peace was easy, that words and ceremonial incantations of high officials would banish force, we unconsciously prepared for the present global devastation. I believe that if we realize sufficiently how hard it will be to eliminate the threat of war, we may succeed in the undertaking.

We shall not be content until we have taken every measure that gives a promise of success. Then more than one method of insuring peace must fail before another great war overtakes us. We shall demand that Germany and Japan be disarmed effectively by procedures that cannot fail. We shall require the establishment of an association of nations which can become a real instrument of the preservation of world peace. We will plan our own military program in accordance with the promise of security given by all these measures as they gradually unfold.

Let us face with resolution and understanding the problems created by the technological transformation of modern war: if we fail, the next generation will say of our efforts, "too little and too late."

SAPRU PROPOSALS AND INDIAN STATES

By SARDAR RANBIR SINGH

THE Sapru Committee has made a sincere and historic contribution towards the solution of the Indian constitutional problem. These proposals are confined to British India only and it is proposed that when the Indian States decide to come into the union, as the Committee hopes, the necessary adjustments and additions will be made.

The proposed Constitution-making body is to be constituted in the manner prescribed in clause (d) of the Draft Resolution of His Majesty's Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps subject to certain modifications. The total strength of the body is proposed to be 160 only. The last para of clause (d) of the Cripps Proposals runs as follows:

> Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion of their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian Members.

The Sapru Proposals do not provide for the inclusion of the State representatives in the Constitution-making body, presumably because they have said in their introductory remarks that the proposals relate to British India only. But there can be no major political settlement in the country without taking into consideration the future position of the Indian States in view of the historical, political and geographical importance of Indian India representing and comprising of more than one-third of the area of the Indian Empire inhabited by 81 million and odd souls. No one can deny that ultimately the States must and will have an honourable position in the future Indian Constitution and will play an integral part therein. The Unity of India, on which so much stress is rightly laid, will be dangerously imperfect so long as the Indian States have no constitutional relationship with British India. The attitude of the Indian States in general was clearly summed up in the resolution passed by the Chamber of Princes in connection with the Cripps Mission to the effect that the Indian States will be glad as always in the interest of their mother-land to make their contribution in every reasonable manner compatible with the Sovereignty and integrity of the States towards the framing of a new Constitution for India. Accredited representatives of Indian States, including Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, expressed themselves unequivocally as believers in the Unity of India. They welcomed the formation of a single Indian Union as it was felt that when alternative proposals of separate Unions were subjected to careful examination from the administrative, financial and other points of view, it may prove to be unworkable and would constitute only a weak imitation of the Indian Union, possessing neither its strength nor its capacity to defend themselves and survive. Thus the Indian States will be prepared to welcome the idea of having a single union for India. But if, as the history of other Federations teaches us, the interests of the constituent units are sacrificed under pressure for the sake of the Central Union, or the conditions of the adherence of the States are such as are entirely foreign to the conception of a Central Government, or

where all the elastic or expanding sources of revenue are monopolized by the Central Government and the little that is left to the States is also restricted and pruned or where general economic development and large-scale industrialization in the States becomes impossible, the States cannot be expected to so lightly sign away their independence and identity. In this connection, it may be mentioned here that it is a very healthy sign that the Sapru Proposals have specifically provided for residuary powers to vest in units and also that the functions assigned to the Centre should be matters of common interest to India as a whole and should be as small in number as possible. Under the circumstances, it would have been very advisable to provide for the representatives of Indian States in the Constitution-making body according to the Cripps formulae. There are, of course, obvious difficulties in an Indian Union comprising of British India and Indian States. The main points are that the Indian States are wholly different in status and character from the Provinces of British India and that their terms for accession to the Union may be different than those of the Provinces, as the Indian States, unlike the British Indian Provinces, possess Sovereignty in various degrees and are under a system of monarchical government. It was, therefore, all the more necessary that in the Constitution-making body, the States' point of view should have been represented, so that through a preliminary experience of joint deliberations on matters of common concern, the representatives of the whole country would have found the means of overcoming most of the difficulties of establishing an All-India Union in a spirit of mutual adjustment and compromise. Therefore, the provision for the representation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body should be a very important and necessary preliminary step in order to provide for joint deliberations on all the aspects of the proposed Constitution, which will pave the way for a strong and United Central Government comprising of British India and Indian States. It may be pointed out here that under the Cripps Scheme the Indian States were given two options, firstly to join or not to join the Constitution-making body and secondly, even after joining the Constitution-making body, to adhere or not to adhere to the Constitution.

The Sapru Proposals have also suggested an amendment of Section 5 of the 1935 Act so that the inauguration of the Indian Union should not depend on the inclusion of a certain number of Indian States as a condition precedent for the Union to come into being. Section 5 (2) of the 1935 Act provided that Federation of India will come into being by the proclamation of His Majesty only when the Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the States and entitled to not less half the seats to be allotted to the States in the Council of State, have signified their intention to join the Federation. This provision was made because, as remarked in para 157 of J.P.C. Report, the States are regarded as an essential element in an All-India Federation and a Federation which comprised the Provinces and only an insignificant number of the States would

scarcely be deserving of the name, It was further said that the Parliament has a right to satisfy itself not only that the prescribed number of States have in fact signified their desire to accede, but also that the financial, economic and political conditions necessary for the successful establishment of the Federation upon a sound and stable basis have been fulfilled.

Another important and much-talked of point is the question of Paramountcy. It is proposed by the Sapru Committee that there shall be a Minister-in-charge of the functions in relation to Indian States and with him shall be associated a body of persons, who shall be called Indian States Advisers. It is also proposed that there shall be a "Head of the State", who shall be repository of such powers as are now vested in His Majesty the King of England, including powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States. The proposal for electing the 'Head of the State' from amongst the Rulers of Indian States will be appreciated as a dire recognition of the historical and traditional sentiments for kingship in the country. The Crown is aptly described as the Paramount Power because the States have agreed to code to it certain important attributes of their Sovereignty and Paramountcy is a useful word to describe the rights and obligations of the Crown which arise out of the agreed session of those attributes. But the resort to Paramountcy as an ultimate reservoir of discretionary authority over the Indian States is based upon a radical misconception of what Paramountcy means. Paramountcy as such is unknown to Constitutional Law and is not a legal relation, but it can be said to be a *de facto* consequence of the existence of a dominant political Power—Commanding Military Supremacy.

In the case of the States, who enter the All-India Union, they will do so, as an independent Sovereign Unit and the Central Government will exercise only such rights over the States as have been specifically surrendered in the Instrument of Accession. Section 285 of the 1935 Act clearly excludes the rights and obligations of the Crown in relation to the Indian States from the purview of the new Act. There will be no question of the Crown transferring any paramountcy to the Union and the Cripps Scheme did contemplate that the Union will have no paramountcy over the adhering States as the adherence of a State would automatically dissolve the Crown's special obligations to it. A State that adheres to the Union does so on whatever terms it makes with the Union. As for the States, who do not elect to enter the All-India Union or prefer to group together into another Union, if there is one, the Crown will, it is hoped, provide for implementing the Crown's obligations to the non-adhering States. The power that the most influential and dominating Government in the country may have on the other neighbouring administrative Units will depend on the exigencies of the time and the contractual strength of the parties at any particular time.

Para. 10 (c) of the Sapru Proposals provide that all custom barriers between one Unit and another shall be abolished and there shall be free trade within the Union provided that where the abolition of existing custom barriers affects prejudicially the finances of a Unit, it shall be entitled to adequate compensation out of the revenues of the Union. This subject has been responsible for a lot of discussions during the consideration of the federal scheme before the War. Many States derive substantial revenues from custom duties levied at their frontiers and in some States the right to impose such duties is specially guaranteed as a sovereign right by Treaty. It is, therefore, impossible to deprive the States of the revenue upon which in many cases they depend for balancing their budgets. They must also be free to alter existing rights of duty to suit varying conditions. Thus it will be advisable to recognize these existing facts, although, in theory, it may be inconsistent with the freedom of inter-statal trade of a fully developed Union. The J.P.C. report deals with this question in para. 264 and I think they have on the whole taken a very sober and practical view of the question.

There is another question about the right of cessation from the Union after having joined it. The Sapru Proposals in para. 6 do not contemplate the cessation of a State which has acceded to the Union. The 1935 Act is silent on this point, but Professor Keith is of opinion that it should certainly be open to any State to argue that any drastic amendments in the Constitution is equivalent to a breach of the Instrument of Accession. The States may agree to surrender certain rights to the Union under certain conditions. But as soon as those conditions disappear, the power surrendered by the Rulers should automatically revert to them, as in that case the doctrine of Rebus-Sic Stantibus, *i.e.*, the right of a party to a Treaty to denounce it, if the circumstances contemplated by it and under which it was made, become completely changed, should be applied.

STATISTICAL BLACK-OUT IN INDIA

BY PROF. P. C. MALHOTRA, M.A.

STATISTICAL knowledge in India has been deplorably incomplete and defective. Even before the war statistical information in the country was available in patches, in light shades and in silhouette. The war, of course, declared a more or less complete black-out of statistics. After the publication of "The White Paper of statistics relating to the war effort of the United Kingdom," which has been recently presented to the Parliament, the Government of India may consider whether a similar step cannot also now be taken in this country. This would be welcome for various reasons. A knowledge of facts and figures would dispel ignorance, false notions and deepening prejudices regarding India's war record. The material would also supply the basis for practical and constructive thinking on the country's post-war problem. . . both in the transition period from war to peace and in the normal post-war period.

The White Paper portrays the contribution of the United Kingdom to the war effort in an excellent manner.

Man Power.—We are told that over 10 million men and women, which figure constitutes one-third of the adult population, are now in the services and the munition industries. Women have admirably helped in the war work and nearly 2¾ million more women were in the services and in industry than during peaee-time. Of 7·6 millions in the manufacturing industries, only 4 per cent. were producing for export, compared with 15 per cent. in 1938, whereas 76 per cent. were on Government work and 20 per cent. were producing for the home market.

PRODUCTION

The increase in production has, of course, been great in munitions but the production of essential raw materials has not been neglected. Home output of iron was increased by more than one-half since before the war and exports of steel products were severely curtailed. Production of steel increased by 1|6 in spite of a two-thirds reduction of the import of steel-making material. The light metal industries have shown remarkable expansion. The production of aluminium, the average of 1935-38 for which was 18,000 tons, increased to 56,000 tons in 1943. Similarly the production of magnesium increased from 2,000 to 23,000 tons within the same period. The light metal industries are not only a war-time necessity, but have increased post-war possibilities.

The production of food has received due attention. In spite of the facts that there has been a 50 per cent. cut in the imported food and also a reduction in male labour available for farm work, British food production in terms of calories and protein has increased at least by 70 per cent. This increased production with efficient working of rationing and price-control have ensured fair distribution and kept the food situation safe in a country which was primarily a food importing one.

CIVILIAN CONSUMPTION

A war period necessarily enforces sacrifices in consumption either voluntary or imposed. But if these restraints whether self-imposed or state-enforced are judiciously applied, they cause the minimum of hardship and maintain efficiency of production at the same time. In this way the morale of the home-front is maintained. The over-all consumption in Great Britain has been reduced by 21 per cent. Civilian consumption of butter, margarine and cheese is lower by 14 per cent.; of fresh meat, bacon and ham by 24 per cent.; of fruit and fruit-juices by 51 per cent.

Civilian consumption of clothes is reduced by 45 per cent., of boots and shoes by 27 per cent., of furniture by 77 per cent.

The people of Great Britain now spend 54 per cent. of their incomes. The rest is absorbed by taxes and savings.

FINANCE

The expenditure of the United Kingdom has increased from £ 1,013 million in 1938 to £ 5,782 million in 1943. This augmented expenditure was mainly war expenditure and included mutual aid supplied by Great Britain and paid for by the United Kingdom, but excluded lend-lease and mutual aid received from abroad.

A marked feature of war finance in the United Kingdom is that it has been largely met out of current resources. This achievement has been made possible by a remarkable increase in national income, from £ 4,604 millions in 1938 to £ 8,172 millions in 1943. The great increase in national income is not due to inflated prosperity created by the sky-rocketing of prices. *The Economist* Index of Wholesale Prices on November 22, 1944, was 117·9 in comparison with an index number 87.2 in March 31, 1937 and as against an index number of 100 for 1927, the base (comparison) year.

An analysis of the sources of war expenditure in the United Kingdom showed that (i) 50 per cent. of it was met by taxation and Government revenue; (ii) 30½ per cent. by savings (personal and business); (iii) 3½ per cent. by public savings; (iv) 11 per cent. from disinvestment (sale of investment) abroad; 3 per cent. from disinvestment at home; (v) 2 per cent. from war damage payment re-borrowed.

COMPARATIVE FEATURES OF INDIA'S WAR ECONOMY

From a comparative point of view, the following ugly features of our war economy stand in marked contrast to Britain's war economy:

(i) Scandalous food crisis in a predominantly agricultural country.

(ii) Curtailment of essential consumption goods, including belly-filling and nourishment-giving food-stuffs.

(iii) Inadequate increase in the volume of domestic production.

(iv) Phenomenal rise in prices.
(v) Unequal imposition of war burden.
} due to inflation.

(vi) Partial success of control measures due to their piece-meal and belated adoption.

TREMENDOUS TRIFLES

BY MR. T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A.,

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SMALL things! Yes; but, how often these small things have taken a hand in the game of History and altered the destiny of the world!

John Lackland, King of England, chuckled as he sat before his well-filled table. He had outwitted his enemies, pretending submission. He had absolutely no idea of keeping his word. He had sealed the Great Charter only to deceive them and gain time. Poor fools! How neatly they fall into the trap! He laughed aloud. The sound of the demoniacal laughter echoed and re-echoed round the room, causing a shudder to the attendants who were fated to serve a man who set at defiance all laws—human or divine. All seemed lost to his enemies who were hard pressed by his blood-thirsty mercenaries, and who had to call in the help of Louis, the eldest son of King Philip Augustus of France. Fortune seemed to favour him. The smile on John's savage face broadened as he scanned the

dishes set before him—lampreys, peaches, and other delicacies—all his favourites, and fresh ale to help them down. The king gorged and gorged. Thus was deliverance opened to England, for the surfeit brought on the king's sudden sickness and death. Had he not thus died providentially, a revolution might have taken place in England and England might have become a possession of the French monarchy.

Emperor Frederick I stroked his red hand thoughtfully, as he frowned over the expense of the Campagna. He suddenly turned towards the burly German who stood by him, and cried out "Sirrah, are your men *frans* fresh from home? Bah, to be afraid of the bite of an ordinary mosquito! Think they that war is a merry tournament in which they can show off their gilded spurs, and eat and sleep happily"? The Emperor did not know, however, that this ordinary mosquito was going to cause the collapse of his campaign. This campaign of 1166, directed against Pope Alexander III, had so far been victorious. The imperial forces had occupied Rome. But now, a terrible malarial pestilence destroyed a large part of his army. The Emperor had to retreat, and the fruits of his victory were lost.

The Mughals had encircled Golconda, but its Sultan, Abu Hassan, did not lose hope, for the natural defences of the fortress were very strong. He did not know that the Mughals had planned a surprise attack on a particular night. The defenders were blissfully ignorant, while Mughal soldiers' information clambered up the steep walls. The summit was largely gained, when a Pariah dog saw the strangers and barked wildly. This gave the alarm and the garrison rushed to the scene, and the attack was beaten back. Golconda thus got a lease of independent existence for some more time. Sultan Abu Hassan was so grateful to the dog that he created it a noble of Golconda, and the animal was privileged to wear a gold coat, a gold collar and a gold chain.

Disappointment and frustration did not put out the glow of enthusiasm which still shone in that man's eyes. An alternative passage to India! He spoke and spoke eagerly; but, people shrugged their shoulders and called him mad. Powerful sovereigns smiled and repulsed his offers of leading a voyage of discovery. But, his patience, energy and perseverance did not give out. There was something in his mien and his emphatic words that attracted Queen Isabella of Spain, and, at last, in 1492, Columbus started on his westward voyage to India with the help and patronage of Spain. Days passed as the ship sped across the Atlantic and the superstitious crew cursed the Genoese who, they believed, was taking them to an unknown and horrible death. Columbus had to keep two logs—one a true one, and the other falsified so that the crew might not discover how far from home they were. But, how long could he keep up this farce? *Columbus prayed to God fervently.* Was he to abandon his cherished dream and turn back? One day, wrapped in melancholy thoughts, he peered as usual over the everlasting blue, and, suddenly, fell on his knees to thank God. Flight of land-birds, and then land itself! He had reached the Bahamas. A new continent began to take its share in world history, though, to the last, Columbus believed that it was India.

As Napoleon sipped his coffee from a dainty cup, his eyes watched with approval the draperies and flags with his monogram which were hanging out from every window. The empire of this soldier of fortune was now at its zenith. It embraced France, the Netherlands, part of Western and North-western Germany, all the Western part of Italy down to Naples, and the Illyrian Provinces; while on all sides were satellite States dependent on his favour. He took out his gold snuff-box and took a sniff from it wondering at the incredible stupidity of the Czar who had dared to cross his path. He would teach him the lesson of his life. Thus began the monotonous invasion of Russia. Splendid successes followed, and the capital, Moscow, was occupied. The "scorched earth" policy of the hostile population was the first snag in his path. But, the disastrous failure of the invasion was the result of Nature taking a hand in the contest. Napoleon had, as always, based his plans on expert information and detailed enquiries. But, in that particular year, the Russian winter set in much earlier than usual, and it proved to be an unusually severe winter. The famished, ill-clad French force was caught up in its grip. Peasants and Cossacks harassed the retreating remnants till all discipline broke down, and the Grand Army became a wild heap of struggling fugitives rushing to reach friendly borders.

Instances could be multiplied. A youth of melancholic temperament attempted to take his life, but the gun failed to explode. This youth—Robert Clive—was destined ultimately to die a suicide's death. But, how much would the history of British rule in India have been affected, had the first attempt at self-murder succeeded? In 1715, there came to the throne of England the old German King George I who was more interested in his electorate of Hanover than in England. Hence, he ceased to be present at the meetings of his ministers, and from this fortunate accident arose the great constitutional maxim of the Cabinet system of Government that the real executive is, not the king, but the group of ministers who are responsible to Parliament. While he had gone to sell a cargo of bacon in New Orleans, young Abraham Lincoln saw a young Mulatto girl being sold and her purchaser examining her just as he would a house. This incident was the turning point in his career when he dedicated himself to the abolition of slavery which he lived to achieve. Had Hitler died when his attempted "putsch" at Munich miscarried in 1923, the later history of Europe might well have been different. We are all familiar with the story of how the falling of an apple from the tree to the ground when Isaac Newton was sitting in his garden drew him on to study the force of gravitation or how the singing of the kettle on fire led James Watt to experiment with steam power. But less familiar is the story of the two French brothers, Montgolfier, who noticed one evening how pieces of paper, when placed over a fire, rose up the chimney and disappeared. This led them to experiment in balloons, and the way was opened for

developments in aircraft which have now revolutionized economic and military history. In the fatal field of Samugarh (1659) in which Dara contended for the throne with his brothers, Murad and Aurangzeb, when the battle was swinging to and fro, Dara got down from his elephant to mount a stead, and his troops, seeing the empty howdah and believing him killed broke up and fled. It is idle to speculate whether had Dara succeeded, India would have been spared the rule of the bigoted Aurangzeb and experienced a return to the happy period of Akbar. Prince Siddharta's first contact with old age, sickness and death revolutionised his mental outlook and led to the rise of one of the greatest religions of the world—Buddhism.

LABOUR WELFARE

BY MR. M. C. AGARWAL, M.A., B.SC.

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THE problem of anybody's welfare would include countless problems of every variety. Fortunately that is not the case with 'labour welfare', which may as well be termed 'labourer's welfare'. It has come to include problems bearing on the health, general well-being, safety and efficiency of the worker. Welfare activities are important not simply from the point of efficiency of production and ensuring a permanent industrial population but also for fostering the development of the worker's personality. Welfare activities have a scope both at the centre of work—one may call it inside the factory—and outside the mill-gates. I would refrain from using the words 'factory' and 'mill' because labour welfare does not merely refer to the welfare of labourers employed in mills and factories. It also has reference to those working underground in the mines, in the tea gardens, in the dockyards and above all in the cultivators' field. In this short essay it seems preferable to limit the scope to the industries, though the observations made would be fairly applicable to the other occupations with a little change in the wording.

Well then, inside the factory there would seem to exist the desirability for safe and healthy conditions of work, provision for rest and shelter, cheap refreshment and meal facilities, sanitary surroundings and in the case of women labour for crèches. Outside the factory the relevant problems refer to proper housing in healthy surroundings, education, recreation and medical attention.

The necessary arrangements can be made either by the employer voluntarily or under compulsion by the State, so far as facilities within the precincts of the mill are concerned. A wise employer would not only provide them but also do what he can to solve the problems that face his workers outside the mill. He would be compensated for what he does in the form of increased efficiency. Should he know how to organize labour in order to get the most out of them, then with

he provision of such facilities, the increased efficiency and output shall be more than he cost of the facilities to him. Usually, however, the State legislation requires the employers to ensure safe and healthy conditions—proper ventilation, temperature and humidity—and even creches and supply of food or foodstuff. In India, for example, we have a set of model factory (and mining) acts of the Central Government. Also under powers delegated to the provincial governments, factory-wallahs have been compelled to provide for creches in case they employ women numbering more than one hundred. Under a war-time ordinance, the provincial governments can even make it obligatory on all employers to make arrangements for meals and supply of foodstuff to the employees.

But the trouble is that acts are not properly administered and powers are not enjoyed. The insufficiency of the inspection staff and inadequacy of regular and proper inspection nullify the possible good effects of the factory acts. Similarly all the provincial governments do not make the maintenance of creches and provision of food a compulsory condition. Of course some concerns have opened canteens but these have not always been within the reach of persons who are getting low wages. On the other hand, in a country like Britain within two years of the passage of the Factory (canteen) Order, 1940, not only did 98 per cent. of the mills affected brought canteens into service but even other factories increased the number of canteens maintained by them from about five and a half thousands to about eight and a half thousands.

Outside the factory one of the most important problems is that of housing. Dwelling accommodation is not only costly but also insanitary and unhealthy. A worker may have to part with fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of his monthly income as house-rent. This together with food expenses takes away more than three-fourth of his income and very little is left for other items in the family budget. This is highly undesirable from the point of view of a reasonable standard of living. The fact that the houses are situated in slum areas with an ugly appearance and little ventilation increases the susceptibility of the occupants to various diseases. This means poor health and also a drain on the workers' purses. The condition is much worse in comparison to the position in the rural areas where fresh air is a natural guarantee. In the circumstance, there is less stability of the industrial population, for the worker wants to make a saving and run back to the village.

One reason for the high rental charge is the inadequacy of the housing facility in the industrial areas. In their effort to escape the high charge to some extent and in order to find some living accommodation for himself and sometimes, his family, the labourers give rise to the most undesirable problem of overcrowding. It may be safely said that sixty per cent. of the workers in the industrial areas live in single rooms. The average number of persons per room is about five. The situation is not as worse in the foreign countries. In England, for example, only six per cent. of the workers live in single rooms and the average number of persons per

room does not exceed two. Overcrowding and insanitary conditions are closely related and it is a common-day experience that the greater the overcrowding, the greater is the suffering from diseases and the greater is the infant mortality. Overcrowding also means less privacy in respect of the family life and hence an undesirable effect on the workers' morale.

The solution of the problem is the construction of suitable working-class houses. This can be suitably undertaken by the employers and the public bodies (including the State) individually or jointly. In the industrialized countries the employers have come forward and the State has subsidised the building programmes. In India under the Land Acquisition Act an industrial concern employing at least hundred workmen can acquire land compulsorily for the purpose of erecting dwelling houses for the workers and for providing amenities like sanitation, sewage, etc. But housing accommodation has been provided only by some employers at Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Cawnpore and Delhi. There have, however, been established by certain provinces Improvement Trusts which have earned the credit of certain slum clearance programmes. It is urgently necessary that the housing programme should be taken up by the local bodies and that every encouragement should be given for the establishment of co-operative housing societies. Effort should also be made, preferably by the State, to evolve cheaper types of houses.

Prevention is better than cure and if we want that the worker may avoid unhealthy food and mode of living, we must give them proper education. Adult education should be in respect of what is happening in the world, how people in the other parts of the world live, and what type of life ensures health and happiness. Because the child is father of the man, a more careful attention should be paid to primary education. Education has been the concern of the State. So far as adult education and recreation plus medical aid is concerned, only U.P. and Bombay have taken the lead in establishing welfare centres where one finds allopathic-cum-homeopathic dispensary, reading room, gymnasium, sports, entertainments and periodical talks. Similar facilities have also been provided by some of the enlightened employers.

It is also necessary to pay attention to industrial hygiene and industrial diseases and to prevent adulteration of foods. While Food Adulteration Acts have been passed in many provinces, the shortage of medical inspectors has hampered effective enforcement of the Acts and sufficient action regarding industrial hygiene and diseases.

Labour welfare is an essential requisite for a rapid and permanent industrial edifice but in India, it is evident, we have still to go a long way in the direction of providing labour welfare work even to a modest extent.

Disraeli—A Phase in British Imperialism

BY MR. SHIV SAHAI KAPUR, M A.

THE relation between men and movements can seldom be precisely brought out. Very often the aura of a great leader's influence extends in dim circles to the very roots of the nation, when it touches and merges into the wide sway of the Movement: the life-blood flows both ways: and the Movement becomes the Man. Then it is, there at the roots where the self-conscious shibboleth strips, that it becomes impossible to discern any more harsh outlines. Such was the relation of Disraeli and his England. A relation made all the more complicated by his immense knowledge of Jack's and Smiths's emotional response, his mastery of "effect", his knack of facing the foot-lights "in partnership". Which way was the flow? Did he really "give" more than he "received"? Very frequently the answer has been: Yes: that his was essentially the motivation, the dynamic directing force that moulded opinion in consonance with a certain set of pre-conceived principles. We have here reasons to think otherwise.

The most salient feature of Disraeli's character can only be summed np in the negative epithet "un-English". He was un-English in the wide sweep of his vivid, ego-centric imagination. "Zeal for the greatness of England was", Lord Salisbury declared, "the passion of his life". We will see that essentially it was his own self that was the passion of his life. And he knew and felt the pulse of the people he was thrown with, he saw the rising wave and was wise enough to ride it—to the glorification of self and England. It naturally follows that all attempts to ascribe to Disraeli any purely altruistic love for England, transcending the petty bounds of the party, would be nothing short of a fond delusion. He did transcend the party but in the sense that party embodied any fixed, hide-bound principles, more primarily for the edification of self than for England. We need refer only to his own career for sufficient testimony for this.

The man was characterized by vitality, a cynical opportunism, insight into human character, a sense of humour, and a strong imagination steeped in an almost oriental romanticism. He went to Turkey and "contracted" a soft corner for the Turk and his voluptuous ease; he followed Napoleon's travels in the east, in his own way of course, and the call of the east lingered in his mind. Both were to have important repercussions later on.

The Movement in the 'forties and the fifties' was away from imperialism: the average Englishman took for granted the fact that Britain was a colonial power. Many of this group were even uniformly averse to the continuance of the imperial "burden" and desired to cast it off. They looked complacently forward to the day when Canada, Australia and New Zealand would bear the same relation to Great Britain as the United States. In the words of Goldwin Smith, "The time was when the universal prevalence of commercial monopoly made it worth our while to hold colonies in dependence for the sake of commanding their trade. But that time has gone. Trade is free

everywhere or becoming free; and this expensive and perilous connection has entirely survived its sole legitimate cause." This was Little Englandism at its height. However this Little Englandism wilted and drooped in the arid Europe that the Bismacckian age was fast bringing into being. The turn of the tide began in the 'sixties,' gathered momentum through the 'seventies' and the 'eighties,' and the 'nineties' saw imperialism a triumphant force and the un-English Little Englandism safely back under the old garb. The new Europe meant business, this was evidently no time for taking risks,

It was Disraeli's role to give adequate expression to the overweening imperialism that was fast coming to the fore. He was no creator of it, he only gave shape and point to the flex. In 1871 Disraeli said, "Not a single principle in the management of our foreign affairs, accepted by all statesmen for guidance up to a few months ago, any longer exists. You have a new world, new influences at work, new and unknown dangers with which to cope, at present involved in that obscurity incident to novelty in such affairs." Clearly the master was preparing his ground, clearly too he knew the material in which he was going to work—their hopes and fears and aspirations. Would England like to see her ancient colonies falling under the sway of political and commercial rivals to be ruled for their selfish purposes? Was England, asked Froude in 1870, to sink as Holland had done into a community of harmless traders and was she to furnish the only exception to the rule of the unity of kindred peoples? The issue was, Disraeli declared, "Whether you will be content to be a comfortable Little England. . . meeting in due course an inevitable fate, or whether you will be a great country, an imperial country, a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and obtain, not merely the esteem of your countrymen but command the respect of the world"? No stronger appeal could be made to English pockets and English chauvinism.

When the material was ready, Disraeli set to work. The Queen became the Empress,—Disraeli certainly knew the oriental mind. Perhaps he was right, he said that race is everything. A brilliant coup begot the Suez Canal. Was it the realization of an earlier dream, the irresistible call of the East that Disraeli always felt, or was it some flash of prophetic vision? The fact remains that in spite of all the forebodings of Gladstone, the canal not only turned out to be a roaring financial success but also a political acquisition of great magnitude.

The later-day fiasco of the forward policy in Afghanistan and of the contemptuous imperialism in South Africa is too patent to need discussion. Their results were inherent in the very logic of Disraeli's smug and much too galloping an imperialism —how galloping we shall see presently.

It is his management of the Eastern Question that is considered to be the high-water mark of his policy. Yet there is scope for something different from mere fulsome eulogy in this respect. We believe his success was not so unqualified, that the brilliant "Peace with Honour" had a hollow ring, that perhaps it was only an

excellent "effect" by the supreme actor-manager.

We may, for the present, leave out his strange conduct at the time of the Berlin Memorandum. His entire withholding of his consent to it savours very much of the young man who dressed oddly to draw attention. He had to be different, then as now, because being different gave him and "Disraeli & England, Ltd:" a new status. It need hardly be said that he believed in no ethics of politics; to him it was always a question of opinion. His bent was essentially Machiavellian. He went as an ardent champion of Turkish integrity, by the time he came back the word "integrity" had come to have a new meaning; it began to apply merely to Constantinople! For were the British not primarily interested in the fate of Constantinople? He vehemently declared that Turkey had not been partitioned. When Poland's population was reduced from 12 to 7 millions, it was said to have been partitioned, but when European Turkey lost 11 out of the 17 millions of its inhabitants, the Lord Beaconsfield declared, "A country may have lost provinces but that is not partition"! The British in an access of honest brokerage, on the other hand, thought fit to rid Turkey of Cypress too! In the case of Bulgaria the name "Eastern Roumelia" was deliberately chosen for the southern portion because, to quote again, "there would be constant intriguing to bring about a union between the two provinces" —it being implied that the divergence of names would prevent nationalist agitation! Here Disraeli's sad lack of knowledge and, unlike Gladstone, his lack of proper appreciation of the forces of nationality in the Balkans is a curious commentary on his handling of the affair. He gave evidence of almost pathetic naivity when he remarked, in reply to doubts cast upon the impregnability of the new frontier, that "it is by the courage, discipline, patriotism, and devotion of a population that impregnable frontiers can alone be formed"—inferring thereby that the population of Eastern Roumelia answered to this description, and that it was sufficient reason for dissecting a people.

He justified Austria-Hungary's mandate in Bosnia and Herzigovina by calling attention to the inveterate racial animosities and religious differences in the Balkans and remarking that an army of 50,000 would be necessary to keep order in that area, while in the same breath he had the temerity to commend the area to the bankrupt governance of Turkey. This was also quite a far cry from his original idea—that a little "bakhsheesh" might have suppressed the rising in a few weeks.

As compensation for these contradictions and uncomfortable admissions in fact of defeat covered by strategic retreat, Disraeli flaunted in the faces of the British the Convention that gave Cypress to the British. Apart from the fact that Cypress was impossible as a naval base it was, curiously enough, actually farther off than Malta even. And in any case it was a fruitless acquisition since in the event of Russian aggression against Turkey it would be the last and not the first base to be used. In return for all this Britain guaranteed to maintain the integrity of Asiatic Turkey, which was at all counts nothing

but an odious responsibility. It is strange that scholars like Ensor should try to excuse this foolishly vain commitment which Britain was scarcely in a position to fulfil, by saying that it was only a first instalment of a still more grandiose scheme of imperial "pan-dominionism". In the words of Sir William Harcourt, "It was necessary to bring back something and that something was Cypress."

This survey has been necessitated for an examination of what is termed as Disraeli's master stroke. Besides the balatant Machiavellism, the conclusions to be drawn are that Disraeli entirely misunderstood the forces at work in the Balkan Peninsula, that the Turks were to him a mere pawn in the game against Russia, that he led his country to the brink of war and was held back only by a combination of ill-health and popular outcry; that in the end he receded from his original position, utterly abandoned Turkish integrity in Europe and consoled himself with an Asiatic policy which he afterwards lacked the energy to pursue to its logical conclusion and which, if pursued, would still be very doubtful of success. Disraeli was a supreme master of strategy and it was only gradually that the English nation realized the extent to which he had shifted his ground from first to last. The settlement with which his name is associated in no way represented his aims during the crisis, and its credit is really due to Bismarck, Shuvalov and Salisbury rather than him. "Peace with Honour" was only the last fling of the man who still knew his nation at least. The angry consternation of the Jingoes, the moral indignation of the Radicals at the adroit change of attitude, the sarcastic outlook of the solid "middle" opinion—all was for the moment swallowed up in the nation's intense relief at having escaped from war. Radowitz regarded the whole thing as "more a matter of vanity for Disraeli than an act of political importance"; which is another way of saying that Disraeli required a bird in hand to bring home to his Turcophil supporters after releasing so many others in the bushes of the Tiergarten!

Disraeli's greatest contribution was to forge imperialism as an emotional force in consonance with the prevailing jingoism of the times. But he was a man more of insight than of foresight. And the arc of his powerful, sweeping imagination always had Disraeli as the centre.

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THE PROBLEM OF WORLD PEACE*

BY PROF. HARI CHARAN MUKERJI, M.A.

THE war has come to its close to the infinite relief of suffering humanity. We are hearing more and more of the punishment of the war criminals and of the delinquent nations who have caused this ruinous war and brought untold sufferings on us. It is only natural that nations who have been involved in this war and have made the greatest sacrifices and poured out their best-blood and lost the flower of their manhood, have seen the ruin of their industries and devastation of cities and prosperous country sides, their external trade almost ruined and most of all who have groaned under the heels of alien occupation with all its attendant evils, misery and humiliation, that they should demand the punishment of the criminals and try to keep the nations concerned under perpetual subjection for their complicity in these crimes as well as a precaution against any fresh outburst of violence and attempt on their part in future to plunge the world into this sort of ruinous war. One of the worst legacies of a cruel and protracted war is that it calls forth vindictive sentiments of the sufferers as of the victors. The latter seem to be in no mood to show any quarter to the defeated enemy and even no consideration to those who were compelled by force of circumstances and perhaps under compulsion to help the war efforts of the aggressors. The most important thing to consider is—will these harsh measures serve the purpose for which they are intended or are they rather likely to defeat that very purpose? If the Morgenthau plan is to be followed and Germany is to be stripped of all her industries and commerce and reduced to the position of a nation of agriculturists, if she is to be deprived of her mercantile marine and air transport, if the Saar is to be occupied and the Rhine Province policed by France and Belgium, if her coal mines and synthetic oil and rubber plants and all heavy industries are to be wrested away from her and worked in the interests of the victors as a payment in kind of reparations, if large slices of her territory are to be detached and forcibly occupied, if as a result of all this she is to be reduced to the position of a dependent nation, that will be inevitably preparing the ground for another conflagration which will this time engulf the whole world and leave it in ruins and ashes. Nazism in pre-war Germany only flourished because the ground was prepared for it by the humiliating terms of the Versailles treaty forced upon her and if this mistake is once more repeated we can very well apprehend the same disastrous consequences only on an infinitely greater scale.

Only the other day two very important personages whose testimony can be accepted, Mr. Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's right-hand man and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Air Minister of Britain, pointed out that Germany and Japan were already preparing for a fresh war. That may be quite true for they realize that their game is up and they have already lost this war. But their suggestions to avert this catastrophe, *viz.*, to maintain a

* This article was written before the German surrender and the holding of the Frisco Conference.

permanent army of occupation in Germany and for the Allies to hold together and keep a strict watch on her as well as on Japan, apart from the practical difficulties are not likely to meet the exigencies of the situation. Smarting under a sense of injustice and humiliation they will be only driven to greater desperation. Secondly an army of occupation cannot be maintained for all times to come and as soon as it is withdrawn or vigilance relaxed, the dreadful contingency will once again occur. The ingenious German mind too can think of a thousand means to circumvent this move and baffle the Allies. Moreover to take it for granted that the present Allies will hold together for all time and act in concert is to ignore the lesson of history. Political alliances are dictated by the exigencies of the hour and are dissolved as soon as the crisis which called it into being is past. The Allies of to-day are the enemies of to-morrow and *vice versa*. Truly adversity makes one acquainted with strange bed fellows.

A correspondent writing in the columns of the *Statesman* (Calcutta) maintains that humane treatment to the Nazis will be out of place and defeat its own purpose for according to the philosophy of Neitzsche in which they have been brought up generosity to the vanquished foe is only a betrayal of one's weakness and fails to create any impression on the German. But to me it seems to be just the opposite. Generous treatment of the enemy cannot but produce the desired effect.

The first requisite, therefore, will be if there is a sincere desire on the part of the Allies to establish permanent peace, to apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter to all subject nations whether victims of Nazi aggression or not because they too at one time or other had been the victims of aggression and have been groaning under alien domination.

The second thing that is to be done, is not only to disarm Germany but to put a ban on armaments productions in all the countries of the world. It is the manufacturers of all these armaments whether British, American or German who have been primarily responsible not only for the last Great War, but for the present also. According to the indisputable testimony of Edgar Snow, the author of the "Scorched Earth", America was selling armaments, munitions and scrap iron, out of which bullets and shells are made, to Japan when the latter was perpetrating the worst brutalities on China. She did not even hesitate to sell to her the plans of the latest types of aeroplanes with which Japan in course of time attacked Pearl Harbour to pay back, as it were, her debt of gratitude! If in future the world is to be made safe for democracy, two essential things are to be done, *viz*, all ill-gotten gains (possessions) are to be disgorged and the principles of the Atlantic Charter to be applied in all cases of people groaning under alien domination and that national armies, navies and air-forces are to be strictly limited and placed under the effective control and supervision of a strong, central organisation, call it the League of Nations or what you will, in which all nations whether belligerents in the present war or not will be equally represented and which under no circumstances will be bossed over by the Big Three because all are equally interested in the preservation of peace. This constitutes the third requisite. To allow this organisation to be captured by the Great Powers will be only perpetrating the present order of domination of the weak by the strong and heartless exploitation of the backward peoples and undeveloped portions of the world by those who are more advanced, organised, strong and grasping. And last of all this League of Nations will put a perpetual ban on the production of armaments by private organisations and will regulate the respective requirements of each nation.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Lord Wavell's Mission

LORD WAVELL has returned after consultations with H. M. Government lasting over nine weeks. Political quarters are under the belief that he took with him specific proposals on the Indian problem to submit to the British Cabinet. But then Lord Wavell's conversations in London had been interrupted by the British Government's pre-occupations with Germany's collapse and the San Francisco Conference.

Meanwhile, the prospect of General Elections in England is another interruption to the already growing pressure of European events. In the circumstance, it would be idle to speculate on the real causes of the delay in the Viceroy's return or read too much into the conflicting reports from London. But thanks to the Elections, India is now very much a live issue, and though no party can afford to put it specifically as an Election issue, there is no doubt every party is anxious to claim credit for resolving the deadlock. Already Prof. Laski and Attlee and Bevin have had their say. Though by retaining the unwanted Amery in his place, Mr. Churchill continues to show his fist there is evidence of returning sense in the diehard Premier. In a front page story headed "Churchill to make new offer to India", the *News Chronicle* reports that to end the Indian deadlock Mr. Churchill will propose that the Congress Party and the Muslim League should form a Government with limited powers. The Viceroy's power of veto would remain. Mr. Churchill himself is significantly silent on India.

Until we have the specific terms of the offer, we cannot say what reception awaits Mr. Churchill's offer. But one thing is clear. Mere repetition of the Cripps offer and the dual policy of reforms and repression would be futile and dangerous. That has long been tried and found wanting. The lesson is obvious. Only a bold and generous act of statesmanship will restore the waning faith in British *bona fides*.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in U.S.A.

When the Tory press in England began to refer to Mrs. Pandit's activities in U.S.A. as a "menace", we have need for no further evidence of the importance and effectiveness of her labours abroad. For one thing she timed her visit with extraordinary prescience—to synchronise with the San-Francisco Conference where the statesmen of over 40 nations are gathered to devise means of world security. Mrs. Pandit has made the best use of the occasion to put the case for India before the world statesmen with characteristic vigour and pertinacity. Her memorandum on Indian independence may not have received official cognisance, but her views have been pressed on the attention of many men who count in the affairs of the world. In U.S.A. she has travelled everywhere, met all the men who count, written to the press and spoken at platforms and parties that may influence public opinion and has done everything to counter any false propaganda that might have had an advance start. It is mighty tough work which she has done with an astuteness and power that has been the envy and despair of official spokesmen. Scorning the threat to brand her as pro-axis in wartime she has pursued her patriotic labours in the teeth of opposition propaganda. She made history in Sacramento when she addressed the Californian legislature—an honour which no foreigner has yet had except Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. She declared that new ties forged between America and India would help the solution not only of India's problem, but the problem of colonial possessions everywhere.

In an earnest speech calling for sympathy for India's campaign for independence, delivered at the invitation of the State legislature, Mrs. Pandit told the Assembly men that what India is fighting is not England but the system Great Britain has established in India—a system which enslaves and exploits its people.

The Famine Commission Report

The Woodhead report on the Bengal famine of 1943 merely underlines the popular belief that it was essentially a *man-made tragedy* which timely action on the part of the Provincial and Central Governments could well have averted. A section of the public should also share the responsibility for the appalling disaster. The Commission record in feeling terms the extent of the tragedy that overtook the unhappy province:

We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victims to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed, there was a moral and social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown.

The Report adds that

Enormous profits were made out of these calamities and circumstances, in which profits for some meant death for others. A large part of the community lived in plenty while others starved; and there was much indifference in the face of suffering. Corruption was widespread throughout the Province, and in many classes of society.

Danger signals of the impending famine were not absent in the closing months of 1942, but an inept and irresponsible government took no notice of them. The Commission have no hesitation in fixing the blame:

After considering all the circumstances, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place.

They hold that an *all-party* government might have created public confidence and led to more effective action "but no such government came into being." And what of the Central Government?

The Government of India failed to recognise, at a sufficiently early date the need for a system of planned movement of foodgrains, including rice and wheat, from surplus to deficit provinces and states.

But the penalty for the Government's incompetence had to be paid by the people. Will the lesson of this tragedy be lost on the authorities? If not, what is going to be done to avoid a repetition of such administrative mismanagement which meant the decimation of millions of innocent lives?

Citizen Rights in England and India

Almost the first act of the British Government, after the signing of the German surrender, was the revocation of all war-time regulations and the release of everybody clapped under Regulation 18B under which the British Black Shirt leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, was arrested early in the war. This is as it should be, in a country which values its freedom and the rights of its citizens. People in India naturally contrast the situation with conditions in this country where hundreds are still behind the bars without trial or explanation. Look at this picture and that, say they. It makes all the difference in the world to have a government, thoroughly national and responsive to public opinion. If men like Sir Oswald with his pronounced Nazi leanings could be set free the moment the need for such detention has passed what is one to think of the continuance of restraint on men like Moulana Azad and Pandit Nehru for reasons of security? And yet the Prime Minister waxes eloquent in his broadcast over the rule of law and justice.

"There would be," he said, "little use in punishing Hitlerites for their crimes if law and justice did not rule and if totalitarian or police Governments were to take the place of the German invaders."

The irony of it!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Mr. Churchill's Interim Government

The Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, has resigned, and with his resignation the National Government has come to an end. The King accepted Mr. Churchill's resignation and re-appointed him Prime Minister to form a new administration which has since been formed.

The resignation of the Churchill Government is a sequel to the Labour Party Conference decision to break the Coalition.

It is announced from 10 Downing Street that Parliament is to be dissolved on June 15.

Mr. Churchill has reconstituted his Cabinet and Government. By the dissolution he loses three Labour War Cabinet Ministers—the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee; the Minister of Labour, Mr. Ernest Bevin, the virtual dictator of Britain's 20 million war manpower; and the Home Secretary and Home Security Minister, Mr. Herbert Morrison.

What is of significance to India is that the unwanted Mr. Amery continues as Secretary of State for India, while Lord Scarborough replaces Lord Listowel as Under-Secretary.

The Blackpool Conference

The Labour Party Conference at Blackpool adopted an aggressive attitude, with the keynote of attack sounded by two of its most important leaders.

Prof. Harold Laski, former Chairman of the Party, categorically declared, "there is no possibility of joining in coalition with the Conservatives," and Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Left-Wing leader within the Party, added, "we enter this campaign not merely to get a parliamentary majority but complete extinction of the Tory Party for 25 years. England needs a new industrial revolution."

The Frisco Conference

The San Francisco Conference is now lagging heavily behind programme. The delegates, depressed by the reopening of issues which had been regarded as practically settled, have put back their plans for departure until the middle of June.

Two outstanding issues on which differences of opinion have revived among the Big Five and the Conference at large are those of trusteeship and regional pacts, says *Reuter's* special correspondent.

Stubborn opposition to the trusteeship proposals as at present drafted comes from the representatives of Arab countries, notably Iraq. While, looming large behind the controversy, although seldom mentioned, is the long-standing dispute between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

With Palestine and other Near Eastern mandates in mind, the Iraq delegates proposed that the Charter should specifically protect the terms of existing mandates and certain Covenants of the old League, referring to ultimate independence of part of the Turkish Empire.

The United States strongly oppose any reference to the old League Covenant in the new Charter.

The British are anxious that the existing mandates in general should not have the validity imparted by the new Charter.

The difficulty is that the allaying of the Arab fear regarding Palestine might give rise to misunderstanding by Zonists.

The Soviet proposal revives the previous discussion of definition of independence as objective of the administration of mandated territories. The Russians propose that to the word 'independence' should be added the words 'in accordance with rights of self-determination,' but this appears to be too strong for the British and the United States delegates and the latter suggest an amendment to read 'principle of self-determination.'

The revival of the regional question in the French proposal to safeguard the status of mutual assistance pacts against former enemy States has resulted in the criticism that in some sort of way, European powers are leaning too heavily on the system of bilateral alliances rather than international regional schemes.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By W. H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee. Longman's Green & Co, London.

Sir Atul has brought out a second edition of the History which was originally the joint work of himself and the late Mr. Moreland. The distinctive feature of this revised edition is the inclusion of six new chapters dealing at some length with the developments consequent on the Constitution Act of 1935. The book has been thoroughly revised in the light of later researches and brought up to 1943. Students of political history no less than the general reader will find the authors' resume of the social, economic and cultural development of the nation, of special interest and value.

SIAM. BY SIR JOSIAH CROSBY. No. 26, Oxford Pamphlet. Price As. 6.

We get a brief survey of the historical, economic and social development of Siam in this neatly got-up Oxford Pamphlet on Indian Affairs. The author traverses a wide ground and reviews the constitutional and administrative aspects of the country before the war and points out the contacts that existed between Siam and India. Throughout, the author writes with ease and assurance being extremely well-informed on many vital questions concerning the country.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA: Past and present. By Anathanath Basu. The Book Emporium, Ltd. Calcutta. Rs. 4.

We get a bird's eye view of the development and progress of University Education in India from ancient times up to our own day in this well-written and documented book. The author surveys the growth of Indian Universities and the numerous problems connected with them.

ISLAMIC CULTURE. By D. A. A. Fyzee. International Book House, Bombay.

This short pamphlet gives us, in a nutshell, the meaning of culture in general and Islam in particular and shows the distinction between culture which is the inward spirit and civilization, an outward manifestation from a historic perspective. The author's account of the origin, growth, development and influence of Islamic culture is both lively and stimulating.

A SEYCHELLES DIARY. By Pat Sharpe. Illustrations by Mr. Munesh Rao. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 3-4.

These islands in the Indian Ocean are as much beauty spots as are the Hawaian islands in the Pacific: and yet we have few authentic guide books to give us an exact account of their attractions. Here, in this book, we have in diary form a very readable and detailed account of life in the Seychelles, and those who plan a short holiday "far from the madding crowd" will find in it all the information they need for a sojourn in the islands.

ON THE ASHES OF HITLER'S REICH: Edited by Mohan Kumaramangalam. People's Publishing House, Bombay. As. 12.

This pamphlet attempts to give a picture of the Anti-Nazi movement both inside and outside Germany, of the movement which will play a key role in building a new and democratic Germany. It includes addresses by Wilhelm Koenen, the German Communist, Victor Schiff, and documents which refute the tissue of lies and insane propaganda of the author of the "Black Record."

TOWARDS FREEDOM. By Narain S. Mehta.

JAPANESE LIBERALISM: Decline and Fall. By N. J. Nanporia. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

We get a brief and eminently readable survey of the landmarks of constitutional development in India and the various units of the British Commonwealth from the first booklet. It attempts to prove the thesis that the constitutional advancement has been one of steady progress towards freedom and responsible Government. The second booklet discusses the ambiguity which attaches to the term "liberalism" in Japanese politics and analyses its worth and significance and comes to the conclusion that "Japanese liberalism has fallen; it has not been rooted out."

VILLAGE INDUSTRIALIZATION. By Sir M. Visveswaraya. The All-India Manufacturers' Organization, Bombay. Re. 1-4.

The brochure, which is a sequel to the author's earlier book "District Industrialization Drive", attempts to provide certain measures for the establishment of two new heavy industries in India, for an intensive effort to develop minor cottage industries in every area, and the economic development of the country by means of a five-year plan. The scheme of the veteran industrialist is mainly intended to provide the necessary data and approach to the problem, to impress upon the people in rural areas the importance of increasing their capacity and to teach them the value of self help and self-sufficiency.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—:o:—

WAR LEADERS. By Sarwat Jahan;
A DIARY OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION. By Men who Rule Japan;
FASCISM: THE JAPANESE BRAND. By Afya Khatun, B.A.;
THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN. By Krishna N. Singh;
THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE IN WAR TIME. By Masinna Rehman, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION, By V. G. Dighe, M.A., PH.D. Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay.

THREE MYSTIC POETS. A study of W. B. Yeats. A. E. and Rabindranath Tagore. By Abinash Chandra Boso, Introduction by Dr. J. H. Cousins, School and College Book Stall, Kolhapur.

PAKISTAN. By Dr. Shaukatullah Ansari. The Minerva Book Shop, Lahore.

FOOD PROBLEM OF MAHARASHTRA. By N. G. Apte, President, Maharashtra Manufacturer's Association, Poona.

COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT. By Beni Prasad. Hind Kitabs, Bombay.

HEFTY THE HATHI. By G. P. Hall. Illustrated by Owen Hall. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Rs. 2.

THUS I LIVE. By V. G. Deshmukh, 99, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay. Rs. 5.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION. Proceedings of XX Meeting held at Aligarh, December, 1943. Manager of Publications, Delhi.

HINDUISM AT A GLANCE. By Swami Nirvedananda. Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan Vidyamandira, Dhakuria, Bengal.

10 SMART STORIES. By G. D. Karkare. The Topical Series. Walker Road, Nagpur.

BROADCASTING. By Seth Drucquer. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 27, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE MAGIC OPAL. By J. A. David. Thacker & Co., Bombay.

ECONOMICS OF NON-VIOLENCE. By V. L. Mehta. Hamara Hindustan Publications, 23/2 Meadow Street, Bombay.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ABOUT RUSSIA. By H. W. Henderson Hamara Hindustan Publications, 23/2, Meadow Street, Bombay.

LIFE BEYOND DEATH. By Mrinal Kanti Ghosh. Published by S. K. Ghosh, Calcutta. Rs. 5.

COMMONWEALTH OF TO-MORROW. By H. Gooty. Indian Periodicals, Ltd. Allahabad.

MAKING THE REVOLUTION. Speeches at the All-Russian Conference of the Russian Democratic Labour Party. (From May 9 to May 12, 1917), Delivered by V. L. Lenin. Saraswaty Library, Calcutta.

TILL DEATH DO US PART. By John Dickson Carr. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 5-4.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 1. Hitler falls at his Command post in Berlin.
—Admiral Doenitz is appointed successor.

May 2. Nazis surrender in Italy.
—Berlin falls.

May 3. Allies enter Rangoon.

May 4. German troops in Holland and Denmark surrender.

May 5. Resistance ends in N.-West Germany.

May 6. Report of Bengal Famine Commission published.
—"Cease fire" in Europe.

May 7. Admiral Doenitz orders unconditional surrender.



ADMIRAL DOENITZ

May 8. Official announcement of victory.
—Premier's tribute to Parliament.

May 9. Surrender terms ratified in Berlin.

May 10. Mr. Eden repeats Cripps' offer.

May 11. Four-power Control Council and Military Governor for Germany appointed.

May 12. Report of Jap peace move through Moscow.

May 13. Mr. Churchill indicts De Valera in his broadcast speech.

May 14. King Leopald of Belgium refuses to abdicate.

May 15. Japan abrogates pact with Germany and Italy.

May 16. Tito announces German capitulation in Yugoslavia.

May 17. De Valera replies to Churchill's attack.
—White Paper on Government's plan for Burma published.

May 18. Censorship in Britain withdrawn.
—Jap peace offer through Soviet channels rejected.

May 19. Stalin defends arrest of Polish leaders on Yalta basis.
—Mr. Stettinius defines U.S. attitude to trusteeship.

May 20. M.P.s appeal to Premier to fulfil pledge to India.

May 21. British Labour Conference at Blackpool rejects Churchill's offer of Coalition Government.

May 22. Labour Party opens Election Campaign.

May 23. Mr. Churchill resigns and forms Interim Government.

May 24. Doenitz Government dissolved and the members made prisoners.
—Himmler commits suicide taking poison.

May 25. "Beveridge Plan" for America placed before Congress.

May 26. Mr. Churchill's Interim Ministers announced

May 27. Mr. Churchill opens Election campaign.

May 28. Mr. Attlee pledges labour support for Indian self-government.

May 29. Damascus bombarded by French troops.

May 30. Lebanese Government rejects French terms.

May 31. Chiang resigns Premiership. Mr. T. V. Soong succeeds.
—British troops intervene to stop fighting in Levant.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS

THE INDIAN ARMY

There is a popular myth abroad that the majority of the Indian army are Muslims. The figures have not been published during the war, but a writer in the *Round Table* points out that,

before 1939 the Muslims constituted about one-third of the army and there is no reason to suppose that the ratio has subsequently altered much. Even excluding the Gurkhas, professional soldiers from independent Nepal, the majority of the Indian army comprises Sikhs, Mahrattas, Rajputs, Gurwalis, Hindu Jats and others of the toughest non-Muslim races of India. The Indian army has fought magnificently during this war, including campaigns against the most military nation of Europe. But there is no danger as well as pride in this achievement; for the assumption of European superiority has vanished. What is likely to be the attitude of these men when they return, as most of them will, to civil life in India? Much will depend on the terms on which they are pensioned, the economic conditions of the agricultural areas from which they mostly come, the ability of the Government to find land for them to settle on. They will retain much of their trained loyalty towards government as such and to the European officers who still hold all the higher commands in the Indian army. But in general we should expect to find them feeling and believing very much like other members of their local group, economic class, or religious community or caste. In one of the bravest exploits of the war the Mahrattas took Keren to the cry of "*Shaivji ki jai*"—"Long live Shivaji", the famous leader of the Mahratta Confederacy and the last great Hindu hero to lead successful armies against both the British and the Mussalmans. Such traditional rallying cries of the different religious communities have indeed been cultivated in the Indian army, and used by British officers themselves on many a heroic occasion; but the very fact that they have been found so potent to the hearts of Indian soldiers is highly significant.

The Indian army, by comparison with the Indian masses, is an educated body. And education is apt to spread nationalism when the influences are present and the time is ripe.

Officers of the Indian army to-day are aware of the growing political consciousness and nationalistic zeal of their men. The vastly increased numbers of Indian officers, drawn from all communities and areas of India, and very largely from the "political classes", are characteristically nationalist, not to say often communalist, in their political outlook. Indian self-government after the peace, which Britain has promised, would be an appropriate reward of Indian valour in the war.

RE-EDUCATING GERMANY

Concern over the implications of the policy of unconditional surrender is finding increasing expression in questions in Parliament. The latest issue of the *Political Quarterly* contains an article by Major Frederick Evans which suggests that the main problem of the victors in the present war is that of re-educating Germany. He pleads for ordered and persistent action instead of righteous indignation. He points out that the German nature or nurture, is more likely to respond to detached discipline than to scolding hysteria. Mr. William Russel, writing from Berlin in 1941, said:

If the United States go into this war, there is one thing I do not want them to forget. There are millions of people in Germany who do not agree with the policies of their leaders. And there are other millions, simple people; who believe exactly what their leaders tell them—especially when they tell them the same thing day after day. I do not want to be blind with hatred and forget that you cannot punish a whole nation as you might punish a single criminal. That was tried once and it failed miserably. When it is over, try to help them recover from what they have suffered. Try to remove the causes for the rise of such people as Adolf Hitler. There should be enough intelligence kicking around in the world to accomplish that.

Major Frederick Evans pursues this train of thought intelligently to its logical conclusions. He wants the Allies to try, without passion, to canalise the tremendous energies of the German people towards their own salvation, towards the healing of their own diseased minds, towards "a re-valuation of the eternal verities which govern good neighbourliness and the ability of peoples to live together in this small world." This task entails on the teachers themselves the obligation of providing an example of dynamic democracy that shall stand as a beacon-light to Germany and all mankind. "Not only must Britain now be the Mother of Parliaments but also the pattern to a suffering world of a real government by the people and for the people."

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

The first number of the *India Quarterly*, the organ of the Indian Council of World Affairs, sets a high standard in Indian journalism. It is a welcome addition to our high-class periodicals dealing with authority on problems of national and international import. The initial number has a striking contribution from the pen of Sir Maurice Gwyer. It is remarkable for its outspokenness. Pleading for a new approach to the Indian constitutional problem, Sir Maurice deplores the growing bitterness between Englishmen and Indians.

> There have been persons in India who for some years past have deliberately sought to traduce the character of my countrymen in every possible way, to hold them up to hatred and contempt, and by the misrepresentation of facts and the imputation of the vilest motives, generally to destroy the possibility of good relations between the two countries. Worst of all there have even been attempts to take advantage for this purpose of the gallant and generous impulses of youth. I say this with profound regret, and indeed with much pain, for such conduct seems to me to be altogether contrary to the Indian tradition. I am far from saying there have not been aspects of British policy open to criticism; but criticism, even violent criticism, so long as it is honest, inflicts no lasting wound. . . . but a malicious and malignant campaign is another matter. , . . . and great masses of ignorant and illiterate persons have been so infected with the venom, that there is scarcely any statement about Great Britain however extravagant, incredible, or unsupported by evidence which will not gain an audience.

THE GIFT OF THE EAST

"I do not doubt that even in India the people will pursue religion far less heartily when their bodies are better fed and industries provide jobs as well as labour aids," says Pearl S. Buck in an article in the *American Mercury*, titled, "East and West."

"Extremes of wealth and poverty are more vast in India, and probably in China, than in the United States or in England", she continues.

> The people of India take their religion hard, as most oppressed peoples do, but China takes religion very lightly indeed, and by and large, the Chinese are a practical and materialistic people, with a shrewdness which often makes them disliked in other Eastern countries.

The theme of Miss Buck's article is the theory that the East is spiritualistic and the West materialistic is false. She writes:

> In the West, money does seem necessary, for what people want. . . . and so money is the first requisite Men spend their lives in making money to buy things. Competition, too, is keen in the West and not very keen in the East.

"It is not that one man is more spiritual than the other, or more materialistic. It is simply that the values of the East and West are different," she points out.

As a result, Miss Buck contends, the East is more materialistic since,

> "to waste one's youth, therefore, in making money would to the man of the East seem the sheerest folly" and consequently the man in the East enjoys his life in the best way and gets the most out of living,—and this is real materialism. "The emphasis on human happiness is, I believe, the greatest gift which the East has to give the West."

"DIVIDING TO RULE"

The *New Statesman and Nation* heartily welcomed the Government of India's plans for expansion of industries. Since then further facts are available and the paper now qualifies its welcome.

Under the caption "Dividing to rule," the *New Statesman and Nation* writes: "It is alright that development should be controlled from the Federal Centre by issue of licence to new concerns. But to introduce communal politics into economic planning is a disastrous new departure. It is proposed that the licensing system should be used to check the undue prominence of a single community. This seems to mean that the artificial ratio of 60 to 40 between Hindus and Muslims commonly favoured when voting power was adjusted, will now be imposed on industry. In other words, Hindu and Muslim firms must, in future expand in steps or not at all. Since the Hindu and Muslim firms must, in future, be one and the Muslims have never taken keenly to industry, this enforcement of parity will come near checking the expansion of industry altogether.

The scheme has, of course, intensified the feud of the two creeds. Was that the purpose of the bureaucrat who drafted it"?

JOINT ELECTORATE

The insistence of the Sapru Committee on the acceptance of joint electorates is, perhaps, one of the most important decisions arrived at after the bitter experience of many years. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose, writing in the *Modern Review* for May, traces the course the electorate question has taken in India.

Separate electorates based on communal considerations, he says, are a creation of British Imperialism which has found it handy to perpetuate British domination in India. Far-sighted Mahomedans, like far-sighted Hindus, had been opposed to separate electorates—even to fixing a number of seats in representative bodies—fixed on communal considerations.

He points out that at the second Bombay Congress (1889), an amendment was moved by a Mahomedan delegate demanding an equal number of Mahomedan members on the Legislative Councils. The amendment was opposed by no less a person than Mr. Hamid Ali Khan who claimed that he represented the Mahomedan community as also the Hindus. He first adduced the argument that such a claim was preposterous and said:

> I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Mussalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards, your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests.

He next referred to a possibility which has, since, become a positive danger:

> Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard —if you say, no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only 5, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians, each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd.

He paid a compliment to the Hindus when he said:

> The educated Hindus have never,—and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans.

And yet the demand for separate electorate has been repeatedly made and always conceded, step by step, at every turn as a sop to Muslim sentiment though the best minds of either communities always felt it to be injurious to the country at large. First the Morley-Minto reforms and later the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme conceded, though fully convinced of its deleterious effects. It was always done in the interest of appeasement and against the best judgment of leaders of either community. It was called "facing hard facts." The special pleading took shape in this wise:

> Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Mahomedans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship.

Thus the case of the Mahomedans was placed on a footing different not only from that of nationalism but also of the other minority communities.

When the time for a fresh move came with the Round Table Conference, the experiment received fresh accession of support. The history of the so-called Communal Award is too recent to require detailed treatment. But it is an "accomplished fact." That in the interest of nationalism and the progress of our nation we want it to be unsettled goes without saying, says Mr. Ghose:

> The time will come when experience will convince all communities in India that our political salvation lies in co-operation. Till then we must have patience and cultivate charity even for the weakness which others may manifest through misconception of the ultimate good, and win them over to the common cause of nationalism by preferring the energy of action to the heat of friction to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves.

INDIAN FOOD PROBLEM

The problem of feeding India's growing population is referred to by Mr. H. S. L. Polak in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Polak says:

"One in five of all mankind resides in India, whose population in the last decade has increased at the rate of that of Canada every two years."

Prof. A. V. Hill's figures, showing an increase of the population at the present rate to over seven hundred millions in the next thirty years, provide, he says, "a staggering problem which will require for its solution the combined effort of all patriotic Indian parties, groups and leaders. All these human stomachs have but one religion or politics, the craving need to be adequately filled. All these bodies require to be properly clothed and housed before India can hold up her head in pride and face her destiny with confidence. Cannot an agreement be reached among the party leaders even now, before the defeat of Japan, upon a National Government whose dual purpose will be (a) that defeat itself and (b) the large-scale planning of that first priority, namely, agricultural improvement and development"?

THE MUSLIM ISSUE

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has portrayed his reactions to the failure of the talks between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah in the annual number of the *Saturday Mail* in an article under the caption "The Muslim Issue." Referring to Mr. Jinnah's rejection of Gandhiji's proposals, Mr. Rajagopalachari observes:

I feel that possibly the League does not truly embody the aspirations of the Muslim majority areas, but represents only the psychology and the aspirations of the minority-Muslim areas, which is a very different thing. The tail is too big for the dog. The League is an all-India organization dominated by Muslim-minority complexes and not motivated by Muslim-majority aspirations. There is a leaning towards weightage proposals, separate electorates and safeguards and similar minority ideas rather than towards any scheme of sovereign status for the majority are a as a separate state. I think the Sapru formula is nearer to the heart of the Muslim League than the Pakistan formula. But that is not admitted.

Mr. Rajagopalachari further says:

The breakdown of the September talks gives time for everyone to think about Pakistan on a more clarified basis. If the Muslims feel they can profit and be happy in a united and federated state, they can have a privileged place in it. If a half-way house is preferred in the shape of a confederation of free units in voluntary combination without prejudice to independent development they can have that also. If they do not want either federation or confederation but separation on a just basis with treaty obligations, they can have that too. No one can agree to partition without ascertaining the wishes of the people concerned or on an unjust basis of delimitation. Meanwhile, we can put the issue aside and have a tentative agreement to run the Government of India on a popular composite basis and save it immediately from autocracy. That is why I welcome the Desai-Liaqat proposals, which, I believe, are substantially the same as the principal alternative for interim Government proposed by the Sapru Committee. Agreement may become easier by intimate contact and undertaking of joint responsibilities.

AN ECONOMIC APPROACH TO INDIAN PROBLEM

Sir William Barton, a former Resident in Mysore and Hyderabad, outlines an economic approach to the Indian problem in the May issue of the Magazine, the *Fortnightly*. There is no doubt," he says, "many people in Britain, who have ultimately to see India adopt Dominion Status, would welcome an interim arrangement that might relieve the existing tension."

Sir William Barton discounts the belief that the Indian masses share the frustration and bitterness that characterizes the political leaders and cites the fact that two and a half million volunteers for the Indian fighting services have come forward from the villages. "Would they have done so", he asks, "If they were burning with resentment at the delay in establishing Indian Home Rule. Most of them do not know what the phrase means."

Sir William suggests that the Central Government "might well pledge itself to a policy of finding decent employment for the majority of educated young Indians." While it is true, he says, that only a National Government could carry it through, Sir William suggests that the existing Government should initiate policy.

INDIAN STATES

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Hyderabad

NAWAB OF CHHATARI'S CALL TO ALLIES

The Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, in a broadcast from the Hyderabad Broadcasting Station, on May 13, warned the Allies against the grave danger that all the sacrifices made for victory in this war would have been in vain if the victorious nations did not crown their victory by restoring justice and fairplay in a harmonious world.

Proceeding, the Nawab of Chhatari said that the secret of the future happiness of the world lay in a correct answer to the question, "Why did such enlightened and educated nations like Germany and Italy adopt such an erroneous course?"

In his opinion, it was mainly attributable to the wrong-headed ideas underlying their philosophy of Government and, therefore, of their education and training, which, despite the brilliance of their learning and their industry, were ultimately responsible for their going on the wrong path.

The Nawab of Chhatari continued: "Heavy, indeed, is our responsibility now as victorious nations. We are called upon to evolve a system based on reason and justice and guaranteeing legitimate freedom both to the individual and to the nations. It is our task to introduce and implement political and economic measures, which may both be practicable and readily acceptable to all nations."

TEXTILE CONTROL IN HYDERABAD

At a Press Conference, Mr. C. A. Rebello, Textile Commissioner, Nizam's Government and British administered areas, said that though a certain degree of cloth and yarn shortage did exist, it was not so bad in Hyderabad as in other parts of the country, because of the arrangements made by the State control authorities to distribute whatever was available as evenly as possible throughout the Dominions in accordance with the normal requirements in former times.

Mysore

THE NEW GOLD DUTY ACT

The Government of Mysore have passed the Mysore Duty on Gold (Amendment) (Emergency) Act, 1945, since they think that circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action to amend the Mysore Duty on Gold Act, 1940.

In the new Act an amending section has been introduced, which states: "If the Government is satisfied that special circumstances exist in respect of a gold works which render it necessary or expedient to grant relief, the Government may, subject to such conditions if any, as it may deem fit to impose, direct the refund to the owner of the gold works of the whole or any part of the duty on gold paid by him.

Another section provides that any order passed or any action taken by the Government under this Act shall be final and shall not be questioned in any court of law.

It might be recalled that recently the Government granted an *ex gratia* payment of Rs. 13,33,000 to Messrs. John Taylor & Co., of the Kolar Gold Mining Co.

MYSORE DETENTION ACT

An Act to empower the Mysore Government to restrict the movements and actions of and to place in detention certain persons has received the assent of the Maharaja. This Act is called the Restriction and Detention Act, 1945, and extends to the whole of the State and comes into force from April 3, 1945. The Act is to be in force during the continuance of the War. No order of detention made under this Act shall be in force for more than six months, unless extended by another order by the Government. Provision is made in the Act for the person affected by this Act to make a representation to competent authority against the order of detention served on him.

Baroda

DEWAN ON FEDERAL GOVT.

Addressing the Baroda State Assembly, Sir B. L. Mitter, the new Dewan, expressed the opinion that the only solution to the constitutional problem of India lay in the establishment of a strong federal government.

It is the only system which achieve uniformity of legislation, policy and administration throughout the country in respect of matter where uniformity is desirable and at the same time makes possible diversity where diversity is desirable by reason of the varying economic and other conditions within individual units.

Referring to the scheme of attachment of small States, Sir Mitter said that the future of Indian States, as important and powerful factors in the future progress of India, can only be assured if the principle of attachment is extended and convenient groups are formed to play an equal part with the provinces in British India.

Explaining the scheme of attachment he said that the scheme contemplated merely the transfer of small units from the jurisdictions of the Political Agents to the administration of some big State. The rulers retain every element of sovereignty which they previously enjoyed.

Referring to the fears of the smaller States, he said:

I am unable to understand why some of the small States still think that their honour and privileges are at stake when they are transferred to the care of States. On the contrary, being themselves in the same position in their relationship with the British Government, the bigger States will be more alive to the necessity of preserving the rights and privileges of the attached units intact.

HARIJANS AND BARODA TEMPLES

A Baroda Government Press Note says: "In consonance with the well-known State's policy of keeping temples open without distinction of caste, the fact that one of the principal State temples of Sri Vithalnathji is also open for every one, including Harijans, has once again been officially confirmed as questions on the score were raised in some newspapers. Baroda State was the first to declare temples open to Harijans a number of years ago and the policy continues unchanged.

Travancore

5-YEAR PLAN FOR EDUCATION

A proposal recommending the introduction in Travancore State of compulsory primary education in five years' duration for children between the ages of five and 10 is made by the Education Reorganization Committee appointed by the Government. This was revealed by Mr. H. C. Papworth, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Travancore University.

In regard to the pre-school age, the Committee has recommended the opening of nursery schools in towns and other industrial centres for children whose mothers go to work. The most important objective to be achieved in the case of children who did not go beyond the primary schools was to fit them for various forms of manual labour and artisan work and the curriculum must be designed to foster the wage-earning capacity of those children as literate manual workers.

After the primary stage opportunities should be given for short and intensive courses of technical training to equip these school boys as wage earners. Regarding the High Schools, the Committee recommended that they must be reorganized in such a way as to lead to direct employment. A proposal recommending a university entrance examination and the establishment of pre-university classes with a minimum course of one year's instruction was also made.

THE DEWAN ON WORLD'S FUTURE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, in his Victory Day address at the Victory Jubilee Hall, Trivandrum, said that it was a mistake to rely on the old doctrines of individual, political, economic and military sovereignty. Much of that sovereignty would have to be delegated to a world authority whose jurisdiction would extend not only to the prevention of wars in the old sense but also to the maintenance of economic justice and fairplay throughout the world, without which any peace would be transitory or illusory.

Kashmir

ADDITIONAL TAXES IN KAHSMIR

It is understood that the Kashmir Government is considering the question of imposing certain additional taxes. These include entertainment tax, excess profits tax and tax on hotels.

The Budget Planning Committee appointed by H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir has issued a questionnaire to all the departments of the State. The Committee, which is entrusted with the task of framing a planned budget for 5 years, will study the possibilities of increasing the revenues and decreasing the expenditure.

KASHMIR BILLS

The State Assembly has passed the Jammu and Kashmir Children Pledging of Labour Bill. The Bill which was moved by Sir B. N. Rau, Prime Minister, aims at the eradication of the social evil of pledging labour of children in consideration of advance money taken by parents.

The Assembly also passed the Employers' Liability Bill moved by the Prime Minister.

Jaipur

JAIPUR STATE *vs.* JAGIRS

A Full Bench of the Jaipur High Court consisting of the Chief Justice, Sir Sarat Kumar Ghosh, Justice Mirza and Mr. Justice Durga Sahal has decided a two-year old legal dispute between the Jaipur State and its feudatory jagirs or Thikanas.

The Full Bench held that the Jaipur High Court has jurisdiction to hear civil and criminal appeals. References and revisions from the courts in the Thikanas courts, like other courts in the State are subject to the supervision and control of the Jaipur High Court.

Hitherto decisions of the Thikana courts have in practice been regarded as final and no appeals have been taken to any outside court. Since the establishment of the Jaipur High Court in 1942, however, certain appeals from Thikana courts were preferred to it, and about a dozen from Sikar have been pending. The Full Bench decision was on these appeals.

Gwalior

REFORMS IN GWALIOR

In keeping with the aspirations of the subjects of Gwalior, His Highness the Maharajah Jeevajirao Scindia of Gwalior has announced, in the recent Proclamation, that the present Legislatures in the State would be prorogued by the end of June, 1945. The revised Electoral Rolls of the two legislative bodies *viz.*, the *Raj Sabha* and *Praja Sabha* will be published shortly. The two *Sabhas*, with an overwhelming elected majority in the Praja Sabha, will get immediate enfranchisement of about 20 per cent. of the adult population of Gwalior.

Cochin

TRAINING IN MARINE FISHERIES

To provide trained personnel for the Fisheries Department of the State, the Government have decided to send a few candidates for the course of intensive theoretical and practical training in Marine Fisheries at Madras and fresh water fisheries of the Zoological Department of the Calcutta University. The selected candidates are expected to finish their courses within six months.

ALLOWANCES FOR SERVICE MEN

The Government have sanctioned an allowance of 10 per cent. of pay to those who work in offices situated within the municipal limits of Trichur and an allowance of 15 per cent. to those working in offices within the municipal limits of Ernakulam, Mattencherry and Wellington Island and whose pay ranges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 230 per mensem.

Bundi

NEW RULER OF BUNDI STATE

The accession ceremony of the new Ruler of Bundi State, H. H. Maharao Raj Shri Bahadur Singhji, took place at Rajmahal Palace on May 14. The occasion was marked by great rejoicings in the State, A banquet was given at the residence of the Dewan, Mr. A. W. Robertson.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

INDIAN DOMICILES

Here are the requirements for Indian domiciles in South Africa set before the Commonwealth Relations Conference by the Indian delegation and announced at a press conference by Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Deputy Leader of the delegation.

(1) The restoration of the franchise of which Indians have been deprived.

(2) The repeal of anti-Asiatic legislation.

(3) No restriction as regards the acquisition of property whether in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State or Natal.

(4) The uplift clauses of the Cape Town Agreement to be fully and effectively carried out.

(5) The existing provincial barriers which prevent Indians from migrating from one province of the Union to another to be removed.

Sir Maharaj Singh made this statement at a meeting specially arranged to bring the delegation and British and Indian press representatives together.

Burma

PROBLEMS OF BURMA INDIANS

Official quarters in Delhi emphasise that the White Paper relates only to the political future of Burma and the British Government are understood to have assured the Government of India that all questions relating to Indians in Burma are entirely unprejudiced by this declaration, and will be matters for separate consideration.

With regard to restoration of lands in Burma to Nattukottai Chettiars, a spokesman said at a Press Conference in Simla that the policy was to buy land from them and there was no question of expropriation.

As regards immigration into Burma, the spokesman said that there must be orderly return to Burma in view of the difficulties including food.

Trinidad

PANDIT KUNZRU IN TRINIDAD

Pandit Kunzru made an extensive tour of the Colony of Trinidad. He was enthusiastically welcomed on his arrival at Port of Spain. He criticised the Colonial Office for failing to appoint an Indian Agent-General and Trade Commissioner for Trinidad.

Pandit Kunzru said, "India, if free, is willing to co-operate with the rest of the world in the promotion of human happiness but resents compulsion to carry out the decisions of bodies in which she is not in the same position as other countries".

East Africa

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by Mr. A. K. Kanji, at Purohit's Hotel, Bombay, Hon. Mr. A. B. Patel, Executive Councillor of the Government of Kenya (East Africa), said that he did not know what would be the condition of East Africa in view of the present exploiting tendency of the Europeans. Mr. Patel feared that racial discrimination would spread in East Africa too.

Mr. A. K. Kanji said that the mercantile community in India looked upon East Africa as an Indian colony, as it had been developed by Indians.

Dutch Guiana

INDIANS IN DUTCH GUIANA

Mr. H. C. Patel representing a film distributing concern who arrived in London *en route* to India from a two years' tour of Trinidad, British and Dutch Guiana and the United States told United Press: "Nearly 90 per cent. of Indians residing in those colonial territories were pro-Congress." He revealed that Indian nationalist sentiments were, however, meeting opposition from the Dutch authorities in Guiana who were trying to prevent entry of Indian films most popular in those countries.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS ✝ DEPARTMENTAL ✝ NOTES

Questions of Importance

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M. P.s'. APPEAL TO PREMIER

A number of M. Ps. have addressed an pen letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill nd the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery. hey say:

We cannot ignore the fact that the Government f India has been defeated 14 times successively n the Central Legislative Assembly on such vital natters as the budget. It is a sure indication hat the present regime in India has lost the onfidence of representative Indian opinion.

All the United Nations are meeting at San rancisco with a view to organizing a stable ystem of world peace and security. India is one f the awkward issues in these discussions and vithout a satisfactory solution of the Indian roblem, British moral influence is unlikely to rove effective in a new security organization.

We realize that Great Britain is committed to ive India full independence after the war. Most f us feel that the British Government has failed o take effective steps to implement this pledge.

There is a growing feeling abroad that since he Cripps mission failed in 1942, His Majesty's Government has forgotten its pledge and reverted o the old policy of 'divide and rule'.

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We, therefore, plead for a re-orientation of our Indian policy. We appeal to His Majesty's Government to declare that it is for Indians as free people to solve their own problems through their own freely elected institutions. The longer Britain withholds this fundamental right from the Indian people, the more complex and difficult the communal issue is likely to become.

As a first step to a solution and in keeping with British declarations on India's right to choose her own form of Government we would urge His Majesty's Government to accept the following immediate programme of action: the immediate release of Congress leaders still in prison; fresh elections to the Central and Provincial Parliaments to be followed by the formation of a responsible National Government of all parties in which all Cabinet posts save the portfolio for defence will be held by Indian party leaders.

We believe this to be the minimum that Britain can offer while the war against Japan is still to be won.

LABOUR SCHEME FOR INDIA

After relinquishing his office as Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord Listowel, in a recent interview stated that the Labour Executive has authorised him, in conjunction with Sir Stafford Cripps and Prof. Harold Laski to immediately draw up a pamphlet on India to be published before the elections. It will contain Labour's policy on India as summarized below:

(1) After assuming office, if Labour wins a majority, complete power will be transferred to an Indian Cabinet at the Centre, consisting of representatives of political parties;

(2) The Cabinet will be responsible to the Legislature and the Viceroy will be asked to give an undertaking that the power of veto vested in him will not be used;

(3) The Provincial Legislatures will commence functioning and rule under Section 93 in the Provinces where it now exists, will be withdrawn forthwith;

(4) The Commander-in-Chief of India will concern himself only with operations against Japan and all portfolios, including foreign affairs, will be in Indian hands; and

(5) At the Peace Conference Indian representatives will participate as India's delegates, and not those picked up by Britain.

MR. PRIESTLEY ON INDIA

"I am in favour of an Independent India, with a constitution framed by Indians for Indians," said Mr. Priestley to *Reuter's* special correspondent.

The time must come very soon when India must be left to govern herself in the best way she can. If she makes a mess of Self-Government, it is her own problem, not anyone else's.

It is equally quite clear that India cannot be left to drift into complete weakness and anarchy, while this difficult problem is being worked out. Nothing could be more dangerous to world security than the existence of such a teeming continent in such a condition. There must be international safeguards that this will not be so.

Utterances of the Day

MR. CHURCHILL'S ATTACK AND DE VALERA'S REPLY

In his broadcast to the nation on May 13, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, after reviewing the early setbacks in the war, made a direct attack on Eire's Prime Minister, Mr. Eamon De Valera for refusing to lend Britain naval and air bases from which to defeat the German attacks on convoys crossing the Atlantic.

This was, indeed, a deadly moment in our life. If it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland, we should have had to come to close quarters with De Valera or perish for ever from the earth. However, with a restraint and poise to which I venture to say, history will find few parallels, we never laid violent hand upon them, which, at times, would have been quite easy and left the De Valera Government to frolic with German and later with Japanese representatives to their hearts' content.

In reply, the Eire Radio broadcast the following speech by Mr. De Valera:

Mr. Churchill makes it clear that, in certain circumstances, he would have violated our neutrality, and that he could justify his action by Britain's necessity. It seems strange to me that Mr. Churchill does not see that this, if accepted, would mean that Britain's necessity would become the whole moral code and that, when this necessity was involved, other people's rights were not to count.

It is quite true that the other Great Powers believed in this same code. . . . That is precisely why we have a disastrous succession of wars—World War I, World War II, and there shall be a World War III.

Referring to Mr. Churchill's pride in Britain's lone and brave stand after France's fall, he asks:

Would he not find in his heart a generosity to acknowledge that there is a small nation that stood alone not for one year or two, but for several hundred years against aggression that endured spoliations, famine, massacres in endless succession, that was clubbed many times into insensibility but that each time, on returning to consciousness took up the fight anew? Nay, a small nation that could never be got to accept defeat and never surrendered her soul.

It is held that De Valera's retort that Britain's necessity cannot be the whole moral code is as crushing as it is dignified.

MRS. PANDIT ON DUTY OF THE POWERS

Referring to the end of the European war, Mrs. Pandit declared at San Francisco:

The only proper celebration for the Allied victory will be for the statesmen of the world assembled here to labour honestly for enduring peace. This peace will only come if the principles of international justice are affirmed and implemented by granting complete freedom to people throughout the world. The clear lesson of this global war is that the world cannot continue half free and half slave. Naturally I cannot help but think of India which will remain an eternal question mark, confronting not only Great Britain but the entire western world.

India will be the test as to the *bona fides* of their desire for peace and honour among nations. Indian soldiers have done their share for winning this war—fighting and dying on battlefields to crush the forces of Fascism.

Let us hope that they have not died in vain in their fight for democracy and that India will soon take her rightful place among the free and sovereign democratic nations of this world.

In a subsequent statement, Mrs. Pandit pointed out:

Had India been free, she would have made a much greater and more effective contribution to the United Nations' war effort. . . . . Were India free to-day, she could and would do much to help shorten the war. Without India's freedom there can be no assurance of lasting peace in Asia. . . . . India is the pivot of the whole system of imperialism and colonialism, which always breed war.

C-IN-C'S TRIBUTE TO INDIA'S ARMED FORCES

"To the armed forces of the India Command, the surrender of Germany means the end of a struggle in which India has been incessantly engaged for five years. . . . . I share your pride and happiness in this glorious victory, one of the most tremendous in the whole history of the war," declared the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, in his victory broadcast. He continued:

The story of her efforts in men, money and material have been told before and I will do no more now than remind you that it is a story of magnificent achievement in the face of great difficulties.

As head of the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force, I am intensely proud of the part you have played.

Political

MR. ATTLEE'S PLEDGE

A pledge of the Labour Party's faith in Self-Government for India was given by Mr. Clement Attlee, Leader of the Labour Party, who will be the British Prime Minister, if the Party wins the general election on July 5.

Mr. Attlee declared that Labour had always advocated Self-Government for India, adding however:

Self-Government for a sub-continent of 400 million people, differing in language, religion and degree of civilization, is no easy matter.

"We cannot give India a constitution", said Mr. Attlee,

but we will assist India to work out her own constitution. I think the Cripps Offer remains the most practical method for Indians to decide their own destiny, but the Labour Party is open to consider any other proposals.

MR. BEVIN ON LABOUR POLICY TO INDIA

Mr. Earnest Bevin, the virtual dictator of Britain's Labour Party, has promised real transfer of power to India. He has expressed the hope of the Congress taking office and has pledged support to the Indian demand. In a special interview, he said:

I don't believe in paper constitutions and elaborate drafts. With or without such drafts, Labour will begin transfer of power to interim Government in India and give goodwill and understanding on both sides. The British Labour and Indian people can march together to our common destiny.

Mr. Bevin expressed the hope that he wished to see the Indian National Congress emerge from a period of agitation to the task of responsibility and Government. He explained the term "Agitators", he used during his Blakpool speech and said, "When I said India contained very fine agitators I did not use the word "Agitators" in any derogatory sense.

I myself have been an agitator all my life along with Labour and Trade Union leaders. Labour in British is everything from a period of agitation to take responsibility and form a Government. That is what I would sincerely like the Indian Congress leaders to do.

PROF. LASKI ON CRIPPS' OFFER

Professor Harold Laski, the great British Economist, told a Labour meeting in Blackpool on May 23, that "the people of India will get their freedom by co-operation or by revolution". He denounced Prime Minister Churchill's attitude towards the Indian problem and suggested that it was creating some suspicion which was reported to be felt by Russia towards Britain.

Another point, he criticized, was Britain's move towards India at the time of Sir Stafford Cripps' visit.

I do not think the Cripps Offer was good enough, either in substance or the manner in which it was presented," he said, adding that Sir S. Cripps had made a mistake in saying that he was going to be in India only 12 days and adopting the attitude that the Indians could "take it or leave it".

Prof. Laski was loudly cheered when he said: "We have got to take India out of the slums into an independent community entitled to choose of their own volition, whether they wish to be a part of the British Empire or go their own way". He demanded that action be taken immediately to give India independence."

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S SUGGESTIONS TO END DEADLOCK

These suggestions for a settlement of the Indian political deadlock are contained in a letter from Bertrand Russell to Mr. A. K. Mukerji, Secretary of the Radical Democratic Party in India.

Bertrand Russell says:

The only message I could send to India is firstly that political prisoners should be released after giving an undertaking not to impede the war effort and that they should be given every facility for discussion with a view to framing a constitution. Secondly, that the British Government should at once give an undertaking to evacuate India at a stated time (say, one year) after the end of the Japanese war. Thirdly, that if at the expiry of that period a constitution has not been agreed upon, an Allied Commission should be invited to confer with Indian leaders and British officials to find the basis of a constitution acceptable as far as possible to all parties in India.

Educational

POST-WAR EDUCATION IN INDIA

"If I were to tell you in a word what I feel will be the guiding directive of post-war education in our country, I shall say it will be the democratisation of education. In the present war, democracy is fighting for its life and a successful issue of the conflict to have any significance at all must mean the triumphant self-assertion of the highest that is in democracy," said Dr. Zakir Hussein of the Jamia Millia, Delhi, speaking on "Post-war education in India.

Continuing, Dr. Zakir Hussein said that principles of justice and independence could be established and plans for post-war reconstruction could be placed on a realistic basis only if we assumed that the old order has passed away and that the domination and economic exploitation of one people by another must come to an end. The survival of democracy demanded the spread of democracy, and the spread of it demanded the end of Imperialism, added Dr. Hussein. The real democratisation of education should, therefore, be our chief concern.

BASIC EDUCATION SCHEME IN BIHAR

The Basic Educational scheme in Bihar carried out by the Provincial Government has been greatly appreciated by Mahatma Gandhi and the members of the Basic Education Conference which met at Wardha recently according to Acharya Badrinath Verma, who attended the Conference. He revealed that the Conference was of opinion that the Bihar Government was the only Provincial Government which had been working the scheme in strict compliance of the syllabus laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

DR. EDDY ASIRVATHAM

Dr. Eddy Asirvatham, Head of the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, has been appointed as a Visiting Professor in the Boston University, America.

THE STUDY OF ENGLISH

A plea for a more reverent study of the English language in our schools was made by the President, Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, in his address to the Provincial Educational Conference at Calicut. He said:

To the study of English we have not given at least in recent years, the same significance that we should give to a language of great international importance. English is a language of rich tradition: and it has developed with the development of civilization and science. Accordingly, it possesses a great and noble literature whose history extends over a thousand years of Western progress. The English language enjoys the rare distinction of being not only the language of the Empire but of America also; and it is known and spoken practically in every civilized country of the world. The master-minds of the world have expressed their thoughts largely in English; and few can on this account afford to ignore a language which is now synonymous with world progress.

It will be a practical impossibility to translate all the great English books, whether of literature or science, into Tamil, Telugu or other Indian languages, even if our languages were developed into perfection as media of modern thought. What is more, we in this country, who are anxious to get into line with the rest of the world and vie with it in intellectual and material progress, have great need to widen our thoughts and develop an international outlook and secure international understanding. For this purpose can we have a more efficient and useful instrument of advancement than that afforded by the English language?

Yet, our present standards of teaching English are deplorably low, and it is even said that business and administrative efficiency has suffered by the lowering of the standard of English in the schools and colleges of this country. The study of English should be considered not as inconsistent with the love of the land; the more one loves this land, the more we should pay heed to the study of that only language by which the attention of the world may be focussed upon us.

Earlier in his speech, Dr. Naidu made a plea for liberal education, the arts and the humanities, while in no way depreciating the ardour for technical studies.

Legal

CHIMUR PRISONERS' PETITION

Rejecting the *Habeas Corpus* petition filed on behalf of the seven condemned prisoners in the Chimur and Ashti cases and rejecting the Defence application challenging the validity of Justice Pollock's opinion, Justice Sir M. B. Niyogi and Justice C. R. Hemeon, in the course of their judgment, say: "We are clearly of the opinion that we cannot go behind Justice Pollock's opinion but that we are bound to give effect to it as it stands."

Their Lordships, after referring to the Defence arguments, said that the rules framed by the High Court proved that the applications under Section 491, Criminal Procedure Code, "shall be heard by a Bench of two Judges. In case of difference of opinion, these cases had in the past been laid before a third Judge under Clause 26 of Letters Patent and that had now become a practice of this Court. Consequently, the Defence Counsel's contention must be rejected."

Proceeding, Their Lordships observed: "It is urged that Justice Pollock was disqualified from hearing the case as he had been the reviewing officer and that he had issued death warrants against two of the applicants. The Chief Justice, after considering both these pleas, held that as the point was purely one of law and interpretation, Justice Pollock was in no way unfitted to hear the case. The applicants are not entitled to re-open the controversy before us as we have no power to set aside the nomination of Justice Pollock by the Chief Justice and ask him to nominate another Judge."

Continuing, Their Lordships observed: "The main grievance of the applicants appears to be as indicated in this application, that Justice Pollock did not afford them an opportunity of being heard. Even if the omission to hear the applicants constituted a material irregularity, it could be rectified only by a superior appellate or revisional authority."

I.C.S. OFFICER'S DISMISSAL

The Federal Court, by a majority, held recently that the dismissal of Mr. I. M. Lal from the I.C.S. was wrongful.

The Chief Justice (Sir Patrick Spens) and Justice Sir Zafrullah, rejecting the Secretary of State's appeal against the judgment of the Lahore High Court, observed:

"In our judgment, Mr. Lal was dismissed without having been afforded reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed."

Justice Sir S. Varadachariar, in his dissenting judgment, stated: "I think the circumstances of the case do not individually or collectively warrant the conclusion that the plaintiff has not had a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the charges even during the time of Mr. Brayne's inquiry." The Federal Court refused to accord to the Crown leave to appeal to the Privy Council.

CONGRESS FUNDS TO BE FORFEITED

The Government of Bombay, it is understood, have decided to forfeit a sum of Rs. 72,800 belonging to the All-India Congress Committee, which has been deposited with their bankers, Messrs. Bachhraj & Co., Bombay. The decision follows the dismissal by the Chief Judge of Small Causes Court, Bombay, of a petition by the bankers, contesting the Government order expressing their intention to forfeit the amount.

NAGPUR TIMES' APPEAL

A full bench of the Nagpur High Court consisting of Chief Justice, Sir Frederick Grille, Justice Sir M. B. Niyogi and Mr. Justice Vivian Bose admitted recently the appeal of the *Nagpur Times* against the orders of the C.P. Government forfeiting the security of Rs. 1,770 in November last and demanding a fresh security of Rs. 3,750 later on.

Insurance

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The Government of India have prepared, and forwarded to Provincial Governments a unified scheme of social security for industrial workers in India covering health insurance, maternity benefit and employment injury.

On receipt of replies from the Provincial Governments, the question of introducing a Bill in the Central Assembly to carry out the scheme will be considered.

The scheme is the outcome of the report prepared by Prof. Adarkar on health insurance for industrial workers. His proposal provided for progress by a series of steps. It is now proposed, on the advice of Messrs. Stack and Rao of the International Labour Office, who came to India at the invitation of the Central Government, to tackle several steps at once.

The proposed scheme, therefore, covers all perennial factories. Both maternity benefit and workmen's compensation, being intergral parts of any scheme of insurance, it may remove some of the defects that have crept into the present working of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and of the Maternity Benefit Act.

Prof. Adarkar proposed that the insurance fund should set up its own medical service. According to the revised scheme, however, the Provincial Medical Services will be utilized for the purposes of the Health Insurance Scheme. This change is intended to secure that the Provincial Ministries of Health remain ultimately responsible for all health services operated within their jurisdiction, and that Provincial Governments will have a very close interest in the working of the scheme.

The Central Government will meet two-thirds of the cost of administration as an *ex gratia* payment for the first five years. The Provincial Governments are being asked to meet one-third of the cost of medical care of standard quality, by the provision of medical services, and the remainder of the cost will be met from employers' and workers' contributions.

INSURANCE AGAINST ALL SICKNESS

The National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service in the United States called together some 300 doctors and representatives of insurance and pharmaceutical companies and of industrial concerns which have instituted voluntary insurance programmes (mostly underwritten by private insurance companies) covering life, sickness, surgical and hospital protection for their employees.

The Committee's survey of more than 1,000 business concerns showed 94 per cent. of the executives who replied, thought the coverage had bettered relations with their employees. That was a frame of mind which the conferees, especially the insurance companies and doctors, sought to preserve and extend to other employers.

Faced with Congressional consideration of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill for a vast Federalized health programme, they sought to re-emphasize alternatives available to private enterprise, including commercial insurance and policies provided by non-profit groups under local control.

WAR RISK INSURANCE RATES

A sharp reduction in war risk insurance rates for cargoes was announced by the Institute of London Underwriters recently. Rates for the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland to or from ports in the East—east of Aden—but not east of India, including Ceylon, were reduced to one per cent. as against two previously.

India to or from the Red Sea and the Mediterranean becomes ½ for the west coast ports of India and three-quarters for the east coast, against two per cent. previously.

TWO MILLION KILLED IN WAR IN 1944

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York estimates that during the year 1944, two million men of all nations were killed in "war action."

Trade and Finance

INDIA'S STERLING ASSETS

India is making representations to Britain for a part of her sterling balances—which amount to over 1,000 millions—to be honoured in dollars, said Mr. A. D. Shroff, Indian Financial Expert and Member of the Industrialists Delegation in London.

The reason for the request was that India might want to make direct purchases from America or might need goods which could be better supplied by the United States than by Britain.

India was also asking for a portion of her sterling balances to be released in the form of hard currency for necessary purchases in such countries as Sweden or Switzerland which were outside the sterling *bloc*.

Mr. G. D. Birla said that he understood that there would be no hostility to releasing India's credit balances by way of dollars but any conversion would, in his opinion, be done by stages.

Sir Sultan Chinoy said that despite her creditor status, India was still a miserably poor country.

AMERICAN EXPORTS TO INDIA

The Foreign Economic Administrator (U.S.A.) has disclosed that American exports of non-military commodities to India have increased by nearly ten times the pre-war total, during the past three years. It was simultaneously disclosed that Great Britain's shipments to India have been cut in half mainly because of the urgent need of products for the prosecution of the war against Japan.

The Foreign Economic Administration spokesman predicted that the major share of the heavy equipment which India needs for her industrialization will come from the United States after the war. The spokesman listed the following goods which would be in demand, namely, machinery plant, equipment, all types of agricultural implements, transportation stock and much consumer goods which India does not produce at the present time.

INDIAN SHIPPING COMPANY

An Indian shipping company, owned and managed by Indians, is to be established in London, and it is understood that the Board of Trade has granted permission for its registration.

The new company will be named the Indian Union Steamship Company, Limited, with a capital of 100,000 sterling (about Rs. 13 lakhs). The minimum bloc of shares has been fixed at 2,000 sterling (about Rs. 26,000).

One of the Directors will be an Englishman, but the capital will be wholly Indian.

The object of the new company will be to trade along the Indian coast as well as on deep sea routes. The company proposes to acquire tankers for private hire.

Mr. N. Ghose, Governing Director of the Indian National Travels, Limited, of London, is mainly responsible for the new company.

INDIAN SUPPLY MISSION IN U.S.

The Government of India have decided that permanent officials of the Government of India should be appointed to all missions and organizations accredited to the United States. This decision has been arrived at in view of the stage which the work of the Indian Supply Mission has now reached and in view of the additional powers recently vested in the Agent-General of general supervision over the activities of these missions and organizations.

Mr. K. C. Mahindra, a businessman who was till recently head of the Mission, has therefore relinquished his charge and the Government of India have decided to appoint Mr. J. Vesugar of the Indian Service of Engineers as head of the India Supply Mission in U.S.A. in succession to Mr. Mahindra. Mr. Vesugar was till recently Chief Engineer in the Punjab.

Women's Page

INDIA'S PLACE IN WORLD ALLIANCE OF WOMEN

Asking for a clarification of India's status in the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, Wembly, Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, President, A-I Women's Conference, has sent the following resolution to Mrs. Corbett Ashby for the consideration of the Alliance:

"The A-I Women's Conference expresses its relief at the end of the European war and hopes that this will lead to an early peace. It would, however, point out that a termination of the war will not necessarily usher in peace unless it leads to the liberation of all enslaved countries, including India. A real and lasting peace can only be based on freedom, equality and justice for all. Therefore the question of colonies cannot be the private concern of the ruling countries nor can India be the domestic concern of the British Government, and, in fact, it is the crucial international test of the sincerity of the professed war aims of the United Nations, namely, the liberation of the peoples of the world.

"The time has come for the women of all lands, standing as they do for peace and freedom, to see that these principles are put into immediate action and in particular the women of England, America and the Soviet Union have special responsibility in seeking the fulfilment of these principles."

MRS. PILLAI

The first lady officer to be appointed in the Food Department, says a New Delhi United Press message, will be Mrs. Pillai, widow of Mr. T. S. Pillai, lately Chief Controller in the Purchases and Supply Department. Mrs. Pillai was recently appointed in the Women's Section of the Information and Broadcasting Department but is now being transferred to the Nutrition Section of the Food Department as Under-Secretary.

NEED FOR WOMEN'S UPLIFT

The urgent necessity for undertaking women-uplift work throughout the country was emphasized by a number of speakers, including Mrs. V. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Lady Rama Rao, Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Mrs. Kulsuri Sayani, at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Surat branch of the A-IWC last month.

Mrs. Kamala Devi deplored the downtrodden condition in which Indian women lived and said that poverty and slavery of the Indian nation was the root cause of the evil. Women in villages were worse off than their sisters in the cities, as the former lacked even the elementary social amenities. In most of the villages, there was not even a medical dispensary. Thousands died in helpless state.

Emphasizing the need for large-scale uplift work, Mrs. Kamala Devi said that the A-IWC was doing useful work but the work done was nothing before the vastness of the problem on hand.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta explained that the A-IWC was a non-political organization where women of all castes and creed met on an equal plane. She felt that a large number of women of various faiths and creeds devoted to the same cause could effectively discuss the problems affecting their sex and bring about improvement in the present conditions. She appealed for co-operation between women all over the country.

Lady Rama Rao appealed to women to co-operate in eradicating the evils in the traditional laws and customs governing the women of this country thus improving the society as a whole and the lot of women in particular.

WOMEN CENSUS IN INDIA

The War Secretary said in the Central Assembly that there were 1,090 women censors in India, of whom 613 were Europeans, 278 Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 119 Indians. The total outlay on Censors Offices was Rs. 36,22,800 per annum.

LORD WAVELL ON TENNYSON'S POETRY

Lord and Lady Wavell were the guests of honour at the English Poetry Society of which the Viceroy has been made President. Also present at the function was Mr. Alfred Tennyson, the descendant of the Poet Laureate of whom Lord Wavell has spoken critically in his anthology.

Challenged by Mr. Tennyson, the Viceroy said, he only expressed a personal opinion of Lord Tennyson's poetry to his book, but most historians agree with him that the Poet Laureate was not too accurate in his historical poems. So unimpressed was he by the merits of Lord Tennyson's poetry that Lord Wavell can remember few lines of his works.

GANDHIJI'S TRIBUTE TO TAGORE

"Tagore is not only unquestionably the Poet of India or of Asia, but of the whole world," said Mahatma Gandhi at prayer time in Mahableshwar, on the occasion of the 85th birthday celebration of Poet Tagore. Tagore's last song composed shortly before his death was sung by some girls.

Continuing, Gandhiji said: "It has become the custom among us to pay homage to the memory of the great death anniversary but by observing their birthday. The simple reason, perhaps, is that they never die with the dissolution of their bodies. Their memory becomes immortal in their works. Rama and Krishna were Avatars. We celebrate their birthdays. Similarly, though Gurudev is no longer in flesh among us, he will continue to live through his immortal poetry. The memory of the Poet will grow richer as years roll by."

ENGLISH DAILY IN BEZWADA

Mr. M. Thirumala Rao, Member of the Council of State, has been given permission by the Government of India to publish an English daily newspaper from Bezwada.

DIPLOMA IN JOURNALISM

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University has approved a scheme for starting a Diploma course in Journalism.

GANDHIJI'S CONDOLENCE TO MRS. ROOSEVELT

The text of Mahatma Gandhi's message of condolence to Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt's reply through Mr. Howard Donovan, the American Consul at Bombay, is published.

Gandhiji in his message says:

My humble condolence and congratulations, latter because your illustrious husband died in harness and after the war had reached the point where an Allied Victory had become certain. He was spared the humiliating spectacle of being a party to the peace which threatens to be a prelude to a war bloodier still,

The American Consul, in his communication conveying Mrs. Roosevelt's reply, says:

I have been asked by the Secretary of State at Washington to convey to you the deep appreciation of Mrs. Roosevelt for your message of condolence and also to express her fervent hope that your fears with regard to the type of peace will prove unfounded.

HEINRICH HIMMLER

Reichsfuehrer of S. S. Heinrich Himmler, Chief of the German Police and Reich's Minister of Interior, was arrested by troops of the British Second Army at Bremervoerde on May 21 and taken into field security custody on May 22. When medical officers attempted to examine the prisoner's mouth, he made a quick movement of his head and bit open a small glass phial containing cyanide of potassium, which was concealed in his mouth. He died in 15 minutes at 11-04 p.m. on May 23.

MENON RE-ADMITTED TO LABOUR PARTY

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Secretary of India League, has been re-admitted to Labour Party. Mr. Menon resigned in 1940 following his differences with the executive of the party on Indian question.

HITLER'S DEATH

It is reported that Hitler died in a bunker under the Berlin Chancellery on May 1 from a lethal injection administered by his personal physician and his body was afterwards burned.

Medical

DEVELOPMENT OF AYURVEDA

The need for the practitioners of Ayurveda shaking off their inferiority complex and working for the advancement of their system in a spirit of hope and courage, was emphasized by Dr. Manikumar Mukherjee, President, All-India Ayurveda Mahamandal, addressing a meeting at the Venkataramana Dispensary and Ayurvedic College, Mylapore.

After pointing out that the principles and theories of Ayurveda were perfect and that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country were served by indigenous systems of medicine, Dr. Mukherjee described how several Ayurvedic prescriptions had been called unscientific by experts in allopathy and yet absorbed by them into their system. It had no quarrel with allopathy. He appealed to the students of the institution to learn Sanskrit and dive deep into their Sastras so that they might be able to deliver the goods of Ayurveda. He had no doubt that the day was coming when Ayurveda would no longer be dominated by other systems. He hoped that the institution would give a lead to the province in scientific and genuine Ayurveda and that if funds were available, they would open hospitals in which the possibilities of Ayurveda could be shown.

CHOLERA VACCINE

An important new medical discovery—a direct cholera vaccine, which provides immunity with one dose instead of the normal three—will very soon get its first conclusive practical test in areas of India recently affected by famine.

Edgar Rhoads, President of the newly-formed American Relief for India, Incorporated, announced that his organization is rushing out supplies of the new medicine to American Quaker relief workers in Bengal, where a cholera epidemic is reported to be claiming 100 lives weekly.

Six team capable of inoculating thousands of persons daily will dispense the vaccine, which is expected to prove superior in strength as well as in other qualities to other methods.

Health

NEED FOR HEALTH TECHNICIANS

The need for a large number of health technicians, who could disseminate knowledge of health to the ignorant public in the country, was emphasized by Dr. J. B. Grant, Director, All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, who reviewed the last five years' activities of the Institute at a Press Conference in Calcutta.

Attributing the poor state of public health in India to the general economic condition in the country, Dr. Grant pointed out that India spent less than five annas per capita per annum on health education, as against Rs. 54 spent for the same purpose in the United Kingdom.

Stating that of all its war activities the most important was the collection of blood, the report of the Institute points out that during 1943-44 blood was collected from 36,328 donors and processed into 1,866 litres of liquid and 1,435 litres of dried serum.

The responsibility for training several categories of military personnel in anti-malarial work and arrangements for supplying foodstuffs were some of the Institute's other emergent activities.

NUTRITIVE VALUE OF TAPIOCA

The Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, have been studying the nutritive value of Tapioca (*maravali* or *shakarkanda*), which forms a large part of diet among the poorer classes in South-West India. Feeding trials with experimental animals have shown that a diet largely composed of Tapioca fails to support their growth unless it is supplemented with food containing proteins, which supply building material for the body and make good the loss of tissue arising from the inevitable result of living and working. It is also a source of energy. Animal foods, *e.g.*, milk, eggs, fish, meat, etc, and common Indian pulses, *e.g.*, Bengalgram (chana), Urd, Mung, etc., are richest in protein.

Currency and Banking

DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING

The Madras Branch of the Indo-Mercantile Bank, Ltd., (Incorporated in Cochin State), was opened on May 21 by the Hon. M. C. T. M. Chidambaram Chettiar at No. 121, Armenian Street.

Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan, Manager of the Bank, welcomed the guests and conveyed the thanks of the Management of the Bank to Mr. Chidambaram Chettiar and Dr. Alagappa Chettiar for their support in the opening of the Branch.

Mr. Chidambaram Chettiar welcomed the opening of one more Bank in the city and said that the future of Banking in India was bound to be great, having regard to the prospects of industrial development before the country. There was great need for sound and well-conducted banking concerns and they could play a great part in building the economic prosperity of India. While Madras welcomed many outside banking and commercial concerns, it was somewhat strange that Madras concerns were not equally welcomed in other parts of India, particularly in the North.

Dr. Alagappa Chettiar, the new President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Yarn Merchants' Association, expressed the hope that the new concern would extend its activities in course of time throughout Madras Province and States as well as other Provinces and States. The future of Madras enterprises lay with the people of Madras. They could demand and have the welcome which was their due; if only leading bankers and industrialists of the Province would make a united effort and see to it that Madras and the neighbouring States pulled together in a common effort, they would have their place amongst the leading banks of India. As in politics, so in commerce and industry, they could never get their due unless they demanded it and proved their own worthiness for it.

Mr. A. N. Padmanabha Shenoy, Deputy Chairman, proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers and other guests.

Railways

PURCHASE PRICE OF RAILWAYS

The War Transport Member, Sir Edward Benthall, replying to Mr. Manu Subedar, made a statement explaining how the purchase price of three of eight railways acquired by Government after the outbreak of the war worked out in terms of £100 of ordinary stock, after excluding amounts required for the discharge of preference shares and debentures. The figures were—

Bengal-Dooras Railway £226; Bengal and North-Western Railway £251; and Rohilkhand-Kumaon Railway £330.

The remaining five railways, namely, Assam-Bengal, B.B. & C.I., South Indian, M & S. M. and Bengal-Nagpur Railways were already owned by Government and the companies were only holding companies, with certain limited capital, which had to be repaid at par on the termination of the working contracts.

The Assam-Bengal and B.B. & C.I. Railways were purchased on these terms and the companies were only paid their share capital of £1½ million and £2 million respectively. As the contracts for South Indian, M. & S.M. and Bengal-Nagpur Railways were terminated prematurely, the companies had to be compensated for the loss of profits.

RAILWAY PROJECT IN SOUTH INDIA

A consolidated metre-gauge system in South India to be linked up with the proposed Northern metre gauge system to be constructed from Manmad to the South is one of the post-war projects under consideration of the railway authorities.

Mr. J. F. C. Reynolds, General Manager, South Indian Railway, said at a press conference that his railway had suggested that it might be worth while to investigate the possibility of converting to metre gauge an appreciable quantity of broad gauge lines in South India, in order to reduce the number of the existing transhipping stations and bring into being a consolidated metre gauge system.

Art and Drama

ART TREASURE

Some 800 paintings from various Dutch galleries have come through the war unscathed in an underground sandstone quarry near Maastricht, according to the *Times* special correspondent with the American forces in Holland.

This repository is an air-conditioned chamber protected by electrically-operated steel doors. It contains some half a dozen Rembrandts, including "The Night Watch" and other old masters are also represented in the collection.

Most of the paintings are hung upon swinging frames which allow easy inspection but "The Night Watch," too large to hang in an underground chamber, is wrapped round a wooden roller.

Apart from works of old and modern masters, there are valuable Dutch and Flemish primitives. There is also a large collection of drawings and tapestries.

GOERING'S STOLEN ART TREASURES

The United States Seventh Army authorities have discovered—over the fat-fisted Field-Marshal's own signature—sufficient evidence to convict Herman Goering as one of the biggest thieves the world has ever known.

Here in this gaudy grey-stone castle the investigators found a sheaf of correspondence between Goering and his underling, Alfred Rosenberg, explaining in minute detail just how to go about looting the museums of Europe.

A small fraction of the booty here includes paintings, statues and silver jewels worth millions of dollars. The booty is now under guard by the 10th Armoured Division while officers begin the long task of identifyieg each object and returning it to its owner.

Many of the articles came from the Rothschild collection. Others came from Kiev and Belgium. A number of oils are Rembrandts, Reynolds, Vandycks, Bonheurs, Murillos, Rousseaus and Gainsboroughs.

Sport

"SPORT: GOD'S BEST WORK"

Vatican radio broadcast an address to sports associations by the Pope in which he emphasized that the church was "profoundly keen on fostering sport, God's best work, which as such must be cared for." He added: "Sport teaches us to get rid of petty rivalry and petty nationalism, at the same time it teaches us to bear our responsibilities with full consciousness.

Thus sport must be considered a necessary part of life but not as the reason of life itself."

DHYAN CHAND, THE HOCKEY WIZARD

A dazzling display by Dhyan Chand, India's hockey "wizard", was the main feature of the match between the Services XI and a weak Bombay XI, which came off on April 25, on the Bombay Gymkhana ground. The former won by 3 goals to 1, thereby avenging their defeat the previous day at the hands of the United Bombay Services by an identical margin.

Dhyan Chand has no doubt lost his speed, says a reporter, but yet his display will still rank him among the foremost centre-forwards in India to-day.

EDWARD ESMOND

Edward Esmond 71, a British sportsman and native of India, died at his home in New York on May 18, after a brief illness. Esmond played in international polo matches at the turn of the century and at one time held the British Senior Championship. He formerly operated racing stables in India, Britain and France.

TEST CRICKET MATCH AT LONDON

Australia defeated England by six wickets in the unofficial Test cricket match at Lord's. The match was a three-day fixture.

The scores:

England: 267 and 294.

Australia: 455 and 107 for 4.

Science

NEW OUTLOOK ON SCIENCE

Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Director, Scientific and Industrial Research, said in a talk from Delhi Station of the All-India Radio that the greatest achievements of science during the war was the creation of an entirely new outlook on science by society. Men of science in the future must necessarily understand to control public affairs. At the same time, the ordinary citizen and civil servants must be given an insight into scientific matters. Whether the scientist likes it or not, he will be called upon to play an important part in the administration of a civilization which is based on applied science.

Referring to the defensive and offensive weapons invented during the war, Dr. Bhatnagar said that even the V-1 and V-2 weapons would have their usefulness in peace-time. It was quite possible, said Dr. Bhatnagar, that pilotless planes might be used in peace time for quick transport purposes. The element of danger involved in such a method of transport might one day be even less than in conveyances piloted by erring human beings. The V-2 might, perhaps, be harnessed for new scientific conquests on this earth and even on planets, while poisons of the most virulent type might help in destroying insect pests and wild beasts and help us forward towards better agriculture and forestry.

SIR M. O. FORSTER

The death occurred on May 23, of Sir Martin Onslow Forster, a former Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and a chemist of international repute, at Mysore, at the age of 73. Sir Martin was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sir J. C. Ghosh, the present Director of the Institute, in an interview, said that Sir Martin Forster was not only a very able chemist, but also an able administrator and that during his Directorship, from 1922 to 1932, the work of the Institute went on smoothly.

Film World

TRAINING INSTITUTE OF FILM INDUSTRY

It is learnt that efforts are being made for the establishment of a Central Institute for the training of technical talent in a research laboratory in India to assist the promotion of the film industry and to put it on a much wider and stable foundation and also to enable this country to stand on a self-supporting basis in regard to the manufacture of raw films, technical machinery and other accessories. The Committee of the independent Film Producers' Association is moving in the matter and has passed a resolution on the subject. Mr. K. S. Hirlekar, the Honorary Secretary of the Association, has been authorized to take steps for the constitution of a fact-finding body of persons to investigate into the possibilities of starting the training institute and the research laboratory.

MANUFACTURE OF RAW FILMS

An Industrial Panel was being set up to investigate and report on the possibilities of manufacture of raw films in India after the war, said the Finance Member, in the Central Assembly.

The Finance Member indicated that a company applied for registration for the manufacture of raw films and other photographic goods and equipment in India after the war, and that Government held that it was premature to invite the public to subscribe capital, for experimental work had not been carried to such a state that it was possible for the Government and the public to form some sort of judgment as to the prospects of the venture.

VIVEKANANDA'S LIFE TO BE FILMED

The special correspondent of the India Press Service learns that eflorts are being made to film very shortly the life story of Swami Vivekananda. Application for the necessary licence has been made to the Government of India by Mr. Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, the Indian poet. Harin is at present busy working on the script. The cast of the life story will be drawn, it is stated, from the nearest surviving relations of the great saint.

Automobiles

MOTOR UNIONS CONGRESS

The All-India Motor Unions Congress, which concluded its three-day session, at Nagpur on March 30, adopted a resolution suggesting that the Congress stood for progressive schemes of co-ordination in the matter of road transport. The resolution requests that the All-India Motor Unions Congress and its Provincial branches should be taken into confidence by the Central and Provincial Governments should be given reasonable opportunities to discuss official schemes.

The resolution criticizes the road-rail transport policy of the Government and regrets that neither the Central nor any of the Provincial Governments, in spite of their claim to co-ordinate or nationalise the transport service, have put out officially practical schemes, so that operators might be in a position to adjust themselves as practical businessmen.

NUFFIELD CARS IN AUSTRALIA

The Nuffield organization has formed an Australian subsidiary with a capital of one million sterling to start manufacture of Morris cars in Australia. The Australian Company is starting with the manufacture of motor bodies only but will progressively extend and Nuffield ultimately envisages the production of complete motor cars in Australia when suitable conditions are assured.

Following Nuffield's recent similar arrangement for manufacturing Morris cars in India, this appears as further instalment of similar establishments in other parts of the world as the formerly less industrialized countries now insist on manufacturing the less complex industrial products domestically.

GENERAL MOTORS AND LIGHTER CARS

The General Motors Corporation has disclosed plans for a lighter and more economical motor car to be ready for production after the end of the war against Japan. The revelation of this programme points to a keen competitive battle between the General Motors' Chevrolet car and the Ford car in the low-price field.

Aviation

GIANT AIR LINERS FOR BRITAIN

Britain's first giant post-war airliners, the largest in the world-to operate the Indian, Dominion, Atlantic or other routes, will probably be ready in 1947 and not 1949 as was earlier anticipated.

Named after Lord Brabazon, the former Minister for Aircraft Production and pioneer flyer, these mammoth Brabazons in the early phase of production, will have eight, engines, each of 2,000 h.p. but those produced later in 1947 are expected to be jet-propelled.

These airliners will have sleeping berth accommodation for 70 people or, if used on day work, will be able to carry approximately 100 passengers in comfort and at a high speed.

WORLD CO-OPERATION IN AIR TRANSPORT

Lord Swinton, Minister for Civil Aviation, said in a broadcast on the Southern Africa Air Conference at Capetown: "We believe that each country should be free to organize its own air transport as it thinks best. And we know that any type of organization can co-operate with any other. In our Commonwealth air partnership there is nothing exclusive. Ordinarily air co-operation in air is the good neighbour policy and because so many foreign countries feel as we do, I know they will welcome that co-operation."

U.S. AIR SERVICE TO SOUTH AFRICA

A United States Air Service to Johannesburg is at present being negotiated, the Minister for Transport, Mr. F. C. Sturrock, told the South African Senate. Mr. Sturrock said the United States had complete right to come to South Africa with her aeroplanes and when the time came he would be prepared to suggest starting of a Johannesburg-United States. Service on a fifty-fifty basis. Air agreements with other countries, apart from British territories, would be made separately with each country.

Industry

INDUSTRIALISTS' VISIT TO U.K.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Adviser and Secretary to the Indian Industrialists' Delegation to London and America, in a statement stated that there was no warrant for suspicion and distrust entertained in some quarters about the visit.

Dr. Lokanathan recalled that about eighteen months ago the Viceroy proposed that a group of industrialists should visit Great Britain and America to study industrial conditions and technical advance made there. Only a few could then go but now with altered conditions he asked why the advantages of an exchange of ideas should be thrown away. He asserted that there was not the slightest ground for the feeling that the visiting team was either officially sponsored or advised or tutored. The delegation had no direction or suggestions from the Government. Any attempt to find some hidden purposes behind the visit of the industrialists was not merely wrong but wholly futile. Knowledge and experienee gained by the delegation would be most valuable to the country as a whole particularly in regard to its post-war plans.

We may add that Mahatma Gandhi has withdrawn his condemnation of the industrialists' mission on their explanation that they will not be a party to any 'shameful deal' and has given his blessings.

GOVT'S INDUSTRIAL PLAN

The industrial plan of the Government "constitutes an important milestone in the advance of the country towards industrialisation," said Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning, in an interview, to clear up some of the misunderstanding caused by the summary of the Government *communique*.

While in a criticism, Mr. Bhulabai Desai, Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly, says that "it will lead to a great deal of favouritism and corruption, and instead of serving the country at large, it will only create a special class, like the contractors during the war regime."

Agriculture

TAX ON AGRICULTURAL INCOMES

Strong opposition to the proposed levy of a tax on agricultural incomes by the Government of Madras was voiced by several prominent publicists at a meeting held under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation at the Ranade Hall, Madras, on May 15. Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar presided.

The meeting adopted a resolution condemning the proposal and expressing the view that the new tax would be "an intolerable burden" on agriculture in the province and it "lacked financial justification."

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, addressing the gathering, said that the proposals of the Government for taxing agricultural incomes raised "a big question". He was not an opponent of a tax on agricultural incomes but what he really objected to was the levy of a tax on the lines proposed by the Madras Government, Examining the proposals, the speaker said that there had been "a singular lack of detailed justification" in respect of the proposals. The Press *communique* issued by the Government attempted some sort of an explanation but it was unique in that it was very brief. It began with a hope—that the public would be convinced of the need for withdrawing the exemption from income-tax hitherto enjoyed by one section of the community—and ended with a hope, rather fugitively expressed that it would be found possible to relieve the poorest class of ryots from the burden of taxation. It was, he said, a mis-statement to say that agriculturists enjoyed any exemption from income-tax. On the other hand, the tax burden on this community, without any exemption at the bottom or graduation at the top, worked out to a fairly heavy percentage rate ranging between 20 to 30 per cent. of their total net income. Even assuming that it was only 20 per cent.—it represented a very heavy percentage to impose as a tax on any kind of income.

Labour

BRITISH LABOUR PROGRAMME

The Labour Party's greatest Conference for 22 years was opened at Blackpool, on May 21, in an atmosphere of great tension, by this year's Chairman, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, cables Don Kimche, *Reuter's* special correspondent.

One thousand one hundred delegates who heard Miss Wilkinson throw out the challenge that "Labour is ready" knew that the Prime Minister's challenge to Labour to stay in Government or face early election has been accepted by Labour leadership.

This fact now dominates the Conference, Labour Party leaders are insisting that they do not want the July election and they would prefer to wait until some of the demobilised men and women were back home. Miss Wilkinson argued for a more decent end to the Coalition, and an election therefore in Autumn.

Labour has accepted Mr. Churchill's challenge and is out to win at the elections now fixed for next month.

WELFARE SCHEMES FOR COAL MINES

The Mines Welfare Fund Advisory Committee at a recent meeting recommended that a sum of Rs. 27 lakhs should be spent immediately to build for coal miners, a township of two-roomed tenements on the outskirts of coal areas in the Raniganj coalfields, says a message from Dhanbad, dated April 19.

The colony is to be provided with educational, medical, and recreational facilities.

The lady welfare inspector made a statement on the progress of labour welfare work among women miners. The representatives of Mine Owners' Association accepted the responsibility of developing creches and bathing arrangements.

The Committee recommended that Provincial Governments should be asked to carry out welfare activities in Orissa and Baluchistan, on behalf of the Fund.

General

SIR PHEROZE SHAH MEHTA

Tributes to the memory of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta were paid at the birthday centenary celebrations in Bombay, Calcutta and other centres on May 24. Presiding over a similar function at the Young Men's Crescent Society, Madras, Mr. G. A. Natesan, who had the privilege of knowing Sir Pheroze Shah intimately, said that Mehta was a born leader of men who had a genius for picking the right men for the right place.

Sir Pheroze, said Mr. Natesan, was one of the pioneers of the freedom movement in the country who regarded himself as an Indian first and a Parsi next, and the services he rendered at his time were most praiseworthy. His unflinching devotion to the Indian National Congress was well known and till the day of his death he worked for it. His activities were varied. Sir Pheroze was the maker of modern Bombay. He devoted his whole life to the civic improvement of the city. He was the greatest critic of the bureaucracy in his days, but one of the outstanding traits of his character was that he never allowed political differences to interfere with his social relations.

Men like Gokhale and Wacha looked on him as their leader. Incidentally Mr. Natesan revealed what is not generally known, that Mehta found fault with Gokhale and Gandhiji over the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. Though Mr. Natesan had then supported Gokhale, he confessed that he now thought that Pheroze Shah was right in insisting that the right of free entry into South Africa, which as British citizens Indians possessed, should not have been given up.

KASTURBA TRUST BOARD

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust concluded at Mahableshwar on May 21, after being in session for 17 hours spread over five days. The Committee sanctioned grants for a number of uplift and welfare schemes, in different Provinces, subject to approval by the Board of Trustees.

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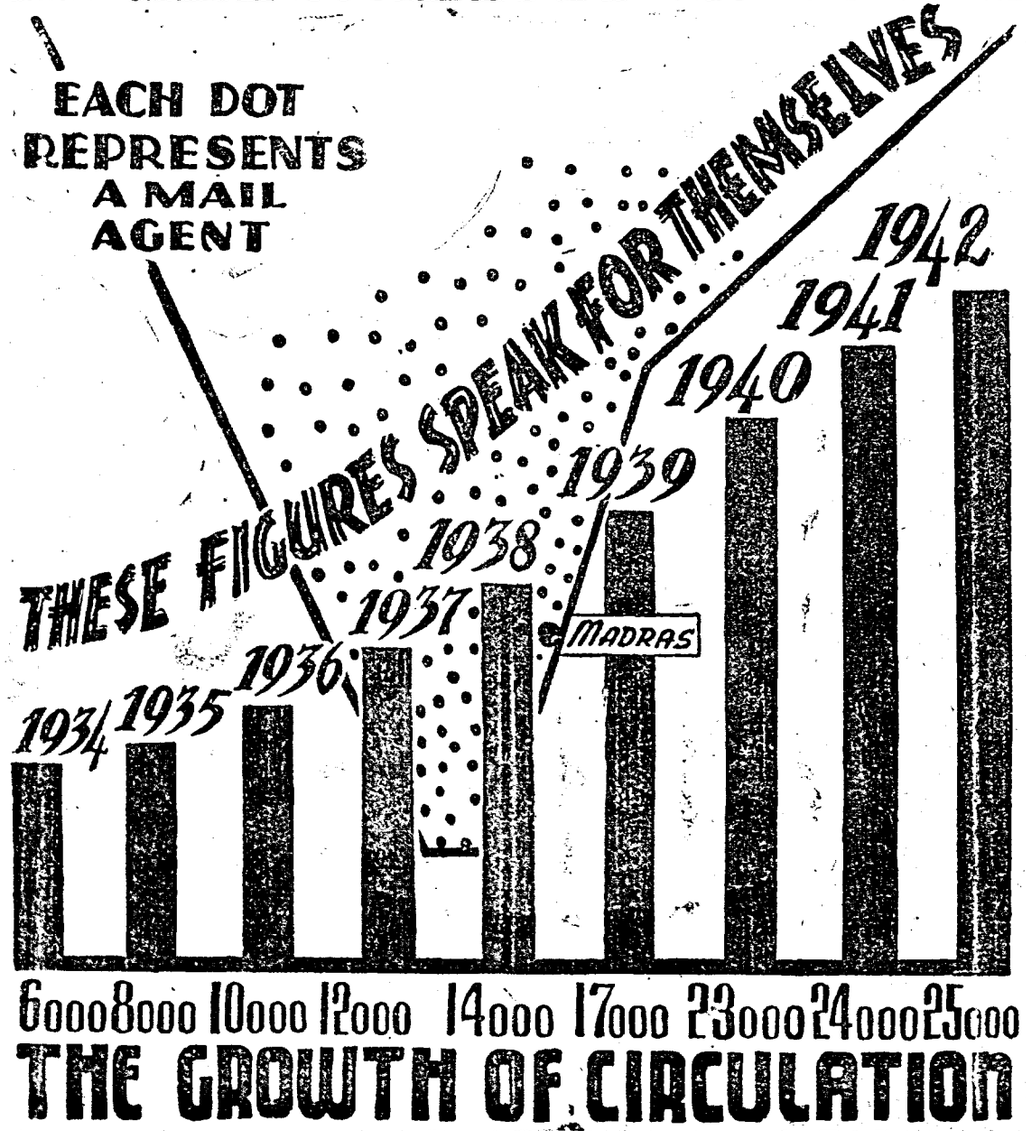


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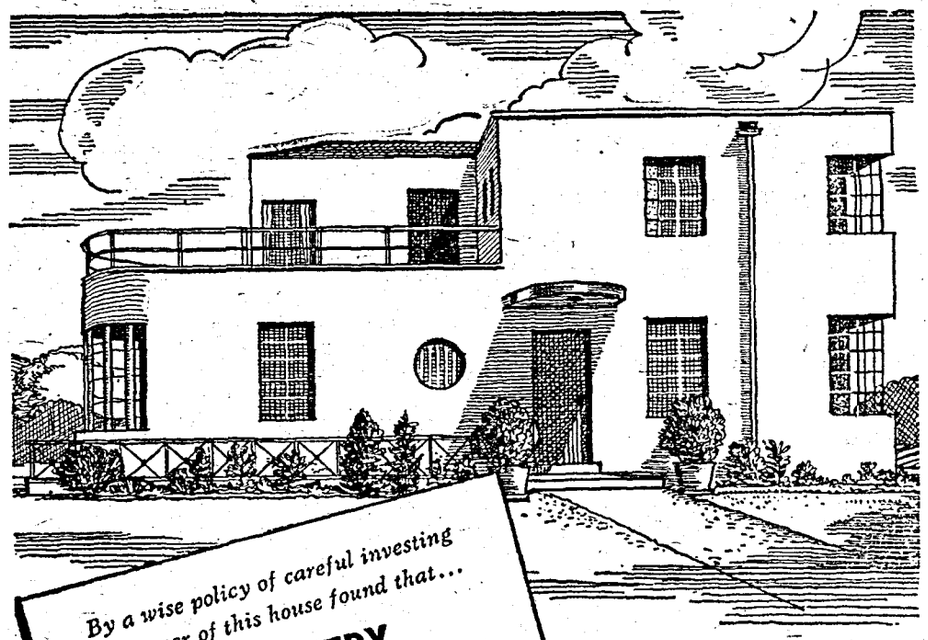


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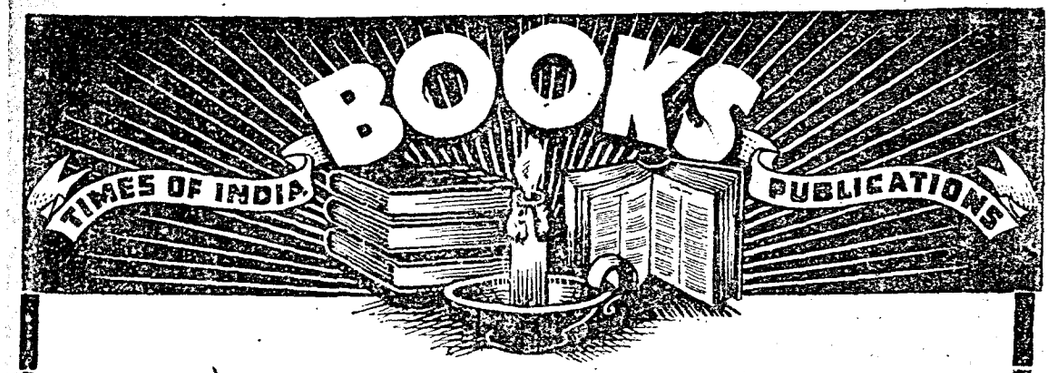
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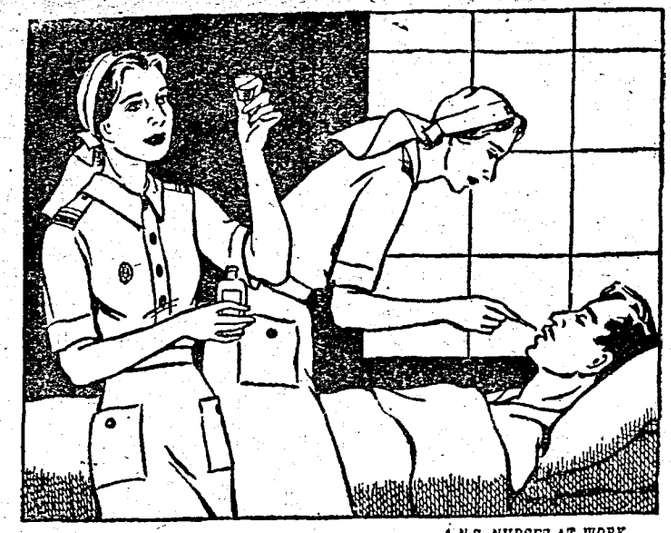
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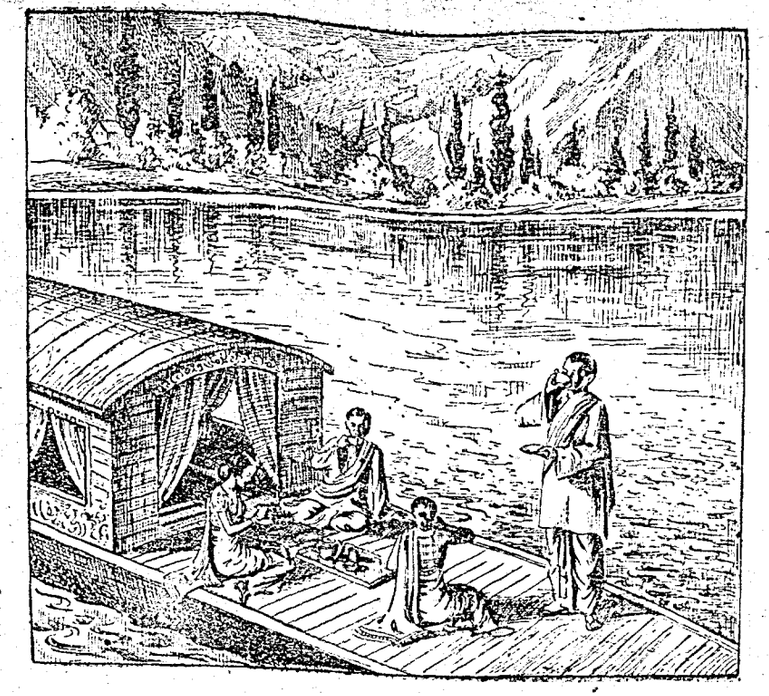
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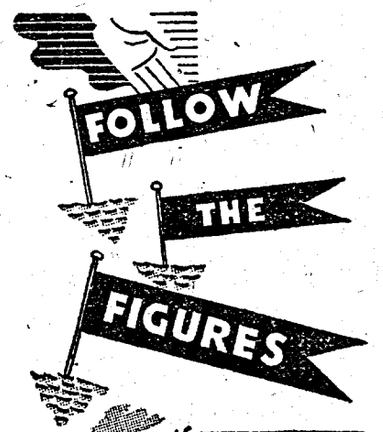
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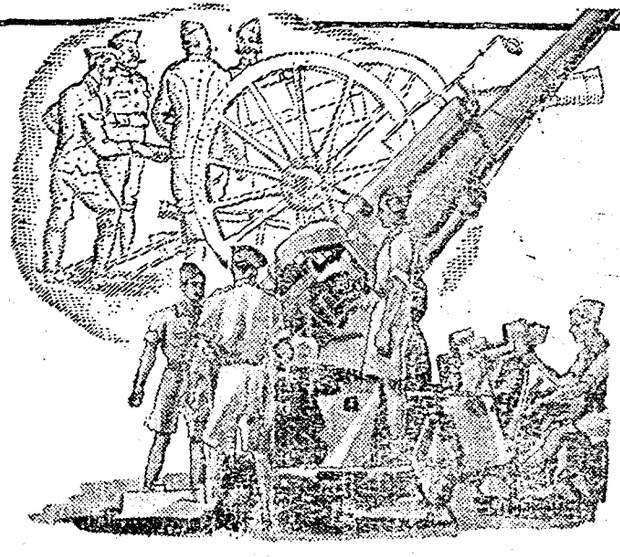
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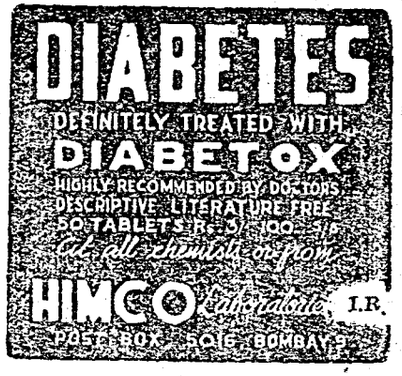
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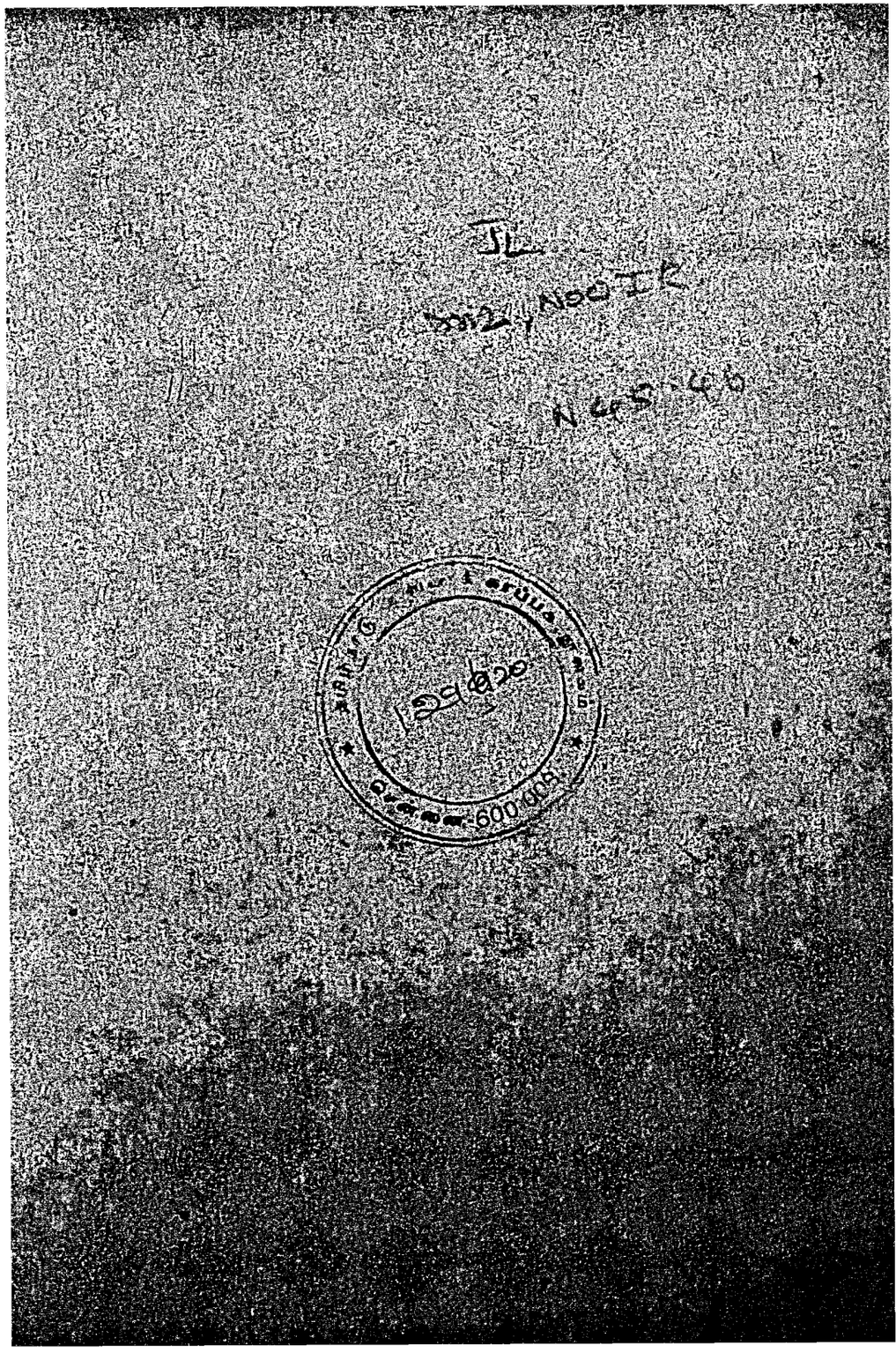
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