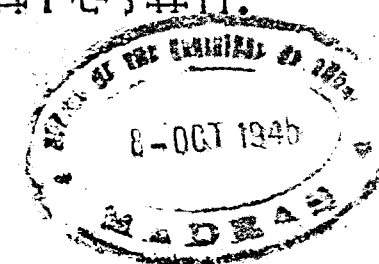


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THE INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.



1945
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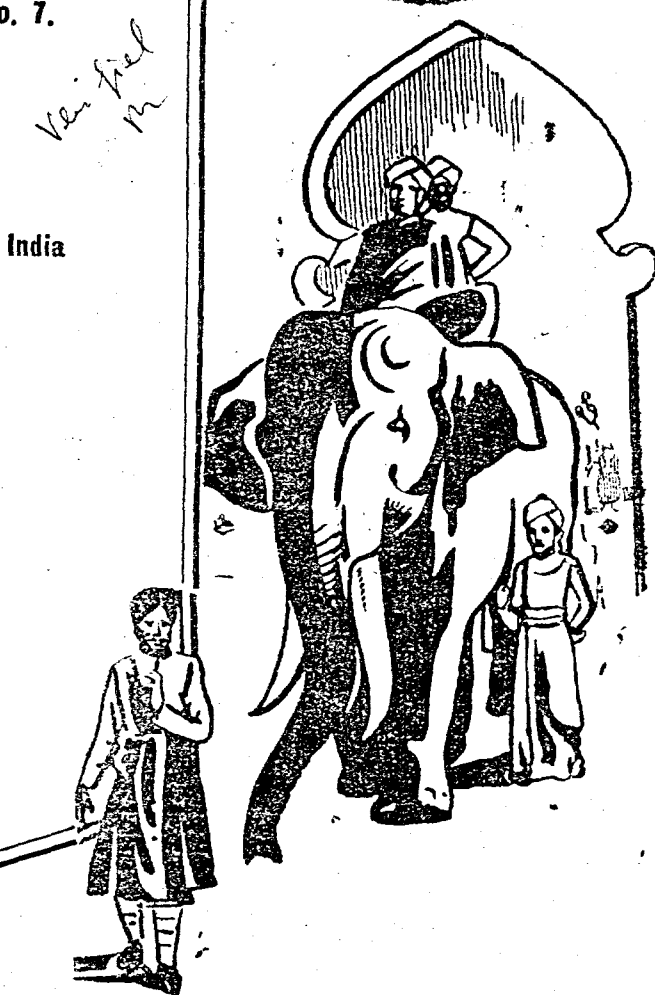
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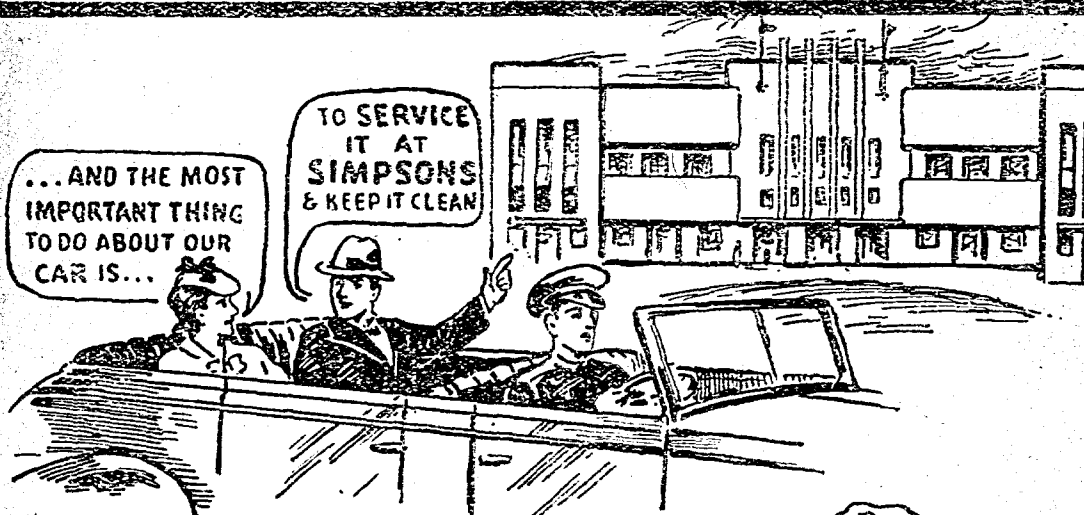
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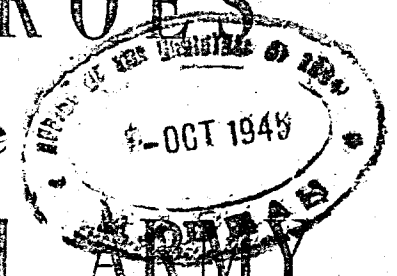


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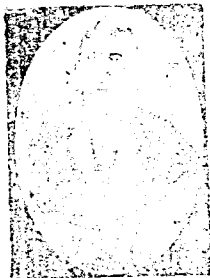
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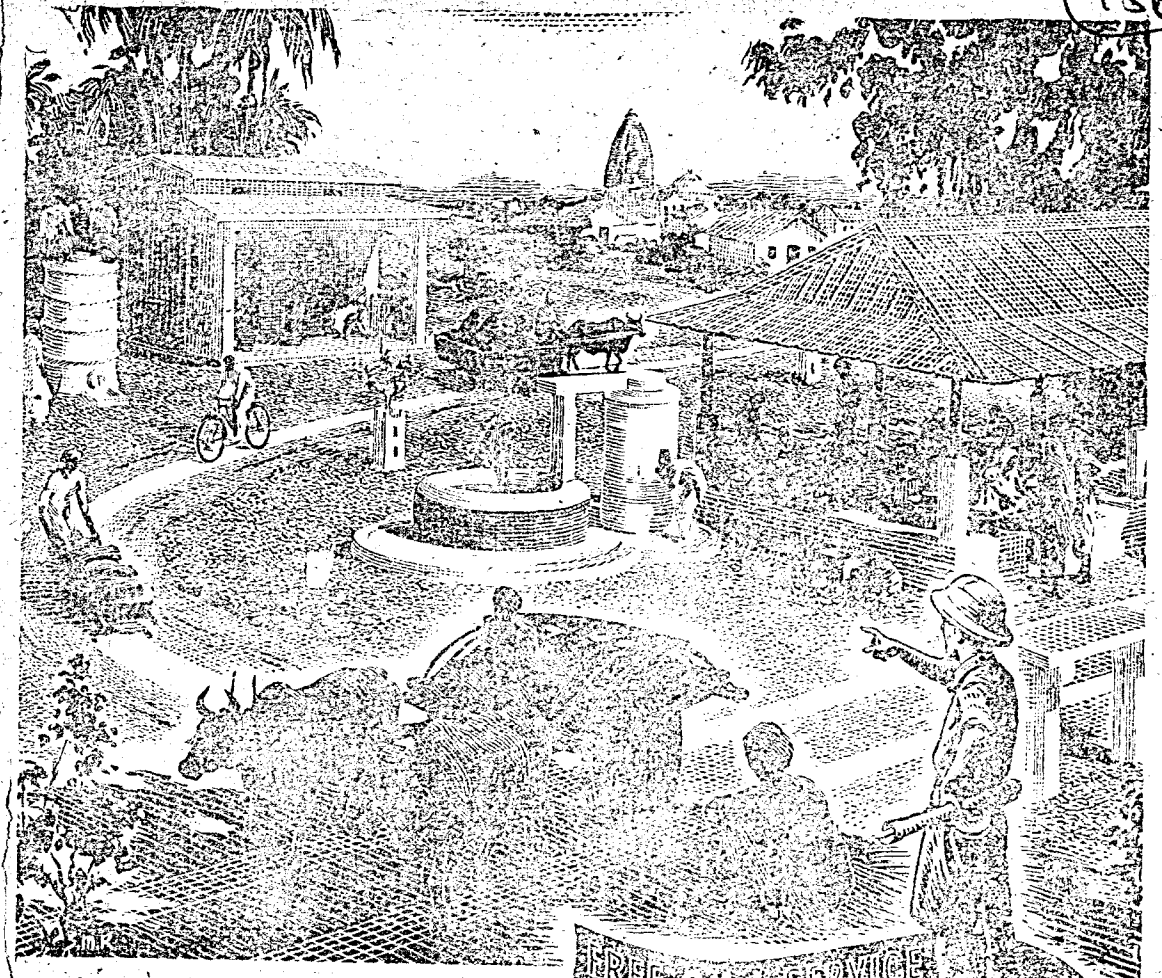


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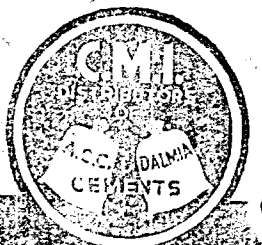
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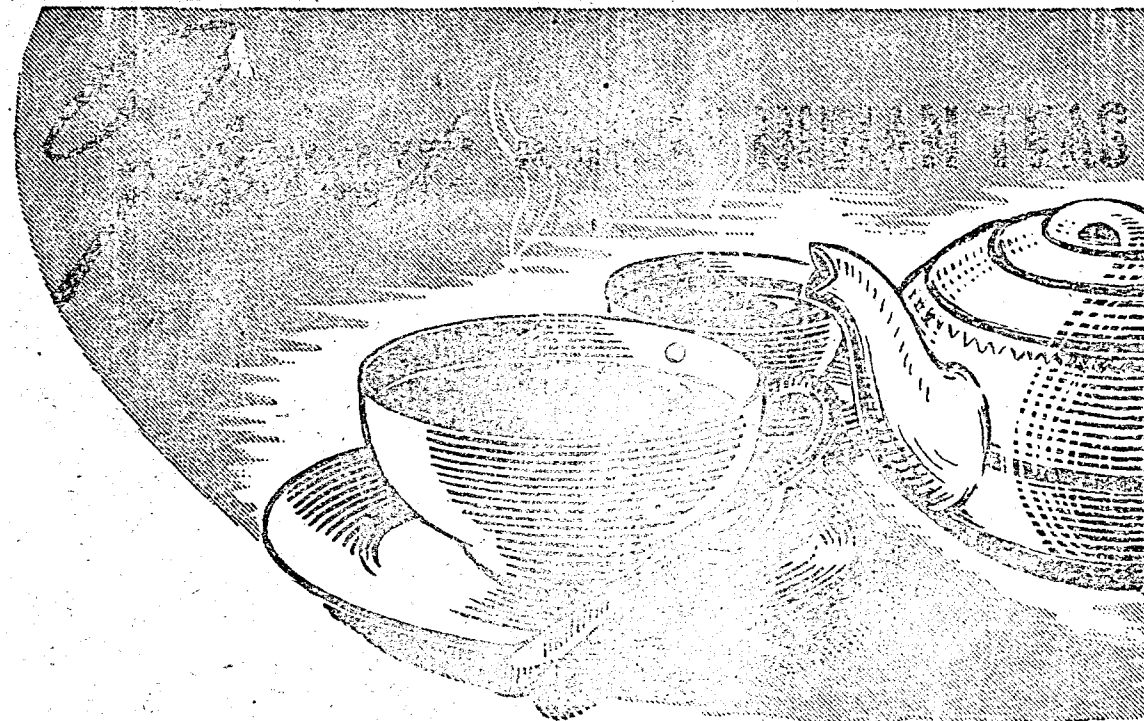
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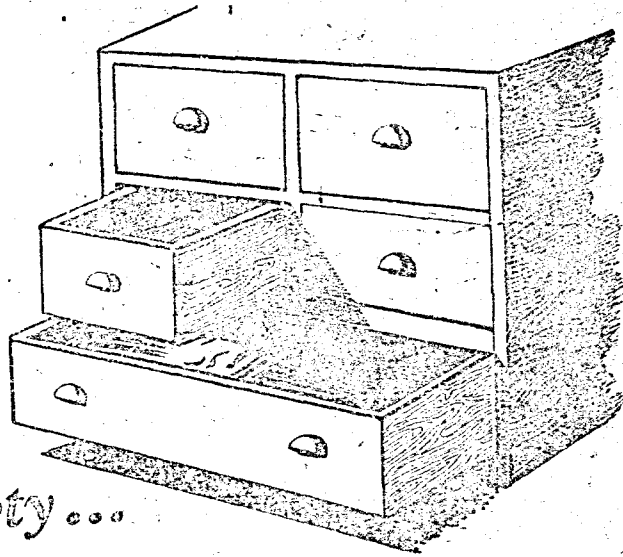
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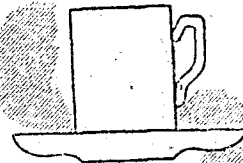
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 46.]

JULY 1945

[No. 7.]

ENGLISH TRADITION

By SIR ROBERT DENNISTON, Kt.

A Good many years ago a well-known resident of Madras in a convivial moment broke a filter in a certain club in this city, and under instructions from the committee the secretary wrote to the offender and asked him for his reasons for violating the rules and traditions of the club. He replied that he had carefully perused the rules of the club and could find nothing therein which precluded him from breaking a filter: would the secretary kindly forward him a copy of the traditions.

What is tradition? As a lover of my own language I often consult a dictionary, and Mr Webster, I think, rather rises to the occasion. "Tradition", he tells us, is "the oral delivery of information, opinions, doctrines, practices, rites and customs, from father to son, or from ancestors to posterity; the transmission of any knowledge, opinions or practice from forefathers to descendants by oral communication, without written memorials."

Why do we attach value to a family heirloom—some trinket perhaps of no great intrinsic value except that it has been passed down from father to son? We value it, I think, for its antiquity, and because of its associations. It has been said that the only true aristocracy is old

age, and tradition and old age have much in common. And in parenthesis I fancy I could provide an answer to the question "which is the true aristocrat, an old labourer who for 60 years has eked out a precarious living from the soil, or the lordling who from a distance of 7,000 miles sees fit to disparage his countrywomen in India."

And so we may regard old age as a pre-requisite (to use the horrid jargon of the day) to tradition, and we can perhaps disregard Oscar Wilde's epigram in his play "A Woman of no Importance" wherein one of the characters says "the youth of America is their oldest tradition. It has been going on now for 300 years."

If we search for tradition in England we at once discover the greatest tradition of all—the monarchy. "I wish I knew why", said A. P. Herbert, "the queen made me cry". And he then goes on to describe in verse the solemnity of the ceremony of the opening of parliament, and Her Majesty's dignity and charm, and finishes his poem "I think I know why the queen made me cry." And I too know exactly why, except that I can't put it into words. It is for the same reason that crowds gather

round Buckingham Palace in times of great joy, sorrow or stress. It is for the same reason that I creep all the way down my back when I see Their Majesties passing in a procession. I once attended a London Theatre at which Queen Mary was present and we stood and cheered, and never have I seen anything like the dignity of Her Majesty's acknowledgment—the slightest inclination of the head, but with all the dignity of the ages behind it, the personification of the royal tradition. And so if tradition and antiquity have much in common perhaps also tradition and loyalty go hand in hand.

Where does tradition come from? What is its background? Religion? To some extent, as those will agree who remember the grandeur and nobility of the Coronation Service. History, of course, is the mother of tradition, and many present-day ceremonial customs—and extremely odd some of them are—date back to the knights errant of old. The navy and the army, of course, are full of traditions, most of them connected with battle honours. The regiment which is permitted to drink the King's health without rising cherishes the tradition, though the custom reflects little credit on the monarch whose convivial proclivities are supposed to have given rise to it. The navy's tradition is silence and there have been times in the last five or six years when we have felt that those in authority have rather overdone things. There is a century or two of tradition behind the saluting of the quarter deck. But all regiments and ships have their own traditions, arising nearly always out of old battle honours. I believe, for instance,

every newly joined subaltern of a certain north country regiment has eaten a rose on Minden day. I wonder if you saw Mr. Noel Coward's Film "In which we serve". It had, to my mind, one supreme moment. It was after the evacuation from Dunkirk and we had seen streams of bedraggled soldiery disembarked, and they were standing on the quay, unshaven, heavy-eyed swaying on their feet with fatigue, and then an N.C.O. appeared, and marched down the quay, his footsteps echoing, and called them to attention. In one brief moment they were transformed from a weary rabble to a regiment of guards on parade and as they marched away one was left with a feeling of great pride.

Tradition in England is not confined to the army and navy and you will find that nearly every little village has its old customs, the origin of which is sometimes lost in antiquity. Some listener will be able to tell me which town—is it Ilford? I can't remember—perpetuates the ceremony of the Dunmow Flich. To qualify for this piece of bacon a married couple have to satisfy their fellow citizens that they have lived in complete harmony, without an angry word, for a period of twelve months. Whether in these days rationing the custom is continued I don't know, but perhaps some dehydrated substitute has been found.

Our law courts, of course, are full of traditions, and there is nothing nobler in the English language than the clerk of the court's charge to the jury. If the official who administers the charge is not called the Clerk of the court I apologise,

but the law and I are but slightly acquainted. What is the significance, I wonder, of the presentation to a Judge of the assizes of a pair of white gloves when there are no cases for him to try? As one in ten of my listeners is likely to be a lawyer perhaps you can tell me. The origin of the Judge's bouquet is less obscure, and it was regarded as a disinfectant in a stuffy court filled with what Gilbert described as "Imperfect Ablutioners".

Parliament is tradition-ridden to the Nth. and in spite of Cromwell's petulant 'Take away these baubles' 300 years ago, they still remain. I can imagine the hush of reprobation when, a short time ago a truculent Scot was so lost to all sense of tradition as to scorn the good offices of his sponsors, and to declare, in effect, that he had been elected by his constituents, here he was and here he would remain, and he didn't propose to be introduced thank you. Of the many parliamentary traditions perhaps the best known one is the "Who goes home" at the end of the day's sitting, a memory of the days when it was not too healthy to walk the streets of London at night, and the Linkboys escorted members home.

Those who sneer at the "old school tie" will also, I have no doubt, sneer at tradition, and our schools are full of traditions, but those traditions are based on loyalty, and I can think of less desirable characteristics than loyalty. Each school has its own traditions and some of them, such as the precise angle at which the cap should be worn, in accordance with one's seniority

are rather puerile, but the motto "Manners maketh man" is no bad thing to live up to—no, I do not myself come from that particular seat of learning. There are years of tradition behind the rather curious garb affected by the scholars of Christ's Hospital, and if a scholar of Westminster sets no particular store in after-life by the tossing of a pancake, he will remember all his life that he was once privileged to acclaim his Sovereign at his coronation in Westminster Abbey.

I do not number myself amongst those who look with scorn on the old traditions, and in fact as the world becomes shriller, one is inclined more and more to regret that new customs and canons of behaviour are so lacking in the dignity of the past. How sad to compare the melodies of past years with the cacophonies of to-day. Happily the Gilbert and Sullivan tradition is still very much alive, though many people seem to prefer music supplied out of a tin by cretinous crooners. Gilbert and Sullivan Lovers will not permit any tampering with the text, and most of them know the plays by heart, and I was horrified at a performance a short time ago to hear a character in an amateur production so lost to all sense of tradition to substitute Gilbert's slightly stilted but nevertheless stately language by the expression O.K.

No mention of English traditions would be complete without the mention of Shakespeare, who is England. There is no occasion, no event, no world shattering occurrence for which we cannot find some appropriate reference in the works of Shakespeare. Why, in happier days, was

Strafford-on-Avon the Mecca of tourists from the new world? Was it, do you think, because they said to themselves "What is this English tradition", and having seen it I am sure they thought it, though I shudder to have to say it, O.K. There is nothing that our orators have said for generations that was not better said by Shakespeare 320 years ago. Could anything be more appropriate to England's lone struggle before her mighty Allies came to her aid, when all the world thought

she was lost, than the words given to Old John of Gaunt by William Shakespeare.

This Royal throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle
This Earth of Majesty, this seat of Mars
This other Eden, Demi-Paradise
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war
This happy breed of men, this little world
This precious stone set in the Silver sea;
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house
Against the envy of less happier lands
This blessed plot, this Earth, this realm, this
England.

That's tradition.

—A Broadcast Talk from Madras.

SPIRITUALISING POLITICS

BY MR. B. G. KHER,

(Ex-Premier, Bombay).

"WHEN collective power whether in the form of imperialism or class domination exploits weakness, it can never be dislodged unless power is raised against it. If conscience and reason can be insinuated into the resulting struggle, they can only qualify but not abolish it." I came across this proposition in Reinhold Niebuhr's "Moral Man and Immoral Society." It appears to me on the whole a sound proposition. Struggle is the *sine qua non* of progress and it is obvious that imperialism or class domination cannot be dislodged, unless power is raised against it. Yes, but must this power always be the force of arms? Even if conscience and reason may not be able to abolish the struggle, that is to make it unnecessary, will they not be able so to qualify it as to eschew an appeal to Arms—make it successful even without war and violence, —at any rate, make the power raised

against imperialism,—the coercion involved in the struggle non-violent—make the inevitable conflict such that while the dominating power indulges in brutalities, those who resist may be able to do so successfully without resorting to violence and even by remaining non-violent. This is the question.

Among many human desires, there is a unique desire—"the desire to do right" and taking his stand upon this, Mahatma Gandhi has for over 20 years tried to raise a power among the people to oppose the imperialism of Britain, which does not involve an appeal to Arms. He says "workers should definitely realise that the constructive programme is the non-violent and truthful way of winning Poor Swaraj" and further "civil disobedience mass or individual is an aid to constructive effort and is a full substitute for armed revolt. Just as military training

necessary for armed revolt, training in constructive effort is equally necessary for civil resistance. And just as the use of Arms becomes necessary only when occasion demands it, even so is the use of civil resistance only occasional". Not content with this, he further observes about the constructive programme that "its wholesale fulfilment" is "complete independence." The constructive programme, as originally drawn up, consisted of the following thirteen items, *viz.*: (1) communal unity, (2) removal of untouchability, (3) prohibition, (4) khadi, (5) other village industries, (6) village sanitation, (7) new or basic education (this has now been expanded so as to cover pre-basic and post-basic education), (8) adult education, (9) uplift of women, (10) education in health and hygiene, (11) propaganda of Rashtra-bhasha (common national language), (12) love of one's own language, (13) working for economic equality. To these are to be added (14) organisation of Kisans, (15) of labour, (16) of students and (17) work for the Aboriginal tribes but the programme is not exhaustive. The economic principles on which Kisans and labour are to be organised and the objective of such organisation do not eschew but emphasise the ethical element. "A labour worker's aim should be to raise the moral and intellectual height of labour." "In the same way, the Kisan or landless labourer cannot forcibly eject the absentee landlord. Now the question is—is the fulfilment of this programme likely to generate the power which is necessary to oust British domination.

Will its working out by a band of earnest workers with an indomitable will" which is Gandhiji's hope create the strength which will make the sanction of civil disobedience behind it effective, *i.e.*, powerful enough to compel the British Imperialists to quit India—in the sense in which Gandhiji has used the expression? I claim that it can. If we organise the Kisans and workers on the lines suggested, it will be unnecessary to resort to force of Arms. Their determined opposition and non-co-operation will compel any Government to yield. But if it cannot, must India go the way other subject countries have gone—America's or Ireland's way, for example? The prospect is not attractive but if Gandhiji's way is impractical and ineffective, what could be the alternative to perpetual slavery? It is only too evident that the British have not learnt any lesson from the history of Ireland. By the way, I think no one could give a better description of what we are fighting against than that given recently by De Valera—*viz.*, Britain's naked imperialism, when he stated that according to the British Prime Minister, Britain's necessity must be the world's moral code—what else does any other dictator claim?

Gandhiji's movement is based on his faith in our ability to rouse the moral fervour—strengthen the moral fibre of the people and unite them into a mighty unbreakable opposing force; as against this, is the confidence of Britain in her ability always to be able to bribe, deceive or buy enough Indians to help them to perpetuate their domination and consolidate their rule. Gandhiji's constructive

programme aims at what Aldous Huxley refers to as the "radical and permanent transformation of the human personality,"—without which political action, however beneficent, is not likely to produce the beneficial results expected from it. It is to use his (Huxley's) own expression an essay in the art of what may be called "goodness politics" (as opposed to "power politics"), which, he says, is "the art of organising on a large scale without sacrificing the ethical values which emerge only among individuals and small groups". More especially, it is the art of combining (1) decentralization of Government and industry, (2) local and functional autonomy and (3) smallness of administrative units with enough overall efficiency to guarantee the smooth running of the federated whole." This must be our objective and our means, the constructive programme referred to above, even if hostile critics call it a futile attempt to spiritualise politics. Sceptics may not quarrel with this objective but doubt the efficacy of the non-violent means chosen

by Gandhiji. We cannot find the case explained more fully than has been done by Neibuhr in a chapter entitled "the preservation of moral values in politics". The chief difference between violent coercion and non-violent coercion, according to him, is in the aggressive character of the one and the negative character of the other. "Non-violence is essentially non-co-operation." "Ahimsa" "requires deliberate self-suffering, not a deliberate injuring of the supposed wrong-doer." At any rate, the attempt is worth making. There is no problem of political life to which religious imagination can make a larger contribution than the problem of developing "non-violent resistance". It is our proud privilege to lead the experiment for "it is no accident of history that this spirit of non-violence has been introduced into contemporary politics by a religious leader of the Orient." This is spiritualising politics and even if doubters scoff about its practicability, let those who have faith, do their best to carry out the task.

Muslim Contributions to Mediaeval India

By MR. S. K. BANERJI, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., D.Lit. (LONDON),

Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow

THOUGH the Arabs were the earliest Muslims to arrive in India, in common parlance their advent is dated from Mahmud Ghazni (1000 A.D.). They continued to stay ever afterwards, held the Punjab from 1000 A.D. and Delhi from 1200 A.D. It is a surprise to the historians that though they stayed in the country for

such a long period and their sway was of such an overwhelming character, they could not imprint their political or social dominance for all times, as they seem to have done in Iran, Turan, Constantinople or North Africa. After Aurangzib's death their influence declined and in the 18th century a considerable portion of the

Muslim kingdoms was wrested by the Marathas, Bundelas, Jats and Sikhs.

Our object here is not to trace the rise and fall of the Muslim States but rather to describe how far the Muslims contributed to the building up of the Mediaeval Indian Society.

In the first place the advent of the Muslims put an end to the isolation of the country. It is a lesson sometimes forgotten that no nation can lead an entirely isolated life in this world. Socially and economically one nation is intimately linked with the other nations of the world. Thus the contact of India brought about by the Muslims with the rest of the world along with disadvantages brought some signal advantages also. The vast resources of India were known to the rest of the world and Multan, Lahore, Kabul and Kandahar formed the chief emporiums for the exchange of Indian goods for those of Western Asia, Europe and Africa. This exchange of goods benefited India because they fetched excellent prices and hence large riches to their Indian owners.

The conquests of the Muslim kings of Ghazna and later on of their Ghoris successors, including most of North India, resulted in a greater unification of the different provinces. After Harshavardhan's death in 648 A.D. India broke into innumerable principalities each forming a separate political unit. This dissolution into political atoms introduced weaknesses of a very serious character; for not only did it lead to the multiplication of the states but also of ideals in politics, religion, etc. With the advent of the Ghoris, North India once again formed one single empire

and the solidarity in politics led to its strength and stability in other fields also. Though the invasions from the north-west still continued, the invaders were generally repulsed, e.g., the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries and India was left to carve its destiny in its own way.

There were other consequences also, e.g., the unification of the peoples of the different provinces in language and culture. Though originally Turki was spoken by the Muslim conquerors, soon after, Persian became the court language and Urdu the *lingua franca* for the kingdom and in the growth of the latter several of the dialects of the country contributed. Again the Turki culture at first predominated and people of the provinces adopted it. Thus it may be said that the existence of the Muslim government led at first to the fusion of the peoples of North India and later on of the whole country linguistically and culturally.

The Muslims very often behaved towards each other more cordially or with greater consideration than the people of India. Among the Muslims the lowliest, even the oft-despised slaves, had a chance to rise to the highest office. Hindus, on the other hand, were divided into innumerable castes, sub-castes and still lesser castes and made meticulous distinction between the twice-born, the Shudras and the untouchables. Deeper learning, superior knowledge of the state craft and the comforts and realisation of the beauties of life were reserved for the twice-born, the Shudras and the Panchamas having no claims to them. The Muslims with the clarion call of brotherhood of mankind brought hope to

these millions of lowly Shudras and the Panchamas. In the mosque the votaries, whether they were rich or poor, literate or illiterate, blue-blooded or the despised, all stood in serried ranks to worship the same Allah. This equality was emphasized in many other ways. The result was that many of the untouchables and the Shudras, *i.e.*, those belonging to the more physically active sections of the Hindu society abandoned their unsympathetic Hindu brethren and joined the more democratic Muslims. These Muslim converts proved more active and turbulent than the Hindus living in their neighbourhood and hence weakened the Hindu society by their desertion. It may be asked why then the Hindus did not adopt Islam wholesale like the Parsees after their first impact with Islam. The historians point out that Zoroastrianism had decayed beyond redemption hence it gave way to Islam which formed a new centre of hope for the Pahlavis of Iran. On the other hand, Hinduism had never become so barren and lifeless as to make its votaries look to other religions for spiritual satisfaction. Again and again reformers had arisen from among them to purge Hinduism of its abuses and to make it accessible to the people.

Also the needy Muslims of West Asia, in their zeal for conquest, committed indiscriminate atrocities and wholesale ravages demolishing temples and massacring the inhabitants of villages and towns they passed through. The result, of course, was that those inoffensive villagers who survived the massacre, shocked at the insensate behaviour of the victorious

Muslims formed, in spite of the Muslim cry of brotherhood of man, such a poor opinion of their capacities and general character that Islam ever afterwards suffered from the effects of such prejudices and was rejected by the majority of the Indian population and it has ever since remained confined to a mere section of the population.

In the domain of thought the Muslim ideal of monotheism led to a reaction among the Hindus also. Some of their reformers were far-sighted enough to introduce salutary reforms in religion and society. Against the dominant and hostile influence of the Muslims, the need of such reforms was urgent and they were introduced in several ways. One was to acknowledge the God of the Muslims and give Allah a place in the pantheon of the Hindus. Allahopani-shad written in 13th century is an illustration of this. Secondly, the Hindu beliefs and doctrines were made more popular and its chants and practices were thrown open to all classes. Sikhism as preached by Guru Nanak, Kabirpanthism of Kabir and Vaishnavism of the devotees of Krishna and Rama, especially as preached by Chaitanya, all emphasized the equality of men and helped in forming a brotherhood of all the members of the sect. These social reforms are a direct effect of Islam in India.

Also Vedantism or monotheism, became more popular as it came into contact with that highly intellectual and emotional Muslim sect known as Sufism. The glorification of God, as noticed among the newly-formed sects, had to some extent neglected the divinity in man. Vedantism

had long preached the sanctity of the human soul so that while it drew attention to God and His almightiness, it also insisted on the greatness, immortality and essential goodness of the human soul. Since the Sufi Muslims also preached similar doctrines, it seemed possible that India would solve its religious and even political problems by the fusion of Sufism and Vedantism and Jahangir and Dara made earnest efforts—the former unconsciously and the latter consciously—for its accomplishments. But the Hindu masses, steeped as they were in polytheism and the orthodox Muslims wedded to the cut and dry dogmas of Islam, could not tolerate this fusion and hence with the advent of the fanatical Aurangzib and the death of Shah Sarmad, the fusion stopped and the two communities ever afterwards drifted apart from each other and to-day the breach is wider than it had ever been.

In the field of language also there appeared a way of bringing together the various peoples of Asia. In Delhi could be seen the immigrants from Turkistan, Iran, Afganistan, Khwarism, Kurdistan, Asia Minor, North Africa, Zanzibar, Spain, Turkey in Europe and other countries in Europe besides those from the different corners of India. The rulers being foreigners treated the different provinces of the country on an equal footing and hence could not entertain the idea of patronizing any single dialect except of the region round the two capitals, Delhi and Agra. So, gradually Urdu, the camp language, formed mostly out of Brij Bhasha (Hindi) with a goodly mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turki and Sanskrit, became the

common language of the different immigrants to the land. As the object of Urdu was to enable the soldiers and those others who came into contact with them to conduct their daily transactions without much difficulty, at first it contained a large number of words spoken by the natives of Delhi and Agra provinces, termed Hindavi and indistinguishable from the Hindi of the Gangetic doab. When the cultured Muslims took keener interest in Urdu, they soon Persianised it, using not only the more common expressions of Iran but also the forms of poetry and figures of speech prevalent in Western Asia. With the passing of time, the differences between Hindi and the newly-developed Urdu became so marked that to-day they stand as widely differing dialects each being advocated by a dominant community and the well-wishers of India do not know how best to reconcile them with each other.

The Muslims in mediæval India, though a small minority, continued to assert their superiority because their Hindu subjects were divided into myriads of separated entities. Still the Muslims were forced to make many compromises in their outlook on life. As explained above, they took to the language of the land, adopted some of the practices and customs of the Hindus, *e.g.*, the rulers adopted the Jharokha-i-Darshan or the Tuladan on their birth-days and the Muslims the celebration of the festival of Holi or Raksha Bandhan. They also adopted some of the architectural features of the Hindu buildings, *e.g.*, Mahapadma, Panch or Nava Ratna, decorations of the interior and

exterior walls, conversion of a morose mausoleum into a delightful pleasure resort. Again while the orthodox Islam does not encourage painting, the Hindus doted on this form of art. The Mogul rulers established highly specialized schools which flourished from Babur to Shah Jahan; but the more orthodox Aurangzib suppressed them as in his eyes the cultivation of art was not in consonance with the spirit of Islam.

Similarly the Muslim rulers allowed many of the practices of the country unknown to the 'Shara'. A host of the temples were built in the Muslim period and most of the Hindu fairs were held under the protection of the Muslim officials of the state. Thus the iconoclastic Muslims were gradually becoming more tolerant. The present splendour of Muttra and Brindaban dates only from the Mughal days as the older cities of Lord Krishna's time had been reduced to ashes by Mahmud Ghazni and his soldiers and the two cities had been deserted almost immediately after. It is possible that under a more tactful ruler and less of a spiritless translator of Muslim Institutes than Aurangzib, the Muslim influence would have been more telling and lasting.

Again the great feature of the Muslim government in India was its nationalistic tendencies. Some of its administrative institutions were directly adopted from those of the country, e.g., the land revenue system and the officials of the revenue department and the department of law and order. Kotwal, Patwari, Chaudhari, Zamindars, all continued to function as they did in the earlier Hindu period. Also

along with Arabic the Muslim rulers patronized Turki, Persian, Urdu and Hindi. Again the Indian rulers did not always acknowledge the hegemony of the Sultan of Constantinople or the Sharif of Mecca but reserved for himself the Imamship of his people. With such an outlook on the part of the rulers, the Muslim subjects also looked upon their non-Muslim fellow-subjects with a more friendly eye. If only a Dara or Aurangzib had not stepped in, India would have in time solved its socio-political problems in spite of vital differences in its religions. Dara with his preachings for the union of the two communities and with his attempt at hastening the progress of fusion and Aurangzib with his advocacy for Arabian Islam and for the absolute separation of the Muslims from the Hindus—both did untold harm to the growth of a national India. Though Dara was more correct in his attitude he was less able while Aurangzib was more able but less discerning. What India then needed was neither an idealist like Dara nor an ultra-puritan like Aurangzib but a fairly inactive ruler who would himself stand aloof but allow the two communities to learn by degrees to appreciate each other and prepare ground for their fusion in the natural course of time.

In the end, it may be said that Islam had not only set the Non-Muslims a-thinking hard as to how they could remedy some of their political and social ills, but it made possible for a novel but virile culture to be introduced, of which the Hindus and Muslims both would have been the beneficiaries and which in time would have like Iran differentiated itself from the orthodox cultures of the other Muslim lands.

ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT SANCHI

By Miss H. B. KHOKHAR

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IN the vicinity of Bhopal, one comes upon many traces of Buddhist India and, as though seated on a magic carpet, one is transported back a couple of thousand years to the devotional fervour which inspired the grandiose structures of the pre-Christian era. Viewing these edifices, which have withstood the vicissitudes of ages, one is conscious that the art of thoroughness in building has been lost, amid the storm and stress of modernity. Of all the architectural treasures which India boasts, probably there is nothing more impressive than the Great Tope at Sanchi, where one bridges the gulf of twenty centuries, and comes in contact with the life and work of King Asoka, the impress of whose magnetic personality is felt, two thousand years, and more, after his demise.

Asoka was to Buddhism what Constantine was to Christianity—he transformed Buddhism from a sect into a state religion, and promulgated the tenets of his faith by means of edicts, graven on pillars, and rocks, throughout the length and breadth of India. A short, mutilated Asokan record may be seen on a fragment of a pillar at Sanchi. It serves to tune-in the ear of the listener, enabling him to distinguish the message whispered by the magnificent carving surrounding the Great Tope, for the inscription exhorts Buddhists to live at peace with one another, and to avoid religious schism. Although Gautama, the Buddha, was nowise directly associated with Sanchi, the buildings in this locality

are the finest illustrations of Buddhist constructional genius in the whole of India.

To begin with, the Great Tope itself, with its vast dome, surpasses in size, and dignity, the many other stupas, or reliquary mounds, erected in its vicinity by pious Buddhists as an act of grace. The original stupa of Asoka was smaller and less imposing in dimensions than the present edifice, which was encased in stone, and attained its actual size, a century or more after the famous Emperor's death. Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology, has achieved wonders at Sanchi as regards both the excavation, and restoration, of numerous monuments constituting a legacy of priceless value, which members of the present generation will leave to posterity. The Buddhist rail which surmounts the tope, together with the magnificent gate ways, enable one to visualise the pilgrims circumambulating the stupa, as they reflected upon the incidents in the life of Gautama, and the episodes of Buddhist history, illustrated in bas relief on the pillars and superstructure of the portals.

The Sanchi sculptures are supposed to cover a period beginning with Asoka's reign, down to about 140 B.C. They provide a most wonderful picture of Indian life and thought. The visits of the pilgrims to the sacred shrines, the stories told by the camp-fires, the fabled pre-existences of Buddha in the form of bird and beast,

and all the mysteries of the untrodden primeval forests, are revealed in a series of sculptures which, besides being most valuable for historical purposes, makes a most delightful, original Indian jungle-book. The men and women represented are ordinary human beings, the carvings are fragments of life executed in stone and, in consequence, the sculptures are of vital interest, not merely to the archaeologist, but also to the humanist.

In Sanchi, the ancient Chaityagiri,—the "Chappel or Cathedral Hill"—one glimpses the soul of Buddhism whilst the numerous topes, in its immediate vicinity, at Sonari, Bhojpur, and Andher are mere extensions to the vantage-ground from which one gazes backwards down time's highway. Fergusson's remark, respecting the three small topes at Andher, that "there seems no reason for assuming that any of them are earlier than the age of Asoka, 250 B.C., nor is it probable that any of them can be of later date than, say, the first century before our era, makes one feel the youthfulness of the bulk of European art work."

About six miles from Sanchi, another interesting monument is the Heliodoros Column, situated in Gwalior State, near the confluence of the Betwa and Bes rivers. This monolith bears a Brahmi inscription, stating that it was erected about 150 B.C. by one, Heliodoros, a Greek Ambassador from Antialcidas, of Taxila (in the Punjab) to the court of Vidisa (Bhilsa). It is the only stone record in this part of India containing reference to the Indo-Greeks. Heliodoros

styled himself a Bhagvata, or member of the Hindu sect of that name, and the pillar is an important link in the chain of evidence relating to early converts to Hinduism.

While at Sanchi, folks interested in rock-cut temples should not fail to visit the Udaygiri caves, some five miles distant. The eighteen Hindu and two Jain excavations date from the fifth century after Christ, and contain some delightful sculptures, which include a colossal "Varaha" (the boar incarnation of Vishnu)—one of the finest specimens of its kind in the whole of India.

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BRITISH INDIA AND PRINCES' INDIA

BY RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M.A., INDORE

A RECENT Government of India Report on the Industries in Post-War Reconstruction declared that owing to the disparity in taxation, labour legislation and such other matters favouring the capitalists, heavy industries were tending to favour location in Indian States and therefore it implied that there should be similar, if not the same, legislation and taxation throughout India. A Political Department letter is alleged to have informed the Indian Princes that progress in the line of consolidation of the jurisdiction, if not the territories of the Indian States, particularly referring to the Gujrat States, cannot be retraced and that the instruments of relations between the paramount power and the States have to be interpreted in the light of modifications brought about by practices, environment, and existing circumstances. Some Princes, as members of the Chamber of Princes, in their own right, according to its constitution, or elected as representative members, on behalf of the so-called minor States, resigned from the Standing Committee of the Chamber at a time which made its working come to a standstill and have formed themselves a Committee of action. Mr. M. N. Roy, who is reported to have helped in the formation of Soviet Republic in Russia, has, in a scheme recently formulated by him, fore-shadowed the disappearance of the Indian States, by the amalgamation of their territories with the all-India State.

The Indian States are an unique body. Since Mr. Jinnah raised the cry of Pakistan,

which by the way is offensive to Indians, the expression "Indian India" seems to be standing in the back-ground. As a matter of fact, there is nothing common between the conception of Pakistan and the States. The latter have some similarity with what were the Federal Malaya States, although not federated like them. The doyen of Indian States, the Nizam's Dominions, might easily have been in the position of Egypt, if not of Ethiopia.

By a steady process of conquest and consolidation, the East India Company, backed by the Government of Great Britain, eliminated or isolated, the hold of European States like the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French on the Indian soil. By the treaties made with the Indian Rulers of States, which at first survived conquest and later the policy of lapse, they were isolated, all communication with even the brother Princes, living across the borders of their States, having to be made through the Political Agents, who were bound by the rules and directions laid down for them by the department. General Sir John Malcom's instructions to the members of this service are still followed in substance.

There have been vicissitudes in the policy pursued by the paramount power towards the Indian States. There have been periods of relaxation in the control over them. But the trend has been the same. It has been not many years ago since it was authoritatively laid down that paramountcy cannot be defined, after a meticulous examination of the *de jure*

rights possessed by the Indian States, by some of the keenest and renowned lawyers and men trusted by the Princes for their wide experience, wisdom and devotion to them.

The vasilation of the Princes, the strict isolation imposed upon them, the restriction on their correspondence and meeting, and their equipment, prevented the Princes from making any concerted effort to resist encroachments on their treaty rights. When at last there was relaxation in these matters, after much expenditure, labour and research, four bulky volumes were produced giving specific instances of such breaches. The highest legal opinion was availed of and an eminent counsel for enormous fees was engaged to prepare a case for the Princes. As indicated in a previous paragraph, the mountain of labour brought out not even a mouse.

Most of the Indian Princes had been accustomed to be subordinates, or even servants, of the Mughal Emperors. The grip was such that many Princes sought protection of the East India Company which, in the beginning of the 19th century, became the paramount power in India. Some others, which had as late as 1793, shared it with the Company, were forced into accepting subordinate alliances, after they had been crushed piecemeal. The name alliance was a sop, really they became subordinates, as a direct result of which the policy of lapse became prominent. Although it has been given up, it was preceded, and has since, been followed by the policy of bestowal of States, even resulting in the creation of new dynasties.

It is recorded that after the announcement by Lord Lytton of the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of Empress of India in 1877, great tension prevailed in the Darbar, until His Highness Maharaja Scindhia rose from his seat and welcomed this emblem of suzerainty, displayed by the paramount power. He was followed by others, some in similar, some, like Maharaja Holkar, in restrained terms. The shrewdest among them realised that the creation of the orders of Knight-hoods and their bestowal on the servants of the Crown and the Indian Princes, symbolically brought them to the same level.

His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwar, who was a boy then, realised in due course of time, that the foundation of the States was displaced. He publicly advocated the federal structure as the goal to be reached. The Chamber of Princes was the response. In a letter which he wrote to His Highness Maharaja Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, he recommended:

States should be fully autonomous, the agenda of the Princes' Chamber should be framed by them and not by the Political Department, the officers should also be elected by them, they should be allowed to put interpellations as regards the actions of the Political Department, a federal Court be established to decide disputes between the States and the Government of India, the States should co-operate with the Central Legislature in the matter of making laws and, lastly, in case of any differences between the parties, a joint conference of the representatives of them be held to resolve them.

One wishes that the States had stuck to these points, instead of taking the expensive and inappropriate course of seeking legal assistance. Perhaps even now it is not too late to develop the points made by the doyen of the Indian Princes.

Under the stress of the War, the interdependence of the Provinces and

States and the indivisibility of India, under the guidance of a central administration have been revealed. Resolutions centrally made are enforced or passed in the shape of normative legislation, as is done by the Provinces of Canada, in the case of some measures. The system once established, and in an increasing manner, cannot easily cease. In fact it has shown what all-India affairs are and how they can be managed. Not only the Provinces, but even the biggest States, which hitherto were critical of their rights, have to follow the regulations, in the making of which their voice is heard. Many of these matters used to be referred to the Princes' Chamber for discussion, examination and adoption. Now to that body remains only the consideration of high Politics. But the suggestions made by His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda, not having been implemented, the direction is not in its hand, in spite of its paraphernalia of Secretaries and Publicity Officers.

The Princes have many times affirmed and loudly declared that they do not wish to stand in the way of the attainment of Dominion Status by India. They do not wish to be a Pakistan, as vaguely, on the point of complete separation, not yet definitely talked by its protagonists. The circumstances seem to be leading them to the natural path of co-operation, if not full amalgamation, with the rest of India.

The most intriguing question for consideration is the preservation of their dynastic interests. It has never been claimed that they should be a cover of inefficiency in administration, nor can they embrace

inequitable distribution of the income of the State. On the other hand, promotion of the interests of his subjects has been the first duty of a ruler since ancient times.

The present tendencies are towards the formation of bigger States, if United India can be one of them. It has always held the position of the brightest jewel in the British Crown. The Indian States claim to have treaty relations with the Crown. That term includes not only the august person wearing that emblem, but his government, or governments, in different dominions; when India becomes a dominion, there will be his government in India. Logically it will have the supreme power over the Provinces and States. It is not possible to wink at this fact.

The federal structure fitted in the Government of India Act of 1935 has raised many constitutional, legal and national questions. As regards the States, the question of parting away with sovereignty in federal subjects has been the stumbling block. They have to part with something *de jure*. The Provinces stand to gain in power and authority. The former, who are constitutionally free from the jurisdiction *de jure*, although not *de facto*, of the commonwealth of India, are apprehensive of the unimpaired continuance of their rights, and especially, privileges. The Princes have also the additional task of maintaining and safeguarding their dynastic interests. Their joining the federation will, in due course, if not immediately, lead to the Princes becoming constitutional rulers and later, of the practical elimination of States, which owing to area, income or population, will

be unable to maintain themselves as individual units. The moment the States join the India Federation the questions touched above will come to the fore-front and will demand a solution. Dr. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill and the Nehru Report had foreseen these difficulties and complications. They had bye-passed the question of States. The Congress seems to be of the same opinion. The Leaders of the Muslim League also seem to endorse this sound policy. The procedure which the world war forcibly brought into existence, and which is bound to continue for sometime after the war, seems to offer a solution and suggests the solidification of the Federation of the Provinces, which in many matters, is proclaimed to be in force in many matters. It is in the interests of India to modify the Act of 1935, suitably by bye-passing the States, who are now becoming accustomed to co-operate with the Central Government. The bigger States are given the voice to state their views in all-India policies, which are framed by the Central Government and

the smaller ones follow suit *ipso facto* on a communication from the Government. What is lacking is supervision, as to whether the orders issued by the States are really and faithfully enforced, the doubt regarding which being due to the machinery at the disposal of the States. But that is bound to come later; in the meanwhile, any obvious breach can easily be detected and checked by diplomatic pressure. The procedure envisaged here will bye pass intricate questions and achieve the object, *viz.*, uniformity in all-India policy, maintaining the position of the States as being in diplomatic relations with the Central Government.

Questions like the degree of the autonomy enjoyed by the constituents of the Federation of the Dominion, or the Commonwealth of India, or whether it consists of two, or one State, in legal or treaty relations, can be solved later. They cannot stand in the way of the attainment by India of the status *vis a vis.*, the British Empire, such as would be settled by negotiations or by the course of events or even by the efflux of time.

THE PORTFOLIO SYSTEM

BY PROF. R. J. VENKATESWARAN, M.A.

IN the early days of British rule in India, the method of transacting governmental business was fundamentally different from what it has been since. The control and management of all departments of government were vested in the Governor-General in Council in their collective capacity. Neither the Governor-General nor any other member of the Council was head of any department. The law recognised only a

Governor-General in Council and by the Governor-General in Council all business was carried on.

The members of the Council had no initiative in any matter. They had no departments under their control and no right to issue any orders. The secretaries of the various departments would circulate among the Governor-General in Council all the important and unimportant papers.

Everything, small and great, must have the sanction of Government and must be actually stated and the orders given in Council. "A declaration of war and an estimate for an addition to a barrack a thousand miles off, may come next to each other in the Secretaries' bundle". The Governor-General had a very heavy responsibility to discharge, for "he had to lead off in every case, not only with an opinion, but by setting out the issues on which the opinions must be recorded". In the words of Lord Dalhousie, "A Governor-General is unlike any other Minister under heaven—he is the beginning, middle and end of all. Everything is the business and everything that is in progress must be begun by him and is invalid unless it is concluded by him".

This sort of working in a mass resulted in enormous delay. Administration became very inefficient, cumbersome and expensive. The "incident" of 1857 clearly convinced the Home Authorities that there was something radically wrong with the working of the Indian Government. They now realised the urgent necessity to make the Indian Government more regular and efficient so that it might be able to cope with the similar situations more effectively in future.

Lord Canning, therefore, introduced the portfolio system in 1861. He distributed the ordinary work of the departments among the members and laid down that only the more important cases were to be referred to the Governor General or dealt with collectively. Under this system, each member in regard to his own department, has the final voice in ordinary departmental matters. Only subjects of special importance and those in which it was

proposed to over-rule the views of a Provincial Government were to be referred to the Viceroy.

The introduction of the portfolio system ensured greater speed and efficiency in the transaction of governmental business. It was now possible for the Council to deal with important matters with greater effectiveness. Many matters which formerly came before the Council were now disposed of in the departments. Besides, the Governor-General was relieved of a great deal of relatively unimportant work and he was now able to concentrate his attention on the really important work.

The introduction of the portfolio system had no doubt given the Members of Executive Council some measure of independence and initiative but still the Governor-General occupies a predominant position. He is the head of the Indian administration in the real sense of the term. In the words of Sir Basil Blackett, "The Governor-General is the administrative head of every department of the Central Government"; and as such, he has the indubitable right, if he thinks fit to take part personally in any administrative problem". The functions of the government have in recent times enormously increased owing to the totalitarian nature of the war and so the number of portfolios have of late been increased. But no amount of reshuffling the present portfolios or creating fresh ones will solve the problems of the country. The Government of India is still "swathed in red tape and slow in movement". Thorough democratisation of the constitution is the only way to rid the administration of the rubbish of red tapism and make it strong and efficient.

[H.E. Lord Wavell, broadcasting to the nation on June 14, explained the new proposals to resolve the Indian deadlock and announced that orders had been passed for the immediate release of those members of the Congress Working Committee who were still under detention. He also said that he was convening a Conference of leaders at Simla, on June 25, to take counsel regarding the setting up of an interim Government at the Centre. The Viceroy also hoped that Coalition Ministries would be set up in the Provinces, and appealed to the leaders for support. The following is the text of Lord Wavell's broadcast speech.—ED. I.R.]

I have been authorized by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government.

These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention, in this broadcast, is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block, but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I, therefore, propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of central and provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to forming a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion.

HINDU-MUSLIM PARTY

The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except

for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member.

It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realize, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will, for the first time, be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's foreign affairs. Moreover, members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders, though their appointment will, of course, be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; but there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control, though it will, of course, not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will, in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

THE TASK OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be:

(1) To prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

(2) To carry on the Government of British India with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

(3) To consider when members of Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

INVITATION TO LEADERS

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council, and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:

(1) Those now holding office as Premiers in provincial governments, or, for provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held office of Premiers.

(2) The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly; the Leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League Party in the Council of State; as also the Leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

(3) Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as recognized leaders of the two main political parties.

(4) Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes and Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to-day, and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on June 25, at

Simla, where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt, to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

COALITION MINISTRIES

If this meeting is successful, I hope we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal; it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

THE RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultations with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of members of the Working Committee of the Indian National

Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention, as the result of the 1912 disturbances, to the new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depend on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

THE AESTHETICAL NECESSITY IN LIFE

BY MR. K. CHANDRASEKARAN

IN an age of unrelenting racial hatreds and total destructions, to talk of æsthetical necessity in life would seem impracticable, if not preposterous. But yet we cannot sufficiently admire the courage of conviction of Dr. Cousins in prescribing æsthetics as the panacea for all ills amidst us. Indeed his arguments* are so cogent and carefully worded, that he brings home with force "the æsthetical aspect of a New World Order is at least as important as the economical or the political".

Anything from the pen of Dr. Cousins, we can unhesitatingly conclude to be of a wholesome variety for our mental fare. His own outlook on life is integral, and, hence, his visions of a better world realistic. His knowledge of arts, not of one but many lands, claims for him our unstinted homage. We would do well, of course, to profit by his rich experiences and thoughtful utterances.

*THE AESTHETICAL NECESSITY IN LIFE. By J. H. Cousins, Kitabistan Allahabad. Price Rs. 3-12.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present; thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conferences have won high regard for their statesman-like attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick. There is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.

He takes us along with him on a voyage on the high seas of Art and Poetry. Very often we get the refreshing breeze of his own reflections blowing right in our faces. Let us follow him in one of such engaging observations of his: "But the arts, that are the materials, of Aesthetics, are not essays in logic: their demands on the intellect are mainly analogical: and beauty is not the end of an argument, but the beginning of an experience." Again how very true of artistic perception, when he says: "A single stroke (the figure one) is not esteemed a work of art: neither are three strokes side by side. The single stroke does not reveal anything beyond itself, and so does not reveal even itself: for nothing can exist of itself or be understood alone: the three strokes are equally unsuggestive, a mere triplication of the unexpressive single stroke. A unity of similars does not make a work of art: a unity of similars in life would make it a dull affair indeed; no interchange, no

variety, no stimulating controversy." Passages, like this one, should not fail to act as curatives to the prevalent disease of uniformity from the West, which is tending to take a tight grip of the Indian minds, despite their age-long conception of the fundamental necessity of art as diversity in unity.

Dwelling upon the influences of objective and subjective arts (for convenience, Dr. Cousins groups architecture, sculpture, carving and painting under objective or immobile arts and drama, dance, music and poetry under subjective or mobile arts) he has many interesting points to make. In India, the home of a wonderful tradition in the arts, much that was once our pride has been reduced to almost nothing by our utter indifference. Let us listen to the Lecturer's telling words upon these and allied topics: "The attentions of warfare have not yet laid inartistic hands on her (India's) cities or her country-side, and please God never will. But other forces, not less powerful than their immediate operation, have played the Devil's sappers and miners so well in the hidden places of her æsthetical life, that the vast masses

of her people have been brought down to an innocent degradation, and her educated classes to a sophisticated degradation, so deep that it takes pride in itself."

The treatment of poetry in the subjective arts cannot go without a word of appreciation. For he has realised the fulfilment on the side of the Universe in a recognition of its own "creation" and its "own eternal harmony" through the pellucid eyes and vibrating ears of the poet. And more than that he has realised what many of our English-educated countrymen have failed to realise that "the effect of so exalted a view of art is seen in every line of Rabindranath's poetry in a clear sweetness that is never sentimental, a calm that is never stagnant, a courage that is never braggart, a power that is never tyrannical, a beauty that is never sensuous, a figuritiveness that is always intelligent and illuminating; qualities each of high value for the purification of thought and feeling and action, and together an extraordinary gift from one man in our time in this favoured land for the regeneration of humanity."

THE SYRIAN CRISIS

THE explosion which took place in the Levant States some time ago startled the world by its apparent suddenness, but it was in fact the culmination of tension and intermittent crises spread over more than 20 years. In order to see the problem in perspective, we must examine its origins. French interest in the Levant is of ancient standing and in the latter part of the 19th Century, when the Turkish Empire showed increasing signs of breaking up, the French tended to concentrate their interest upon Syria, which was then Turkish territory. This development in French policy was supported by Britain, and in 1912, Poincaré was able to state:

In Syria and the Lebanon we have traditional interests which we intend to have respected. The British Government has formally declared to us that in those regions it has neither intentions, designs nor political aspirations of any sort.

LIBERATION OF SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

In 1915-16 the Ottoman Turks repressed their Syrian and Lebanese subjects with savage ferocity and the Arabs waited for their day of deliverance. It came with General Allenby's victorious advance through Palestine in September, 1918. The liberating army was British, for the French could spare only a token force. The Arabs in revolt against their Turkish masters rendered most valuable assistance and their leader, Amir Faisal, was everywhere received with enthusiasm and

by demonstrations proclaiming Arab independence.

Vigorous French protests against such declarations roused distrust among the Arabs, who had no wish to exchange Turkish bondage for western tutelage, but in November, 1918, a joint Anglo-French Declaration was issued, stating that the Allied objective in the Levant was the "complete and final liberation of peoples who have for so long been oppressed by the Turks and the setting up of national governments that shall derive their authority from the free exercise of initiative and choice of the native populations."

The part played by Faisal and his Arab followers in Allenby's campaign and France's relative weakness in the Levant at that time made the latter deeply suspicious that Britain was championing the Arab cause in order to exclude the French. France refused to take part in the Commission of the Peace Conference which Faisal had suggested to investigate opinion in the Levant. Thereupon the British also withdrew from the Commission and an American delegation carried out the investigation. Its findings raised the hopes of the Arabs and still further embittered the French by stating that their rule would only be acceptable to "considerable groups" in the Lebanon—and not in Syria.

Twice during the years 1919-20, Faisal showed himself ready to make a reasonable compromise with the French, but his followers would have none of it. In July, 1919, he gave his support to the holding of a general Syrian Congress, which demanded "recognition of the independence of Syria (including Palestine) as a Sovereign State with Amir Faisal as king". In the following March, independence was duly proclaimed. Meanwhile, an Arab administration had been set up in the interior.

ARABS AND THE MANDATORY SYSTEM

A month later the San Remo Conference entrusted the mandate for Syria and the

Lebanon to France and that for Palestine to Britain. * * * *

The imposition of the mandatory system under the League of Nations was a bitter blow to Arab pride. The allotted mandates were in the "A" class, which meant that the Mandatory Power was under an explicit obligation to train the population in the management of their own affairs and terminate the period of tutelage as rapidly as possible. In Mesopotamia (or Iraq), where the British received an "A" mandate, the organs of central and local government were established, educational, health and transport facilities were developed and by graduated stages Arab politicians, civil servants, doctors, teachers, etc., took over from their British opposite numbers. In 1925, Iraqi Ministers became responsible to a new Iraqi parliament. * * * *

In 1932, Iraq was admitted on Britain's recommendation to membership of the League of Nations as a sovereign independent State. Between Iraq and Britain a treaty of alliance had been freely negotiated on the lines of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

FRENCH CONDUCT IN SYRIA

It had been intended that a similar evolutionary process should take place in Syria and the small adjacent State of Lebanon. Unfortunately things went wrong from the start. France began with the handicap of an embittered atmosphere, caused by the fact that she was only able to assert her authority in Damascus and the interior after bloodshed and after driving Faisal into exile. Another handicap was the artificial character of the boundaries of the mandated territory; and unfortunately the inherent instability was increased by further dismemberment for the French enlarged the Lebanon (where their influence was strongest) and divided Syria into various States. The Arab nationalists in Syria began to look for the fulfilment of their hopes to the creation of a great Arab Federation, while the limited amount of responsible government introduced by the

French gave the Syrians no education in political responsibility.

The impatience of the nationalists was intensified by the accession to independence of other Arab States. In 1925-26, discontent blazed into rebellion in Jebel Druze and spread through Southern Syria. During the next ten years, all efforts to reach agreement broke down before the Arab demands for unification and full sovereignty. At last, however, in 1936, treaties of friendship and alliance with Syria and the Lebanon were concluded. The long tale of discord seemed about to end.

It is a tragedy that these treaties were never ratified by the French, owing chiefly to pressure from French reactionary elements after the fall of Leon Blum's "Popular Front" government. The delay caused fresh disorders in Syria and they in turn led (in 1939) to the suspension of the Syrian and Lebanese constitutions and the imposition of direct rule.

NEW SITUATION AFTER 1941

When the Vichy regime in Syria in spite of Allied warnings began to allow German infiltration, a British army with the assistance of small Free French units broke French resistance in a stiff campaign and occupied the country. On June 8, 1941, General Catroux, commanding the Free French forces, issued a manifesto in which he announced to the Syrians and the Lebanese:

I have come to put an end to the mandatory regime and declare you free and independent. You will, therefore, be henceforward sovereign and independent peoples and you will be able to constitute yourselves as separate States or unite in a single State. In either event your independence and your sovereign status will be guaranteed by a treaty in which our reciprocal relations will be defined. This treaty will be negotiated between your representatives and myself.

If reasonably quick action could have followed on these lines, the position of France in the Levant and in relation to her Allies would have been very different to-day. General Catroux's manifesto was

accompanied by a simultaneous declaration by Sir Miles Lampson on behalf of the British Government. In a subsequent exchange of notes, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, British Minister of State in Cairo, assured General de Gaulle that "Britain has no desire to encroach in any way upon the position of France." Both the countries were pledged to the independence of Syria and the Lebanon. Britain freely admitted that France should have a special position in relation to these territories over and above any other European Power—when this essential step has been taken and without prejudice to it. * * * *

BRITISH ATTITUDE

The British attitude was also expounded by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on July 15 and again on September 9, 1941, when he said:

We have no ambitions in Syria. We do not seek to replace or supplant France or substitute British for French interests in any part of Syria. We are only in Syria in order to win the war. However, I must make it quite clear that our policy, to which our Free French Allies have subscribed, is that Syria shall be handed back to the Syrians, who will assume at the earliest possible moment their sovereign rights. We do not propose that this process of creating an independent Syrian Government. . . . shall wait until the end of the war. We contemplate constantly increasing Syrian share in the administration. * * * *

EVENTS LEADING TO PRESENT CRISIS

Since then four years have passed. The French are not prepared to grant independence until they have their treaty and the Arabs are not ready to conclude any treaty which does not concede genuine independence. The Free French, while they were themselves struggling to gain recognition, were averse to signing definitive treaties which might expose them to charges from their critics of surrendering French rights under British pressure; and so they adopted the policy of stalling. After the liberation of France, de Gaulle's suspicion of British and American policy seems to have been inflamed by resentment of the fact that France was not included in all the discussions of the

"Big Three", and the unfortunate tendency developed to play off Moscow against London and Washington and assert French "greatness" by chauvinism and truculence. This was particularly the case in the Levant.

In February, as Mr. Churchill has recently stated, the British Government renewed its pressure on the Levant States to reopen negotiations with the French and this the Arab leaders were prepared to do. In April it became known that the Provisional Government in France were contemplating an increase of their local military strength, presumably to bring the Syrians and the Lebanese "to their senses." Repeated British representations that the sending of armed reinforcements would be bound to vitiate discussions by giving the impression of duress were ignored.

On May 22, the Syrian and Lebanese Governments issued an official *communiqué* stating that in their view the arrival of additional French troops was an infringement of their sovereignty, that the new French treaty proposals were incompatible with independence and that the two Governments had, therefore, refused to negotiate and had decided to unite for the defence of their freedom.

Tension mounted rapidly. On May 27, severe fighting broke out in Homs and in Hama. The British Government continued to urge the Syrian authorities to do everything possible to retain control of the situation and the French to refrain as far as possible from displays of armed force or other action which would prejudice an amicable solution by diplomatic discussion. Nevertheless, on May 29, after some Syrian outbursts the French began artillery bombardment and air bombing of Damascus and this continued with considerable loss of life until May 31. It matters little whether de Gaulle ordered these attacks to stop some hour before Churchill sent his "request" to cease fire or not, they should never have begun. Intervention had become inevitable.

ARAB NATIONALISM

The root of the trouble in the first place appears to be that French imperial policy is still dominated by their 18th century instead doctrine of "assimilating" dependent peoples of 20th century concept of "indirect rule". Indirect rule means the training of dependent peoples for self-government along their own lines. From this basic difference in policy arises the failure of the French authorities to grasp the significance of what has been happening with regard to Arab nationalism during the last 20 years. The formation of the Arab League, which is working for the formal federation of all Arab States in the Middle East, is a new fact of utmost significance in world affairs. It is not only articulating the Arab world but it is also bringing the entire Muslim world to its support.

INTERNATIONAL TRANQUILLITY

This movement can be either a danger to international tranquillity or an important stabilising factor according as it is handled. Realising this the British (and apparently the Americans as well) hope to see stabilised group of friendly, independent Arab States in the Middle East. On the other hand, the pre-1914 outlook which is unfortunately in the ascendant in the de Gaulle administration, regards this attitude as deriving from a sinister desire to oust France from her traditional interests in the Levant.

France is facing an internal situation which may become extremely grave in the near future. On the other hand, the peoples of France are closer to the peoples of the United States and Britain in mutual appreciation and understanding than they have ever been. Upon the continuance of that accord largely depends the vindication of Western democracy in the reconstruction of Europe. When tempers in Paris and Damascus have had the time to cool, the problem of Syria can perhaps be best handled by America, Britain and France in discussions with the Arab League.

12th June 1945.

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING his broadcast talk to the nation on June 14 (see page 418). Lord Wavell sent telegraphic invitations to the parties and persons mentioned in the speech, which included among others, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. M. A. Jinnah. In a message to the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi declared that he had no "*locus standi*" as the "recognized representative of the Congress, and that that function belongs to the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad." At the same time, resenting the use of the expression "Caste Hindus" by the Viceroy in his broadcast, Gandhiji in a statement expressed the hope that Lord Wavell had used the expression in "utter ignorance".

Telegraphic exchange of communications between Gandhiji and the Viceroy followed, as a result of which, Maulana Sahib, the Congress President, was also invited to the Simla Conference.

An emergent meeting of the Working Committee met in Bombay on the 21st which, after hearing Mr. Bhulabhai's account of the Desai-Liaquat draft, agreed to accept the Viceroy's invitation. In accepting the invitation, the Congress President made it clear that the Congress would under no circumstances accept its being termed a Hindu organization or a sectarian or communal body.

It would appear that Gandhiji and Maulana Azad were given full and plenary powers by the Committee to deal with all phases of the negotiations arising out of Lord Wavell's proposals to end the deadlock. The President was also authorized to take whatever action was necessary to implement the results of the negotiations. He would, of course, be advised by Mahatma Gandhi in any decisions he took.

In Simla the Viceroy had long talks with Gandhiji, Maulana Azad and Mr. Jinnah on the 24th clarifying the position of the parties on the eve of the Conference.

In his two-hour interview with the Viceroy, the Mahatma told His Excellency that, in view of his (Gandhiji's) "unrepresentative character" and in view of the fact that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the

Congress President, was attending the Conference, he would not be present at the formal Conference but would remain in Simla to continue to tender such advice as necessary "to all parties, including the Viceroy". The Viceroy, it is understood, accepted the position he had taken and had asked him to remain in Simla till the Conference was over.

The Leaders' Conference opened at the Viceregal Lodge at 11-30 on June 25, according to schedule, all the invitees being present, except Mahatma Gandhi. Lord Wavell's opening speech was brief, to the point and contained no verbiage. The outcome of the Conference, he said, "will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India." There was what may be called the Wavell touch in his opening speech when he repeated the appeal in his broadcast that "on all sides there was something to forgive and forget."

We have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities and of all party and sectional advantage and think of the good of India—the good of 400 million people. [See page 418.]

Except for the Viceroy's brief and businesslike inaugural address, the proceedings were confidential. From all accounts, the opening day's deliberations left little to be desired.

Next day, the Conference addressed itself to the various aspects of forming the Executive Council, such as the number and the proportion of the various elements. Having expressed support to the other aspects of the Wavell plan, the Conference reached a crucial stage when the leaders engaged themselves in an effort to reach an agreement on the composition of the proposed Executive Council.

The Conference was adjourned to meet on the 27th and again on the 29th so as to enable the leaders to carry on private negotiations among themselves. These included prolonged talks between Pandit G. B. Pant on behalf of the Congress and Mr. Jinnah, while the Congress President himself was in continual discussion with leaders of the Unionist group who were urging for representation

for Muslim soldiers of the Punjab in the Executive Council. Compromise talks between the Congress and the League were proving a difficult task, and the Conference threatened to break on this crucial issue. Gandhiji was definite in his enunciation of the Congress position. He told Mr. Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America:

This much I can say, that the Congress can never become a sectional organisation. Not that there are not communal-minded people in it, but the Congress can never work communally. Therefore, normally speaking, the parity principle should be distasteful to everybody.

The League claim, on which Mr. Jinnah and his associates are equally firm is that it alone has the right to name the Muslim members of the Council and that no Nationalist or non-League Muslims can find a place in it.

Five nationalist Muslim organisations, consisting of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the All-India Muslim Majlis, the All-India Momir Conference, the Anjuman-i-Watan of Baluchistan, and the Independent Party of Bihar, at a joint meeting, presided over by Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, President of the Jamiat, passed the following resolution:

* * The meeting further considers it necessary to reiterate that the Muslim League is not the only representative organisation of Muslims. In addition to the Muslim League, there are other organisations of Muslims which have been working for the attainment of Indian freedom and have been making sacrifices to achieve their goal.

It is futile for Mr. Jinnah to contest the Congress claim to nominate a nationalist Muslim or a member of any community to the new Executive Council as it has always been the tradition of the Congress to voice the hopes and aspirations of All-India, irrespective of caste or creed. This claim has been rightly recognized by Mr. Amery when he explained in the House of Commons that the Congress could nominate its Muslim President to the Executive Council. If the Conference should break on this issue, it would be disastrous for all concerned. For it would mean a premium on minority intransigence. It is unthinkable that a minority, however powerful or influential should be allowed to hold up the country's progress at every stage and

continue to sabotage the freedom movement. It is hoped that the soldier—Viceroy, who has begun so well, will not be deterred from completing his task. Much as one would prefer an agreed solution among the parties, it is difficult to see what alternative there could be for an imposed agreement.

The Viceroy has, therefore, tactfully adjourned the Conference for a fortnight—to meet on July 14.

As efforts made outside the Conference to reach an agreement among the parties had not succeeded, the various parties represented at the Conference were asked to submit their list of names to the Viceroy for him to make the final selection.

The Muslim League and the Congress have been permitted to submit eight to twelve names each from their own respective parties and additionally they can suggest other names outside their own parties. Other parties represented at the Conference have been permitted to submit three to four names each from their own respective parties with additional right of recommending any other name.

Accordingly Maulana Azad and Mr. Jinnah leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League respectively have decided to call meetings of the Working Committees.

Congress determination whole-heartedly to co-operate with the Wavell Plan and to make it a success by suggesting the names not only of Congressmen but of the best men in the country irrespective of their membership of the Congress organisation has been voiced by all front rank leaders.

Strangely enough, it is at such a juncture that Mr. Jinnah, who claims to be equally avid for freedom, has thought fit to strike a jarring note by harking back to his slogan of Pakistan. In his interview with Mr. Preston Grover of the Associated Press of America, Mr. Jinnah asks the Mahatma to drop the present Conference and work out his Pakistan scheme! It is the old story again. The riddle is not hard to read and Mr. Jinnah will soon realise that he has made the stunt once too often.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Release of Congress Leaders

WHATEVER the upshot of the Simla Conference, there is general relief and a sense of thankfulness that members of the Congress Working Committee who have been under detention since August, 1942, have at last been set free. Of course, the Wavell proposals would not have a chance of being considered by the Congress or Gandhiji in the absence of these leaders who should have been released long ago, even if there was any need for their detention at any time for reasons of security. It is a pity, however, that even this release at so late an hour has not been done with the grace and generosity that the occasion merits. Consider what fine and dramatic effect the magnanimous gesture of a complete release of all politicals would have had on the minds of the people. It would have touched the imagination of the people at large and created an atmosphere which would certainly have made a decisive difference in the reception of any political plan. As might be expected almost the first public utterance of Pandit Nehru on his release was tinged with grief:

My first thoughts are with those who are still rotting in prison. Against the grim background of suffering and humiliation it is not a matter for rejoicing that eight members of the Working Committee have come strutting out of prison. It is a matter for shame and sorrow that so many of our comrades are still behind prison walls.

The League's Claim Challenged

Mr. Jinnah, in a recent statement, claimed that 99 per cent. of the Mussalmans of India are with the League. This is a tall claim in the face of certain well-known Muslim leaders outside the ranks of the League fraternity. The general Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan himself admitted that the League holds only 420 seats of the total 600 Muslim seats in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. When more than one-fourth of the Muslim seats are in the hands of the non-Leaguees, how can Mr. Jinnah ask for the right to nominate all Muslims on the Council? "In the last General Elections", says Prof. Humayun Kabir, "the League obtained only 4 per cent. of

the Muslim votes cast and no Party or organisation can claim members except those returned on its own ticket."

Of the four Muslim-majority Provinces, the Frontier is represented today in the Conference by a member of the Congress and the Punjab by a member of the Unionist Party. Sind is represented by Sir Ghulam Hussain who holds his office at the pleasure of the Congress Party in the Legislatures, and has often changed his allegiance. The position of the Premier of Assam is identical with that of Sind.

Bengal alone is represented by a member of the League, but he has hardly the right to speak on behalf of the province after his decisive defeat in the Legislature.

Further light on the League's position in Bengal is thrown by Mr. Fazlul Haq in a telegram to the Congress President challenging Mr. Jinnah's claims. Says Mr. Haq:

In 1941, when I formed a National Cabinet in Bengal with representatives of all parties, only 42 Muslim Leaguers stood aloof in opposition out of a total Muslim strength of 123 members. I maintained the strength till I resigned in March, 1943, when many of my adherents were won over by the League by most questionable methods. In the last voting in the Assembly, when the League Ministry was defeated, I had 51 Muslims in the opposition against 61 Muslims in the League, the rest being absentees on both sides.

How then could the League claim to represent the main body of Muslims even in Bengal?

Mr. M. Yunus, Ex-Premier of Bihar, in a telegram to the Congress President, recalls that

not a single candidate was returned to the Bihar Assembly on the League ticket in 1936. At present out of 42 Muslim members, only three are returned on the League ticket.

No less emphatic is Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A. (Central) and President of the Central National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta, in a telegram to Lord Wavell. After referring to the "fundamental difference between Muslims in and out of the All-India Muslim League," Sir Abdul Halim says:

It would be an act of grievous injustice to a large number of Muslims who stand for the ideal of united India for the future if they are not represented in the Executive Council.

Finally, this Association submits that the All-India Muslim League cannot and does not represent all the Muslims in India.

Indians in South Africa

The Judicial Commission of inquiry into matters affecting the Indian population in Natal, more popularly known as the Broome Commission, has at last published its report, which in a sense may be said merely to refer the whole question back to the Government. While it has attempted to probe into the causes of the trouble—and its findings are unfortunately coloured by the same racial bias which taints the Africander's vision—no specific remedy is suggested. But we welcome its suggestion that the Government of India should send representatives to discuss this subject with the Union Government. For after all, the Indian question, or any aspect of it, can be solved only through negotiation and agreement—and not, by a mere fiat of the Union legislature.

But when the Commission suggests that the basis of such negotiation must be the recognition of the inherent right of the white people to a position of permanent superiority it obviously over steps the limits of decency and fairness. The Commission cannot be oblivious to the widespread resentment and indignation at the Union people's obstinacy nor ignore the growing volume of world opinion against S. African intolerance. To suggest, as the Commission does, that

Natal Indians should be granted franchise on the common roll with Europeans, but that qualifications for the registration of Indians should be more stringent than in the case of Europeans, so as to ensure that the electorate should comprise a permanent European majority,

may be a clever attempt to hoodwink world opinion but it cannot succeed. It means while franchise to the Indians is conceded in a way, European hegemony is permanently safeguarded. "So long as Indians continue to demand adult suffrage" we are told "a compromise or even discussion is out of the question." Why? Indians do not seek special privileges but they can accept no humiliating terms. It is no good arguing that Indians living in S. A. are materially much better off than in their homeland.

When you have denied a man the right to vote in even municipal elections, when you effectively prevent him from entering the higher professions, when you deny his children education,

and his community decent housing, when you deny him admittance into hotels, cinemas and other places of amusement, you cannot justify yourself by the argument that he may be earning more money than some of his poorer compatriots in India.

The report is on safer ground when it says that there is room for greater understanding between the people of South Africa and the people of India. It rightly recognizes that there is no use talking wildly about reparation. Thousands of S. African born Indians who have never seen this country and have no roots in our soil cannot be transplanted to order. It will be nothing short of a cruelty to ask them to quit what to them is still their native land. The Report therefore truly says

that, since they cannot be assimilated or repatriated they must be accommodated and permitted to live with other groups with the minimum of friction.

To that end then must the two delegations address themselves and hit upon a course of action that must ensure lasting peace in South Africa.

Independence vs. Dominion Status

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, is a clever man; but he attempted to excel himself in his exposition of the relative merits of Dominion Status vs. Independence. Speaking on the Government of Burma Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Amery explained that Dominion Status is in no way inferior to Independence:

"I am not sure myself," he said, "that the meaning of that term is fully understood. It is sometimes contrasted with Independence as if were something short of Independence and inferior. The Dominion Status is not one of Independence minus certain rights or privileges but of Independence plus the rights and privileges and practical advantages accruing from a world-wide association of nations like the British Commonwealth."

If that is really so, why should he fight shy of "Independence" and refuse to incorporate it in the Bill? It will be noticed that word is studiously avoided in his recent statement on India. If Dominion Status is a superior privilege, let him try it nearer home; Indians and Burmans are apt to say "Independence is good enough for us."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

British Government Election

THERE will be 1,672 candidates in the general election, cables Reuter's Special Correspondent. This does not include the three men who were returned unopposed, and are, therefore, the first members of the new Parliament.

The candidates are fighting for 687 seats. For only three candidates to be returned without a contest is thought to be an all-time record. In 291 constituencies, three candidates are in the field for a single seat. There are also 7 five-cornered fights. They are at Chichester, Handworth (Birmingham), Newbury Shettleson (Glasgow), Glasgow Central, and Patney.

There will be a record number of women candidates, the total nominated being 88.

Labour is the Party with the biggest individual candidature. They have got 601 men and women in the field. This is probably a record for a single Party. The Liberals have nominated 305, Common Wealth 22, Communists 21, Independents 42, the Independent Labour Party 6, and Scottish Nationalists 7. In several places, women are opposing each other. Mrs. Van der Elst, the opponent of capital punishment, is standing for Hornchurch, Essex, as an Independent.

Solve Syrian Deadlock

New moves in the Syria deadlock are reported. Firstly, General Sir Bernard Paget, British Commander in the Middle East, now back in his Cairo headquarters, is stated to have stopped at Damascus on his way back from Persia to talk with the Syrian President, M. Shukri Kouatly.

Secondly, new French proposals to ease the situation may shortly be in the hands of the two Levant Governments, while the joint note which the Syrian and Lebanese Governments are sending to France is being given final form.

Thirdly, the internal problem in the Lebanon has been solved and steps are being taken to set up a new coalition government in which the former Premier M. Riad es Solh, will take part.

A New World Charter

A World Charter setting up a new international Organisation to be known as the United Nations, has now been approved by the San Francisco Conference. The Headquarters of the Organisation will be in London.

The purposes of the new Organisation, "which is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members," are to maintain international peace and security and take effective collective measures to that end, and, to achieve international co-operation in solving world problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character.

The Organisation will have:

1. A General Assembly composed of all members, with power to discuss and make recommendations.

2. A Security Council consisting of 11 members—the five Big Powers as permanent members, and six non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly. On non-procedural matters the permanent members have the power of veto.

3. An economic and Social Council consisting of 18 members elected by the General Assembly to study and make recommendations to the Assembly on international, economic, social, cultural educational, and health questions.

4. A Trusteeship Council including States administering trust territories and other members elected by the Assembly in equal numbers. This Council will have power to pay periodic visits to Trust territories.

5. An International Court of Justice to succeed the permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

6. A Secretariat headed by a Secretary-General appointed by the General Assembly on the Security Council's recommendation. The Charter lays down that the Secretariat takes its orders from the Organisation and not from any Government.

The Polish Position

The London President of the Polish Republic, M. Raczkiewicz has issued a message to Polish people, in which he says:

The constitution of the Polish Republic imposes on me the duty of transferring the office of the President of the Polish Republic after the conclusion of the war into the hands of my successor chosen by the nation in a democratic election free from violence and threats of any kind. I shall do it immediately our nation is in a position to hold such an election. For the time being I will remain at my post.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



VERDICT ON SOUTH AFRICA (The Tyranny of Colour). By P. S. Joshi, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 9-12-0.

To those who are interested in the problem of the Indian in South Africa and in the history of the struggle he has undergone for over a century, this book will furnish a mine of useful information. It is in fact a scathing exposition of the tyranny of the Whites over the Indians in South Africa.

Detailed information regarding the various disabilities which our countrymen have been subject to for nearly a century and full particulars of the measures and acts promulgated by the South African Government calculated virtually to drive the Indian out of South Africa, are also found in this volume.

The author of the book, Mr. Joshi, went to South Africa years ago as an educated entrant and settled in Johannesburg. He actively interested himself in public work for nearly a quarter of a century and held prominent positions in various social and political bodies. He can justly claim that his book "is the first big effort to study the most complicated Asiatic problem from the economic and political standpoint" as it is the fruit of many years of study of the Indian problem there.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN. By Lakshmi N. Menon. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. Oxford University Press. As. 6.

In this short and stimulating pamphlet Mrs. Menon has contrived to give an engaging account of the position of women in India. Education, health, birth control, medical aid, maternal mortality, diseases of women, co-education, marriage, property, divorce, franchise and the history of the women's movement are the chief topics which she has treated with much sympathy and understanding.

WAR LEADERS: By Sarwat Jahan; **MEN WHO RULE JAPAN, A DIARY OF JAPANESE AGGRESSION; THE SPIRIT OF JAPAN** by Krishna N. Singh; **Fascism--THE JAPANESE BRAND** by Afya Khatun Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. As. 6 each.

Students interested in the present war find these booklets published by the Kitabistan under the "New Horizon Series" extremely useful and informative. The first of these gives a brief and readable account of about 24 military leaders of the United Nations, comprising Britain, U.S.A., China and Russia whose names have become familiar in this war. An attempt has been made to be as factual and objective as possible. The second deals in a similar strain about 20 leaders of Japan, who are responsible for the war in the East with China and America, while the third is a short chronicle of the record of Japanese aggression since 1885 up to 1943, revealing the trail of Japanese Militarism. The last two booklets briefly survey the traditions, the philosophy, and history of the Japanese people and their way of life. They give us an insight into Japanese religion and character.

INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY PLANS. By Dr. V. K. P. V. Rao, Second and revised edition. S Chand & Co. Delhi. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author points out that though the Indian delegation at Bretton Woods pulled as one team for the acceptance of the Major demand set out in this book (that of the inclusion of the liquidation of war-time balances within the scope of the International Monetary Fund), it did not succeed. Nor has the Conference conceded India's claim to a permanent seat on the Executive Committee of the Fund. In spite of these disappointments and drawbacks, India, he says, should accept membership of both the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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REFLECTIONS ON THE GANDHIAN REVOLUTION. By Y. G. Krishnamurthi. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd. 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, Re. 1-8.

An ardent believer in Gandhian ideals and philosophy Mr. Y. G. Krishnamurthi sets out to analyse basic trends underlying the non-violent resolution in this provocative booklet. He passionately attacks what he calls "negative Gandhism". He critically examines the temper of the Revolution and the quality of the Indian National development and comes to the conclusion that "the destinies of our society now depend upon the upshot of the conflict of Gandhi with Gandhism", and that the one form of resistance to evil which does not deplete the resources of moral action is the Gandhian technique.

GANDHISM: A SOCIALISTIC APPROACH. By A. N. Agarwala, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. As. 12.

Amidst the spate of books on Gandhism, this tract with its approach to the subject from a socialistic angle is extremely illuminating. Though Gandhism has grown into a mighty movement in this country the main ingredients of this school of thought have not yet been clearly established. Nor, has the position of Gandhism vis-a-vis socialism been regarded with a sympathetic and co-ordinating angle. This booklet makes an attempt to deal with the main tenets, technique and methods of Gandhism and the close relationship it bears with socialism in many respects with special reference to this country and shows the happy amalgam that is taking shape between the two.

BOOKS RECEIVED

:o:

YOUR FOOD. A study of the Problem of food and nutrition in India. By M. R. Masani (Tata Studies in Current Affairs) Padma Publications Ltd. Bombay. Re. 1.

THE GANDHI PLAN. By S. N. Agarwal. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi, Padma Publications Ltd. Bombay.

THE HEADMISTRESS. A Novel by Angela Therkell (Hamish Hamilton) Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 7-8.

SUPPERTIME TALES. By A. T. Mackay, Thacker & Co. Ltd. Bombay.

THE RUBBER INDUSTRY IN INDIA. By Prof. Dr. N. N. Godbole, All India Manufactures Organisation. Bombay.

THE CHINESE EXODUS. By Prof. J. C. Dasuvala, Hind Kitabs, Publishers, Bombay. Rs. 4-8.

IS PAKISTAN NECESSARY. By V. B. Kulkarni, Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Rs. 3-12.

SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM. The wisdom of God. Translated by Swami Prabhavananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore, Madras. Rs. 3-8.

GURUDEV. By Raj Purohit. An Essay in appreciation of Post Rabindranath Tagore. Sadhana Publishing House, Hyderabad (Dn.) 6 as.

TO WOMEN. By Amrit Kaur. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

THE COW IN INDIA VOL. I. By Satish Chandra Dasgupta (Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi) Khadi Pratistan, 15 College Square Calcutta. Rs. 10.

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEMS. By A Nationalist, Punjab Gram Sewa Mandal Book Depot, Lajpat Rai Bhavan, Lahore. 6 as.

EPOCH'S END. Translated from Bengali by Hirendranath Mukerjee, Mitralaya, 10, Shyamcharan de St., Calcutta.

THE NATIONAL FLAG AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Dr. Sumti Kumar Chatterji, Mitra and Ghosh, Calcutta.

OFF THE MAIN TRACK. By Dr. Surendranath Sen Mitra and Ghosh, Calcutta.

HISTORICAL TAMIL READER. By P. S. Subramaniya Sastri, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.

RACES AND CULTURES OF INDIA. By D. N. Majumdar (Lucknow University) Kitabistan, Allahabad.

TOWARDS FREEDOM. By Narain S. Mohita, Bar-at-Law, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

JAPANESE LIBERALISM: DECLINE AND FALL. By N. J. Nanporia, Kitabistan, Allahabad.

GANDHI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT 1942-44. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

COMPLETE INCOME TAX READY RECKONER 1945. By R. C. Doodhmal, G. D. A. Empire Terrace, Lamington Road, Bombay.

TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE. By P. R. Ramachandra Rao. New Book Co. Bombay. 3-14.

FOOD POLICY FOR INDIA. By S. G. Tiwari, M.A. Nand Kishore and Bros., Benares. Re. 1.

THE 20 CENTURY GAZETTEER OF INDIA. Hindustan Commercial, Bombay. Rs. 20.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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June 1. "Cease fire" in Syria following British intervention.
—Lord Wavell leaves London for India.
June 2. Moscow rejects compromise on Veto issue.
—Soviet urges pacific settlement of Levant dispute.
June 3. Bharati Memorial foundation stone laid by C. R. at Ettiapuram.
June 4. Lord Wavell returns to India.
June 5. Churchill denounced by Trade Union leader.
—Big four agreement on occupation of Germany.
June 6. End of Third Reich.
—Austria and Sudetenland separated.
June 7. Second reading of the Government of Burma Bill in the Lords.
June 8. Big five agree on Veto issue.
—Assam Government lifts ban on Congress bodies.
June 9. Spanish Government agrees to extradite M. Laval.
June 10. Arab League supports British view in Levant dispute.
—Subject People's Conference in London demands application of Atlantic charter and representation at Peace Conference.
June 11. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai meets Gandhiji for discussion on Wavell proposals.
June 12. Freedom of London conferred on Gen. Eisenhower.
June 13. Mr. Churchill replies to Mr. Bevin on the break up of the coalition. Mr. Attlee explains.
June 14. Birthday honours: Victory honours to high ranking generals.
—Viceroy broadcasts his plan.
June 15. Congress Working Committee members released.
—The King prorogues Parliament.
June 16. Von Ribbentrop captive at Hamburg.
—Gandhiji and Viceroy exchange telegrams re Simla Conference.

June 17. Congress President, agreeing with Gandhiji, calls an emergent meeting of the Working Committee at Bombay on June 21.
June 18. Maulana Azad, Congress President, invited to Simla Conference.
—Gen. Eisenhower welcomed in U.S.A.
June 19. Gandhi—Viceroy exchange of telegrams re parity.
—Pandit Jawaharlal urges need for change of Government.
June 20. Burma Governor promises self-Government for Burma without delay.
—Agreement on trusteeship reached at Frisco Conference.
June 21. Congress Working Committee meeting at Bombay accepts Viceroy's invitation to Simla Conference.
—Okinawa battle ends.
June 22. Britain explains intervention in Levant dispute.
June 23. Pandit Nehru gives his reactions to Viceroy's offer.
—Maulana Azad meets the Viceroy.
June 24. Gandhiji and later Mr. Jinnah meet the Viceroy.
—Viceroy agrees to Gandhiji's proposal that Mr. Azad should represent Congress while he himself will be available at Simla during Conference for advice.
June 25. Lord Wavell opens Simla Conference.
June 26. World Nations' Charter adopted at San Francisco.
June 27. Leaders' Conference adjourned till 29th.
—San Francisco talks end.
June 28. New Polish Government formed.
June 29. Simla Conference adjourned to July 14.
—Congress President invites Working Committee members to Simla.
June 30. Mr. Amery defends his India record.
—Mr. Jinnah springs a surprise by asking Gandhiji to accept Pakistan first!



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



INDIA AND BRITAIN

In the *Aryan Path* for June, Miss Elizabeth Cross, an English educationist, raises certain questions to glimpse a pattern in the web of Indian politics. The editor passed them on to Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., who points out that nations like individuals are very much alive to others' faults and not so to their own. Each lives in the midst of known faults and is too accustomed to them, he says, to realise how they would strike a stranger.

The Greek historians found great virtues among our people here. They had no interest in over-praising us or underestimating us. Even the early British administrators had good words to say of us, Indians. But we are now committing the unpardonable sin of asking for our freedom; and our faults and inadequacies have to be studied with the most minute care to justify the denial of freedom or its very qualified admission. . . . Incidentally it may suggest to far-seeing thinkers, how demoralising domination is, corrupting alike to the ruler and the ruled. Indians maintained their character with the Greeks who were their equals but lost it with the British dominators.

Miss Cross goes on to talk sneeringly of the caste system that there is "something definitely cruel and dangerous about this." She says in a superior way that the idea of the untouchables shocks her. Sastri points out:

The caste system had its admirers among the early British administrators. It served a good purpose in its day. Perhaps its day is done. I am witnessing every hour of the day numerous acts which under strict caste rules would be very, very improper. Where such rules have been found intolerable in modern conditions they have yielded. Where any features still remain no one feels them intolerable. And they are slowly softening now. Without entering upon its origin or its rationale, I will only say that if caste was not an unmixed blessing, it was not an unmixed blessing, it was not an unmixed curse either, but in so far as it had the potentiality of the

present friction, it had an unrecognized defect from the beginning. The system may urge in extenuation that no device for meeting a present undeniable need can ever be free of unanticipated possibilities of evil. Is not Science benevolent and beneficent? Has it not to defend itself now against the charge of responsibility for the present-day atrocities?

The really important point for Miss Cross is that she worries about us and also feels uneasy at the ancient doings of her ancestors in this land. She intends well. But her recipe for all the ills we suffer from—our high birth-rate and infant mortality and amazingly primitive agriculture—is yet more British rule after a century and a half of it! Mr. Sastri asks:

If even so perfect a country as Britain can only plead that she has grave problems of her own with which she is grappling, should not other countries be allowed to grapple with their own? Some day all tutelage must end, even though it may seem grievous to guardians that wards should attain age and claim their own.

As for us, we have received the blessing of British Raj and along with it the further blessing of not being able easily to extricate ourselves from it. Is not coming under foreign domination in itself a serious fault inexcusable at any time and for all time?

INDIA AND THE LEVANT

"Frank as Mr. Churchill has been and admirable as is his demand that the guarantees of Syrian and Lebanese independence shall be implemented by the British policy, he cuts a poor figure when India is drawn into the picture," says the *Cavalcade*, an important news-weekly commenting on the Levant crisis.

The paper adds, "It is certain that anti-British elements all over the world will make the comparison."

"India is not another story, but an integral part of this piece. So long as independence is sauce for the Levantine goose, but not for the Indian gander, a charge of hypocrisy can, and will be levelled against Britain."

MILITARY DESPOTISM IN INDIA

"It is hardly necessary to remind the readers of the *New Leader* that the Government of India is perfect, pure, military and bureaucratic despotism and has been so ever since the now far-off days of its founders, perhaps the two arch-thieves of all colonial history. Robert Clive and Warren Hastings," writes the eminent socialist, historian and writer, Mr. F. A. Ridley, in the *New Leader*, organ of the Independent Labour Party, under the title "How is the Empire?" the words supposed to have been uttered by King George V on his death-bed.

Mr. Ridley says:

If it is not accurate to describe the British Government in India as Fascist, that is only because Fascism is twentieth century in its methods. But it is actually a distinction without a difference.

At present British rule in India hangs only by the proverbial thread. Independence has been promised to this so long 'occupied' country. And though it would be nothing new for the English 'gentleman' to break his word, it is difficult to see how even Messrs. Churchill, Amery and Company will be able for long to avoid quitting India, at least in the political sense.

It is, of course, just possible that British imperialism might be able to hang on by sheer brute force for a time in the teeth of revolt or even revolution by unarmed India masses. British imperialism in India today is in the unique position that all its allies, for entirely different reasons, want it out of India. For China wants Asia for the Asiatics and Russia wants her chief European rival (England) out of Asia, while the economic imperialism of the U.S.A. desires herself to exploit the fabulous potential market opened up by the coming industrialisation of the Far East.

Consequently, as far as India is concerned, it may be safely assumed that the alleged question of King George V will shortly cease to have relevance. For different but effective reasons, the whole world wants the British out of India. And, peacefully or violently, out of India the British will soon go. Is Lord Wavell the last of the White Sahibs?

AMERICAN INTEREST IN INDIA

A friendly constructive attitude on the part of the United States towards both Britain and India in their attempts to reach an agreement is recommended by Edward C. Carter, Secretary-General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, writing on "the Pacific Basin and India" in a special British Commonwealth issue of *Survey Graphic* magazine.

Americans have India very much on their conscience. Many of them express opinions similar to those of Tommy Atkins in the malarial jungles of Burma when he grouses about British Imperialism, writes Carter.

Nonetheless it is well to realize that Britain has far greater responsibilities in Asia and the Pacific than the United States has ever assumed either prior to Pearl Harbour or since. Britain has dug deep into this vast area. Responsible Englishmen know that they simply cannot clear out overnight.

Progressive-Americans can best aid their own country, the subject peoples of India and Great Britain herself by recognising these British responsibilities, by acquainting themselves with the unfolding of more progressive British policy and by backing every democratic British move in the whole Pacific area.

Under pressure from Indian opposition and from enlightened public opinion in the United Kingdom British authorities have shown considerable genius in the art of conciliation. By a friendly constructive attitude, Americans can aid both the British and the Indians in making those major compromises and readjustments for which the whole world waits.

If Sir Stafford Cripps had had more latitude and the Indian leaders more statesmanship, the world might have witnessed yet another example of constructive British compromise.

REMINISCENCES OF SRIRAMAKRISHNA

Sri Mahendranath Dutta, the younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, who leads a secluded life of study and meditation in Calcutta, met Sri Ramakrishna for the first time about sixty years ago, and several times afterwards. He has related some of his most interesting reminiscences of Sri Ramakrishna in his latest book in Bengali, excerpts from which, translated by Swami Jagadiswarananda, have appeared in the *Human Affairs* for February, referring to his first meeting with Sri Ramakrishna, he says:

My first meeting with him took place in a summer evening of 1882 or 1883 in the house of Sri Ramachandra Dutta, my neighbour and relative. Hearing that the Paramahansa of Dakshinawar had come, a crowd of about fifty persons of whom I was one, gathered in the house almost out of curiosity. . . . All eyes were fixed on him. He was very simple and unassuming like a villager.

As I sat near him, I felt like keeping quiet. The assembled people felt a similar mood and sat silent. He himself was speaking a few words now and then. . . . His mind was always in such a high plane that when he used to speak, he brought down his mind by force from its dizzy heights. All present slowly got overpowered by his august presence and felt uplifted. After sitting for a while he began to murmur a song on Kali or Krishna. I had heard previously expert singers, but the song of Sri Ramakrishna was wonderfully inspiring. How sweet his voice was! He used to be absorbed so deeply in the ideas underlying the song that he appeared to float in the thoughts of the song, as it were. . . . Our minds got tuned with his mind. . . . I forgot hunger and thirst and also all my engagements. . . . His words were soft and convincing, forceful and intoxicating. When the time drew near for departure, I felt a sort of strong attraction for him. This attraction was neither affection, nor love, nor respect; it was the heart's desire to be in his holy company. . . . A kind of intoxication which overtook us all in his presence lasted for full three days at least in my case. Though I followed my daily routine as usual, I did not get any interest in them—my mind was away from them; it was with

Sri Ramakrishna, as if he had snatched it away. This, in short, is the impression of my first meeting.

Mahendranath Dutta particularly remembers the states of divine ecstasy (*samadhi*) in which Sri Ramakrishna would often be found, and giving a vivid description of one such state, observes:

Once in the house of Ramachandra Dutta, Paramahamsadev had come. . . . As soon as Sri Ramakrishna was garlanded he hummed a hymn in low tone and passed into *samadhi* . . . such a heavenly atmosphere of holiness and calmness, peace and blessedness was created that none wished to move his body or limbs. . . . Our breath became rhythmic and slow. Our minds lost their outgoing tendencies and turned inward. Those who never practised meditation in their life experienced a meditative mood. . . . Effluence that emanated from his body filled up the room like the fragrance of a flower, and overwhelmed us. . . . I have travelled in many countries of Europe and Asia, but I have nowhere come across such a strange man, such a God-intoxicated soul. To him God was all in all and everything else was trash.

In these reminiscences we get a glimpse of the sublime nature of Sri Ramakrishna's influence over the group of sincere young men who were gathered round him, knit together in the bonds of spiritual fraternity. Those who visited Sri Ramakrishna even casually became friendly, and talked of him whenever they met.

INDIAN HOME

The *Indian Home* has now become a well-established monthly catering to the taste of all members of the modern home in India—male and female alike. One evidence of its growing popularity is to be found in the publication of an Urdu edition—which is now issued in attractive style, printed in Roman characters. The May and June issues of this attractively got-up edition contain articles and pictures of versatile interest. They will be of particular value to the young, for whose special benefit many attractive features are included.

The English monthly is a miscellany of varied and striking interest. One notable feature is the publication of classic thrillers like those of Dumas and the more modern stories of Tagore and Chatterjee.

THE ART OF KHAISTGIR

Writing in the May number of *New Horizons*, Mr. Maurice Lee offers a judicious appreciation of the work of the Bengal artist, Sudhir Khastgir:

In the main his inspiration comes from the very homely and simple source of the life of the country folk. There is no place in his art for sophistication. The story he has to tell is that of life in its simplest and most genuine forms, the relationship of the peasant to his own environment. Sometimes it will be his religious ceremonies or practices, or the characters and deities who people his mythology; sometimes his harmony with or his struggle against the elements; sometimes the simpler human emotions—joy, grief, childhood, youth, courtship, marriage; motherland, old age. All these combine in his portrayals of simple village life; women going to the well, a party in a bullock cart going to the *meta*, a band of villagers trekking through the rain or through the night, a *Santal* playing the flute in the clear spring sunshine while a young girl dances. The dance is very favourite subject of Khastgir's, in the portrayal of which he excels, and which has resulted in some of his finest compositions.

Khastgir's choice of media, as befits his versatility, is most varied. From line drawing with pencil, ink, charcoal and with the brush, he works with equal facility in both oils and water colour. Although he is a colourist of considerable ability and originality, his chief pre-occupation seems to be with the beauty of line, whether he is working in colour or in monochrome.

It was at Santiniketan that Sudhir Khastgir first exercised his talent for modelling, and since that time his sculpture has developed alongside his painting.

For the most part his works are in clay. In the last few years he has produced a number of excellent portraits. To many, however, a greater interest is to be found in his studies and small figure compositions which, as with his painting, reveal his deep sympathy with the life of the common man.

WAS GOKHALE A THEOSOPHIST?

Triveni has published the full text of a speech in which the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri spoke of some little-known incidents of Gokhale's life. Touching the relationship between Gokhale and Mrs. Besant, Mr. Sastri observed, basing his narration on "Gokhale's own account:"

During one of her (Mrs. Besant's) early visits to Poona he (Gokhale) attended a meeting at which she answered questions from candidates for admission to the Theosophical Society. When his turn came he plied her hard and his manner perhaps appeared controversial. In her impatience she burst out: "Young man, when you come to be my age, these things will appear in a clearer light." That decided Gokhale against the Society. But 'thereby hangs a tail', as a wag has said. Long afterwards, Mrs. Besant and leading Theosophists continued to claim him as a member. Questioned by me once, he became vehement and said, "When next anybody calls me a Theosophist, deny it in my name; I authorise you." The time soon came when I had to convey this unpleasing news to Mrs. Besant. For a fraction of a moment she appeared nettled, but she at once recovered composure and changed the topic. Inquiry showed that an intimate friend of Gokhale had paid the prescribed fee of admission and maintained his name on the register for two or three years. I guess Gokhale was aware of this fact, but he was not a consenting party, and the dubious status came to an end soon. In Theosophical circles one may occasionally find the belief still in his continued membership, but the emphatic disclaimer that I have recorded should give a quietus to the story. But I must guard against a possible misapprehension. Gokhale to the last minute of his life gave testimony without stint to her unparalleled services to the country of her adoption, and, in personal behaviour, showed every mark of respect for her eminence in the world. She, for her part, never missed an opportunity of praising the pure gold of his patriotism, declared more than once that the columns of *New India* were always at his disposal and that he might treat the paper as if it were his own.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

RESEARCH WORK IN ENGINEERING

The Nizam's Government has sanctioned a scheme proposed by Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur, P.W.D. Member of the Nizam's Council, for the establishment of a Department in Engineering Research estimated to cost about Rs. 6 lakhs. Dr. S. P. Ragu, Principal, Osmania Engineering College, has been appointed as its head, and he has been asked to draw up a five-year programme in this connection. The subjects coming within the scope of this Department include irrigation soil mechanics, building materials, building and housing problems, road research, public health engineering, hydraulic machinery, agricultural engineering, and industrial psychology.

The Department proposed is to be located at Himayat Sagar, ten miles from the city, and research work is expected to be started early next October.

Hyderabad till now, had been handicapped for want of a research laboratory of its own. Minor researches, however, was carried out by students of the Engineering College.

NIZAM'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

With the appointment of Dewan Bahadur S. Aravamudu Iyengar, M.B.E., as Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council in place of Raja Dharam Karan Bahadur, certain readjustments have been made in the portfolios held by the Hon'ble Members of the Council, says a Press Note issued by the Government. The Hyderabad City and District Electricity Departments have been assigned to the Hon'ble Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur. The Wireless and Broadcasting Department has been assigned to the Hon'ble Nawab Zahur Yar Jung Bahadur. The Observatory and the Fisheries Departments have been assigned to the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur S. Aravamudu Iyengar.

Mysore

A SURPLUS BUDGET

The budget session of the Mysore Representative Assembly was declared open by Pradhan Siromani N. Madhava Rao, the Dewan-President.

The following is the financial position of the State in 1944-45 and the anticipated position in 1945-46: Total revenue in 1945-46: Rs. 9,26,70,000; expenditure met from revenue Rs. 7,46,80,000; expenditure met from funds, Rs. 69,85,000; net contribution to funds, Rs. 1,01,46,000, making a total expenditure of Rs. 9,18,20,000 Surplus, Rs. 8,50,000.

The revised estimates for 1944-45 are as follows: Revenue, Rs. 9,48,66,000. Total expenditure, Rs. 9,46,66,000. Surplus, Rs. 2,00,000. Net realisations from the Excess Profits Tax, exclusive of the sum refundable to assesseees, Rs. 40,00,000; revenue from assigned tract, Rs. 54,46,000. Excise and Abkari revenue showing a substantial increase is computed at Rs. 1,80,00,000 in 1945-46. A fall by Rs. 36,67,000 is anticipated from the duty on gold.

On the expenditure side in 1945-46, there is much increase on development activities. The expenditures are as follows: Education, Rs. 1,11,00,000; medical relief, Rs. 29,00,000; public health, Rs. 8,00,000; veterinary, Rs. 8,00,000; sericulture, Rs. 4,00,000; irrigation development, Rs. 27,40,000; expenditure met from the Road Fund, Rs. 44,88,000.

90 LAKHS FOR EDUCATION

The total expenditure on education in Mysore State has now risen to Rs. 90 lakhs, the average cost of education per head of population now working out at Re. 1-4-0. There is one school for every 3.26 square miles of area and 793 persons of population in the State. Over 4,83,900 students are studying in 9,043 public institutions in Mysore.

Baroda**BARODA SQUADRON**

The Baroda Fighter Squadron, whose equipment was provided for by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar in May, 1941, has had a notable career.

Throughout its work the squadron was equipped with Spitfires, and one of its outstanding successes was the shooting down of five FW 190's in the course of a single sortie. In all, the squadron accounted for 29 enemy air-craft destroyed, four probably destroyed and 15 damaged. At the beginning of this year, the Baroda Squadron was one of those selected to reinforce the fighter-bomber squadrons in action against V-2 launching sites. During this period the unit lost four pilots.

CHILD MARRIAGE IN BARODA

The Baroda State Information Officer states that out of 3,120 cases, under the Child Marriage Prevention Act, 2,968 were disposed of last year. The majority of the 5,464 persons convicted under the Act were fined and a few sentenced to imprisonment. The Act is proving beneficial as the number of child marriages decreases every year. Sixty-five suits were filed under the Hindu Divorce Law. Nine marriages were registered under the Special Marriage Act.

PRICE CONTROL ACT

The Price Control Act has been strictly enforced in the State. In 1943-44, 113 out of 132 cases on file under the Act were disposed of; 48 out of these resulting in conviction. Four of the offenders were fined and the remaining 44 were given terms of imprisonment.

DEVELOPMENT SCHEME IN BARODA

H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda has appointed Sir Cyril Fox to prepare a geological and hydro-electrical survey of the State. Sir Cyril has been asked to draw up a development scheme in the light of his findings.

Travancore**TRAVANCORE PUBLIC SERVICES**

Members belonging to various parties in the Assembly participated in the debate on the report of the Public Service Commissioner on June 14 and 15. Every speaker pressed the claims of his respective community for adequate participation in the public services and the consensus of opinion was in favour of retention of the office of the Public Service Commissioner, assisted by an Advisory Committee.

Mr. Nataraja Pillai, voicing the view of the Congress, said his party favoured the continuance of the Public Service Commissioner who, however, should not belong to any one of the communities in Travancore. They did not advocate the establishment of a Staff Selection Board, and felt it was more expedient to have a single individual to decide on the matter of recruitment.

POLICE FORCE IN TRAVANCORE

An appeal for the continued co-operation between the public and the Police, with a view to ensuring that the work of the Police was best done in the interests of the public, was made by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, presiding at the Travancore Police presentation parade, at the Council Chamber on June 14.

After presenting medals—two Maharajah's and ten Police medals—to the members of the Force for acts of conspicuous gallantry and meritorious service, the Dewan announced that Government have sanctioned permanent provision being made to the recipients of these medals, and their dependants, for a definite period in a manner analogous to that obtaining in British India.

GRANT TO Y.M.C.A.

The Travancore Government have sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3,000 to the Y.M.C.A. for the year 1945 for rural reconstruction work in the State.

Cochin**CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN COCHIN**

The Cochin Government has issued a press note, incorporating certain recommendations of the Cochin Co-operative Enquiry Committee for the efficient working of the co-operative movement in the State.

The Government agree with the Committee that in order to have better and efficient supervision, it is necessary that the non-official side of the supervision is strengthened and re-adjusted on a scientific basis, so that it may really supplement departmental supervision. For this purpose, the Government has directed that all societies should be compulsorily affiliated to Unions.

Each supervising Union will have a working committee of 5 members, of whom 3 will be elected and 2 nominated by the Registrar. The annual contributions to the various Unions have been enhanced.

COCHIN DEWAN'S TERM EXTENDED

The Cochin Maharaja has extended the term of office of Sir George Boag as Dewan of Cochin for another 18 months from November 17, 1945, states a Government *communiqué*.

Bikaner**NEW BIKANER LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

The first meeting of the new Bikaner State Legislative Assembly was held on May 28, 29 and 30.

When it was established over thirty years ago, the powers of the State Assembly were strictly limited, but with the new reforms, it has an elected majority, with 29 elected and 22 nominated members.

Other features of the reformed Legislature are the appointment of an elected Deputy President; the appointment of Under-Secretaries to Government from among non-official members of the Assembly, who will be attached to certain Departments; the enlargement of powers of interpellation; the right of moving adjournments; etc

Kashmir**KASHMIR ADMINISTRATION**

The Jammu and Kashmir State Administration Report gives an interesting account of the progress made by the State during the year 1943-44.

The total receipts during the year were Rs. 386.65 lakhs and the total expenditure was Rs. 376.63 lakhs. An outstanding event in the history of the judicial administration of the State was the grant of Letters Patent by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur to the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court the same status and independence as is enjoyed by the High Courts in British India and in certain respects higher administrative powers. The total number of Courts for the administration of civil and criminal justice at the close of the year under review was 158.

100 new educational institutions were added during the year bringing the total to 1,993 at the close of the year. 101,885 boys and 19,044 girls were on roll in these institutions. Though the number of Muslim boys receiving education is increasing year by year, proportion to their population is yet small. The Muslim students numbered 62,341 out of the total of 101,885 students.

The total imports of merchandise during the year amounted to the value of Rs. 4,74,23,000, while merchandise of the value of Rs. 90,74,000 was exported.

PRIME MINISTER OF KASHMIR

It is authoritatively learnt that the Maharaja of Kashmir has acceded to the request of Sir B. N. Rau for relinquishing the office of Prime Minister and has appointed Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramachandra Kak, Army Minister, as the Prime Minister.

Rai Bahadur Kak will hold office during the pleasure of His Highness. He will be the first State subject to be appointed to the post of Premier.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

'LOADED' FRANCHISE

A survey of Indian public opinion on the interim report of the Broome Commission shows that Indian left-wingers consider that whatever the Commission offers does not go far enough, while right-wingers while not accepting "loaded" franchise as ideal, feel that it is still better than nothing at all.

Mr. P. R. Pather Secretary, Natal Indian Congress, said: "I welcome the discussion by the Commission of franchise, but I expected that the Commission would make a recommendation. I have no doubt that, if loaded franchise were offered to the Indian community, responsible Indian opinion would accept it as the first step towards achieving full franchise rights."

Mr. Pather said that he expected that the Commission would deal with such important questions as housing, education facilities and other social and public health problems "but it appears that, because the Durban City Council was not ready with its case on these questions, the Commission has thought it fit not to touch on them."

SEGREGATION TACTICS

Indians are considerably perturbed over the Housing Emergency Bill which, while planning to meet the housing needs of returned soldiers, gives wide powers to Natal and other Provincial Councils for "Planning, re-planning or laying out of any areas."

This power, the Natal Indian Congress feels, takes the shape of planning on racial lines. Authority that was sought by previous Natal Ordinances, such as the Residential Property Regulation and Control Ordinances, for creating racial zones which were suspended as a result of Indian objections emerges in this proposed legislation.

Trinidad

INDIANS IN TRINIDAD

The most pleasing feature of Indian life in Trinidad as compared with that in the mother-country, is perhaps the harmony which has existed between the various religious and sectarian groups which go to make up the Indian community there.

During the hundred years of domicile in the Caribbean—there has been evident an unfettered social intercourse, a complete tolerance of one another's religious viewpoints and practices, which has strengthened the position and raised the prestige of the entire community in its relationship with the other colonial groups.

In the early days of their settlement here, the Indian population was predominantly Hindu, and that condition still maintains, although reduced because of the secession of converts to Christianity. In the beginning 90 per cent. were of the Hindu faith, while today there are perhaps 70 Hindus out of every 100, with the Muslims and the Christians sharing honours among the remaining 30 per cent.

U.S.A.

U.S. CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

Representative Clare Booth Luce, co-sponsor of the Indian Immigration Bill, disclosed that she and the former Ambassador to India, Mr. William Phillips, had testified before the Executive Meeting of the Immigration Committee strongly urging the Bill's passage. Mrs. Luce told *Reuter*:

I sincerely hope that partisan considerations will be set aside when the discussion of this legislation comes on the floor of the House and Senate.

The Indian Agent-General in Washington, Sir G. S. Bajpai, said:

The decision of the Committee is most gratifying and I sincerely hope that the Bill will find favourable consideration by the House and the Senate, and will soon be enacted into law. Naturally, I am most appreciative of the goodwill and support of all those Americans who have favoured our cause.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

CONGRESS AND WAVELL PLAN

"In view of existing circumstances, the Committee considered the proposals made by the Viceroy in regard to the Simla Conference fixed for 25th of June and it was decided that the President and other Congressmen invited to the Conference be authorised to attend. Certain directions have been given to them and they have been asked to see elucidation in regard to many matters which still require clarification," says a statement issued by the Congress Working Committee after conclusion of its two-day session in Bombay. The following resolution was adopted on June 22.

"The Working Committee meeting after nearly three years of enforced isolation have to consider numerous national and international problems which have taken new share and form. The Committee will meet again in the near future for this purpose.

Meanwhile, while recognising the efforts being made to establish a new world order, the Committee regret these efforts are being obstructed and vitiated by the ambitions and fears of the great powers who are often moved by motives of retaining their dominion over colonies and dependencies and preventing or delaying the freedom of these countries.

The Committee are convinced that world peace and any new international order can only be based on the recognition of the freedom of all these countries and elimination of all traces of imperialist control by whatever name it may be called.

The Committee reiterate their policy in regard to this matter laid down by the A. I. C. C. on August 8, 1942."

SUBJECT PEOPLES' CONFERENCE

A demand that all political prisoners in the Colonies be set free, and that democratically elected representatives of subject peoples be invited to participate at the Peace Conference on terms of absolute equality, with other delegates was urged at the opening session of the Subject Peoples' Conference in London last month.

The Conference was attended by representatives from Burma, India, West Africa, East Africa, Malaya, the West Indies and other Colonies.

The Conference affirmed that it was imperative that the Atlantic Charter should be consistently applied to all Colonial peoples, regardless of race, colour, or degree of social development, and suggested "that at the Peace Conference, there should be set up an effective machinery in the form of a World Colonial Council."

This would consist of representatives of the Colonial countries themselves, and it should be entrusted with the following tasks:

Firstly, to formulate a policy and programme for the unconditional and immediate ending of all Colonial systems.

Secondly, to supervise the establishment of representative and responsible constitutions, based upon universal adult suffrage in the Colonies and such constitutions to provide full statutory safeguards for minority rights.

Thirdly, to ensure that none of the territories at present under Japanese control are permitted to revert to dependent Colonial status after their liberation, and that the former Italian Colonies in Africa are given full rights of self-determination.

Fourthly, to bring about the immediate abrogation of all racial and discriminatory laws, such as at present deprive Negroes in America, Asiatics and Africans in Africa, and subject peoples generally of full democratic rights of citizenship.

Moving the adoption of these proposals, the Indian writer Iqbal Singh said that, though the voices were different, and came from widely separated countries, they told the same story.

LORD WAVELL'S ADDRESS TO SIMLA CONFERENCE

Inaugurating the Leaders' Conference at Simla on June 25, H. E. Lord Wavell said:

Before we begin on the agenda of this Conference, the outcome of which will have a momentous influence on the destiny of India, I feel there are a few words I should say to you.

First, I welcome you as men who, by character and ability, have risen to leadership in your provinces and parties. I have called you together from all parts of India at this critical moment in her history to advise and help me in advancing India towards prosperity, political freedom and greatness. I ask you to give me that help in a spirit of broad co-operation towards the good of India as a whole.

It is not a constitutional settlement, it is not a final solution of India's complex problem that is proposed. Nor does the Plan in any way prejudice or prejudice the final issue but if it succeeds, I am sure it will pave the way towards a settlement and will bring it nearer.

The statesmanship, wisdom and good-will of all of us is here on trial, not merely in the eyes of India but before the world.

I said in my broadcast that on all sides there was something to forgive and forget. We have got to rise above the level of old prejudices and enmities, and of party and sectional advantage and think of the good of India, the good of four hundred million people and how we can best combine to implement these new proposals made by His Majesty's Government for the advancement of India, now and in the future. It will not be easy, and unless we can place our deliberations at a high common level, we shall not succeed.

You must accept my leadership for the present. Until there is some agreed change in the constitution, I am responsible to His Majesty's Government for the good and tranquillity of India. I ask you to believe in me as a sincere friend of India. I will endeavour to guide the discussions of this Conference in what I believe to be the best interests of this country.

On the column which stands in front of the Viceroy's House crowned by the star of India are engraved these words:

"Give in thought faith, in words wisdom, in deed courage, in life service, so may India be great." They will make a good guide for our Conference.

PANDIT NEHRU AT PRESS CONFERENCE

Addressing a Press Conference in Bombay, Pandit Nehru gave his views on many subjects. Referring to the Indian Army, Pandit Nehru said:

It is a very fine fighting force. Wherever it had a chance, it has done exceedingly well. But I am convinced in my mind, that it would have done infinitely better, if it had been given a national colouring. National sentiment is bound to have influence.

Pandit Nehru said that, during the Cripps discussions, he asked Sir Stafford:

If we are in charge of Government, our first job is to infuse a national spirit in the army and make the soldiers feel they are a national army and make India feel that this is our army fighting for freedom and democracy and the freedom of our country.

Pandit Nehru had also told Sir Stafford that their first job would be to remove the barriers that isolated the people from the Indian soldiers. And Sir Stafford replied: "I am afraid that cannot be done. It is not a national army. It is not an Indian army. It is an Indian sector of the British army."

Pandit Nehru said that he asked Sir Stafford, "What about an Indian militia?" and Sir Stafford had replied that that was a matter for the Commander-in-Chief. Even the militia would have to function under the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Nehru said that when they used the word 'mercenary', it was not done in a disparaging sense of the army itself, but as a legal technical name.

As regards the August disturbances, Pandit Nehru said that he did not defend the actions of the people involved in the disturbances, but the normal reaction of an Indian would be to say:

"To hell with anyone who tries to push us out of the way." Violence or non-violence, it is more important for people to show courage than to be kicked and harried about by any individual or authority. If the British Government again launches an attack on us, it will be met and met by every man wherever he is attacked. It may be met by ten or a thousand. Many may take it lying down. A nation which submits to this kind of treatment is a dead nation. And I do not want my people to be a dead people. And therefore, if such a thing is done, it must be resisted.

KING'S HOPE FOR INDIA

King George expressed his "earnest hope" that the invitation to Indian political leaders to take part in the government of British India would be accepted.

The King made this reference to India in his speech proroguing Parliament read for him in the temporary House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Simon.

The King said: "My Government have authorized the Governor-General of India to invite participation of Indian political leaders in the Government of British India. I earnestly hope that this invitation will be accepted so that the immediate tasks of the waging of war against Japan and post-war development of India may be undertaken with full co-operation of all sections of Indian public opinion."

MR. SUMNER WELLES ON INDIA

Enlightened quarters in America have been told the real truth by a timely publication entitled "Guide to peace" edited by Mr. Sumner Welles, containing short articles on all countries. The following observations on India are extracts from it:

At the outset of the war when, by a decree of the Viceroy, India was declared at war with Germany, resentment was keen because the Viceroy had failed even to consult them. . . . When Japan attacked Britain and America, Tokyo confidently expected that India would rise against her British overlords, but Gandhi and Nehru took a patriotic stand. The Japs set up an opposition Government in Singapore under Subhas Bose, but it had no following in India. . . . The Japs' record in China, for which India felt sympathy, was enough to make Indians sceptical and distrustful of the Japs. . . . In 1942 the British sent Sir Stafford Cripps, but even this socialist resisted the demands of the Indian—that they be given effective control of their Government even during the period of the war—and offered instead freedom only after the war. Congress replied that if Britain entrusted it with real power now, it would fully support war effort; otherwise, it would resort to civil disobedience. . . . Among the masses there was active support for the United Nations, but little genuine enthusiasm. India noted carefully, Mr. Churchill's assertion that he did not intend to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, and his statement that the Atlantic Charter did not imply

the independence of India. . . . Too much of India's economic improvement has been dictated by the need of profitable investment or by magnificent projects dear to the various Viceroys, but these have not touched the heart of India's economic problem.

The article concludes with the following note on the future:

Thus the Indian National movement, which began by emphasizing its own needs under Gandhi, will, under the guidance of leaders like Nehru, also serve in the larger framework of a progressive Asia and thus India will take her proper place in the World Organization.

THE AGA KHAN'S PLEA

H. H. the Aga Khan has sent a cable to Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad suggesting that the Congress should take the lead in the final solution of all political differences in India, including the problem of Indian States. The Aga Khan commends for their consideration the constitution of an Indian Commonwealth of Nations "based on a union of hearts and interests and not on majority force."

The first step towards the establishment of such a Confederation would be the constitution of Muslim-majority provinces in the west into one bloc and a united Bengal-Assam bloc in the east, the federation of Indian States in groups and then their entrance into a great Confederation.

The Aga Khan suggests that his proposal, if accepted, will solve the complicated problems of Indian States, Ceylon and Burma and possibly, Afghanistan might join the Confederation later on.

The Aga Khan concludes: "Please forgive my intrusion on your most precious time at this juncture and believe me the motive of my suggestion is sincere and motivated by profound feelings and no hostility towards the Congress. You are welcome to throw it to the waste paper basket."

The Congress President has sent the following telegram to H. H. the Aga Khan:

"Thanks cablegram. Present problems concern interim period only. Hence no question of permanent structure arises. Awaiting pleasure our meeting near future."

STUDENTS' PLIGHT

Moved by the heart-rending scenes of the students vainly trying to get admission into colleges, the Corporation of Madras passed a resolution requesting the Syndicate of the Madras University to relax the rules of admission and take in as many deserving students seeking admission as possible.

At a meeting of the Syndicate of the Madras University held on June 30, it was resolved to empower the Vice-Chancellor to permit colleges to admit students to courses in Humanities ordinarily up to a maximum of 50, the number depending on the facilities available in each college, provided the educational staff that might be necessary is guaranteed.

The Syndicate also authorised the Vice-Chancellor to consider in special cases where equipment, staff and laboratory facilities are available, a small increase in admissions in the Science subjects.

"This provision," the Syndicate has made it clear,

is purely temporary and is an emergency measure and will lapse at the end of the academic year, unless the college authorities are able to satisfy the Syndicate through the general Inspection Commission that sufficient facilities are available for the increase in strength to be recognised permanently.

The Syndicate hopes, however, that steps will be taken immediately by the authorities concerned to constitute a committee to review the whole position of higher education in this Presidency as well as the needs of secondary education, and to evolve a plan which may be put into effect immediately to prevent repetition of a similar situation arising in future years.

Lastly, while the Syndicate appreciates the interest taken by outside bodies and is always anxious to benefit by such advice as may be tendered, it desires to make it perfectly clear that in matters pertaining to university education, the prime consideration is the need to maintain standards and to secure at least the minimum of efficiency in all educational institutions, and, to this end, it should be largely guided by the advice of educational authorities and by decisions of University Statutory Bodies.

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMITTEE

A notification in the *Gazette of India* announces the appointment of a University Grants Committee on the lines suggested in the Sargent Report on post-war education in India. The members of the Committee, who will hold office for five years, are Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, Jaipur State (Chairman), Mrs. S. N. Ray, M.L.A. (Central), Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, M.L.A. (Central) and Dr. W. A. Jenkins, I.E.S. (Retired), Members.

The Committee will, in the first instance, deal in a consultative and advisory capacity with the Universities which are central subjects, namely, Aligarh Muslim, Benares Hindu and Delhi Universities. The Committee will make enquiries and recommendations regarding (1) the lines on which the universities should develop; (2) the additional amounts in the form of grants-in-aid from public funds required for this, and (3) the co-ordination of their activities with a view to avoiding unnecessary overlapping.

MADRAS PROFESSOR FOR BOSTON

Dr. Eddy Asirvatham, Reader in Politics and Public Administration, Madras University, has been offered the post of Visiting Professorship in international politics with special reference to post-war reconstruction, in the Boston University.

Dr. Asirvatham has accepted the offer and has left India for America.

The Doctor will hold the office of 'Visiting Professorship' for one year, after which period he will rejoin the Madras University as Reader in politics.

MR. RAJAN AT CAMBRIDGE

Mr. B. Rajan, the only Indian fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has been appointed supervisor for studies of English literature of the university. Mr. Rajan was formerly President of the Cambridge University Majlis, and its members gave him a reception on his election to fellowship of Trinity College.

CONTEMPT OF COURT

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has of late severely discounted the over-sensitiveness of the Bench and Bar in India to provocative language used by counsel or litigant in the course of judicial proceedings. In the latest case, says the *Times of India*, the initiative was taken, curiously enough, by the Bombay Bar, over what the Privy Council regards as merely a foolish and hackneyed gibe against the legal profession in general. It may be that in the Bombay case the judge and counsel were influenced by a long course of irritating conduct on the part of the party responsible for the offensive observation; but irritation experienced by individuals, whether judge or counsel, is not contempt of court. The essence of contempt lies in an attempt by words or action to interfere with the course of justice, and the power to commit for contempt is given to courts of law to secure due administration of justice. The power is no doubt indispensable, but it is to be sparingly used in serious cases, with a due sense of proportion, regardless of personal considerations. To use it to suppress methods of advocacy which are merely offensive is, in the view of the Judicial Committee, to use it for a purpose for which it was never intended.

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND VOTING

Can the name of a political prisoner be struck off the list of voters during his absence in jail? This important question has been decided by the District and Sessions Judge of Jubbulpore.

When Seth Govindas, M.L.A. (Central) was released from jail, he found that his name was missing from the recently prepared electoral rolls for the Central Legislative Assembly. He filed a petition in the Court of the District and Sessions Judge proving for the insertion of his name. The Deputy Commissioner of

Jubbulpore put forward a plea that the name had been struck off as the petitioner had violated the electoral rule which required that a voter should not be absent from his constituency and his residence for more than 180 days prior to the preparation of the electoral roll. Seth Govindas in his defence stated that since he was detained in jail as a security prisoner he had no freedom to reside in his house. Therefore it was not his fault that he stayed out of his house for more than 180 days.

The judge accepted Seth Govindas' explanation and ordered the inclusion of his name in the electoral roll for the Central Legislative Assembly.

KULASEKHARAPATNAM PRISONERS

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has addressed a further communication by telegram on the Kulasekharapatnam case, asking His Excellency Lord Wavell to consider the question of clemency on the special ground that there was no plan to cause the death of any person and that therefore the death sentences might be commuted.

Mr. Rajagopalachari has drawn the Viceroy's attention to a recent Privy Council judgment, laying down a strict rule that constructive liability for murder can lie only where a deliberate plan to murder is proved.

The matter, it is learnt, is still pending consideration of the Viceroy.

MASS TRIAL OF WAR CRIMINALS

It is understood that the proposal by the American Representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, Justice Jackson, that all major war criminals should be put into the dock together for a mass trial on a charge of conspiring to wreck world peace has been taken up by the British, French, and Russian representatives.

COMPULSORY WAR RISKS INSURANCE

The Government of India have decided to grant insurance cover free of all premia in respect of war risks insurance for goods and factories for the quarter beginning with July. This will be in respect of existing policies only. The Government will charge a premium of 3 pies per Rs. 100 per annum in respect of new policies for war risks insurance for goods and 1½ pies per Rs. 100 per annum in respect of new policies for war risks insurance for factories. It is estimated that the loss from this concession will be about Rs. 3½ crores yearly.

Compulsory war risks insurance was introduced by the Government of India as insurance companies were not in a position to undertake war risks insurance on an extensive scale at cheap rates. It was when the Japanese threat to India, especially to Bengal and Assam, was liable to dislocate the economic fabric of the country that the Government of India, in response to public demand, stepped in and began covering goods at a low premium of half-anna per Rs. 100 per annum. This premium was raised subsequently to 3 annas. Factories insurance soon followed. The Government, by means of the premia, have been able to create a fund in the neighbourhood of Rs. 40 crores. The Indian scheme is superior to that in United Kingdom, as it covers the insurer against damage from "Denial Policy," as also against accidents from explosions.

With the improvement in the war situation, the Commerce Department has now decided to introduce the scheme of free insurance both for goods and factories.

Thus all policies expiring on June 30, 1945, issued under the War Risk (Goods) Insurance Scheme shall, without the payment of any further premium, be deemed to be effective for the quarter ending September 30, 1945.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The Government of India, it is learned, are considering the modifications recently made in the report submitted by Prof. B. P. Adarkar, Officer on special duty in the Labour Department and Member, Labour Investigation Committee, Government of India, suggesting a scheme of health insurance. The scheme is intended to provide security of income during sickness and cure and prevention of disease to industrial workers in India.

The scheme is both compulsory and contributory and applies, in the first instance, to three groups of factory industries, namely, Textiles, Engineering, Minerals and Metals, covering nearly 60 per cent. of factory workers or about 12 lakhs of workers out of a total of some 20 lakhs. In due course it may be extended to other industries. The total budget of the scheme is expected to be about Rs. 252 lakhs per annum.

INSURANCE INQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Insurance Inquiry Committee presided over by Sir Cowasji Jehangir, has been examining a number of witnesses.

The Committee is appointed to inquire into and recommend measures to check certain undesirable trends and features in the management of insurance companies in India. The other members of the Committee are: Mr. Wajahat Hussain, Sir Alan Lloyd, Mr. K. Mitter, Sir George Morton, Mr. K. R. P. Shroff and Mr. L. S. Vaidhyathan.

Mr. Vaidyanathan acts as Secretary of the Committee.

LIFE SPAN IN BRITISH INDIA

Untold millions of people are deprived of their normal span of life by ignorance, poverty and curable diseases.

How economic and social developments have affected the lives of various peoples are shown in the following comparative figures of life-expectation:

New Zealand 66 years; America 63; Britain 62; Russia and Europe 41; Egypt 34; British India 27.

DOLLAR LOANS FOR INDIA

The United States Government Import and Export Bank is very anxious to help promote vigorous commercial relations between India and the United States, according to Mr. Wayne Taylor, head of the Bank.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal and the Indian Agent-General, Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, visited Mr. Taylor, and discussed general questions relating to possibilities of extending certain dollar loans to aid Indian industrialisation programme.

After the interview, Mr. Taylor told *Reuter*: "We have had a very satisfactory conversation and I tried to explain to Sir Ardeshir the exact situation of the Bank. At present, due to restrictions imposed on us by the Johnson Act, we cannot make any loans to India. However, when legislation for repeal is adopted by both Houses, which I sincerely hope it will be, we will certainly consider the possibility of granting certain loans to India for purchase of American capital goods. On the whole question of Indian-American trade, our Bank is very anxious to help promote vigorous commercial relations between the two countries, India has tremendous economic potentialities and we are very well aware of that fact."

INDIA'S CLAIM ON BRITAIN

"As a backward country, and in view of her long association with Britain, India has a special claim upon Britain for the necessary assistance in the matter of the supply of machines, and technical skill for her rapid industrial development, and it is satisfactory to note that most businessmen in Britain now appreciate this," declared Mr. N. R. Sarkar, President of the Calcutta Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce, and one of the seven Indian industrialists at present visiting Britain on business.

Mr. Sarkar added: "Each individual member of the Indian delegation would

like to place orders with Britain, if the delivery date, and price, can satisfactorily be arranged."

That is definite, stated one of the party's economic advisers. "It was decided at an informal conference."

Mr. Sarkar affirmed: "The industrialisation of India will not injure British interests. In the long run, it will prove to be to the mutual advantage of both India and Britain. A prosperous India will mean a very much better market for British goods although the type of goods that will be exported to India in the future will differ naturally from the kind of goods hitherto exported."

"From the talks I had with British industrialists, I am convinced that they are anxious to supply us with what we need as soon as conditions enable them to do so."

BRITISH TRADE WITH INDIA

British aid in the industrialisation of India will receive an immediate impetus with the relaxation of certain British export licensing restrictions covering a wide range of goods, including many classes of machinery.

The Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, Mr. Spencer Summers, told a British food, machinery, industrials and export group in London that it would no longer be necessary to obtain an export licence for the type of machinery they are interested in exporting.

Referring to the industrial plans of various countries, he said: "Your trade is well placed to cater for such ideas. Particularly is this true of India and I am delighted to be told that India is the first country in which you are likely to develop elaborate plans for the promotion of exports."

"I hope you will take full advantage of growing facilities to send your representatives abroad and I am sure they will have a hearty welcome in India which is so anxious to industrialise her activities."

MRS. PANDIT'S APPEAL TO LEADERS

Attacks on "religious bigots," whom they accused of threatening the fate of the Simla Conference, were made by Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit and Dr. Syed Hossain, Chairman of the National Committee for India's freedom to-day.

Describing the adjournment of the Conference as "unfortunate," Mrs. Pandit said: "At this period of national and international crisis only one thing is important—that India should take her rightful place among the free nations of the world and thereby contribute her share to the solution of vital world problems. A special responsibility rests on her, because with her own freedom is linked the freedom of the other dependent areas. It must not be said that India's cause was held back because reactionary individuals and religious bigots failed to grasp the significance of world events. I hope Indian leaders, both Hindus and Muslim, will have the necessary vision and courage to submerge all minor issues and give the right lead."

MISS BADEN-POWELL

Miss Agnes Baden-Powell, who has died at the age of 86, was a marked individualist. Over forty years ago, she made balloon flights and was one of the first women in England to drive a motor car. Her progress down Bond Street, created something of a stir, especially since she was preceded by a man carrying a red flag. She also flew in gliders as early as 1903.

Miss Baden-Powell spoke nine languages, rode a bicycle almost up to the day of her death, slept under canvas with the Wands-worth Girl Guides when she was 80 and in her London house kept bees which were housed between an organ and a grand piano in the drawing room.

When at her brother's request she founded the Girl Guide movement in 1909, she did all the organizing herself and carried the movement to success in face of opposition which seems incredible to-day.

MEMORIAL TO BEGUM AZAD

The Lahore Students' Congress have launched a drive to collect 2,00,000 annas for raising a memorial for the late Begum Azad, wife of the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Sixty per cent. of the proceeds will go to the construction of Begum Azad Ward in Kamala Nehru Hospital.

The fund was opened on June 23 by Dr. Khan Sahib, the Premier of N.-W.F.P. when he came to Lahore en route to Simla. The opening ceremony of the fund was witnessed by more than 300 students who had come to give Dr. Khan Sahib a reception at the railway station. While giving a message to the organizer of the fund, he said, "In your noble work that you have started I wish you all success".

MRS. LEELA PATIL

Mrs. Leela Patil, a political convict, escaped on the 3rd of last month from the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, where she was brought for medical treatment from the Yeravada Central Jail.

Mrs. Patil was undergoing a term of imprisonment for an offence committed in East Khandesh.

It appears that on the evening of her escape, Mrs. Patil requested the police constable, who was kept to watch her, to allow her to go for a walk in the hospital garden. She managed to give the constable the slip while taking the walk.

A search is being carried out for her by the Poona Police throughout the district.

THE LATE COUNTESS BALDWIN

Countess Baldwin, wife of Lord Baldwin, who as Mr. Stanley Baldwin was three times Prime Minister of Britain in the period between the two Great Wars, died suddenly following a heart attack.

A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE
Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes:

A New History of the Indian People, containing the fruits of the latest research and written by India's own sons in a popular style and priced so low as to be within the reach of all of our countrymen, was planned by Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar in 1938 as a much-needed national undertaking. For carrying the work out a society named the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad was registered at Benares and steps were taken to distribute the chapters among suitable scholars. Owing to the war and the dispersion of scholars and libraries, four years were lost. But now two most important and interesting volumes are ready for the press and a third is half complete. The complete volumes on the Maurya and Gupta Ages have reached my hands in manuscript, and the press has agreed to finish printing them before the end of October next. The Gupta volume has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar and the Maurya volume by Profs. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri. The volume on Akbar is in my own hands and I hope to finish its press copy four months after actually starting the printing of the other two volumes. Thus it is hoped that unless something unexpected happens, we shall see two volumes (the Mauryas and the Guptas) offered to the public in November, 1945 and a third volume (Akbar) handed over to the printers in time to come out in May 1946.

BHARATHI MEMORIAL

Laying the foundation stone of the Subramanya Bharathi Memorial Building at Ettiyapuram, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar urged the formation of a Bharathi Sangham to celebrate Bharathi Day every year. The biggest memorial one could think of for a poet, said C.R., is to make everyone sing his songs.

Recalling his early association with the poet-patriot, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar paid a glowing tribute to Bharathi's prophetic vision, tolerance and self-sacrifice.

NEHRU'S NINE TERMS IN PRISON

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has so far served nine terms of imprisonment. In December 1921, he was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment. Panditji was released 3 months later but some weeks after he was arrested again, and was tried and sentenced to 2½ years of imprisonment. He was released at the end of January, 1923.

Immediately after the special session of the Congress at Delhi he was sentenced to 2½ years for breach of order banning his entry into the State and for conspiracy.

In April, 1930, he was tried in connection with Salt Satyagraha and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment. He was again arrested near Allahabad and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 500. On February, 1931 he was arrested again and sentenced to 2 years. This time he served 13 months.

In November, 1940, he was sentenced to 4 years, but was released after a little over 13 months. On August 5, 1942, his ninth term of imprisonment began and ended on June 15, 1945.

RELEASE OF WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

After nearly 34 months of detention, the members of the Congress Working Committee were released on June 14. Some of them had already been freed on medical grounds; but those released on the eve of the Simla Conference were: Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Sankarao Deo, Acharya Narendra Dev and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

NEW METROPOLITAN OF INDIA

The Right Reverend George Hubback, Bishop of Assam, has been elected Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

The eighty-two-year old Metropolitan of India, the most Rev. Dr. Foss Westcott, who is retiring shortly, has planned to remain in this country after retirement and carry on work in India.

SOME TRIUMPHS OF SURGERY

Two persons who talked without a larynx, a man without a tongue who recited Lincoln's Gettysburg address and an elderly doctor, who, though his stomach has been removed, "works hard, has a good appetite and eats three good meals a day," were presented at the closing sessions of the annual meeting of the New York State Medical Society as examples of the triumphs of modern surgery and rehabilitation.

The meeting was addressed by an insurance salesman, who, despite the fact that his larynx had been removed said he was able to continue selling insurance and even to make a sales talk over the telephone. He was introduced by Dr. James S. Greene, Medical Director of the National Hospital for Speech Disorders, a unique institution where speech cripples laugh and talk, and normal voices are restored to men and women, who, through surgery or otherwise, have lost their speech organs.

PIPE IN LUNG FOR 31 YEARS

Part of a pipe mouthpiece was lodged for 31 years in a man's lung—and he breathed normally.

The vulcanite, nearly an inch long, entered the lung when the man fell from his cycle and broke his pipe in his mouth.

The case is described by Mr. J. Lewin in the *British Medical Journal*.

No trouble was caused, he says, probably because the hole through the vulcanite remained clear and the man was able to get enough air through it to ventilate his lung.

A NEW CURE FOR TYPHOID

According to an article in the *American Medical Association Journal*, preliminary tests of the newest penicillin type of chemical, Streptomycin, indicate that it cures typhoid and prevents a person from becoming a carrier of the disease.

FOOD YEAST

The really nutritive part of meat, eggs and milk for 1 farthing daily, is the prospect held out by British experiments in yeast food production, according to Mr. A. C. Thaysen of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. These experiments, Mr. Thaysen said, have shown that food yeast can be produced in sufficient quantities to be produced in general public at less than Re. 1 for 20 lbs. "Even under present world conditions it is likely to be a long time before a sufficiency of meat, eggs and milk will be available", he declared. "Food yeast can supply the missing ingredients at a price which comes within the range of even the poorest. One lb. of food yeast will provide enough high grade proteins and vitamin 'B' concentrates for 45 days."

The Colonial Office has decided to make food yeast on a large scale in Jamaica.

The Indian Central Government has also agreed to build a food yeast plant in India, and South Africa is following suit.

CAUSE OF CRAMPS!

What is cramp and how is it brought about? A London physician writes:

Cramp is the sudden rigid contraction of a muscle, and is very painful and quite paralyzing.

It may be due to over-use of an unaccustomed muscle, particularly in swimmers. In other games, such as football, some sudden and severe effort may cause it, owing to the circulation not being able to carry off the excessive sarcolactic acid formed when muscles work. Brisk massage and heat usually put things right.

People with cold feet are liable to cramp in the legs at night. This is best prevented by bed-socks and hot water bottles. Expectant mothers often get cramp and should take tablets containing calcium and vitamin D to prevent it.

DECIMALISATION OF INDIAN COINAGE

The proposal of the Government for decimalising the coinage has been welcomed by the Andhra Chamber of Commerce. In a communication addressed to the Finance Department, the Chamber expresses the opinion that the decimal system has the unique advantage of simplifying accounting. In modern business quick and easy computation is essential. Mainly for this reason the decimal system enjoys a very wide popularity and other systems have been yielding place to it. There should be no sentimental or traditional attachment to the present system of coinage as it cannot be said that it has any special sanctity about it.

On the other hand, opposition to the proposal is voiced by the Committee of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce in a communication to the Finance Department.

The Committee have expressed great doubt if the new system will be so beneficial in its effects as to justify its imposition over the present system, which has identified itself with the arithmetic and economic fabric of the country, and has stood the test of times.

Such a "violent break from tradition" will not be without vast repercussions which are likely to create new problems, and more complications as the present Indian coinage system is so inextricably interlinked with other basic units of weights and measures that it will be very difficult to introduce a change in one unit without affecting other units.

NO RETURN TO GOLD STANDARD

Mr. Ernest Bevin, former Minister of Labour, said in the House of Commons that the Labour Party and he took the line that neither directly nor indirectly should Britain again be anchored to gold in any circumstances at all, but he would join with anybody in trying to secure on a rational basis an international price level properly organised, provided it did not reflect any depression in the standard of life in the home market.

AMENITIES FOR PASSENGERS

The North-Western Railways' post-war scheme for providing amenities for the travelling public, which is under consideration of the Railway Board, was explained by Mr. W. A. Anderson, General Manager, N.W. Railway, at a meeting of the Railway Advisory Committee held at Karachi last month. The General Manager said that under the post-war scheme the N.W. Railways propose to provide amenities at stations as well as in trains.

The plans for amenities at stations include:

- (1) More commodious waiting halls with increased sitting facilities.
- (2) More booking offices at large stations with separate windows for ladies.
- (3) The provision of high-level and covered platforms and foot-bridges or subways.
- (4) Suitable washing and bathing places at large stations.

Regarding amenities in trains, he said the following improvements were proposed in third class carriages being designed for the post-war period:

- (1) Provision of latrine for every 12 passengers.
- (2) Seventy to seventy-five passengers to be carried in each coach instead of 96 as at present.
- (3) Transverse seating arrangements instead of longitudinal.
- (4) The width of each seat to be increased from 20 to 21 inches (present second class standard is 21 inches) and the depth increased to about 19 inches. The width of the passage between the seats will also be increased to a minimum of 21 inches.
- (5) Increase in sleeping accommodation by providing two or three tiers of bunks.

Suggestions for providing fans in the waiting halls and more latrines at large stations were also discussed at the meeting.

RAILWAY TRAVEL AFTER THE WAR

A general levelling-up of conditions of railway travel after the war is understood to have been recommended by the Central Advisory Council for Railways. It was agreed that there should be three classes, Third, Inter and Upper, besides a De Luxe class meant for tourists and others. The amenities at present available to the Inter Class will be provided for the Third Class and the amenities for the two higher classes will be raised correspondingly.

FUTURE OF DANCING

What are the crying needs of the dancing world of the future, asks Mrinalni Sarabhai, in a recent broadcast. "First and foremost our need is that of a good theatre, that is built for stage shows, so that all modern technique can be employed at its artistic best. Decoration can then become a vital part of production. At the same time, great progress can be made to develop music as a background for the dance, helping the dancer to present the finest of her artistic expression, and for the whole presentation to be portrayed in its most dynamic form. The dance is a deliberate attempt to reach the spiritual consciousness of the audience and its effort is not merely to portray reality but to portray beauty and as such it reaches every man. The cultural contribution of dancing to the future, will remain a muddle, unless and until we do away with the mediocre and trivial, and present only that which is highly artistic. A dance performance should be that which lifts its veil from the hidden beauty of the world.

UNIVERSITY OF INDIAN MUSIC

Plans for starting a University of Indian Music were disclosed by Pundit Omkarnath, noted Indian musician. The proposed university is to be started at Benares and will work in association with the Hindu University. Pundit Omkarnathji discussed the scheme with Gandhiji, Pt. Malaviya and Sir S. Radhakrishnan and embarked on the project with their blessings. A sum of Rs. 20 lakhs is to be collected for the proposed university.

NATIONAL ART COUNCIL

It has been decided to continue the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art—popularly known as CEMA—as a National Art Council for Britain. The decision will please many who disapprove of the British Government's past policy of leaving the provision of high-class musical and stage entertainment entirely to private enterprise.

S. A. BOARD OF CONTROL FOR CRICKET

The executive of the South African Board of Control for Cricket considers it unwise to attempt to organise any tour away from South Africa next year. Furthermore it does not recommend that the M. C. C. or any side, other than services teams, be invited to tour South Africa until the Japanese war ends and South African cricketers are given a chance to settle down. The executive does not favour the Currie Cup tournament for this summer. It recommends affiliated centres to arrange as many interprovincial matches as possible.

BOXING AND WAR

Commodore Jack Dempsey, former world heavy weight boxing champion, apparently disagrees with most boxing experts, for he does not expect that this war will produce any great boxers. He says: "There are no real boxers that I have observed in this war, and anyhow it takes three or four years to develop a top-notch fighter.

"People say the last war produced great fighters. It did not. Gene Tunney came along, to be sure, but it was seven years after the war before he became champion."

BRITISH BOXER

Leading aircraftsman Mark Hart, British Amateur Heavy Weight Champion, has been suspended by the Amateur Boxing Association, who has informed the Imperial Services Boxing Association of the decision.

Consequently Hart cannot now defend his London and National Amateur Titles.

Last month Hart said he would defend his National title and then turn professional adding that he had met and beaten all leading amateur cruiser and heavy weights in the country.

RUSSIAN ATHLETE'S RECORD

A Georgian woman athlete, Nina Dumbadze, established a new world record for throwing the discus with 48.9 metres (160 feet, 5½ inches), beating the previous best of 48.31 metres held by the German, Gisela Mauermayer.

SOVIET MUSEUM PLAN

A museum, deep underground in the Siberian northlands, which will be perpetually frozen, is planned by Professor M. Sumgin, a Russian scientist.

He proposes to deposit in this immense museum human bodies of various races, bodies of animals and objects of everyday life, such as clothes, household utensils and furniture. With them he wishes to preserve manuscripts by great writers, historical documents and other things which will tell the story of this age for all time.

There is no indication that the professor intends that the bodies so stored away should be embalmed. The frozen earth crust would, he believes, render that unnecessary.

GERMAN SCIENTISTS

The inventor of the German jet aircraft, Heinrich Oelerich, surrendered with his wife to American Military Government Officers near Leipzig, cables Douglas Williams, the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent at Shaeff.

Oelerich said he wished to co-operate with the American authorities and, perhaps, in the hope that he might be allowed to work in the United States. He offered to turn over to them designs and improvements in aircraft constructions. He also offered designs for tanks and a new type of shell.

Oelerich declared that he had access to many of the secrets of German war industry. He worked for five years improving the Me. 109s. and 110s. In 1943 he went to Budweis (Czechoslovakia) where he supervised the building of a jet aircraft plant.

SIR C. V. RAMAN'S RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust have made a contribution of Rs. 15,000 to Sir C. V. Raman's fund for the establishment of a Research Institute at Bangalore, under the auspices of the Indian Academy of Sciences.

NEW INFORMATION FILMS

Ever since their inception, the Information Films of India have been at pains to bring the work of the Indian craftsman more into the public eye and to obtain for him the tribute that is the natural due of his skilled artistry. In their latest film, "Potteries", they have endeavoured to do something on the same lines for the new industry that has sprung directly from an ancient craft and has successfully hastened the production of articles hitherto supplied by the lone village potter on mechanised, scientific and mass produced lines. This film gives excellent and much-needed publicity to the products of Indian pottery factories.

Information Films of India have been importing foreign shorts to provide variety in their release programmes and many of these have been instructive in the extreme.

FILM OF SLUM LIFE IN CALCUTTA

Melvyn Douglas, Hollywood film director and actor, who is now in Calcutta as an officer in the American Forces, is to direct a full-length film on slum life in Calcutta.

The film which will cost more than ten lakhs will depict the story of a wealthy and highly educated young Bengali returning to Calcutta from England. It will run to 11,000 feet and it is expected to be completed within a couple of months.

Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, is taking personal interest in the film, which is being produced by S. K. Majumdar and N. Dutta.

INDIAN FILMS IN BRITAIN

Mr. C. L. Katial, former Mayor of Finsbury and Secretary of the recently-formed Indian Film Society, told the United Press of America that he was looking forward to the arrival in England of leading representatives of the Indian film industry. The Indian Film Society, which has support of the bulk of Indians in London and friends in India, will do everything to make the Indian Film Mission a success.

AUTOMOBILE FACTORY FOR INDIA

Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, who has returned to India after a ten weeks' tour of America during which he had discussions with the Chrysler Corporation regarding the starting of an automobile factory in India, told the Associated Press that the Premier Automobiles Company, which has been formed with the object of manufacturing motor cars in India, would go into production some time in the second quarter of 1946. The programme of the company was to manufacture their own parts in India and produce automobiles within three years of starting the factory. The capital, control and management of the factory would be entirely in the hands of Indians.

Referring to the American attitude to Indian industrialisation, Mr. Lalchand said he did not think the majority of American capitalists were inclined to sink their funds in India because of the political conditions in this country. "American businessmen are very sympathetic towards Indian aspirations of industrialisation. They are ready to extend their co-operation to Indians. But they are not keen to gain control or management of any new work started in India. They are prepared to work with the Indians on a royalty basis."

AMERICAN EXPORT OF MOTOR CARS

American motor car manufacturers will be unable to fulfil foreign demand for passenger cars, trucks and buses for at least four years after production is resumed in the United States, representatives of the industry maintain.

The first exports may be made before the end of this year but the number of vehicles consigned to Europe and elsewhere will be small. India is expected to offer a splendid market after the end of the Japanese war since it is pointed out that the thousands of new roads there and the presence of thousands of American cars and trucks brought by the army is likely to stimulate demand.

INDIA'S INTERNAL AIR SERVICES

The internal air services now operating in India are:

(1) A seaplane service between Calcutta and Karachi operating twice a week;

(2) A landplane service between Calcutta and Karachi operating three times a week; and

(3) A Tata's landplane service between Karachi and Madras, with intermediate halts at Ahmedabad, Bombay and Hyderabad (Deccan) and thence onwards to Colombo, operating five times a week.

The frequency of all the services is the same in both directions. The Tata's service does not now halt at Bhuj, Poona, and Trichinopoly.

The public are advised to post their air mails every day, which will be sent by the first available service, unless the surface route is more expeditious.

A British Overseas Airways Corporation's inland plane service has also been introduced between Calcutta and Karachi, with intermediate halts at Allahabad and Delhi. The public can send their air mails between any two stations served by the three services in question.

AVIATION AS A CAREER

The Nawab of Chhattari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council and Chancellor of the Osmania University, addressing cadets of the Indian Air Training Corps, appealed to young men to make aviation their career as it had a great future in post-war period.

The Nawab said that young men, by taking aviation as their career, would not only serve their country in the present emergency, but assure themselves a position in the post-war period. Geographically India, and particularly Hyderabad, was so situated that they would be placed in trans-peninsular airways.

In Hyderabad itself, the Nawab said, there would be so much expansion and development of commerce and industries that air transport would play an important part.

HINDUSTAN METAL REFINERY

A pioneer industry in metal refinery was recently inaugurated in Madras. We congratulate Mr. Hirachand K Shaw, Managing Director of Messrs. Jeewanlal on his enterprise in starting this new industry.

This industry will be a modest beginning in a vast field of non-ferrous metal industries and aims at producing annually 2500 tons of rolled metal out of India's requirements of 50,000 tons. Its production, it is stated, will increase as soon as conditions improve. The industry has programmed to utilise waste materials of this province which for want of facilities were formerly exported to other places.

Declaring the Hindustan Metal Refinery and Rolling Mills open, Mr. Radhakrishna Pillai, Mayor, said that the Madras Province, which was behind other provinces in industrial development, should be thankful to the Hindustan Mills for their new venture.

The Mayor then announced a donation of Rs. 1,000 by the Mills to the Corporation Poor Home.

TRAINING INDIANS IN BRITISH FACTORIES

Kirloskar Brothers, well-known pioneer engineering company in India, report the completion by their visiting representatives of important agreements with British engineers for the manufacture of vital electrical and other equipment in India. Under the first agreement with British Oil Engines Export, Limited, Kirloskars will extend their plant to manufacture diesel and other types of oil engines up to 1,500 horse-power. The British organisation, which embraces a number of prominent firms, will exchange all technical information and train Indian personnel in its factories. The second agreement with Brush Electrical Engineering Company puts Kirloskar Brothers in a position to manufacture rotating electrical machines, transformers, switchgear and other electrical equipment with the same provision for training Indian personnel at Brush Works at Loughborough.

FACILITIES FOR TRAINING IN DAIRY WORK

The Government of India have allotted a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 to the Imperial Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore, to enable it to provide increased facilities for technical training in dairy work.

The Government of India, it is understood, have approved a scheme, which provides for extension of instruction in the Institute from 30 to 85 students, drawn from all provinces and employment of a large number of technical officers. An attempt will also be made, it is learnt, to invite three experts from foreign countries to Bangalore to train students in dairy developmental work.

The scope of training will include not only the improvement of the existing system of dairying in this country, but also the study of the co-operative system of dairying, similar to those in other countries, and if necessary, the making of isolated experiments on the collective system now obtaining in Russia.

It is further understood, the Government of India are considering complete reorganisation of the Imperial Dairy Research Institute in the very near future at an estimated expenditure of over Rs. 60 lakhs.

BOMBAY KOUSHIKA PRIZE

Sir T. S. Venkatraman, the eminent sugarcane expert, has endowed a prize called the 'Bombay Koushika Prize' for award to the person who is adjudged to have shown during the preceding year, greatest practical improvement in the cultivation of the sugarcane crop or the manufacture of the product, including 'gur' and by-products of the cane and sugar, says a notification by the Sugar Technologists' Association of India. The last date for the receipt of applications for the above award has been extended to July, 31, 1945. Intending competitors may write to the Secretary, the Sugar Technologists' Association of India, Cawnpore, for further details.

D. A. TO AHMEDABAD WORKERS

A case concerning the continuance of dearness allowance to the workers of the textile mills of Ahmedabad was disposed of on June 15 by the Industrial Court presided over by Mr. Justice Divatia and Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha.

The Court giving the award declared that the workers of the textile mills of Ahmedabad were entitled to receive the dearness allowance for three months after the end of the European war after May 8, 1945, in accordance with the scale fixed by the Court in the original award as modified subsequently in 1941, which was based on the agreement arrived at between the parties themselves.

The Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad made a petition to the Industrial Court, Bombay, to direct the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association to pay the dearness allowance on the present scale taking into consideration cost of living as prevailing. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda on behalf of the Textile Labour Association submitted that the workers of Ahmedabad were entitled to receive the dearness allowance for three months after the termination of the European war in case the cost of living continued to be affected by war conditions. He asserted that the cost of living continued to be affected by war conditions although the European war has terminated.

UJJAIN WORKERS

Two thousand mill workers of Ujjain, who had been on strike for a fortnight last month, have resumed work. The workers have also decided to refer the question of bonus to the Industrial Court and have expressed readiness to accept its decision.

END OF STRIKE IN K.G.F. MINES

Nearly 15,000 out of about 20,000 workers of the Kolar gold mining companies, who struck work about a month ago demanding revision of rules of service, gratuity, etc., have resumed work.

C.R.'s ROLE AT SIMLA CONFERENCE

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued the following statement on the eve of the Simla Conference:

"Pressmen have asked me about my position at the forthcoming Conference. Except as a Congressman, I should have no place at the Conference table. I am invited as an ex-Premier and I was Premier as a full-fledged Congressman. I have accepted the invitation because I believe I could do justice to the Congress cause and work under the guidance of the Congress President. I have fully explained my position to the Congress President, and I am going to the Conference as one of the ex-Premiers representing the Congress attitude on Lord Wavell's proposals."

INDIA LINKED WITH CHINA BY TELEPHONE

For the first time in history, India was linked with China by telephone and telegraph on June 11.

A pole line extending from Calcutta to Kunming, China, completes the vast telephone system extending from Karachi, through Burma into China. The line is approximately 1,750 miles long.

EMPIRE LOSSES IN TWO WARS COMPARED

Although the second European war lasted nearly seventeen months longer than the first world war, the losses were very much lighter. The comparative figures supplied by the War Office show that British Empire casualties in 1914-1918 amounted to 908,371 killed and 20,90,212 wounded, while in the 1939-1945 war the figures were killed 306,984 and wounded 4,22,476.

DELHI'S 30-CRORE NEW COLONY

Built at the rate of ten flats a day or a flat in every 48 minutes, Delhi's new colony, south of Lodi Road and near Aligunj village, is claimed to be a record for building construction in India.

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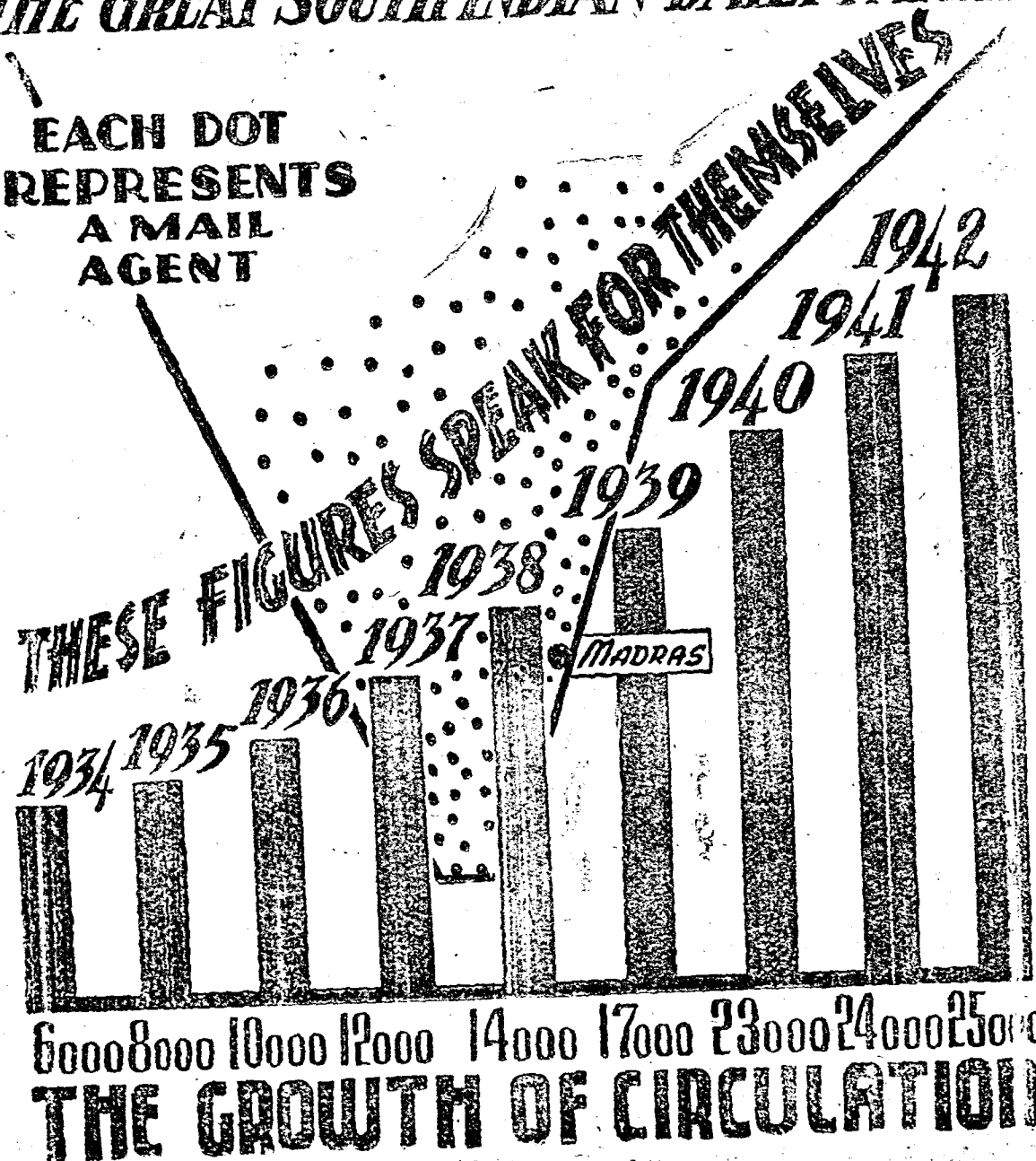


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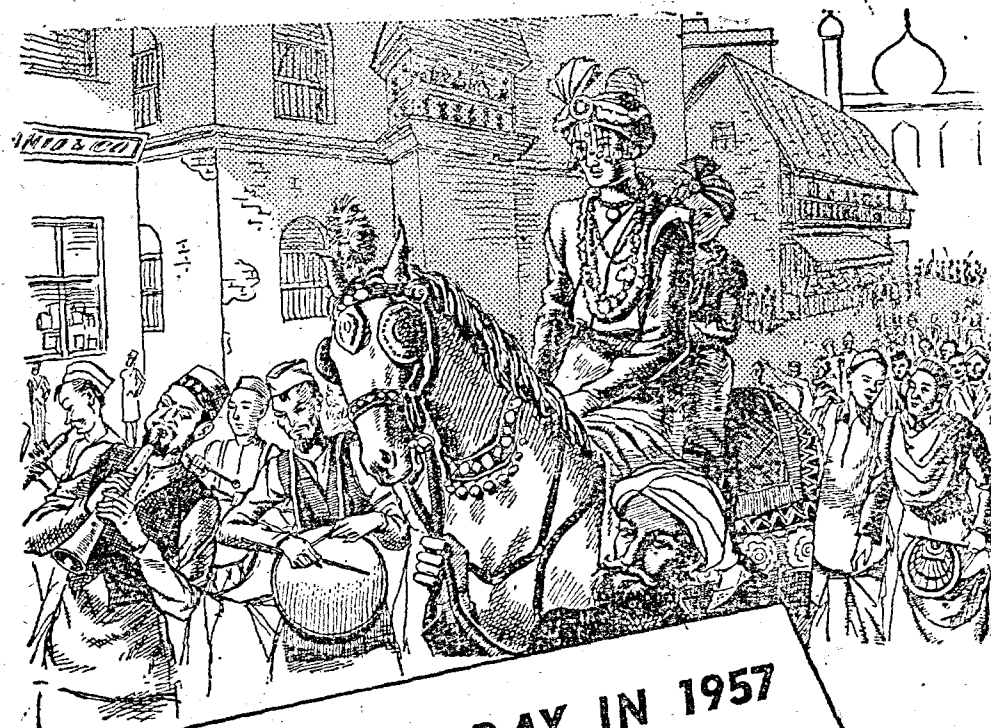
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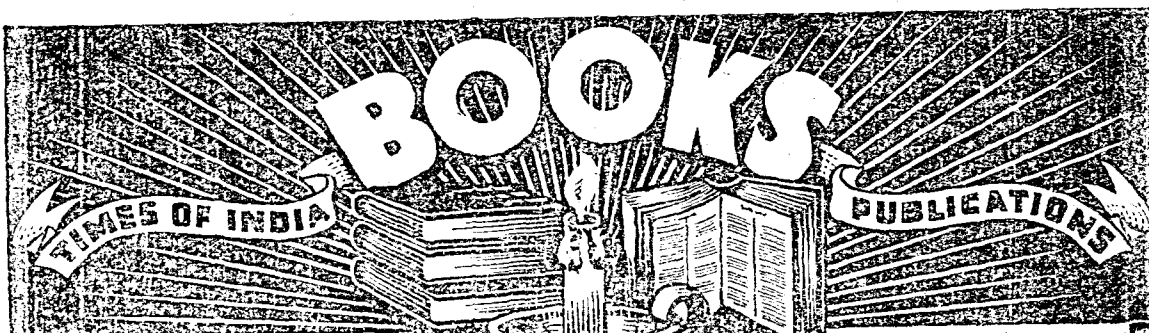
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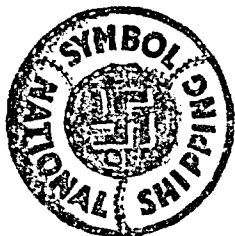
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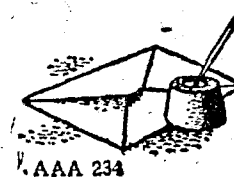
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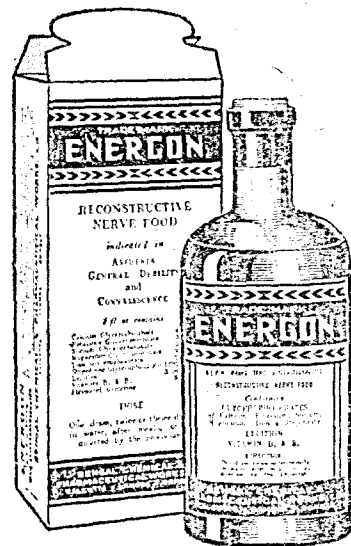
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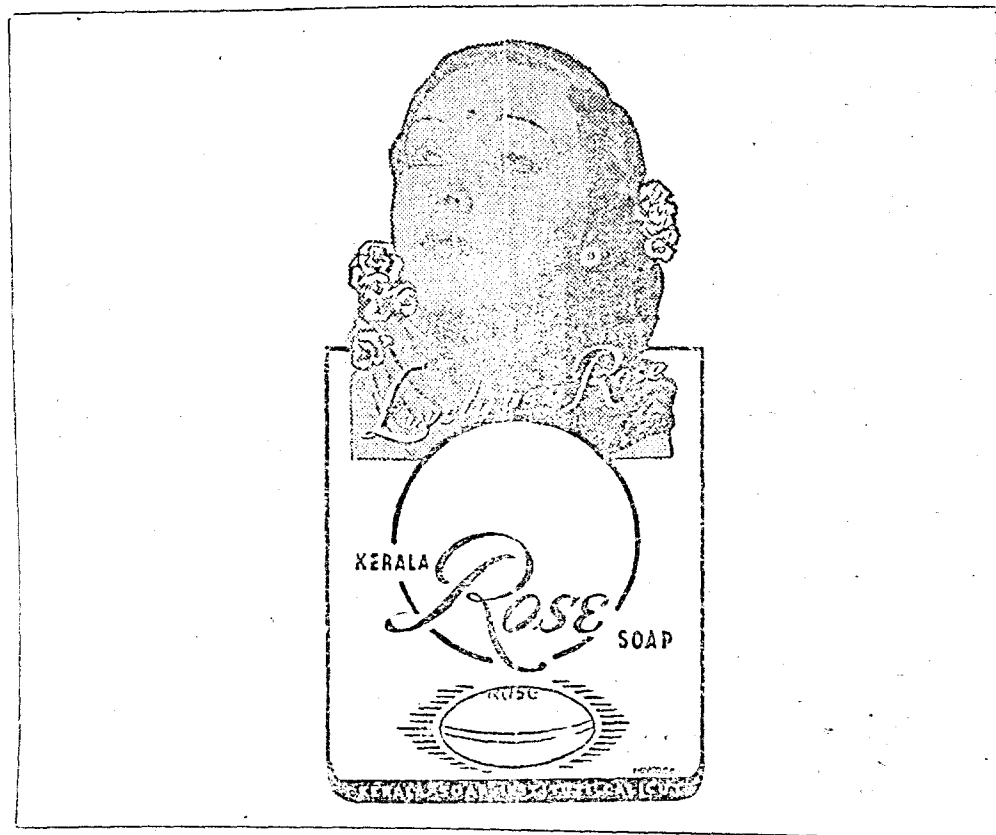
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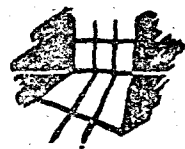
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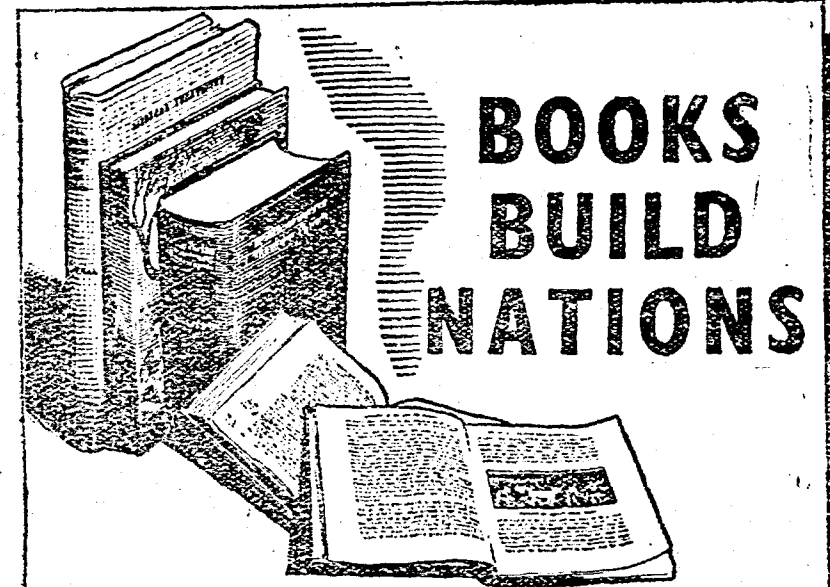
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[August 1945

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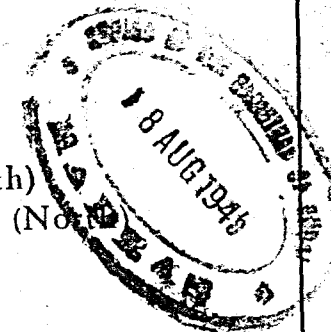
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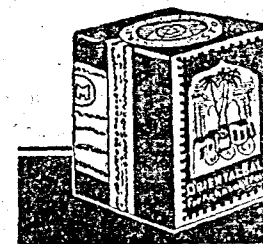
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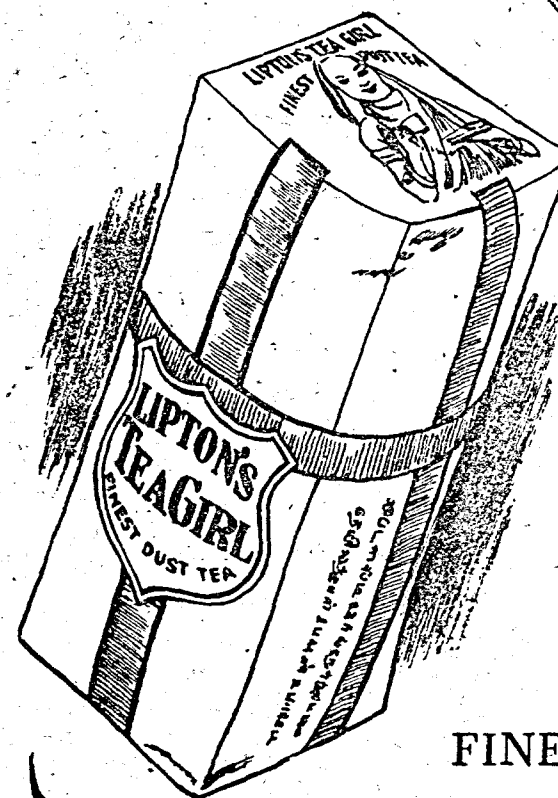
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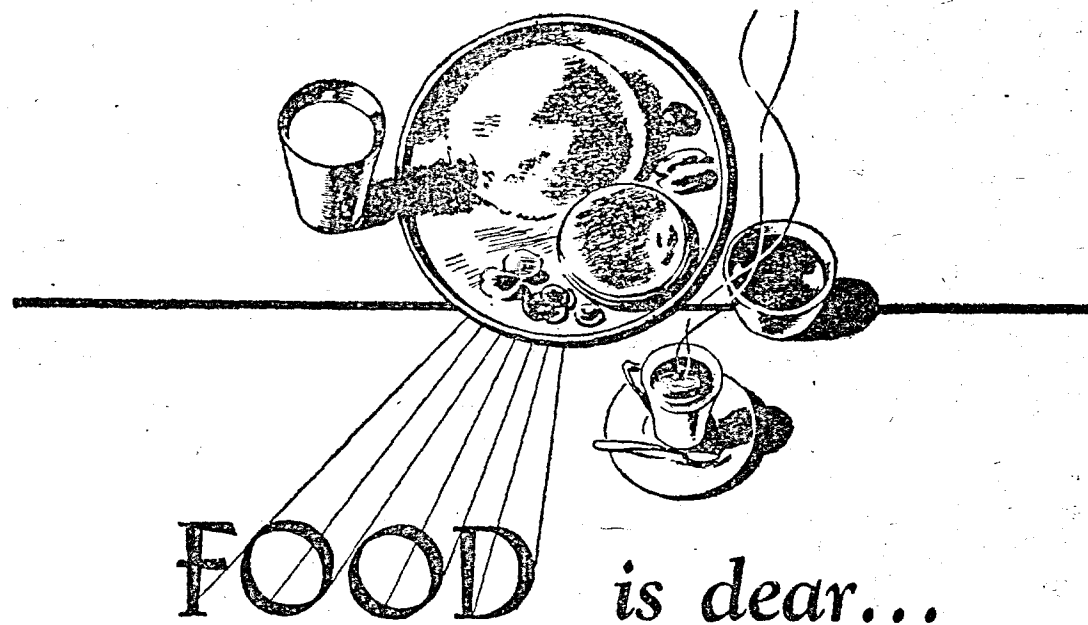
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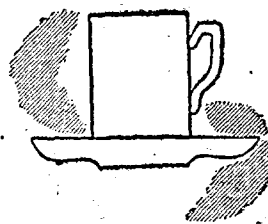
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WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE HINDUS?

BY DR. SIR GOKUL CHAND NARANG, Kt.

WHAT is wrong with the Hindus?

To some people this question may seem strange. It may be said that there can be nothing wrong with the Hindus. They are so far as numbers are concerned, in an overwhelming majority in the country. From the economic point of view no other community can claim an equality with them. Almost all the Banks, Insurance Companies and other Joint Stock Concerns are owned by them. Almost all the Mills and Factories belong to them. Most of the big shops and stores containing merchandise worth lakhs are run by them. In education the Hindus are far ahead of other communities. Most of the non-Government Schools and Colleges are being financed and controlled by them. The Indian Universities are teeming with Hindu scholars, and of Indian students at foreign Universities a great majority are Hindus. In art, science, literature and philosophy, etc., it is the Hindus who have won renown, not only in India but to a certain extent even outside this country. The press, both English and Vernacular, not excepting even Urdu newspapers, is almost entirely controlled and conducted by them. In respect of political and military power they again

lead the other communities. Most of the feudatory States in India belong to the Hindus and the Hindus constitute about 66 per cent. of the present British Indian Army. They have won the highest honours for their gallantry in all the battlefields so much so that out of twenty-seven Victoria Crosses as many as twenty-four have been won by them.

I concede all this and more. Still, however, I think there is something seriously wrong with the Hindus as a community. One indication of the fact that all is not well with them is that in spite of all their economic advantages and cultural superiority their prestige has fallen very low. They do not command the respect and do not inspire the awe which such a large community with all its resources should be able to do. The strength of a community is rightly measured by the prestige it enjoys. It is by prestige alone that Communities as well as Governments are preserved and their authority maintained. In India the Collector is very often a single white man in a whole district. He would not be able to carry on for a day if he was not backed by the prestige of the mighty Government behind him.

Even a farmer's crops and cattle are protected by prestige. All would-be poachers and thieves know that once they are caught they would receive a thrashing they would never forget.

What is the case with the Hindus? Even in Provinces where they are in an overwhelming majority they live in constant dread of Muslims. The following quotation from Sir Colin Garbett's book "Friend of Friend", recently published, is an index of what others think of the Hindus. "A Muslim policeman in Jubbulpore", says he, "discussing local riots with me told me the communities were equally balanced. But surely, I protested, the Hindus are much more numerous. 'Oh numerous! I thought you referred to comparative strength. In that we are about equal, in numbers, we are just about 5 per cent.'" This is about the Central Provinces where the Hindu population is 95 per cent. What happened in the Madras Presidency where the Hindu population is about the same? A handful of Moplas indulged unchecked in loot, arson, rape and murder and converted hundreds, if not thousands, of Hindus to Islam by force.

How does a small minority venture to insult, rob, loot and murder members of an overwhelming majority? The difference in the physique and physical strength of the individuals belonging to the two communities is not so great as to inspire one with terror and the other with courage. The real reason is the low prestige of the Hindu community.

The low prestige of the Hindus is due to five main causes. The first is to be

traced to the peaceful environments in which the Hindu religion and the Hindu community grew up. Strength comes by overcoming resistance. Hinduism grew up without opposition. It had no rival in the field as all other religions grew up thousands of years after Hinduism had become a well-established and well-organized religion. The same was the case with the Hindus themselves. For thousands of years they had no rivals and no opposition or resistance to overcome. They did not, therefore, develop the virtues which qualify a people for self-assertion and even for successful self-defence. Islam met with bitter opposition at its very birth so much so that the prophet had to flee and hide himself in a cave for several days before he could escape to Medina. There he rallied his forces, and when he felt he was strong enough, he marched back to Mecca and fought down his opponents. The prophet had to instil into his followers an intense devotion to Islam which created an equally intense opposition to everything and everybody non-Islamic. Islam inspired its followers with a burning zeal for vanquishing Islam's opponents either by conversion or extermination.

Whether from an altruistic and humanitarian point of view it was a good thing or not is irrelevant to the analysis, I am attempting but the fact remains that even today the Muslims, on the whole, are imbued with something like the same spirit. Sikhism, an off-shoot of Hinduism, had the same experience. Its apostles had to face the same kind of opposition, persecution and martyrdom with the result that the Sikhs, in spite of being no more

than a little over one per cent. in India, enjoy respect and prestige out of all proportion to their numerical strength. Hindus, on the other hand, having in olden days nobody but their own people of various schools of thought to deal with, developed an extraordinary spirit of forbearance which rendered them incapable of mixing any distinction between tolerating differences in religious views and foreign and aggressive intruders with different political aims and ambitions. Teachings like Sri Krishna's *ये यथा माम् प्रपद्यन्ते*, etc., were all right where differences related to distinctions subsisting, e.g., between Yoga and Sankhya but the Hindus could not shake off this spirit even when rival organized religions of an aggressive and fanatical type entered the field and began to storm the citadel of their placid cosmopolitanism. A passive attitude and the belief that all religions are equally good, howsoever, commendable from a certain point of view, cannot produce the stuff of which martyrs and defenders of their country and their faith are made. The result has been that the Hindus as a community have come to be looked upon by others as a goody goody people, extremely tolerant and indulgent, from whom nobody has anything to fear. Such an impression, I need hardly say, is fatal to a community's prestige.

The second cause of our low prestige is our community's superstitious adherence to Ahimsa. We have made a fetish of it. It has been preached in our homes and in our temples and for the last 25 years no other principle of life has been dinned into our ears with such nauseating persistence. Propagation of this virtue may be necessary

in a country like Afghanistan or in the Tribal areas, and even in the war-mongering countries of Europe but dinning it, in season and out of season, into the ears of a community, already notorious like the Hindus, for its mildness, was almost entirely out of place. Violence has never been one of the Hindus' weaknesses. In fact they have carried the virtue of non-violence to a fault. Luckily it has not reduced our fighting classes to passive pacifists and they are still giving an excellent account of themselves in all the far-flung battlefields of the world. It has, however, intensified the impression that the Hindus as a community are too soft and can be used as a door-mat for anybody to tread upon without any fear of retaliation. Whereas the fear of retaliation prevents everyone from attacking Islam or its Founder. Miss Mayos and Nichols can say the most provoking things against Hindus and Hinduism and Dr. Ambedkar can indulge in insulting diatribes against them in public meetings without the slightest fear of even a hair of his head being touched by any Hindu. Ahimsa may win us an exalted place in the next world but it has almost rendered us unfit to keep any corner of this world safe for our community.

The third cause of our weakness is the absence of communal consciousness in our community. As in religion so in politics our outlook is too cosmopolitan and altruistic. I do not mean to condemn cosmopolitanism but if a community is largely cosmopolitan or even too national in its outlook and in practice, while rival communities are bitterly communal, it cannot be strong as a community. The

present position in Politics is that most of the Hindu leaders are mortally afraid of being considered communal, and in order to show that they are great patriots and ardent nationalists, they lose no opportunities to run down all Hindu organizations. The Congress leaders, as is natural, go much further. They condemn the Hindu Mahasabha but bow to Muslim Communalists in order to display their broadmindedness. Their conduct in this respect is like that of some Hindu officials who in order to show that they are free from communal bias go out of their way to favour Mussalmans at the expense of Hindus. During the last twenty-five years the self-abnegation of the Hindus has been one of the most outstanding features of Indian Politics. The Mahatma raises a crore of rupees and most of it is spent in furthering the Khilafat cause and in organizing the Muslims. Thousands of Hindus who would have considered it a shame to do anything for any purely Hindu cause went to Jail to support the Khilafat movement. When the Communal Award came, our political leaders considered it a cup of poison, but refrained from opposing it for fear of offending the Mussalmans and Mr. Jinnah carried his resolution of approval in the Assembly without any dissent from Congress members. The subsequent activities of Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in offering Pakistan in one form or another to Mr. Jinnah and equal representation to Muslims with the Hindus in the Government are all evidences of the lack of communal consciousness in the Hindus. Some people may consider this

policy of appeasement an act of generosity patriotism or, as Rajaji put it, "courageous yielding to kith and kin". No one, however, who is communally conscious and who loves his community would tolerate that his community as such should have no voice in the affairs of its country and should be ruthlessly reduced from an overwhelming majority to equality with a community hardly one-third of its own numbers and far behind it in cultural and economic resources. Would even the most patriotic Muslims have tolerated such an injustice for a moment? This utter lack of communal consciousness in our political leaders has produced in our community a sad inferiority complex and has reduced its prestige so low that neither the Government nor any other community feels any hesitation or compunction in treading rough shod over our rights and interests.

The fourth cause of our loss of prestige is our caste system which has stood in the way of necessary solidarity in our ranks. In olden times in all parts of India, except the Punjab, it kept up invidious restrictions of caste even in politics and prevented the combination of Rajputs and Mahrattas and others for purposes of national defence. The Brahmans hesitated to recognize even the great Shivaji as a Kshatriya and even in the 20th century the Brahman priests of Maharashtra refused to confer that dignity upon the occupant of his throne. The Brahman and non-Brahman problem in Madras and Maharashtra is as acute as the Hindu-Muslim problem in the Punjab. The Vedas never prescribed any caste system. The only verse referring to

Brahmans and others, the one in the Purusha Sukta, merely refers, as I take it, in a casual way to the four natural divisions of mankind, *viz.*, the scholars, the soldiers, the producers and distributors of wealth and the wage-earners, all representing, as it were, the *Virata Swarupa* of the Supreme Being. On this slender basis has been raised a stupendous superstructure of innumerable castes and sub-castes. It has led to extreme superiority complex on one side and extreme inferiority complex on the other side so that the distance between the top and the bottom of the Hindu Society has become almost immeasurable. The result has been two-fold. The first was that the so-called lower classes, some of whom in process of time, came to be branded as untouchables, fell an easy prey to the proselytising zeal of the Muslims and later on that of the Christians thus reducing the strength of the Hindu community by many millions. The second result which is now unfolding itself with tragic clearness has been the bitterness existing in the minds of those of the depressed classes who have not yet gone over to other religions. The fulminations of Dr. Ambedkar and his likes are the natural products of this bitterness. The treatment meted out to the depressed classes more or less in all parts of India has been a favourite topic of comment by the critics of Hinduism and Hindu community. Happily the Hindu community has been awakened to this sad state of affairs and efforts are being made by Hindu organizations for the removal of the grounds of this bitterness and for the uplift of the depressed classes. Nevertheless we

cannot shut the mouths of our critics unless the attitude of the Hindus towards caste as a whole and towards the depressed classes in particular undergoes a speedy and revolutionary change. Our prestige with other communities as well as with the Government of India and in international circles will immensely increase if we can show to them that all Hindus are one and no one among them is looked down upon simply because of his caste or profession.

This naturally leads me on to consider the fifth and the last main cause of our low prestige, and that is the picture which popular Hinduism presents of itself to the outside observer. I casually came across the word 'Hinduism' in an authoritative dictionary. Hinduism, as far as I can recollect, was described there as a sort of bundle of superstitions enjoining the worship of stocks and stones, trees and rivers, etc. With this general impression about our religion, how can we expect to command any respect or prestige at the hands of other communities? It is not sufficient to say that the impression is based on utter ignorance or on malice. There are many things in popular Hinduism which do invite adverse criticism and even ridicule which has often been poured upon it. The outside critic has not the time for any sympathy to go into our Vedas and Upanishads or even to read the Bhagvad Gita to form a correct opinion about Hinduism. A casual observer can only see stones covered with vermilion lying at the bottom of Pipal trees here and there, odd looking and sometimes revolting images of gods and goddesses being worshipped by crowds of men and

women. He can only see heaps of bed-raggl'd flowers covering the floors of our temples being trodden under the feet of worshippers flocking after their baths with their dripping clothes to make their offerings to the images attended to by semi-naked priests quarrelling with them over their fees and doles. Their visits to the temples of Kali with bodies of slaughtered goats strewn on the floor besmeared with blood and the stories they still hear of Devadasis cannot inspire them with any respect for Hinduism. There was a time, as we find in Manu, when invitations were issued by the sages of India to all

the people of the earth to come to India and receive instructions for the regulation of their conduct. If we want to re-establish our prestige, we shall have to set our house in order. Religion is a delicate matter and I do not want to dilate upon this point at any length but I do hope that our religious leaders would turn their immediate attention to this matter and make their religion look more presentable. If we have recourse to the Vedas and Vedokta Shastras, we shall find no difficulty in jettisoning many of the current practices which are mere later accretions and form no essential parts of real Hinduism.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TRANSITION

BY MR. C. W. B. ZACHARIAS,

Lecturer in Economics, University of Madras.

NOW that final Victory to the United Nations is assured and peace may return at any moment, businessmen and economists are rightly concerned over the nature of the situation likely to develop in the country on the termination of hostilities. It is that situation that has to be faced and properly handled before any of the post-war plans can be put into execution. If history should repeat itself, a post-war boom is definitely in the offing. But history may falsify expectations, and in economic matters more than in other aspects of human relations "by-gones are forever by-gones". Whether a slump or a boom will come in the wake of war is a question that needs study, for an *a priori* determination of it is altogether precluded by the complexity of the developing situation.

Obviously the most desirable course for the economy would be to pass imperceptibly from war to peace subject only to such frictions as the liquidation of the war effort and the restoration of a scale of values appropriate to peace time would impose. If this can be effected without invoking either a deflationary or an inflationary movement, the major problem of the transition will be solved. To do this, however, in the context within the country of a war-induced inflation and an ill-balanced economic structure and in the international sphere of unsettled conditions generally would require the formulation of the most appropriate financial and economic policy and the utmost co-operation between the Government and the people. To the extent that our insight into the working of economic forces and our sense of

responsibility and discipline makes this possible, may we hope to escape the major calamities of the transition.

To keep the economy on an even keel and stabilize at the existing level of activity, providing nevertheless for essential readjustments, aggregate expenditure must be maintained constant, whatever be the pace of demobilization. As Government expenditure gets reduced, private expenditure must increase to fill the gap. This is the simplified, perhaps over-simplified, version of the correct theory of the matter. The division of private expenditure into investment and consumption does not materially affect the position, for investment equally with consumption is a demand for goods and services and will lead to productive activity in much the same way. Constant aggregate expenditure, however, will not dispel problem of reconversion of industry or eliminate the mal-adjustment of demand and supply in particular lines. Its legitimate service is the prevention of those shortages, bottlenecks and other frictions caused by technical and technological requirements from losing their essential nature by getting magnified or unduly prolonged by monetary factors. Once the decision to wage war is taken and the economy is put on a war footing the retransformation of it later with all the attendant strains has to be faced under any circumstances. All that may be attempted is to provide the environment favourable for a quick and painless transition. In the provision of such an environment constant aggregate expenditure will greatly help.

The question to be examined, therefore, is to what extent there is the

probability of aggregate expenditure being maintained without involving the wastage of resources inflicted by a too gradual process of demobilization or delaying too long the relaxation from controls which the people have a right to expect with the return of peace. In a frictionless economy the best course of action for the State would be to straight away cancel all war contracts on an equitable basis, to stop war production immediately and effect demobilization within the minimum period required by administrative convenience. But where there is friction the process has to be tapered in relation to the growing capacity of peace time industry to absorb the men, and it may even be necessary for the State to embark on projects of national utility if unemployment should threaten to raise its ugly head. Still the operative principle should be to consider State expenditure, of the kind under review as supplementary to private expenditure, and justified only in the event of private expenditure falling short of the demands of full employment.

The case is, however, different if the policy of the State should alter in the direction of socialistic enterprise or of a forward movement in economic development for which the State has necessarily to be the spearhead. In the event the new policy of the State is superimposed on the transitional problem and the resultant State expenditure is rightly regarded as the composite of the two needs. One and the same action may, under favourable circumstances, satisfy both requirements, but the greater probability is, even when it does so, the needs of economy are not adequately met. Dovetailing

development with transformation, unless properly timed, is likely to create more problems than it solves, and in the particular case of India where transformation involves only a change from military to civilian demand except in a few cases such as ordinance factories, the proper time for giving effect to plans of development would be after and not during the transition. In view of this, the right policy in regard to the transition is to make State activity subservient to private industry and to determine State expenditure on the basis of the magnitude of private expenditure. If the probable increase in private expenditure in the immediate post-war period completely offsets that part of defence expenditure caused by the war, there can be no reason for delaying the liquidation of the war effort. It is undoubtedly incumbent on the State to retain mobilization as long as necessary, but not as long as possible. A state of affairs can easily be visualized where delayed mobilization far from being an aid acts positively as a hindrance. The wisest course, therefore, for the State is to determine the pace of general demobilization in relation to the growth of private expenditure, rather than try to control private expenditure in the light of a pre-planned scheme of demobilization.

It is not possible now to state what the scale of war expenditure will be in the final year of the war, but taking the current year as basis the defence expenditure of the Government of India, including what the Government spends on behalf of His Majesty's and other Allied Governments, together with the civil defence expenditure

at the Centre and in the Provinces comes to nearly Rs. 768 crores. Of this Rs. 36.77 crores represent the basic normal defence budget and Rs. 15.05 crores, the allowance for rise of prices. Deducting these from the earlier figure, we get Rs. 717 crores as the increased annual expenditure due to the war. It is certain that Rs. 443 crores of this, which represent expenditure on behalf of other Governments, will altogether cease with the termination of the war, and it is also to be reasonably expected that some part of the remainder will sooner or later stop. Will this reduction be compensated by increased private expenditure?

There can, however, be no doubt that private expenditure will very greatly increase in the traditional period, but what its magnitude will be can only be a matter of speculation. Sufficient grounds exist for thinking that the pent-up demand for consumption and investment of the war period will surge up in an unprecedented scale and make use of all available funds for the purpose. The funds saved by Corporations and individuals and the larger margin available out of current income over the war-time scale of private expenditure once Government borrowing stops, would naturally find their destination, given the opportunity for it, in investment or consumption. The fact that most of these savings are invested in Government loans issued during the war period may in some cases militate against their utilization, but with the help of the banking system it is always possible to transfer these holdings from the public to the banks and release the funds they represent for private spending. In fact the increased liquid position of the banks is a

definite pointer in that direction. In one event, however, this may not happen, *viz.*, the expectation of a fall of prices in the future. But the generation of such an expectation should be effectively countered by the State by publicly enunciating its policy of maintaining full employment and stabilizing at the existing level. It is incumbent on the State to engineer a revival of activity on private account consistent however with its policy of post-war development.

In addition, there are two other dangers to be guarded against, the frittering away of funds in abnormal importation of consumer goods and the excessive increase in private spending. Abnormal importation of consumer goods would be so much reduction of activity within the country which from the point of view of full employment will be as disastrous as a reduction in aggregate expenditure. On the other hand, excessive increase in private spending in the initial stages of the transition under conditions of general scarcity would only lead to the dissipation of financial resources in rising prices. Much the same will be the result of unrestricted exportation. Foreign demand, unless strictly controlled, would, in the context of a world shortage of all kinds of goods, mean an incalculable addition to expenditure within the country which it should be the duty of the State to ward off. The constitution of the International Monetary Fund provides special facilities for importation without immediate payment in gold or goods, and to a country like India this would involve a strain additional to the effective demand indigenous

to it. Control here should, however, be exercised in a manner appropriate to the discharge of the just obligations of the country to the rest of the war-stricken world and the maintenance of outlets for her exportable products.

For the formulation of the correct governmental policy a quantitative estimate of the probable growth in private expenditure is absolutely necessary. This, at present, is possible only for the Government. If in the sequel it turns out that a gap in the aggregate level is created, governmental expenditure should be maintained at the required level. The accumulated funds at the disposal of the Government, the margin available out of current tax revenue over normal expenditure and the proceeds of any loans that may be issued should be unhesitatingly utilized for this purpose. Even a recourse to credit or currency inflation will be fully justified as long as Government expenditure does not contribute to an increase over the aggregate of the existing effective demand.

All this will involve a continuance of the war-time level of taxation and the structure of economic controls existing now. Controls would be needed for ensuring the requisite expenditure, for correcting possible mal-adjustment of demand and supply in particular lines and for preventing a rise in the price level. Problems of reconversion also would need them for such purposes as determining the rates of consumption and investment, allocating available resources between several uses and planning the easy reinstatement of war-workers in peace-time occupations.

But controls appropriate to a transitional period are themselves rightly viewed as transitional and capable of effecting a frictionless disappearance. They should, to the extent possible, be derived from consumer demand and should eventually lead to the restoration of free choice and free enterprise in those parts of the economy not demarcated by the State as its own province. In working these controls and in the use made of the power of direction vested in the controlling authority the essential difference between war-time controls and these should be brought out. Preparations for planned development after the transitional period do not alter this special need, for the nature and form of the economy as it emerges from the transition serve as given data for the subsequent plan and should, to be acceptable as such, reflect a position of equilibrium. Harmonizing consumers' preferences with the structure of the economy and the character of the activities carried on there is as much a need of a planned economy as of a system of *laissez faire*. This notwithstanding the possibility of modifying consumer demand through regimentation. Regimentation really succeeds in the measure in which it helps to attain this harmony, and fails if through imperfect operation the plan is frustrated. In fact this harmony should more deliberately inform every aspect of the plan, both as a ruling principle in its progressive realization and as an ultimate end in the view. Transitional arrangements when dovetailed into the subsequent plan get virtually transformed into the first stage of the plan, the completion of

which should be as much characterized by the establishment of this harmony as the completion of every subsequent stage.

But the superimposition of an ulterior aim into the structure of transitional controls, though legitimate to a degree, should not be carried to the extent of changing their essential nature. Their principal objective of facilitating the transition should at all events be accorded primacy. On some points there would, however, be common meeting ground for the two aims, inasmuch as transitional arrangements properly conceived are intended not to lead the economy back to a pre-existing state, but forward to a new plane which while consolidating the gains of the war period will nevertheless integrate the whole on a rational basis and give it new elements of permanence. This may involve expansion in some directions and contraction in others and a general revision of the scale of values, making it possible for a harmony to be established between the transitional process and the future plans of development. The development possible in the transitional period, however, belongs as much to transitional measures as to overall planning and serve as useful and necessary links between them. Their inclusion in the transitional programme does not therefore alter the original character of the programme or render the original purpose superfluous. In fact it is imperative that the disproportions of the war period should be corrected before a long range plan is put into operation.

WHICH WAY TO WORLD PEACE?

BY MR. B. M. BHATIA, M.A.,

Sikh National College, Lahore.

[Since this article was written the war in Europe has ended with the complete surrender of Germany, and the big three have met in Conference, more than once. But the writer's plea that we must not be caught napping when peace comes holds good. The war with Japan will soon be over and how are we going to meet the approaching post-war period? Are we ready for peace which may be with us any time?—ED. I.R.]

THE Atlantic Charter, which appeared in the World Press on the 14th August, 1942, was hailed as a laudable attempt on the part of the late President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill to define war and peace aims of the Allies. It was a Charter of freedom, both political and economic, for all countries of the world. It raised hopes that Great Britain and America would endeavour to make the world safe for democracy after the War and prevent the re-appearance of the conditions which gave birth to Fascist ideology in the inter-wars years. But the way how the question of Indian independence was by-passed, the settlement of Polish problem and the tragedy enacted in Greece made many people doubt the sincerity of the professions of those behind the Charter. And then came the X'mas 1944 present of President Roosevelt. There was no Atlantic Charter, we were told, except a scrap of paper which nobody signed! It was a happy past-time in which the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of England indulged in their meeting on the Atlantic. A fine joke indeed for the credulous world! Who would not compliment the two gentlemen on their sense of humour? And yet who, among the peace-loving people would be not sorry to think that even at such a late stage as in the sixth

year of the War, the Allies are without a Peace Policy or if they have one, they have not made an authoritative statement of it?

While there is no authoritative pronouncement there is no lack of evidence as to how the British and American mind is working on the subject. The British would stand by any Charter guaranteeing democratic form of government to all countries so long the British Empire remains unaffected by this guarantee. They want to treat the colonial question as a domestic affair between the colonies and the mother country. The Empire has stood by the side of the mother country in the hour of trial. It cannot be liquidated. In fact Mr. Churchill declared two years ago that he did not become the First Minister of the King to "preside over the liquidation of the Empire. In the economic field there is a reversion to the free trade policy. But here again, a scheme of imperial preferences within the British Empire is envisaged not only to find market for British goods in competition to the goods of the rival countries but also to enable Britain to discharge the financial obligations that she has incurred during the War. Thus both in the political and economic field the Empire countries are to continue to hang around the mother country. Consistently with this policy, the British Government would not mind the emergence of other

similar blocs with U.S.A. and Russia as central powers.

The Americans are credited in several quarters to be thinking along the lines of universalism and international liberalism. Every country is to be given complete freedom to choose its own form of government and equality of all nations is to be recognized. An International Council of Nations on the lines of the Wilsonian League of Nations to settle political disputes, and an international system of free trade and free exchange to ensure economic development of all nations have been thought to be the guiding principles of Roosevelt's post-war policy. But the appearance of two books last year simultaneously, one by Walter Lippman and the other by Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State in U.S.A., has raised doubts whether the popular reading of the American mind has at all been correct. These two undoubted authorities in American politics want to divide the world into three or four regions every region centring round one great power. The Atlantic community consisting of Great Britain, France and other powers of Western Europe which have fought against Germany together with U.S.A. will form the first region. Another region will centre round Russia and will include countries in the Eastern Europe and others coming under the Moscow ideology. China with Far Eastern countries will form the third region and the fourth region called "Hindu-Muslim region" will include India, Ceylon, Afghanistan and countries of the middle East. Each region will be autonomous. They may have their own

councils to settle their mutual differences. Countries in each group may be kept together not only by the political alignment between them but also by commercial and currency ties. An International League of Nations will be set up or we may say, the old League will be resurrected but the League will settle disputes between different regions only. Every region will have to present a united front in the League of Nations.

The regional solution of the world economic and political problems is clearly a concession to the British idea of Empire. A compromise between the two countries on these lines is very likely if it has already not been reached. A region would work smoothly so long as there is equality among various States in a region and every State is given an effective voice in the settlement of regional as well as international problems. But nothing has been said about creating these conditions, especially among backward and politically slave nations. If the whole region revolves round one central power which is all-pervasive in a region regionalism would degenerate into imperialism. And that would not end wars but would pave way for new conflagration.

The plain fact is that the idea of colonies, dependencies and "regions of influence" is out of accord with the democratic ideal of equality of mankind and nations. The world has advanced too far to admit of any nation being governed or exploited by another nation. Parcelling out the world into regions of influence is just another name for the Fascist

"Co-prosperity spheres". The way to end Fascism does not lie through Fascism. If the extinction of Fascism in some quarters is followed by its ascendancy in others, all the bloodshed of this war would go waste. We would once again create the chaotic political and economic conditions which gave birth to Fascist ideology in the inter-wars years. The solution of world problems must be sought along the lines of the Atlantic Charter. President Roosevelt declared that there was no Charter, yet he stood by the principles associated with it. Let the Big three draw up a Charter on the lines of the old Charter and sign it to affirm their solemn adherence to it.

But political justice is not enough. The world has suffered in the past more from economic than from political ills. In fact the desire for Empires and "regions of influence" is in itself directly traceable to the scramble for markets. The War has no doubt brought about great sufferings. But the sufferings brought about by the trade restrictions, currency manipulation, depression and consequent unemployment, hunger and misery in the last decade, though invisible, were by no means small. The world has long been organized on the joint-stock principle. The largest stock-holder got the maximum dividend. The principle has failed to work. Let the world be organized now on co-operative principle. The Atlantic Charter laid down an economic policy of great importance. Clause 4 of the Charter runs as follows:—

They (Great Britain and U.S.A.) will endeavour with respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment of all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms to the trade and to the materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

And in the fifth Clause it is stated that:

They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

A reversion to the principle of free trade and equal opportunities for all nations to exploit the materials of the world for their economic advancement is thus envisaged. The agreement reached at the Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods in July last also embodies the same principle. The principle is sound only if all countries are equally developed economically. This is hardly the case at present. The acceptance of the principle by industrially backward countries like India would for ever banish the hope for "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security". The industrially advanced countries should not only allow such countries to develop their industries behind walls of protection but should even actively help to promote industrialization and enable them to catch up with the standards achieved by them. For as long as some countries remain on the low standard of living that we have in India and China and so long as millions of people suffer from want of food and clothing, there would be a permanent drag on any advance made by the rest of the world. The foundations of permanent peace would be laid when want, ignorance and disease are banished from all lands, when economic nationalism gives way to world co-operation and when the world is organized as one unified whole rather than a group of countries with conflicting ideologies and interests. You cannot carve out an international order out of national planning. All must co-operate to plan a better, a happier and a prosperous world after the War.

INDIAN SOLILOQUY

BY MR. F. T. CASTELLS

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ARRIVAL at Howrah Station, the great Calcutta terminus, synchronized with a besiegement of wildly gesticulating coolies all vying for the privilege of carrying my luggage. Ali Bux, my bearer, with pretentious dignity attended to this latter matter, giving instructions with the assurance of a Nabob whilst I paid off the heavily bearded Sikh taxi-driver, sitting back with a complaisant smile on his lips; white teeth gleamed happily when he received his fare, together with a solatium for services rendered.

It was a relief to enter the dimly lighted station: an asylum from the blinding glare of the streets, hazy vistas of shimmering dancing heat.

The scene inciting my eyes was fantastic, overcharged by a languid atmosphere permeated with the peculiar suffocating smell of the East, admixed of sweat, musk, spices and exhalations from exposed fruit; an amalgam sweetly nauseating: overhead the roof of the huge cavern was invaded by a canopy of smoke, a floating misty cloudiness of purple blackness; I became enveloped in a deafening noise, ever reverberating in its intensity, a maddening but weirdly haunting scordatura, blended of vociferously shouting and gabbling crowds pouring out a *melange* of Hindi, Bengali, Tamil and a score of other languages, and dialects, all inextricably interwoven into a strepitoso babel of meaningless vibrations. Here and there could be heard occasional words of English stabbing the endless spate of words. Above all and yet interlaced came the

clamorous obligato of all railway stations, the play of shrieking whistles, puffing, snorting engines, clanging bells and a hundred other tumultuous interceptions: a weltering turmoil of chaotic uproar. Peeping through the skylights, the sun shed its light in gorgeous patches of gold embroidery about the seething masses of dark-skinned people, the majority of whom were sitting cross-legged in tight little groups, co-centred about their few belongings wrapped up in gaudy coverings. A medley of dress provided an exotic orgy of subdued colours, an infusion of vivid hues softened down by the dim illumination into the light and shade of Rembrandtish effects. I glanced around in bewilderment at the scene: in the chattering throng could be traced many of the numerous nationalities of the sub-continent; Madrasis, clad in white from head to foot wearing small round turbans, North countrymen bearing huge gaudily coloured head-dresses. Here and there a Pathan glaring around almost insolently, resplendent in baggy trousers and waistcoats of dazzling contrasting colours, picked out with golden threads; and there in the middle distance a priest, his shaven head held erect, austere and dignified, wrapped around in a long saffron coloured robe and muttering to himself with gently moving lips, as he fingered the long string of orange tawny beads resting around his neck.

I commenced walking through the packed mass of humanity: a coolie covered by a scanty loincloth ran past me, his body beaded with perspiration, I gave a muttered imprecation, and then something impelled

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me to look down: my glance rested on an Indian girl, her eyes enlarged with kohl, wondrous brown pools set in an oval face, scrutinized me with a puzzled look replete with half-ashamed coquetry, the smooth satin-like texture of her skin showed faintly through a diaphanous pale green saree, adorned with a shining silver border. A concatenation of conflicting forces generated within me in lilting vague-like currents of speculation. I seemed to be grasping at an exciting intangibility compounded of the gossamery magic from which dreams are woven. Those eyes held an insinuating urgency, a magnetic attractive allure. With an effort I held my course: brushing past a knot of unsophisticated villagers, staring round with bleared eyes at the unaccustomed sight, I jostled against a group of Muhammadans with jaunty red fezzes, sitting immobile and motionless, evidencing the complacent indifference of oriental boredom: stumbling on I nearly fell over a recumbent group of women reclining in a circle, enswathed in sarees co-mingling festively in a contrast of vividness; they lay composed like a huge weird moving flower of varied, delicately coloured petals, their arms resplendent with bangles and trinkets tinkling musically as they confabulated gaily. Immediately on noticing my curious glance, as if motivated by a primeval protective call, they all suddenly covered their faces; tapering henna-stained be-ringed fingers gently and elegantly moved in a graceful gesture like a well-drilled ballet, small slender feet drew upwards instinctively. I passed by and turning, lit a cigarette and through its bluish haze surveyed the

scene. The atmosphere was saturated with a wild impelling Eastern luxuriancy, and as I listened I sensed an enchanting semi-barbaric titany, enthralling but strangely remote. My soliloquy was rudely broken as a beggar passed by cringing and crying, his emaciated body a mass of sores; hastily I threw him a silver coin and with muttered incoherent blessings he went on his way whining a piteous lament.

Again I looked at the twirling spectrum and its fairy interplay of ravishing colours: the noise seemed to gather force within itself, savage swaying passionate cadences rising to a blaring crescendo suddenly to fall into a murmurous lethargized wail, breaking out anew in a rhythmic discordant extravaganza, a tempo of wild uncontrollable ecstasy punctuated by an insistent, pulsating, vibrant thrumming; out of this river of confused mingled clamour floated streamlets of sounds, each distinguishable in their inflexible persistence; rain and thunder, a whistling of winds through the pines, the singing insistent harmony of waterfalls, chirruping of birds, the call of temple bells and the monotonous wash of the sea. Suddenly, as if emerging from a mist, with gently tinkling anklets a girl swayed by me wearing a light green besilvered saree, her kohl blackened eyes gave out a momentary irradiant flash of semi-recognition as the deep brown unfathomable wells of loveliness almost talked in their shining bewitching allure; my senses were benumbed in a feverish delirium, an impelling entreating emanation flowed through me, sweet and intoxicatingly seductive and then, very slowly, she closed her half averted eyes like hurried

tender shadows vanishing from the sunlight and passed; for ever.

As if in a dream I hurried to the train, a vague dull ache clutching at my hearth: a strident piercing whistle blew its message of farewell and the train commenced its long tedious journey through the arid plains of Hindustan. With an effort I rose and looked back through the open window; the already diminishing phantasmagoria of lavish pageantry gradually disappeared into a meaningless blur, and with it the penetrating din drew away, dissipating and submerged as in a

plaintive faint hum until it faded away altogether.

I lay back, my emotions in a tumbling jangled discordance of incoherency; in the mazy lavishness of confused thought I could only trace an oval face with burning enigmatical eyes, a half smile from carmined lips, and the passing rapturous flowering scents of a half opened bud: my eyelids were beaten back with a leaden weariness as I floated into the clasp of sleep, and dreamt that life was but an illusion, a current of ephemeral appearances, lost in the mists of eternity.

A Plea for More Astronomical Observatories

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

THERE are immense possibilities for Astronomical Observatories in India. Virtually for nine months in the year the sky in India is clear and very suitable for telescopic observatories and photography of heavenly bodies. But unfortunately there are only two observatories worth mentioning in India, *viz.*, the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal and the Nizamiah Observatory at Hyderabad. In Great Britain having a population of about 50 millions, there are at least 17 observatories maintained by Government, Universities and private endowments. In the United States of America and in Russia the number of observatories is much larger. In these countries the support of astronomical investigations by the Universities is quite generous. On the same scale as that of Great Britain India should have at least 130 observatories.

Astronomy, although it bears less directly on the material interests of life than some other sciences, is undoubtedly of great practical interest. The latitude and longitude of places on earth's surface are determined by means of Astronomy. Such determinations have made it possible to conduct extensive aerial and oceanic navigations. Moreover, all the surveying operations on a large scale depend on astronomical observations. Those operations for which an accurate knowledge of time is essential must require help from Astronomy.

Astronomical investigations undertaken for the sake of pure knowledge and for intellectual satisfaction led in the past to the discovery of the laws of dynamics and to the invention of calculus. Recently Astronomy is responsible for the development of the physical theory of Relativity.

The study of Astronomy has also immense educative and philosophical value. The simple laws of Astronomy lead to most far-reaching results and, these reveal to us the beauty and grandeur of the universe which in turn stimulate our imagination and gratify our poetic sense.

To the historian even the astronomical records have great value, and the earliest of such records relate chiefly to eclipse and the position of planets whose dates can be accurately calculated.

It need hardly be pointed out that popular exposition of the functions of Astronomy on a much more extensive scale and much wider publication of the results of Astronomy are two important problems which should be satisfactorily tackled in our scheme of post-war reconstruction on Education. In Britain due partly to war conditions a keen popular interest in Astronomy has been awakened recently.

Mr. D. S. Evans writes in the *Observer*, October, 1944, "The present time is most propitious for the consideration of plans for the popularisation of Astronomy. The black-out and military, air force, Homeguard, Observer corps and fire-watching duties have stimulated an extraordinary increase in popular interest in Astronomy. There is a considerable demand for good books on the subject. Over ninety per cent. of the scientific questions sent in from the Forces to the B.B.C. are either definitely astronomical or closely related

to Astronomy and there are other evidences of a lively popular interest".

In Sargeant's Report we have a comprehensive scheme for Post-war reconstruction of Education in India. I venture to suggest that in any such scheme the need for the establishment and planning of a number of Observatories in India should also be considered. As mentioned before, we have at present only two Observatories worth the name. India is a vast country, and to begin with, we should have at least ten more Observatories at suitable places in this country. In Northern India there is no modern Astronomical Observatory as yet.

In Delhi, Allahabad and Calcutta, valuable research work has been done in Astrophysics during the last few years, which has received recognition outside. But the research work and teaching in Astronomy have been purely theoretical, on account of lack of suitable observational material and equipment. So properly equipped Observatories attached to these Universities are very necessary. In these Universities, effective collaboration of observational astronomers, theoretical workers, and laboratory physicists would be possible.

A fairly well-equipped Observatory with research facilities will cost about 5 lakhs of rupees. Ten such Observatories would cost about half a crore of rupees, which is a small fraction of the total amount proposed to be spent on items of education in the post-war period.

Inferiority Complex—is it Curable?

BY MR. PREM NATH, M.A.

THE majority, if not all, of us suffer from the "Inferiority Complex"; and I make this statement without any doubt of uncertainty. This disease is no less serious than any other for the very reason that it reduces the patient to a helpless and restless condition. Worse still, the disease is knitted with the consciousness of it, ever present and torturing the mind which therefore can never rise equal to the demands of society.

EARLIEST ENVIRONMENT

For tracing the causes of this disease, we have to go as far back as the very birth of a child and examine whether he is born as the eldest, young or the youngest. Thus every child has an environment peculiar to him and therefore we must study the individual cases to find out as to which period of life has contributed the more for the development of this disease. If he is the eldest child naturally enough, he has to depend upon his parents; from this dependence, the inferiority feeling is but the next step. Then with the birth of a younger one, the attention or at least some of it is withdrawn from the elder, with the result that it leaves him grumbling that all is not well with him. The world comes much short of his expectations and the poor fellow sits in a corner all alone. The youngest child, although no doubt he may be the centre of all attention, holds fast the feelings in his breast that he is a mere tool in the hands of his elders. However, in every case much depends upon the attitude of the parents towards their children.

But this is only the immediate environment of a child, in fact much lies beyond it. It is the blessed privilege of a mother to introduce the child to the society she wills; and if she fails to perform this function properly, evils must follow.

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

Out from the house, the child embraces a wider atmosphere, he plays with his fellows, and enjoys life. But soon the pleasure is over, and he feels the economic inequality. Mark a child of poor parents coming home and crying for a car or a radio; surely he has seen his fellow-creatures sitting in a car or hearing a radio. What have the parents to answer if not to brood over their misfortunes? Both the parents and the child are racked with the same problem, almost like killing two birds with one stone. Now, what 'attitude' the child would come to have we could well imagine. If then the child carries jealousy or hatred against the rich, who is to blame?

In India girls have enjoyed a very low status, economic as well as social; and that is one of the main reasons why they are more neurotic than men.

HIDDEN FEAR

Most of the psychologists are agreed that there is some sort of fear hidden deep in a person's sub-conscious which upsets the whole balance of his personality. How many of us would not shudder to think of a dark night, how many of us would not take bushes as masqueraded robbers and retreat our paces? Why? Mothers have much to answer for this; perhaps,

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most of us do remember our mothers' conditioning fear in us when we did not obey her.

THE "HEAVY FATHER"

It is evident that the father's dominance has ever remained a characteristic of the patriarchal society. 'Heavy father', as he is called by some psychologists, is to a very great extent responsible for generating the inferiority feelings in the mind of the child. He has misunderstood the child mind if he feels that no amount of authority would provoke any resentment from the child.

PAMPERING

If the child, on the other hand, is pampered too much by his parents, surely he would imbibe the idea that the world would be as favourable to him. He would like to be the centre of all attention and the pivot of all appreciation. But "things are not what they seem"; and he has to face the stern realities of the world. He begins to shun society and remain alone and in no time grows anti-social; and there results a serious neurosis. Girls are more likely to go neurotic in the homes where there is a male dominance or where they are not appreciated. No wonder then if such girls run away from homes to seek respect and appreciation abroad.

ORPHANS

The conditions are still worse in the case of orphans who are neglected and tortured with the result that they soon begin to feel their worthlessness and this feeling haunts them day and night. They wander as if "babes in the wood", while their fellow-creatures enjoy the comforts of the parental roof.

PHYSICAL DEFORMITY

Besides these causes and many more which it is not possible to lay down within the span of this article, physical defects are another cause which carries with it the trade mark of inferiority. Broadly speaking, it will include anything wrong with the body which may give the sense of awkwardness.

RESULTS

The main result or rather the symptom of this disease is nervousness and mal-adjusted personality. In acute cases, the patient would tremble and perspire if he has to attend some social function. He would be over-self-conscious, feeling awkward either about his dress or the place where he is sitting. But perhaps there is a "Law of Compensation" in human nature; your arm would not break twice at the same place! Naturally, therefore, there is a drive in the patient's mind against some anti-social 'compensations' such as fear, jealousy, conceit, and the so-called superiority. I am just reminded of this truth by the conduct of an English Principal of some college (I need not name him) who in order to compensate for his very short stature would wear high-heeled shoes and top-hat! Moreover, he would sit in his office in a raised chair which he had specially got ready. This is how the patients tend to compensate their shortcomings. Likewise we often come across persons who are always showing off; but in fact they are only compensating the inferiority feelings at the bottom!

CURE

Much less remains to be said now for bringing about a cure. "Know thyself"

and the cure would follow. Try to recall when you sit calmly, your past history, the environment you were brought up in and consider in that light some of the more outstanding episodes which gave you emotional shocks. Plunging deep into your sub-conscious, you would discover that there had been some events to which you had attached undue importance. Now, you would easily laugh away that burden and much of the disease would soon vanish. Fear that has a strong hold on you now, may have had its growth when you were startled to see a dog approaching you madly and so on.

If you have a friend to whom you can relate your story with confidence, do it by all means. While you relate the story of your life, there would certainly be many episodes which would touch you to the core of your heart, and you would find a

sort of emotional relief. They say that the unconscious is nothing but the unconscious, whether true or false, this method does give you relief as also the confidence of a friend.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY

I have already referred to the anti-social "compensations". To counteract these the next step should be that you must employ your time in social activities; for there you would find the true compensation for your shortcomings. You would soon begin to feel an important part of society and your social self which had been suffering in prestige would come to its own. If as a child you did not enjoy social dignity, you would surely find it now, for society does appreciate selfless work.

Besides, this would provide some objective interest and would take you out of your narrow self bounded by idiosyncrasies.

The Failure of the Simla Conference

THE Simla Conference, which was adjourned on June 29, met on July 14. But it was only to record its breakdown. The fortnight's interval was utilized by the Viceroy in meeting the leaders of the respective parties individually with a view to effect an agreement among the major parties. That was found impossible and at the last sitting of the Conference Lord Wavell magnanimously took upon himself the responsibility for the failure and appealed to the leaders to avoid recriminations.

His Excellency added that the present Executive Council would continue in office

and prosecute the war against Japan, carry on the administration as heretofore and prepare for post-war development. He also indicated that it would be "some little time" before the next move was made. He gave a survey of the situation and made it clear that the failure of his efforts was entirely due to the fact that he could not accept the position taken by Mr. Jinnah.

As you know, my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the Executive Council, and that thereafter Parties should send me lists of names. . . . I received lists from all Parties, represented here except from the European group, who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League. I was, however, determined that the

Conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending. I, therefore, made my provisional selections, including certain Muslim League names, and I have every reason to believe that if those selections had been acceptable here they would have been acceptable to His Majesty's Government.

My selections would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council, whose composition would have been reasonably fair to all Parties.

I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any Party in full. When I explained my solution to Mr. Jinnah he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League, and he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue the discussion.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, said that he appreciated Lord Wavell's efforts for a solution of the political deadlock.

Lord Wavell rightly adjourned the Conference to enable the parties to come to terms, but the Muslim League claimed the sole right to nominate all the Muslim representatives on the new Executive Council. This claim was untenable and unsustainable and the Congress could not accept this position. The Congress was not a Hindu body. It could not wipe out its history of fifty years. "I as a Muslim", declared Maulana Azad, "would not tolerate the Congress becoming a purely Hindu body." The Congress had a right to claim a share for the welfare and responsibility of Muslims.

Maulana Azad went on to say that the Viceroy had said repeatedly that the Muslim League's claim to represent all Mussalmans could not be accepted in its entirety.

It was, therefore, clear who was responsible for the failure of the Conference. The communal question had taken the upper hand and had become a stumbling block in the path of the progress of India.

The Viceroy had to take as much responsibility in solving the communal question as the Indian parties themselves, because the British Government could not absolve itself of its responsibility for the position that had arisen.

The existence of the third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the Viceroy, which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fairplay, alone could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution.

Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, said, that the League and the Congress approached the problem from two opposite angles.

Pakistan and United India were diametrically opposed to each other. The Muslim League had offered its hand of co-operation to the British Government. The Mussalmans of India were determined to have Pakistan. The League was willing to consider proposals for the formation of an interim Government if a declaration was made guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination in accordance with the Lahore Resolution and the League was accorded equality of representation with all other parties on the new Government.

Dr. Bannerjee, Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, expressed his appreciation of the Viceroy's effort. Complete agreement as declared by the Viceroy, he said, could be had nowhere in the world.

In no country had there ever been complete agreement. The Viceroy's method of approach was thoroughly wrong. No single party should be enabled to stop the progress of the country. Having failed in his effort to bring about complete agreement, the Viceroy should now proceed to have the largest measure of agreement.

Dr. Bannerjee suggested that the task of forming an interim Government should be entrusted to such members of the Legislature as were prepared to shoulder the responsibility. If Lord Wavell could think of a better and sounder alternative he would be happy.

Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, endorsed the Congress President's view and pointed out that the Viceroy had clearly stated that issues of the future, like Pakistan, were not to be prejudiced by the proposed arrangement. This declaration had been accepted by Mr. Jinnah. As regards Mr. Jinnah's claim that the League alone could nominate Muslim members, the Punjab Premier contended that no one single party should be allowed to exclude other schools of thought. It would amount to giving the Muslim League the sole right of nomination and disenfranchising other sections of Muslims.

Besides these speeches, the leaders freely expressed themselves in their statements to

the press. The Congress President gave a detailed review of the Congress stand *vis-à-vis* the Wavell Plan. The manner in which the Conference had been concluded, he said, was now before the world and world opinion could easily judge at whose doors the responsibility for the failure should be laid, he said:

So far as the Congress was concerned they had repeatedly made it clear that Congress was prepared to take up responsibility of the administration. If the British Government was really serious to settle the issue, they should have foreseen and realised the communal and other difficulties and should have been prepared to meet them. They should not have given the right of veto to any particular group to hold up the progress of the country. "Those who are prepared to go forward should be allowed to go forward and those who wished to keep out should be left out."

The League President, who accepted the Viceroy's invitation to parley with the leaders, was vehement in his denunciation of all and sundry.

On a final examination and analysis of the Wavell Plan, we found that it was a snare. There was the combination consisting of Gandhi Hindu Congress, who stand for India's Hindu national independence as one India, and the latest exponent of geographical unity, Lord Wavell, and Glancy-Khizar, who are bent upon creating disruption among the Mussalmans in the Punjab, and we were sought to be pushed into this arrangement, which, if we had agreed to, as proposed by Lord Wavell, we would have signed our death warrant.

The League's unreasonable claim for exclusive control over all Muslim nominations stands in the way, said C. R., in spite of the Congress acceptance of the Wavell plan.

But we have to put aside depression on the strength of two solid reasons. One is that the British plan was initiated with full knowledge of the intransigent attitude of the Muslim League, and Lord Wavell from the outset had refused to give any assurance to the League leader that nothing would be done unless he gave his consent.

We have, therefore, reasons to hope for the plan to go through in spite of the League's attitude. The other ground is that for the first time in Congress history, Congress leaders have thrown their whole weight into the plan and the British Government has every reason to put the Government of India on a firm and popular basis and end the present strain on Indo-British feeling.

The failure of the Conference was widely commented by the British Press, most papers agreeing to place the responsibility for the breakdown on Mr. Jinnah and the intransigence of the League. Typical of such criticism was the *News Chronicle's* which said:

The responsibility for the failure of Simla was not Lord Wavell's. It was Mr. Jinnah's and Mr. Jinnah's alone. The Muslim League is no more completely representative of Muslim India than the Congress is completely representative of Hindu India. It is more than probable that if Mr. Jinnah had been concerned only with the technical issue, the Conference would not have broken down. The real issue at stake was the whole future of Pakistan.

Recalling the growth of the Pakistan idea, the paper writes of the Muslim League advocacy of it:

It is strong—and a chimera. As a strict geographical or economic entity, Muslim India has no existence. Muslim and Hindu India are mixed together, and any attempt at artificial separation would create endless hardships and difficulties.

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HOW THE U.S.S.R. IS GOVERNED

BY DR. A. K. GHOSAL

THE present constitution of the U.S.S.R. is in the direct line of succession of two other preceding ones—the one adopted on July 10, 1918, only for the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the other adopted in January, 1924, for constituting a federation of four units. Such was the tempo of change in Soviet society in the years that followed 1924, particularly with the complete reconstruction of Soviet economy by the adoption of two successive five-year plans, that the second constitution soon outlived its usefulness and made the adoption of a new constitution urgent which was done in December, 1936. The first thing to be noted is a feature of the Soviet system which the new constitution shares with the two previous ones. It is the pyramidal structure of administrative organization with the Supreme Congress of Soviets at the apex and village and town Soviets at the base, rising tier over tier.

The new constitution started with eleven units, two of the newly formed Republics (Kazakh and Kirghiz) being formed out of the territorial jurisdiction of R.S.F.S.R. and the autonomous Republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azarbaizan making up Transcaucasia, being raised to the status of Constituent Republics.

The Soviet constitution frankly recognizes the economic basis of its power. The very first article declares the U.S.S.R. as a socialist state of workers and peasants. Its political foundation is stated to be "the Soviets of toilers" deputies. All political power belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of Soviets. Its economic foundation "consists in the

socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the tools and means of production achieved through the liquidation of capitalism and the abolition of exploitation of man by man." "Socialist property" takes the form of either state property or "co-operative collective property." Private ownership is recognized in a limited form. Work is recognized as obligation and a matter of honour for each citizen. Whether we in this country should immediately turn over to socialist economy is a very thorny and controversial question, but there is no doubt that our main problem is the economic one, of fighting poverty and, as such, we would do well to translate this emphasis on the economic factor in the Soviet constitution into our future constitution.

The organization of state is federal in character based on the voluntary association of the eleven constituent Republics. The powers reserved to the Union Government are quite adequate for its purposes. Outside the limits of federal jurisdiction, not very precisely defined though, as set forth in the constitution, each Union Republic is authorized to exercise its state power independently, and the U.S.S.R. is obliged to protect the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. In the Soviet Union equality and free association, the root principles of federation, are carried to a point hardly reached anywhere else. Each Union Republic is to have its own constitution, which is its own affair, provided it is in full conformity with the constitution of the Union. The right to

secede from the Union is conceded to each Constituent Republic, which is assured territorial integrity. A common Union citizenship is established throughout the Union, as also the universal jurisdiction of the laws of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet form of federalism with its profound emphasis on complete equality and local autonomy has its lessons for the framers of our constitution. Whether the right to secede should be conceded to the units of Indian federation has been hotly debated. On this point it seems to me that the Russian analogy is not quite applicable to our country at the present moment. The existence of the Communist Party, which is the driving force behind the Soviet system, puts the prospect of secession by any unit almost beyond the pale of practical politics. Any such cementing force is lacking in our country. In the second place, Soviet Russia has, for all practical purposes, been reduced to a homogeneous society by the liquidation of economic classes. That has removed disruptive forces which would have made the existence of the right a constant threat to the unity of the State. This is not true of our country at the present at any rate.

The All Union Congress of Soviets of the earlier constitution of some two thousand members indirectly elected is replaced by a Supreme Soviet of slightly more than one thousand members elected for a four-year term by all citizens, male and female of 18 years and over, through universal, direct and secret ballot meeting twice a year, and consisting of two chambers roughly equal in number and also equal in power. The chambers are called

the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the former constituted on population basis and the latter on the basis of the units. It contains an equal number of delegates from each Constituent Republic, thereby indicating their equal status in the Union, and a smaller number from each autonomous republic, autonomous province and recognized national region within a constituent Republic. All power—legislative, executive and judicial—is concentrated in the Supreme Soviet. This is a distinctive feature of Soviet constitution which is in direct contrast with the theory of "separation of powers" and devices of checks and balances incorporated in capitalist democracies. This has also been made possible by the elimination of class conflict. The only appeal from legislation passed by the Supreme Soviet is by referendum to the people. During recesses of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet it will be represented by a joint committee of 37 members, called the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, elected at a joint session of both chambers and accountable to them in all its activities. Though very important and extensive powers resembling what elsewhere devolve on the chief executive head of the State, have been conferred upon this body, its powers are, however, limited by the constitution.

Another important body of the Government is the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R.—the highest executive and administrative organ of the Union—corresponding to the Cabinet in parliamentary democracies. It will be formed by the Supreme Soviet at a joint session and will be responsible to the Supreme

Soviet and during recesses to its Presidium.

Some of the Commissariats are All-Union and others Union-Republic. The functions of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. are to direct the energies and co-ordinate the activities of the community on a consistent and nation-wide plan towards the objective of the Socialist state. The powers conferred upon it by the constitution for the purpose are very wide, including the powers of direction and co-ordination of the work of the All-Union and Union-Republic Peoples' Commissariats and of other economic and cultural institutions; execution of the national economic plan and the state budget, administration of the credit monetary system, maintenance of public order, organization of armed forces, conducting foreign relations, etc. The Council is empowered to suspend the orders of the Union-Republic Peoples' Commissariats in regard to those branches of administration and economy falling within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. and to annul orders and instructions of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. It is provided that the orders of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. shall be binding throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R. and such orders and decisions must conform to and be in fulfilment of laws just as the Peoples' Commissars are also enjoined to issue within the jurisdictions of the respective commissariats orders and instructions on the basis of and in fulfilment of laws as well as of decisions and orders of the Council.

Due emphasis is placed on the electoral system to which an entire chapter is devoted. Here we find the most important and fundamental departure from the previous regime and an approximation towards liberal democratic system which has been viewed in some quarters as a climb-down from orthodox Communism.

Universal, equal, direct suffrage by secret ballot has been introduced all along the line from the Supreme Soviet right down to the village Soviets. This indicates the growing confidence of Soviet leaders in the strength of their regime. This is a feature of Soviet Democracy, we should do well to introduce in our constitution and even in the composition of the constituent assembly. It would go a long way towards the solution of many of our problems by the assertion of the popular will over the forces of reaction and vested interests.

The democratization of the electoral system has been followed up by an elaborate declaration of basic rights and duties of citizens. It is not quite the repetition of the Bill of Rights found in constitutions of liberal democracies, but a mixture of Communist ideas with those borrowed from bourgeois democratic systems. Citizens are secured the right to work including the right to adequate pay, the right to rest *ie.*, holiday with pay, right to maintenance in sickness, old age, infirmity and incapacity in general, right to free education and free medical attendance and the right to absolute equality as between the sexes in all matters. In other words, all citizens are secured by the state the minimum material conditions essential for giving them opportunity for self-expression or, at any rate, for avoiding a sense of frustration. Nothing could be a more desirable objective for the makers of our future constitution and also administrators to set before themselves than this. The mention of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system in connection with the right of the people to unite in public organization is significant (Art 126).

Infringement of these rights is guarded against by entrusting their protection, in the first place, to the elected legislatures and secondly, to judges elected by the legislatures.

Labour and the General Elections

FOR the first time in history, the British people elected the Labour Party to power with an overwhelming majority. Thus the five years of Mr. Churchill's war leadership ended on the 26th July when the gates of the Buckingham Palace opened to make way for Mr. Churchill to tender his resignation to the King and Mr. Clement Attlee to be entrusted with the formation of the new Government at the behest of millions of British voters.

The Party has a clear majority over all other parties in the New House of Commons. The final election results are:

Total for Government (Mr. Churchill) 210. Total for the Opposition (Attlee), 417.

The state of the parties is:

Labour	...	...	390
Conservative	...	...	195
Liberal National	...	...	14
Liberal	...	...	11
Independents	...	...	10
Independent Labour Party	...	...	3
Communists	...	...	2
Commonwealth	...	...	1
National	...	...	1

Results for 13 seats are yet to be announced, 12 of these being University seats.

The position at the dissolution of Parliament was that the Government had 414 seats, including 358 Conservatives and 27 Liberal Nationals, while the Opposition then totalled 194, including Labour 163, Liberal 19, Independent Labour 6, Commonwealth three, Irish National two and Communists one. Seven seats were vacant.

Twenty-five more seats have been created for this election, and the new House will have 640 members.

It has been said that Labour's outright success is a sequel to one of Britain's most sensational landslides in which the Conservatives led by Mr. Winston Churchill suffered "a debacle of dimensions that dumb-founded even the most optimistic Labour enthusiasts".

It is needless to dwell on the causes that brought about this disaster to the party led by even the greatest war veteran of our time. For one thing the country is evidently sick of the old imperialism that

caused the war and threatens to outlast even that tragedy. For another Mr. Churchill himself seems to have made substantial contribution to this disaster by his truculent manner and overbearing tactics—tactics too in which, to quote Mr. Morrison,

the Prime Minister had over-reached himself in his desire to be smart. Instead of taking the high line of half-above-the battle, he descended into the political gutter. It was a fall from Dunkirk to the depths of the Tory dustbin.

The descent from the great hero of the nations to a scare-mongering party whip proved his undoing and of the party he led. Indeed as a fellow Tory himself put it, "Churchill's Gestapo speech was the greatest blunder of the campaign". For no less than 22 of his colleagues in the Cabinet not to speak of his son and son-in-law, have been defeated.

On the other hand, all the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party have been returned with a thumping majority. On the eve of his return to Potsdam (July 28), the New Prime Minister announced his inner Cabinet of seven.

Mr. Clement Attlee, Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister of Defence.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council.

Mr. Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary.

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Lord Privy Seal.

Dr. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade.

Sir William Jowitt, Lord Chancellor.

Mr. Pethwick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India.

Lord Addison for the Dominions, Miss Wilkinson—Education Minister. Mr. J. J. Lawson, Minister for War.

To us, in India, the displacement of Mr. Amery and the exit of the whole group of reactionaries must be particularly welcome. Welcome too are the pronouncements of Lord Listowell and Sir Stafford Cripps and many others interested in India. When Labour was in power last time, it had to depend on the good will of other parties to put through any measure of reform. No such excuse can be pleaded now that it has all the authority of an absolute majority. Is Labour going to act up to its declared policy or plead lame excuse for maintaining the *status quo* in India?

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Lord Wavell's Lead

AND so the Wavell Plan, like so many previous attempts, has come to grief against all reason, and in spite of the active and wholehearted co-operation of all other parties, the obstructive tactics of Mr. Jinnah is prevailed. Congress, in its anxiety to solve the deadlock and make way for the freedom of the whole country at any cost, generously conceded parity to the Muslim minority in the teeth of the just opposition of the Hindus. But the demand for parity with the Hindus has now mounted to a reposterous demand for parity with all other groups combined. That is to say, the majority is to be reduced for all its generosity to a complete and imbecile minority! Lord Wavell realises the absurdity of the claim and he frankly says he cannot accept it. And yet the Conference breaks on this rock.

What is the lesson? Lord Wavell invited the Conference to accept his leadership. The parties accepted his lead, hoping that it is up to the skipper to take the vessel safe through the stormy waters. And what to think of a skipper who abandons the ship just because there is trouble ahead?

Anyone who reads Lord Wavell's broadcast would be struck by its evident note of sincerity. And yet within a couple of weeks he chose to waver and vacillate towards the end.

It is idle to pretend that the country is not disappointed at the failure of a Conference begun under a fanfare of hopes and promises. In a statement to the press, Mr. Natesan, Editor of this *Review*, recalls a pertinent passage in Lord Samuel's speech in the House of Lords on 2nd November 1939, criticising the attitude of the British Government towards the claims of the Muslims. His observations are so pat to the occasion that we make no apology for transcribing the passage in question:

Government say that if only Indians could agree among themselves on the outstanding questions as between the Communities and between the Congress Party and the States, at once Dominion Status

could be brought into effect. But that in substance, means that Muslims are to have a veto on the introduction of Dominion Status. . . .

It is natural for them to say to the Hindus: "Unless you can concede all we want, we will refuse an agreement, and if we refuse an agreement the British Government say they will not introduce Dominion Status."

Consequently the present policy of His Majesty's Government leads to the conclusion that the final decision is left with the Muslims. That will mean that one-fourth of the population of India is to decide the future of India rather than three-fourths. Such a situation may easily become permanent deadlock and it is not surprising that the Congress suspects that that is the intention.

Government has to decide once for all whether it wishes to hold up India's political progress by continuing to use Mr. Jinnah and his like, for the purpose.

India and the Labour Victory

Very few in India will regret the passing away of the Tory Ministry. Though Mr. Churchill has done great service to his country in the war, in India he has always been regarded as the enemy of our progress. Rooted in imperialism of the worst kind he has not hesitated to show his antipathy to Indian aspirations.

Mr. Amery's defeat has caused universal rejoicing and so should it be. The verdict of the British electorate is a clear indication that they are fed up with Mr. Churchill and his colleagues. Labour has, apart from other claims, justly topped the polls for it is the working class that has contributed not a little to the production of munitions and other accessories for the war.

In the past, India has not been quite happy over the doings of the last Labour Government. It is hoped that their great majority and the new angle of vision which makes everyone think of internationalism and the independence of the subject nations, will be an incentive to the New Labour Government to give India what has been long overdue to her. It will be a tragedy if it does not give Lord Wavell active help to proceed with his plans. Let us hope for the best.

Indian Interests in Burma

Growing concern over the future of Indians in Burma found vigorous expression at the recent Conference convened by the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce in Bombay. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, of Chettinad, who presided over the Conference, called attention to the widespread feeling of uneasiness among Indians who have large business interests in Burma.

"A fear is growing in our minds," said the Raja Sahob, "that advantage may be taken of the confusion of the re-occupation of Burma, to make out and dried solutions and force them down the throats of Indians without adequate previous consultations with the interests concerned."

The Blue Print for Burma (setting forth the Tory views of British intentions), claimed that the best way of subserving the true interests of Burma was to enthrone British financial and commercial interests and eliminate every other interest in the economy of Burma. And yet the part played by Indians in the rise of Burma is an essential feature of recent Burmese history. The Tory pamphlet argues that the rights of Indians could be easily liquidated!

In tune with this policy, the present authorities in Burma are attempting to jockey out the Indian from the import trade of the country by ordaining that in future all surplus rice should be sold to the British Ministry of Food and that countries desiring to trade with Burma should approach that Ministry and get what they choose to supply. Then again the restrictions imposed on Indians visiting Burma for purposes of trade or even to look after their own property are humiliating in the extreme. Europeans, on the other hand, get permits for the asking.

The Bombay Conference rightly condemned this discrimination and asked for friendly settlement of such issues from the interim authorities. Burma's own interests lie in friendly co-operation with her neighbours and not in antagonising her historic relations with this country.

Princes and British India

A deadlock in the relations between the Princes and the Viceroy is an unusual thing. Yet it is common knowledge that the Chamber of Princes did make a demonstration of a sort in December last. A *communiqué* issued by the special Committee of Rulers which met in Bombay the other day announced that a settlement had been reached following an interview between the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and H. E. the Crown Representative. What the deadlock was about and how it was ended are still secrets, neither of the parties in the dispute having taken the public into their confidence. Anyway, all's well that ends well.

But more significant than the ending of the deadlock, was the pronouncement made by the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber, in his address to his fellow princes. Coming on the eve of the Wavell negotiations, his words on the occasion were of special interest. His Highness welcomed an interim government for British India and assured the Rulers' cordial co-operation in a matter of all-India concern. He urged the Princes to get ready to march with the fast moving events. He said:

We must associate our people as closely as possible with the administration of our States. This is, in fact, being done in many States. We shall have to take immediate action where this has not already been done to implement forthwith and to the fullest extent the recommendations made at our previous meetings with regard to independent judiciaries, representative institutions and the fixing of the privy purse.

Now whether the Wavell plan ultimately succeeds or fails, India cannot stand still. The march forward is irresistible and if the Princes really want to have a peaceful transition they will do well to keep pace with their neighbours.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Japan defies Potsdam Ultimatum

FOR the first time the Japanese have been told exactly what "unconditional surrender" means for them, and have been warned that if they do not accept the Allied terms "the alternative is prompt and utter destruction."

The Potsdam Proclamation, jointly signed by Mr. Churchill, President Truman and Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek has made known to the world what was virtually a "surrender-or-be-destroyed ultimatum" to the Japanese people.

The following are our terms: We will not deviate from them. There are no alternatives. We will brook no delay.

There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure achievements of the basic objectives which we are here setting forth.

Then follow other terms and the Proclamation concludes:

We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper adequate assurances of their good faith in such action.

The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

After a three-hour cabinet meeting, the Japanese News Agency issued a defiant reply to the Allied Proclamation declaring that Japan would fight on to the end.

Constitutional Crisis in France

Confusion envelops French constitutional affairs after the defeat of General Charles de Gaulle's Government in the French Consultative Assembly on July 29 by 210 votes to 19, when the three-day debate on General de Gaulle's proposals for framing France's new constitution ended.

What Government will do next is not known, but the Assembly is meeting again and presumably, alternative constitutional proposals will be made.

Treason Trial of M. Petain

"This court does not represent the French people. I will reply to no questions," declared Marshal Philippe Petain, the 89-year-old Marshal of France and defender Verdun, whose trial on a double charge of plotting against the internal security of his country and intelligence with the enemy, began in the historic Palais de Justice at Paris on July 24.

He added: "It is the people of France who gave us power and I have come to render my account to the people. While General de Gaulle continued the struggle, I prepared liberation, keeping together wounded but living France. If you condemn me, you will condemn an innocent man. I place myself in the hands of France."

The argument by Petain's counsel that the court was incompetent to judge the case and that the Marshal could only be tried by the Senate under the 1875 constitution was rejected and the court is proceeding with the trial.

The Status of Eire

Ireland is both an independent Republic and a member of the British Commonwealth—that is the contention of Eire's Prime Minister, Mr. Edmon de Valera, who on July 17 gave a detailed explanation of the view in the Dail, Eire's Parliament.

Speaking to a full house, Mr. De Valera whose explanations have been eagerly awaited since he first asserted Eire's Republican status a week earlier said Eire had been "an independent Republic since December 29, 1931, the day on which our new constitution came into operation."

Mr. De Valera cited articles from Eire's Constitution, including one declaring the State to be "sovereign independent and democratic" and added, "A State, whose institutions correspond to these Articles seems to me demonstrably a Republic."

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

SIDELIGHTS. By "Saka". Language Publications, 12, Thambu Chetti St., Madras. Rs. 2.

C. R. is right, as he generally is in such matters, when he said that Khasa is at his best when he writes as "Saka". And this collection of thumb-nail sketches and essays, rescued from the fading columns of the periodical press, will be welcomed by many readers who have already enjoyed reading them as they appeared, and by others also to whom they may be new.

These papers which are somewhat in the nature of the "middles" of the British weeklies, are written in the light but by no means frivolous manner of the popular columnist. It is the mark of good writing that time has not robbed them of their entertainment value. "Saka" handles his themes with the ease and grace of one to the manner born. His frank and vivacious presentation lacks neither charm nor dignity and his criticism of men and things are singularly free from spite or malice.

One could also see that "Saka" has mellowed with time and has shed some antipathies one noticed in his previous volume, "Men in the Limelight." His judgments, though critical, are generally appreciative, and where the characters merit it, are suffused by a generous glow of enthusiasm. There is a deal of shrewdness and gentle wisdom in these pages which will repay perusal.

INDIA IN WORLD POLITICS. By Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond). Sultan Chand & Co., Lahore.

The author of this interesting book claims that it is a personalised account of what he had written at various stages, and re-arranged for unity of approach and

symmetry of treatment and that it constitutes therefore the reaction of a sensitive and patriotic Indian mind to the impact of world affairs and the implications of the unconsciously tightening English dominion. He discusses the place of India in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the League of Nations, and the International Labour Organisation and argues that there are many thorns in her path and obstacles in her endeavour mainly arising out of "the traditional British Monroe Doctrine" for the Empire and India. It is difficult to indicate the direct beneficial results which have accrued to India as a result of her participation in the work of the I. L. O. We further note the manner in which Ottawa strangled the Indian export trade. Imperial Preference runs counter to the most favoured nation principle. Indians Overseas have been detailed in all their complex difficulties and problems; and the vision is indulged in when India would play the role of peace-maker between the white, the black and the yellow.

BRITISH SOLDIER LOOKS AT INDIA. Letters of Clive Branson. Peoples Publishing House, Raj Bhuvan, Bombay.

Mr. Branson, the author of these revealing letters from India was an extremely gifted and courageous soldier who saw with insight and sympathy the appalling poverty of the Indian masses and the supreme incompetence of the administration which aggravated it in many ways. A communist by faith he was passionate, sensitive and humane towards the oppressed and down-trodden. These frank and outspoken letters are full of anger and indignation at the misery of the poor and the corrupt and inefficient war-time bureaucracy in India.

AUGUST, 1945]

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OXFORD PAMPHLET ON HOME AFFAIRS. No. 70. JAPAN. Sir George Sansom, Oxford University Press. As. 6.

Here is a brief and readable account of Japan's internal development during the last 100 years. Sir George Sansom gives a thorough and informing analysis of the Japanese and their ways of life which provides an admirable clue for understanding Japan's gigantic strides towards becoming a modern Imperial power. At the back of the feudal, social system, one realises the impact of their fanatical devotion to the state which largely explains their habits and ways of thought in war and national aggrandizement. The author envisages the grim prospects of her defeat and its consequences in the end and says that the victorious powers should devise a rule by which Japan can be ensured a livelihood, but denied the power of aggression.

GREAT REBELS. Studies in Life and Letters. Edited by Saroj Acharya. Book Forum, 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Rs. 2-4.

In this tiny volume we get a remarkably informative account of the lives and achievements of some of the most outstanding men of letters of our epoch. They served mankind by their pen and tongue and suffered penalties for the causes they advocated. Without reserve or restraint they fought social injustice, political oppression, economic inequality and intellectual serfdom and each chose a different medium for his work. Tagore who conveys a new message through his poetry, Pearl Buck who paints Chinese life in her novels, Ernst Toller who gives a lurid picture of Nazi barbarism in his plays and letters, Romain Rolland who reveals a quiet and subdued humanism in his writings and Stefan Zweig who enjoins the value of spiritual force, are all supreme examples of great rebels who cannot retreat, because they "must conquer or die".

BOOKS RECEIVED

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MERCHANTMEN AT WAR. The Official Story of the Merchant Navy, 1939-44. Prepared for the Ministry of War Transport by the Ministry of Information, H. M. Stationary Office, London.

A PLAN OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR INDIA. Part II. Distribution—Role of the State. The New Book Company, Bombay. Re. 1.

CREMLIN PAPERS. Story and Illustrations. By M. A. Poltov. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Rs. 6-8.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN HYDERABAD. By Hon'ble W. V. Grigson, C.S.I., I.C.S. The Supply Department, Hyderabad.

ENGLISH LAW. By J. L. Brierly (Oxford Pamphlets on Home Affairs). Oxford University Press. 6 as.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION. By S. N. Agarwal with an Introduction by Mahatma Gandhi. Vora & Co. Bombay.

OCEAN SKIES AND LOST CARGOES. By M. Beckman. Thacker & Co., Ltd. Bombay. Rs. 7-14.

LENINGRAD. By Alexander Werth, Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 8-14.

GEORGE CAN DO IT. By G. A. West. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 12 as.

PLAN FOR BRITAIN. A Collection of Essays. Prepared for the Fabian Society. Vora & Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay.

SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANNING IN INDIA. By A. N. Agarwala. East End Publishers, Allengunj, Allahabad. Rs. 5-12.

THE ROAD TO PEACE AND PAKISTAN. By Ziauddin Ahmed Sulei, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore. Rs. 1-8.

THROUGH PAKISTAN TO FREEDOM. By Jamiluddin Ahmad, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore. Re. 1-8.

SONGS DIVINE. By Swami Abhedananda Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

SWAMI VIVEKANANTA, AND MODERN INDIA. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

THE HOLY GITA. Text, with an English Translation. By J. J. Pandya, M.A., Kitabghar, Rajkot. Rs. 12-8.

HIND SWARAJ. By M. K. Gandhi. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 8 as.

OVER KHYBER TO THE CASPIAN SEA. By Ruth Ahlsand. Thacker & Co., Ltd. Rs. 4-12.

NATIONALISM AND SELF-GOVERNMENT. By Dr. Lanka Sundaram. Rajkamal Publications, Delhi.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- July 1. Congress leaders arrive in Simla.
—Mr. Attlee replies to Churchill's attacks and says "he is not indispensable."
- July 2. Pandit Nehru has 150 minutes talks with Viceroy in Simla.
—H. E. Sir Arthur Hope's term extended for another 6 months.
- July 3. Churchill-Attlee correspondence. Nationalist Muslim organizations support Congress stand.
- July 4. Mr. Curtin, Australian Prime-Minister, is dead.
- July 5. Britons go to the polls.
—Congress Working Committee draws up provisional list for Viceroy's Council.
- July 6. Warsaw Government recognized by U.S., Britain and China.
- July 7. Congress, League and other bodies submit their panel to the Viceroy.
- July 8. M. Stalin receives Chinese Prime Minister, Dr. T. V. Soong:
—2½ per cent. 1950 bonds issued.
- July 9. Russo-Polish Trade pact signed.
—Empire Air Conference opens in London.
- July 10. Princes Committee Members withdraw resignation.
- July 11. Viceroy meets Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah.
- July 12. Pandit Nehru explains Congress attitude to Wavell's plan.
- July 13. Party negotiations fail at Simla.
—Congress Executive meets.
- July 14. Viceroy addresses Simla Conference and declares its failure.
—Statement by Congress President, Mr. Jinnah and others.
- July 15. Viceroy-Jinnah correspondence released.
- July 16. King Leopold of Belgium decides to stay out of country but not to abdicate.
- July 17. The Three-power Conference opens at Potsdam, President Truman presiding.
—1,500 Bombers raid Tokyo.
- July 18. Congress High Command authorizes formation of Ministry in Assam.
—De Valera explains in the Dail the constitutional status of Eire.
- July 19. Russia's German policy clarified at Potsdam Conference.
- July 20. Dr. Pattabhi owns sole responsibility for August 1942 circular.
—Lord Wavell convenes Conference of Governors.
- July 21. French troops evacuate Syria.
- July 22. Clashes between Chinese Communists and Government in four provinces.
- July 23. Trial of Marshal Petain begins.
—Lord Listowel pleads for renewal of steps to end deadlock.
- July 24. Record raids on Jap cities.
- July 25. Frontier Gandhi arrested by Punjab Police.
- July 26. Labour wins British Election with clear majority. Mr. Churchill resigns.
—Allied call to Japan to surrender.
- July 27. Mr. Attlee becomes Prime Minister.
—Japan defies allied ultimatum and declares its determination to fight to the bitter end.
- July 28. Britain's new Labour Cabinet is announced.
- July 29. Frontier Gandhi released.
—Dr. Evatt protests against non-consultation of Australia in respect of Potsdam ultimatum to Japan.
- July 30. Mr. Churchill declines Order of the Garter offered by the King.
—John Amery tried for high treason.
- July 31. Jamiat leader Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madana nominated to Congress Working Committee;



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Prabuddha Bharata, the well-known Vedantic monthly, now published at Mayavati, has just entered its fiftieth year. It is appropriate that the occasion should be marked by the publication of the Golden Jubilee number, a sumptuous edition which is replete with articles and illustrations of striking interest. Started at Madras under the inspiration of Swami Vivekananda shortly after his unprecedented success at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago it ceased to appear for a time in 1898, on the untimely death of its gifted Editor, B. R. Rajam Iyer. But it re-emerged gathering fresh momentum as it were at Almora and has continued to grow from strength to strength under a succession of editors, who have all been members of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mission.

It is in the fitness of things that more than one article in this special number should deal with Swami Vivekananda and his teachings. Sister Christine, in her reminiscences, recalls how the Swami used to hold forth on questions of social and religious reform of Hindu Society, not always consistently. He inveighed against caste, child marriage and purdah.

Yet he had but little sympathy with reform and reformers. How could he be in harmony with a method which, while it tore up the evil by the roots, destroyed so much that was beautiful and precious in the process, leaving ugly barren places behind? Whatever changes were to be made in his country, must not be brought about by the loss of her self-respect or by loss of faith in herself. Denunciation of her customs and institutions, no, that was not the way. What perversity was it that made so many of his own generation see only evil in the land of their birth and unalloyed good in everything Western? How had this hypnotism come about? Could India have lived through the ages if this were true? The heart of India is sound. Evils there may be. Where are they not? Is the West free from them? Pacing back and forth, hour after hour, he would wrestle with the problems of India.

Christopher Isherwood gives an interesting account of the Swami's conversation with the celebrated Sarah Bernhardt. We have glimpses of the interview in his travel letters to Swami Trigumatita:

Swamiji seems to have been taken round to visit her in her dressing-room at the theatre after a performance. One wonders who introduced them, what word was used to describe the Swami's occupation to the actress, and whether she had already heard of him. 'Madame Bernhardt,' writes Vivekananda, 'has a special regard for India; she tells me again and again that our country is "*tres ancien, tres civilise*"—very ancient and very civilized.' There must have been a gleam in Swamiji's eye as he politely received this flattering information.

They talked, as was natural, of the only play Sarah had ever produced with an Indian setting. It was *Izeil*, by Morand and Silvestro, an expensive flop. Bernhardt had always obstinately liked this piece, perhaps because it displayed her undoubted talent for theatrical *decor*. 'She told me that for about a month she had visited every museum and made herself acquainted with the men and women, and their dress, the streets and bathing ghats and everything relating to India.'

Yet another article in this number is Prof. S. K. Mitra's study of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, and their influence on the minds of the English-educated Indians of the time. We are told:

For Ramakrishna there was no distinction between man and man; for him there were no barriers of race, caste, creed, or sect. It was this catholicity which appealed most to his English-educated countrymen and was the secret of the influence which he exercised over them. This was what attracted to him even leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, like Keshava Chandra Sen and Pratap Chandra Mazumdar. Educated and cultured Hindus who had come in contact with Western culture, flocked to Ramakrishna when they discovered that here was a man who, without leaving the Hindu fold, had the most liberal ideas in religion—ideas which were even more liberal than those held by any Western thinker. In this way Ramakrishna succeeded in putting a stop to the secessionist movement either towards Christianity or towards Brahmoism which was such a characteristic of the religious life of Bengal in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. And it was in this way that he became the centre of the Hindu revivalist movement of the last century.

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN WAR AND PEACE

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar discusses the problem of civil liberties in India during peace and war in the pages of the *Modern Review*. We do not enjoy full and beneficent liberty during peace and its diminution in war is a matter of bitter experience. The rules under the Defence of India Act have conferred on the Executive the most sweeping powers in matters covering almost every aspect of a citizen's life.

They are not subject to any scrutiny by the representatives of the people. They have left no judicial remedy or redress whatever to any person detained without trial or affected in different ways. This power has been exercised recklessly and justified irresponsibly. Lord Atkin has laid down that even "amidst the clash of arms, the laws are not silent." But in India the laws and the ordinances are treated on the same level. The assumption of these powers needed on the plea of emergency and possessing no safeguards for their due exercise have been exercised for a totally different purpose—the suppression of the legitimate rights and activities of citizens. Civil liberties in India are in a precarious condition. No war whose theatre of operations is localised can justify the executive action and process of a large number of detentions in camps and prisons of persons without trial for an indefinite time and in places far removed from the field of operations. The courts have decided that the powers of the executive can legitimately supersede the rule of law during an actual invasion alone. In a case of disputed jurisdiction it is for the civil courts to resolve the conflict, but in India the ordinances have themselves taken away the power of the courts to judge the validity of ordinance rules and their applications. It is the greatest encroachment on any scheme of civil liberties which a modern State has made. They (the citizens) are detained with trial, and often do not know the grounds of their detention. All avenues of redress or appeal are closed to them.

Civil liberty in India also suffers from a very dangerous doctrine of a discredited medieval jurisprudence about the collective responsibility of persons belonging to a particular group or area for crimes or agitation happening in that area.

It is a resuscitation of the old medieval forms of criminal responsibility imposed on a particular area or group, without taking into consideration the actual perpetrators of crimes. This is done in case of crimes against or dangers to public safety and property even on mere suspicion and in cases of riots and agitational movements. In these cases every person in a particular area or

group has to suffer certain restrictions on his freedom, to undergo certain punishments, to pay certain collective fines and to live under a system of punitive police or military control. This conception of collective responsibility and collective fines and punishments is a grave attack on civil liberty.

There is also a system of compulsory labour prevailing in India for government services. During war or disturbance it develops into a system of compulsory conscription of persons for various services, of compulsory acquisition of houses, lands, goods, property, conveyances, machinery, factories and industries.

What should be the limits of control and compulsion in these matters is left to the sole discretion of the executive or the military authority. The conception of war, war-area, war-period, war-effort are so elastic and expansive that the claims of civil liberty are disappearing under the new despotism which war creates.

In India, says the Professor, the struggle for civil liberty remains connected with and dependent upon the success of the struggle for national independence and the introduction of full responsible government in all the political units of the country.

Otherwise modern totalitarian governments, new totalitarian parties, and old totalitarian religions will destroy the very foundations of civil liberties in India.

A NEW QUARTERLY

India and World Affairs is a new quarterly edited by Professor Mihir Kumar Sen and published from Calcutta. It advocates friendly collaboration with other powers with a view to strengthen our trade and defences. "We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that no nation can live in isolation to-day in this age of co-operative freedom and security," says the editor. "We feel that we should strengthen our existing ties of trade, communications, defence and foreign policy by friendly collaboration with Powers that would be friendly to us inside the Commonwealth and outside." The journal contains instructive articles on village economy, the planning of agriculture and industry, food and nutrition, besides other subjects, including international problems.

POST-WAR LABOUR IN INDIA

The 1945 annual of *Investment and Finance*, which has entered its third year of publication, is packed with articles dealing with different phases of the nation's economy. Miss Maya Gupta, writing on "Planning for the Post-War Labour in India," observes:—

Pre-war India has nothing to be proud of in her industrial record, so is the present-day India. Much vaunted war production is but little and can be compared with that of a second rate productive state of Europe, having an area one-tenth of this vast country. There is no second opinion about the abundance of India's man-power and resources, and when her economic status is properly judged along with the possibilities, it is apparent to anyone that there is a criminal waste of materials as well as human energy.

In the present economic state, continues the writer, the producer aims at the highest profit, he, being the master of the whole show, sees his own interest and his whole action is prompted by it.

A producer's interest is to secure maximum profit for himself, which he can have only when the expenditure on production is the minimum. India's labour is cheap, because as a rule there is the conscious attempt to keep it cheap. This cheap labour has resulted in the inefficiency of labour, yet it is paying to the owner of the capital. Whenever there is any demand of higher wages, there is a hue and cry to refuse it on the ground that Indian labour is inefficient. How to get out of this dilemma? Because of ridiculously low wages Indian labour is inefficient and because it is inefficient it ought to have low wages. In the post-war days, what is there to expect that the labour standard is going to be raised over night when the producer's aim at maximum profit will be justified by the very system. Even if there is fixed minimum wages, can the Government guarantee an improved labour condition through provision of real wages?

The writer's solution is drastic. To bring about a reasonably high standard of living for labour, she says, the industries should be taken over by the State. According to her, only a state managed industrialization can really result in bringing about an organized and efficient labour and a high volume of production.

No State or organization, however charitably disposed towards labour, can help it appreciably, if the private capitalist system is allowed through private management. The doles or alms can save a certain number of people for a certain period but by this, neither labour is treated as the creator of national wealth nor can it be a healthy handling of the situation.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

Absolute progress is a legendary tale woven of dreams and achievement, writes Mr. J. F. Pinto in the *New Review*.

Our materialistic conception of progress is false because it holds only the flitting glimpses of a light that ever reveals the fulness of its grandeur to the naked eye of man; because it holds but the vanity of our heart, which flatters our mind and hides from it the shame of its ignorance; because it whispers in our ears the sensuous words of deception: 'Ye gods!—whereas, we are but men heaving our rock up the steep sides of the mountain, but never reaching its heights. In the midst of light we are in darkness! In the midst of civilisation we are in barbarism! And we know it not!'

With the advance of civilisation, and all it essentially means, man has not personally improved; human nature has not changed since its Fall.

His mind may be better informed, but his needs have increased, and still his old desires and evil tendencies drive him into forbidden channels of chance and experience. New and strange conditions, new and strange situations have tended to vitiate the process of the development of the human mind. Man has become more complex, and yet the unknown possibilities and villainies of his nature are awakened from their couch of slumber and repose and are infused with a dynamic force, as of old. He is more known to himself,—yet the infinities of his nature are such that he still remains unknown! And knowing the infirmities of his flesh and the mysteries of his being, his head bends in shame and his soul weeps in agony.

"A man's reach should exceed his grasp. Or what's a Heaven for?" asked the poet. He ever toils, and toiling ever moves towards his final goal, his ultimate end, "towards his last and indissoluble union with God."

'My heart is restless until it rests in Thee', sang St. Augustine. Progress, therefore, is contained in man's thought and spirituality; in his desire for development, in his restlessness for perfection and satisfaction. In his struggle for a greater life he reflects and reveals his instinctive and congenial passion for such progress which is the breath of his finer spirit. He may not succeed in material and earthly terms,—but he never rests satisfied with what he has and possesses, he never rests in his moment of achievement, however, crude or noble,—he 'progresses' towards his heaven, but his human frailties, his human nature and weakness seem to frustrate his schemes and rob him of his golden apple! But they cannot stifle and silence his inner voice reaching to heaven; they cannot crush his spirit yearning with a burning love for perfection and eternity.

ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA

The *News Review* exposes examples of the anti-Soviet propaganda that is being spread in the Conservative Party.

It has published quotations from the privately circulated ultra-Tory paper, *Review of World Affairs*, edited by Mr. Kenneth de Courcy, a friend of Gen. Franco and a prominent member of the Imperial Policy Group. Mr. De Courcy writes in his latest issues:

Our observers are convinced that no understanding is possible with the Soviets unless there is a complete surrender to the Russian views, regardless of our commitments abroad, the political changes within our own sphere and even on our own home-fronts: or a very firm stand is made now.

We insist upon the modification of the Soviet-sponsored Governments in Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania and Hungary: the immediate execution of the inter-Allied plans for the administration of Berlin and Vienna; the release of all pro-British and pro-American Poles; and immediate guarantees to Persia, China and Turkey.

Mr. De Courcy suggests that the first alternative would mean "the elimination of Anglo-American influence" in a large part of Europe and Asia. The second course would mean "risking a quarrel with an Ally at the end of the long war and before the Far Eastern business is settled."

WORLD PEACE AND ORDER

It would not be a bad idea for each government to award scholarships for foreign travel to men and women who could see alien life and interpret it sympathetically, says Prof. A. R. Wadia, in the *Aryan Path*. It would not be a bad idea if batches of clever children or youths could be taken to different countries where their contact with the young and old would breed understanding and sympathy.

The logic of life drives us to recognise the need of a world order where men and women can live in peace and the world is big enough and fertile enough to let them so live. To-day we are living in conditions where world citizenship can be much more than a dream, an aspiration ripe to be realised."

INDIAN PROBLEM

A new solution for the Indian problem is put forward in an article in the *Spectator* by "an Anglo-Indian."

"A new approach to the Indian problem", he writes, "can only be by way of autonomous Ministries. Unfortunately less than half are now functioning. But at least these can be invited to depute resident Ministers to Delhi to enable their provinces to have a full share in the Central Government. That would, at any rate, be a start back towards constitutional sanity. "The constitution of India cannot be a machine built to a blue-print. It must be an organism growing from a germ. It is our task to plant a seed which, given goodwill and common-sense, can grow into a Centre, which will be acceptable to the provinces and the States in India." "This," the writer adds, "may be regarded as a provincial even as a Punjab, view, but, surely, it is in the self-governing provinces that political realism and statesmanship are to be found. They are in some cases governing extremely well. Besides, how can the Centre ever be built up in any other way, but on provincial ministries?"

SCIENCE AND WAR

The extension of scientific knowledge as a result of the war is revealed by articles in *Endeavour* (London). Prof. F. C. Partlett writes on experimental psychology. He points out that under the stimulus of war much accurate information has been obtained about the determination of everyday behaviour, and that thus a large field of study is opened up. "Clouds and Cloudscapes" is the subject of an article, by C. J. P. Cane, who, it is said, was the first in Britain to send a balloon into the stratosphere, and is a Member of the International Commission for the Investigation of the Upper Atmosphere. Dr. F. G. Richardson discusses the science of "rheology"—the dynamics of fluids.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD BAN ON PARADES

The Nizam's Government, under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules, has passed a Camps and Parades (Control) Order, under which no camp or parade shall be held by any political or communal organisation in any place, whether public or private, except with the previous permission of the Government.

The Government, in a note on the Order, says that there is nothing in the Order which interferes with any legitimate activity. It merely reinforces the Government's determination to suppress with complete impartiality dangers inseparable from any tendency on the part of non-official organisations to usurp the functions of the State.

REMISSION OF LAND-TAX

A remission of 10 as. 8 pies in the rupee has been sanctioned by the Hyderabad Government for the year 1354 fasli to Khalsa lands situated outside the ayacut and irrigated by wells constructed prior to 1317 fasli. To similar non-Khalsa lands a remission of 3 annas in the rupee assessment was ordered.

In non-Khalsa villages where Government's share in the assessment was annas eight or more than annas eight in the rupee, a remission of 10 annas eight pies was ordered and where Government's share in the assessment was less than annas eight a remission of annas three in the rupee was ordered.

TUNGABHADRA PROJECT

H. E. H. the Nizam has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 40,20,000 for meeting the preliminary expenditure on the Tungabhadra Irrigation Project. An administrative circle with two divisions has been created to undertake the work, entailing an expenditure of Rs. 2,42,000 during the first year.

Mysore

NEW MINISTERS FOR MYSORE

The Mysore Government announce the appointment of three non-official Ministers for the second term under the Mysore Government Act of 1940. The new Ministers are Dr. T. C. M. Royan, prominent Indian Christian and former President of the Bangalore City Municipality, Mr. O. B. N. Sheriff, Member of the State Muslim League and Mr. L. Siddappa, Member of the Lingayat community, unrepresented in the previous Cabinet. The association of three non-official Ministers in the place of the present two in running the administration of the State is considered in political circles as a decisive move in the direction of associating the popular element in the counsels of the Government and democratisation of the administration. Under the Mysore Reforms Act of 1940, which is now in force, not less than two members of the Cabinet should be non-officials chosen from among the elected elements of the Legislatures. Thus the new Cabinet consists of two officials, three non-officials and the Dewan, the administrative head of State who presides over its deliberations.

RADIO MAKING IN MYSORE STATE

As a result of negotiations, which are nearing completion, between the Mysore Government and Mr. Lawrence Bennett, Chairman and Managing Director of the Philco group of radio and electrical companies in England, a factory for the manufacture of radio instruments and apparatus of all kinds, including wireless and television receiving sets, will very shortly be established in Bangalore.

MYSORE STATE BUDGET FOR 1945-46

The Budget estimates for Mysore State for 1945-46, after modification in the light of criticisms in the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council Budget sessions, are as follows:

Anticipated total revenue is Rs. 9,26,70,000, while the total expenditure is Rs. 9,18,19,897, resulting in a surplus of Rs. 8,50,103.

Baroda**BARODA STATE LEGISLATURE**

Addressing the Baroda State Legislature, before dealing with the general situation in the State, the Dewan-President, Sir B. L. Mitter, referred to the Simla Conference, and said that whoever might be responsible for the failure of the Conference, there was no doubt that the cause of India's freedom had received a setback by this failure. He expressed a hope that "wiser counsels will prevail, and efforts will be renewed for achieving the common objective".

Speaking on the general situation in the State, the Dewan said that the food position continued to cause them anxiety, although every possible effort was being made by Government to relieve the situation. He announced that full rationing would begin in Baroda city from August 1.

Sir B. L. Mitter said that agriculture was the mainstay of the State. The prices of agricultural commodities were still high and the agriculturist continued to get good prices for his produce.

The Dewan also referred to the shortage of housing accommodation in towns, and said that the Government had a blue-print ready for relieving it, but the lack of building materials delayed its operation.

RICE RESEARCH IN BARODA

The Government have accepted the grant of Rs. 6,356 of Imperial Council of Agricultural Research towards extension of the Rice Research Scheme in the State for two years and have also sanctioned an equal amount from the State for meeting expenses of the scheme.

LABOURERS' SAVINGS

The Labourers' Co-operative Savings Societies continue to work smoothly. The number of societies was 20 with 24,511 members. The compulsory and dearness allowance savings amounted to Rs. 3,59,456 and Rs. 15,41,215 respectively. The total working capital came to Rs. 21,27,792.

Travancore**TRAVANCORE BUDGET**

The budget estimates of the Travancore Government for the year 1121 M. E. (1945-46), which were presented by Mr. S. Narayana Aiyar, Financial Secretary to the Government, on July 20, to the joint session of both the Houses of the Travancore Legislature, are framed on the basis of a revenue of Rs. six crores and twenty-three lakhs—which is an all-time record—and an expenditure of approximately Rs. five crores, leaving a big surplus of Rs. one crore and twenty-three lakhs. A large amount has been set apart for post-war reconstruction schemes and for further building up the reserve fund.

A review of the main features of the administration during the past ten years corresponding to the period in which he held office as Dewan and an outline of the Government's future programme was given by Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, in the course of a 2¼ hour statement made before the joint session of the Legislature when it re-assembled after the budget statement.

Drawing attention to one or two salient features of the budget presented for the forthcoming year, the Dewan-President referred to the provision of Rs. 74 lakhs to be spent in 1121 on Government's post-war reconstruction programmes.

UNIVERSITY'S ALL-ROUND PROGRESS

A record of progress all round is the key-note of the annual report of the University of Travancore for 1943-44 adopted by the meeting of the Senate held recently at the Legislative Chamber. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Vice-Chancellor, presided. The meeting also passed the budget estimate for 1945-46.

The budget anticipates a revenue of Rs. 15,49,100 and provides for an expenditure of Rs. 15,49,020, leaving a nominal surplus of Rs. 80.

Rajkot**RAJKOT IRRIGATION SCHEME**

The difficulties and defects of the usual bullock driven irrigation system have been engaging the attention of the Industries Department of the State, writes Prof. R. V. Rao. Experimental lift irrigation methods tried have revealed that because of the steady flow of water-supply by electric pumps, the cultivators can get three crops in a year. Further, it is possible to irrigate three acres in a day, which is not possible by the ordinary Kosh system, and the expenditure can be reduced by 50 per cent. The Rajkot State has a post-war programme for the development of irrigation since agriculture here as elsewhere is a gamble in the monsoon and the authorities, it is understood, have already placed orders for plant, etc., for implementing the scheme of electrifying 30 open wells for growing more food crops.

It is stated that the scheme has received the appreciation of Sir William Stampe, the Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India who recently visited Rajkot. Calculations show that by this scheme about eleven hundred acres will be irrigated resulting in an anticipated yield of 400 tons of food-grains per annum, which will go a long way to ease the food situation in the State.

Kashmir**NEW MINISTERS**

The new Prime Minister, Rai Bahadur Pandit Ramachandra Kak, assumed charge of the office of Prime Minister. The appointment of Pandit Kak has been welcomed by the local newspapers and the various political parties. The new Prime Minister is a State subject and has varied experience in administration of the State.

His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur has appointed Mr. M. G. M. Mekhri, Industrial Adviser to Government, as Development Minister in succession to K. B. Jaffar Ali Khan.

Cochin**NEW MINISTER FOR COCHIN**

His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has been pleased to accept the resignation of Mr. T. K. Nayar of his office as Minister for Rural Development and to appoint in his place Mr. Parambi Lonappan.

Mr. Lonappan assumed charge on July 12, from Mr. Nayar. Mr. Lonappan is the leader of the Nationalist Party in the Cochin Council which was formed after the election and has a strength of 17 members. Twelve others have also promised support for his Ministry.

RECONSTITUTED LEGISLATURE

The reconstituted sixth Cochin Legislative Council met at Ernakulam on June 30, Sir George Boag, the Dewan-President, presiding.

The total number of seats, including officials, is 58, of which 38 are elected members, 10 nominated and 10 official members. The Praja Mandal has a solid bloc of 12 seats, while the Nationalist Party has six members. While the Praja Mandal has Mr. P. Govinda Menon as its leader, the Nationalist Party is led by Mr. Parambi Lonappan, the recently retired Excise Member of the Cochin Government.

Bharatpur**BHARATPUR DEWAN**

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur is pleased to allow Rajamantra Pravina A. V. Ramanathan, Dewan, to relinquish his office on grounds of health, with effect from the 5th July, 1945. Mr. A. V. Ramanathan is permitted to avail himself of the privilege leave of 47 days earned by him, with effect from the same date.

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur is pleased to appoint Rao Bahadur Thakur Hukam Singh, Revenue Minister, as Acting Dewan, with effect from the 5th July, 1945, pending the appointment a permanent Dewan.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Indians Abroad

PROBLEM OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

Addressing a meeting on "Indians Overseas" at the Ranade Hall, Madras, under the auspices of the Mylapore Welfare Association, Dr. Lanka Sundaram urged the need for the adoption of a system of family colonisation in the matter of Indian emigration. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan presided.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram gave a survey of the dispersion of Indians in various parts of the world and added that for every 100 people in this country, there was one Indian abroad. After touching on the impediments thrown in the way of the political progress of Indians in the countries of their adoption, the speaker referred to their future and said that unless and until the Government of this country carried out the family colonial system in the matter of Indian emigration as was done by the Japanese in respect of Argentine, they could not have peace with their neighbouring countries. They should appeal to the Government of India to stop the emigration of single individuals, which not only disturbed the social life of the Indian community but also that of the country to which they were sent. He advocated a "united non-European front" in South Africa, with Indians, natives and other coloured peoples of that country acting in union so as to ensure their survival.

Mr. G. A. Natesan referred to the indignities suffered by Indians, particularly in South Africa and paid a tribute to Gandhiji for the way in which he tackled the problem and roused the conscience of South Africans. He added that so long as their countrymen in India had no political freedom, the subjugation of their nationals in other countries would continue. He hoped that when the National Government was formed, the rights of Indians overseas would be established and their interests safeguarded.

E. Africa

REORGANISATION OF KENYA

The East African Indian National Congress has decided that the Kenya Government's proposals for reorganising the administration of Kenya are "totally unacceptable."

The Congress regrets to find the Government ready with new white immigrant settlement plans without any plans for the long neglected Indian land settlement and emphatically denies allegations that the Indian population are town dwellers only and affirms that they belong to the farming stock.

The Congress urges consideration of the Indian claim to the common electoral roll, common franchise and equal opportunity for assisted settlement. It requests the Imperial Government to appoint a Royal Commission impartially to investigate all political factors demands and aspirations of all races, and make recommendations in conformity with the Imperial obligations for common economic, cultural and political advancement.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Problems relating to the resettlement of Indian Nationals in Burma were discussed at a Conference in Bombay on July 7, convened by the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad presided.

The Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Military Administration of Burma to accord the same rights and facilities to Indians to proceed to Burma as might be accorded to Britishers and others proceeding to that country during the period of military occupation. Resolutions were also adopted requesting facilities for a representative committee of Burma evacuees to proceed to Burma to survey agricultural and residential properties, and for the restoration of normal trade channels between the two countries at the earliest possible time.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

CONGRESS & THE FRISCO CHARTER

The Congress Working Committee, meeting at Simla on July 15, adopted a resolution on the San Francisco Charter declaring that

the Committee regrets that the position allotted to the smaller nations in the Charter is one lacking all effectiveness and the Great Powers not only dominate and completely control the organisation but are placed above and beyond the law they have themselves helped in framing. These Great Powers have indeed strengthened and consolidated their own position in the world and have shown no inclination to give up their colonial possession and the special powers and privileges they enjoy at the expense of dependent peoples.

The Committee especially regrets that the declaration regarding non-self-governing territories is vague and unsatisfactory and is little better than the old mandate system of the League of Nations which was a signal failure in the past.

The discussion in the San Francisco Conference on the objects of trusteeship and the strenuous objections raised by some powers to the use of the word Independence are evidence of the fact that imperialist Powers are still functioning in the old imperialist way and intend to retain and exploit their colonial possessions. The Committee is of opinion that a full and frank recognition of national independence, within the framework of a *bona fide* international order, of colonial territories is necessary to give reality to the purposes and objectives of the new organisation and to lay the foundations of a stable peace.

The Committee has noted that the delegates from India to the San Francisco Conference represented the alien Government and in no way the people of this country, and their attitude towards problems affecting India and other dependent and colonial territories was often opposed to the policy of India considered as independent. Such representation at international conferences is an affront to India and a fraud upon them and is likely to mislead foreign nations. The fact of India's dependence on foreign authority has resulted in giving her an anomalous position in an organisation of sovereign States, and deprived her of permanent seat in the Security Council of the new organisation, which should be her due. Both for national and international reasons, India must attain the status of an independent and sovereign State having a place in the highest Councils of the nations, and occupying a position to contribute to the maintenance of peace, security and freedom of the world.

CENTRAL GOVTS' RESPONSIBILITY

Answering Mr. Palme Dutt's question as to whom the Indian Central Government was responsible, the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, in a letter in the *Birmingham Post* stated that the Central Government by law is "under the general control of the Secretary of State" who is responsible to Parliament. Decisions of the Government of India are "normally" taken by a majority vote at meetings of the Executive Council.

These statutory provisions, writes Mr. Amery, are survivals of the 1919 Act. Leaders of Indian communities and parties were invited in 1940-42 to sit in the Central Government, but they declined to do so.

They are now being invited again. In the meantime, the Council has been composed of the best men who were willing to serve. Those men in fact are responsible for the day-to-day administration. They are not responsible to the Indian legislature in the Parliamentary sense and cannot be so until there is an agreement between Indians as to the composition and powers of such a Legislature. It would not be tolerable to Indian public men of standing, holding such positions, that their actions should in detail be subject to inspection and interference by the Secretary of State. Nor on the other hand would it be agreeable to them that I should accept the blame or credit for decisions they take.

"The position was quite different 27 years ago when Sir Austen Chamberlain resigned. Then the Central Government was composed of officials who were rightly required to report to the Secretary of State in detail on all important matters."

Regarding the responsibility for the Bengal Famine, Mr Amery writes:

The Famine Enquiry Commission made it clear that it was within the power of the Bengal Government, which consisted of Ministers responsible to an elected legislature, to have averted the tragedy by timely action. They do not qualify this by saying that the Bengal Government could have done so only if the Government of India had acted otherwise than they did.

PANDIT NEHRU ON THE AUGUST DISTURBANCES

Powerful and outspoken observations on 1942 disturbances, the Simla Conference, the Punjab Government and Punjab Congress leaders and the people were made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his 45 minute address before a large crowd at Lahore.

Speaking in Hindustani, Pandit Jawaharlal said:

For a brief comparison of the great events of 1942, we will have to go back 88 years to the time of the historic Indian rising of 1857. I am very proud of what happened in 1942. I would have been very sorry indeed if people had tamely submitted to the British Government. That would have been a sign of cowardice and would have undone the work of decades.

It was a mighty and staggering phenomenon to see a helpless people spontaneously rise in despair and enthusiasm without any leader, or organization or preparation or arms. They bravely suffered, endured and sacrificed many things. They could no longer tolerate the humiliations and misery heaped upon them by the ruling power.

It is easy for armchair critics to find faults with that rising. May be, there were things which cannot be approved of or justified. But they are cowards who criticized those happenings and who tried to mislead the people. I make it plain that I cannot condemn those who took part in the 1942 movement.

The poor kisans, their hearts aglow with the desire for freedom were oppressed and tortured by the police and the military. Not much happened in the Punjab, but in my own province, as in Bihar and Bengal and in most parts of the country, a series of black methods were perpetrated. Hundreds of villages were not only destroyed and burned by the very patches of land on which they stood were tilled with ploughs. India was at last turning her side.

The people made mistakes, they erred and faltered, but they moved on. They refused to be subdued despite the terrible repression. At thousands of places the police and the military fired, but they braved all this. No doubt the Nazis of Germany were very brutal, but to match their deeds one can find quite a good many of the British in India.

Here in the Punjab, it was a different story. Nothing much happened here, but the seemingly popular Government behaved in a strange fashion towards Congressmen. In cold and calculating manner it did many things against human dignity. I pity it, but I pity all the more those Congressmen and Congress leaders who submitted to those things willingly. The dignity of the Congress required that not even a Congress volunteer should have bowed before a Government official.

C. R.'S NEW FORMULA

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a crowded cosmopolitan gathering at the South India Club, Simla, soon after the failure of the Simla Conference, denied that Lord Wavell or His Majesty's Government had rejected Mr. Jinnah's claim. On the other hand, they had acquiesced in that claim.

"Mr. Jinnah, he said, 'is now in a non-transigent mentality and everything he sees in a different light. But a wrong claim could not be sustained long, and if Lord Wavell considered his demand to be not feasible and tenable, he ought to have the courage also to reject it.'"

"As a way out of the present impasse, if the British Government really desired it," Mr. Rajagopalachari said, the provinces whose legislatures had been elected on a fairly wide franchise, should be asked as to whom they desired at the Centre, and then the representatives of the eleven provinces might choose four or five members for the rest of minorities."

DR. PATTABHI ON THE SIMLA FAILURE

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, addressing a public meeting, at Masulipatam, dwelt on the reasons for the failure of the Wavell talks.

Dr. Pattabhi regretted that no joint list of names for the Viceroy's Executive Council could be presented, for a joint list would have meant a joint programme, joint electorate possibly and concerted action on the part of the major parties for the independence of India.

In the absence of such a list separate lists would have served the purpose in a measure, but that was also not to be, on account of Mr. Jinnah's obstructive policy. And it was just at this juncture that news came from England that Jinnah was not to be displeased or antagonised. This alone might account for the Viceroy's deviation from his original plan of action and a close analogy between the Simla Conference and Cripps' Mission is furnished by this event, because then in 1942 Louis Fischer asserted that Cripps was stabbed in the back. May it be that Wavell has been smitten in the face now?

LORD LISTOWEL ON THE SIMLA FAILURE

A strong plea that the failure of the Simla Conference should not be regarded as final and that immediate further steps should be taken for breaking the Indian deadlock is made by Lord Listowel, former Under-Secretary of State for India, in a letter to the *Times*.

Lord Listowel declares that the proceedings of the Simla Conference

disclosed that an immense majority of politically conscious Indians, Hindus and Muslims alike, is anxious for another instalment of self-government within the present constitution, and is willing to accept administrative responsibility without prejudice to our war effort. They also showed that the Viceroy has won the confidence and respect of Indian leaders to a greater extent than any of his predecessors within living memory.

Lord Listowel says:

To resign ourselves to a renewal of the political deadlock would be a public confession of bankruptcy of British statesmanship, and dereliction of our duty towards India. The ripening nationhood of India cannot be arrested and if its growth is not nurtured by consent, it will assert itself inevitably by force. After Simla, there must certainly be a pause for thought. This will give the Viceroy a chance to consult his advisers and Provincial Governments, and to resume his discussions with the British Government. During this breathing space we must decide which of our losses to cut and how best to gird our loins for a fresh effort. We have failed to substitute a representative Indian Cabinet for the present Viceroy's Executive Council. Let us write this off for the time being as a dead loss. To do so need not preclude addition in the near future to the number of its Indian members.

CONGRESS MINISTRY FOR ASSAM

The Congress High Command has authorized Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party, in the Assam Legislative Assembly and ex-Premier of Assam, to form a Congress Ministry in Assam if it becomes necessary.

It is learnt that instructions have been sent to Mr. Bardoloi that as the terms of understanding between the Ministerialist and the Congress Parties in the Assam Legislative Assembly have not been fully implemented, the Congress Party should withdraw support to the present Ministry and go ahead, if necessary, with the question of forming a Congress Ministry.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S DISCLOSURE

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, interviewed by the Associated Press at Calcutta, on July 24, outlined the proposal he had made at Simla to overcome the opposition of the Muslim League.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was asked whether there was any truth in the report that, at the time of the Simla negotiations, he had made an offer to the League that he would not press for the inclusion of Congress Muslims in the seats reserved for Muslims in the proposed reconstituted Executive Council. The Congress President said that that was true. His proposal was that if the League agreed to the inclusion of two able and suitable Nationalist Muslims who belonged neither to the Congress nor to the League, he would not insist upon the inclusion of any Congress Muslims.

The Congress President added that he had made this offer on his own responsibility and before he had a chance to consult his colleagues of the Working Committee.

SIKHS AND PAKISTAN

"I Will Oppose Pakistan".

"I would oppose establishment of Pakistan and would be willing for a civil war, if possible or necessary," said Master Tara Singh, answering a question and added that the question of Pakistan was really a question between the Muslims and the Sikhs and if Mr. Jinnah wanted Pakistan he must first concede an independent State to the Sikhs in the Punjab.

The Punjab, said Master Tara Singh, was their homeland and they wanted a State, including the Sikh territory. If Palestine could be the homeland of ten per cent. Jews, who lived there, surely the Sikhs had a much greater right and claim in the Punjab, where their religion was founded and they had most of their holy places.

HOPE ENGINEERING COLLEGE

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, declared open, at Coimbatore, the Arthur Hope Engineering College, on July 9, before a large and distinguished gathering.

In welcoming His Excellency and requesting him to declare the College open, Dr. B. B. Dey, Director of Public Instruction, referred to the recent progress in the field of technical education. He said that two new courses, *vis*, Highway Engineering and Communication Engineering were now being introduced in this College, which would add to its importance and usefulness. The Alagappa Chettiar College of Technology at Madras, the College of Agriculture at Bapatla and the new College of Engineering to be started shortly at Chidambaram would make this College at Coimbatore the fourth of its kind to be started in this Presidency, all within the period of a year, while the opening of a fifth College at Vizagapatam for Marine and Aeronautical Engineering together with the usual Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering was under the immediate consideration of the Government. It was an achievement of which Government might well be proud.

Dr. Dey said that the problem of inadequacy of provision for students seeking admission into the colleges could be solved by opening more polytechnics and industrial schools and the bifurcation of studies at an early stage in the High School course. The scientific organisation of industries at the present day had been made possible only through progress in Engineering and Technological Research, without which India could never hope to build up her industries in competition with those of other advanced countries in the post-war world. The geographical position of Coimbatore together with its present industrial importance as well as its future potentialities for development made it almost an ideal place for establishing a college of engineering and technology.

A CENTENARY ENDOWMENT

The Bombay Municipal Corporation has voted a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 towards the endowment of a chair in Civics and Politics in the Bombay University to commemorate the birthday centenary of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The Mayor was authorized to approach the Bombay Government for a "substantial donation" for the purpose and was also requested to institute a special public fund.

Mr. S. K. Patil, leader of the Congress Municipal Party, moved the resolution which was supported by all sections of the House.

SIR A. L. MUDALIAR

Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar has been re-elected Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University.

As Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar was the only candidate for election, he was deemed to have been elected by the Senate as Vice-Chancellor and his name was submitted forthwith for H. E. the Chancellor's ratification.

The Statute provides for the election by the Senate of a panel of three to be submitted to H. E. the Chancellor, who will make the appointment from among them.

Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, it may be noted, was elected to it for a three years' term in August, 1942.

INDIAN AIR TRAINING

The classes for the Indian Air Training Corps, conducted by the Madras University, will commence on August 15 at the University Buildings, Chepauk.

The course is one of five-month duration, the classes being held in the evenings after the college hours. Cadets will be given a minimum of three hours flying experience during the course and during training they will receive a stipend of Rs. 20 per mensem.

ARREST WITHOUT WARRANT

"It is of vital importance that the right of arrest without warrant should be closely watched by courts", said Lord Justice Scott in the Court of Appeal on July 15. He was giving judgment on an appeal from the decision of the Liverpool Assizes on an action arising out of the arrest of a Liverpool cloth merchant, Mr. M. E. Leachinsky.

Mr. Leachinsky was arrested without warrant on a charge of possession of goods suspected to be stolen. Subsequently, the charge was withdrawn and Mr. Leachinsky sued the police for wrongful arrest and detention. The Liverpool Assizes held that the police action was justified. On the other hand, Lord Justice Scott held that the police had no grounds for suspicion and the arrest was therefore illegal. An arrest was no light matter and should not be treated as such. Lord Justice Scott said:

It was better that a criminal should occasionally escape than that judges should let in the thin end of the wedge for discretionary arrest at the instance of the executive.

To keep clear the distinction between the functions of the executive and those of justice is vital. The English nation in the past was wont to speak of autoeracy in any form as an enemy of personal freedom, but it is equally true that the good working of democracy depends on the rule of law. That is why this appeal is of such importance.

Arrests by the Executive uncontrolled by courts have happened in the past in English history and the intervention of courts is needed to curb it.

DEATH SENTENCE STAYED

It is understood that Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to Lord Wavell a few days ago requesting him to stay the execution of a person convicted in connection with the 1942 disturbances and sentenced to death. The execution was due to take place on July 12. It is learned that Mahatma Gandhi has also asked the Viceroy that three or four similar cases in the U. P. and Bihar be kept pending.

It is presumed that Mahatma Gandhi would have had some indications from the Viceroy as to what steps the Government proposed to take in this connection during his interview in Simla.

COMPANY LAW REFORM

Far-reaching recommendations for reform of company law are made in a committee report which was published as a White Paper in London on July 18.

The major changes suggested include the fullest possible disclosure of information, including (except in the case of banks) hidden reserves; more effective control by shareholders with longer notices of meetings and greater power to remove directors; stronger penalties for untrue and misleading prospectuses; directors to be liable to pay compensation unless they had cause to rely on an expert for a false statement; private companies to be no longer exempt from obligation to the balance sheets.

The report is highly technical and is published with Press comments restrained and contradictory, the *Times* City Editor saying that the proposed changes "on the whole go beyond general expectations." The *Manchester Guardian*, however, says: "They do not go as far as many had expected and much is left to administrative alertness of the Board of Trade but, if carried into law, progress will result."

SIR VERE MOCKETT

The Hon'ble Sir Vere Mockett, Judge of the Madras High Court, who retired from service on July 25 sat for the last time on July 20 at the Third Court when a reference was made by the Advocate-General, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, on behalf of the Bar.

Mr. Rajamannar, who has since been elevated to the Bench, referred to Sir Mockett's coming to Madras 24 years ago, his joining the Bar and how he rose to the front rank. Sir Mockett's advocacy was characterised always by thoroughness of preparation, accuracy of statement. In July, 1932, Sir Vere Mockett was appointed to the Bench and it was a unique thing in that an English barrister who started his career just as any other member of the Bar was elevated to the Bench. Mr. Rajamannar added that Sir Vere never forgot that he was a member of the Madras Bar.

SOCIAL SECURITY PLAN FOR INDIA

Social security policy is being planned in several countries as a part of a larger programme of economic planning. That is why, there is a great emphasis on preventive and restorative measures, says a writer in a leading financial weekly of Northern India. We in India think that we can start with only social assistance to limited groups of workers, like medical relief, workmen's compensation, etc. The idea of social insurance has been adumbrated in the Bombay plan and in the sickness insurance scheme evolved by Prof. Adarkar which touches only a population of 12 lakhs of workers working in textiles, engineering and mineral and metals. Even here factories with less than 500 workers are excluded from the benefits. We do not have any unemployment insurance or old age pensions to supplement the health insurance scheme. While the difficulties in the direction of evolving a comprehensive scheme need not be underestimated one cannot but say that instead of drawing up isolated schemes it will be better if we draw up a comprehensive scheme which guarantees every citizen minimum benefits against common hazards. There is no reason why industrial and commercial workers also share and be given priority. Reference may be made to agricultural workers who toil in the fields day in and day out. Again in majority of occupations, persons only get a pittance and they also require social security. A bolder plan is the greatest need of the times.

Thus social security plans for India imply removal of unemployment, old age pensions, plans for balanced population, labour welfare, increased standard of living, etc. The time has come when a social security plan should be put forward. Even though we are living in a world of uncertainties when what we have planned to-day may be irrelevant to-morrow, still it is not wise to postpone a consideration of this problem.

WAR'S TOLL

An official announcement made on 12th July gives details of the price that has been paid for victory by British Commonwealth and Empire countries in human life and suffering. Total casualties from 3rd September, 1939, to 31st May, 1945, were 1,427,034, of whom 532,233 were killed or died of wounds or injuries or are missing, or believed killed. The United Kingdom suffered the highest losses, the casualties amounting to 750,338. The figures for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Colonies were, respectively, 750,338; 101,008; 92,211; 39,783; 36,765; and 36,376. Next to the United Kingdom, India takes melancholy pride of place with 23,295 killed, including died of wounds or injuries; 12,264 missing; 62,064 wounded; and 79,692 prisoners of war, making a total of 177,315. In the last war, total British Empire casualties were 3,490,907, of whom 1,039,919 were killed.

THE UNITED INDIA

The United India Life Assurance Co., Ltd., the well-known life office of South India, shows a record new business in 1944. The following figures of its business in India during the recent war years is indicative of the rapid progress it has made.

IN LAKHS OF RUPEES.

Year.	New Business.	Total business in force.	Premium Income.	Life Assurance Fund.
1942 ..	84	674	32	164
1943 ..	178	805	38	185
1944 ..	340	1,094	50	210

JUPITER AND EAST AND WEST

It is learnt that Dr. Alagappa Chettiar, has acquired the Jupiter Insurance Company and the East and West Insurance Company, having their offices in Bombay and Madras.

INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

"I suggest that India's plan for industrial rehabilitation and new development be translated immediately in terms of a list of types of machinery required. This list should be put in the hands of a purchasing agency here which has full authority, subject to the advice of competent consulting engineers, to make purchases of capital goods as opportunities arise". Thus observes Mr. S. K. Kirpalani, Indian Trade Commissioner in New York, in a report on "Post-war Trade Possibilities between India and the U.S.A."

After discussing the possible trend of production and foreign trade in the U.S.A. in the post-war period, on the basis of information available in the last quarter of 1944, just prior to the Presidential election, he comes to the following conclusion on the availability of capital goods for India and the manner of getting them:

Industrialists and manufacturers here find business so brisk that they are most reluctant to take time out for furnishing technical details on the off-chance of orders materialising after a delay of three or six months. They are not interested in that kind of business, when capital goods can be sold in this country at attractive prices, so to say, over the counter. So far as I have been able to observe, industrialists and manufacturers in this country are prepared to sell capital goods for cash down.

Mr. Kirpalani thinks that large quantities of used surplus equipment are likely to come on the market. "It will be second hand in the sense that it has been used", he says, "but it will be in first class trim and will represent the latest in scientific developments".

2½ PER CENT. 1950 BONDS

The Government of India, in a notification, dated 9th July announced the issue of 2½ per cent. bonds, 1950, issued at Rs. 100 per cent. and redeemable at par on July 10, 1950.

The subscription was limited to Rs. 20 crores approximately. The list opened on July 16 and closed on the same day.

BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

Millions of sterling are reported to be involved in the orders that Platt Brothers, Ltd., Manchester textile machinery manufacturers, hope to secure as the result of the visit of Indian industrialists to Britain in connection with post-war industrialisation of India.

An executive of the firm said recently: "Mr. N. R. Sarker has visited us and hopes to establish many more cotton mills in Bengal, he asked us to quote for very big orders, running into millions of pounds.

We could deal with such orders as soon as we got labour, as we have the capacity in our organisation. We should need 2,000 to 4,000 more employees to fulfil the orders and are now in touch with the Ministry of Production, the Ministry of Labour, and the Man-power Board on the subject.

The firm's representative intimated that the prices quoted would not disappoint the potential customer from India who is anxious to buy British goods.

So far as priority is concerned, the Indian market will have to take its turn, unless the Government of India is able to persuade the British Government that the orders are essential to the war effort in Far East.

CENTRE'S NEW LOAN TO BENGAL

The Government of India, it is understood, have sanctioned a loan of Rs. 36,83,000 for various schemes relating to the distribution of seeds in the Province of Bengal during the year 1945-46, as part of the "Grow More Food Campaign." It is an interest-free loan and is repayable within one year. The Government of Bengal is expected to spend an equal amount from its funds on these schemes.

The Government of India have also sanctioned a grant equivalent to 25 per cent. of the actual loss or upto one rupee per maund, whichever is less, of the quantities actually distributed on the basis of the year-1945-46.

SHAW'S PLEA FOR MORE WOMEN M.P.'S

Pointing out the inadequate representation of women in Parliament despite women's suffrage, Mr. George Bernard Shaw says:

My own remedy is to make the electoral unit not one-man one-vote plus one-woman one-vote, but a man-and-a-woman—a coupled vote, all candidates' votes for a single one being invalid. This and this alone will secure representation for men and women in equal numbers.

The statement was made in the course of a letter supporting the Labour woman candidate, Miss Eirene Lloyd Jones.

"I must not try to commit you to this as a plank in your election platform," adds Mr. Bernard Shaw. Too many women would be foolish and ignorant enough to vote against it. "I mention it only to show how strong is my experienced conviction of the urgent necessity for more women at Westminster."

SEXUAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN

Once again the Married Women's Association is on the war path.

This time, they want sexual equality for women, which means they say that the wives of Servicemen should have as much freedom as their husbands.

Mrs. Dorothy Wilson, a member of the Association's executive, wife of an army sergeant and the mother of two children, is the spokesman of this bright idea.

She says:

Through the medical facilities put at the disposal of the men serving abroad, the War Office has adopted the principle that married men must be free. We, civilians, have done nothing to equalise the position between men and women. The cessation of their sex-life has been as hard a privation for the women as for their partners, but the male partner has been given greater freedom. If the women exercise sexual freedom they may be murdered and their murderers go scot free. If fraternisation in Germany can help towards world security, let us welcome it; but it must be freedom for both sexes.

Mrs. Wilson's husband comments on his wife's speech: "I agree, and so should every right-thinking man."

MRS. CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE TO RUSSIAN WOMEN

Addressing the Women's British Soviet Committee in London, Mrs. Winston Churchill recently returned from a trip to Russia, spoke highly of the spirit, of true friendship and great interest in Britain, she found there. Her interest naturally was centred on Soviet women, children and hospitals. She was struck with the fact that she met far more women surgeons than male surgeons. It was explained to her that women were more adroit with hands than men, so that the majority of female medical students went in for surgery. She was impressed with the position Soviet women occupied in civic and industrial affairs. The Mayor of Kursk is a woman. Madame Moloto is the head of the Soviet light industries. Madame Kollontai is so highly thought of that, in spite of her bad health, compelling her to remain in Russia, she is still the accredited Soviet Ambassador to Sweden.

KASTURBA FUND WOMEN'S TRAINING CAMP

In connection with the execution of schemes drawn up for the utilisation of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, an all-India Training Camp for the training of women instructors will be conducted at Wardha in September, 1945. The course will be for four months and it is intended to give some special coaching only for the candidates who are expected to have some good knowledge of the subjects in which they are to be trained. The camp will train Sanchalaks or organisers, Grahapathies or matrons, Physical Instructors, Balwadi or children's home-keepers, Artists and musicians. Provision for training in agriculture and animal husbandry, spinning and village industries will also be made.

"CYCLOPAEDIC HISTORY OF LITERATURE"

A huge scholarly project to prepare a "cyclopaedic history of literature" containing a series of survey of living literatures of the world has been undertaken by several professors of U.S.A. under the general editorship of Mr. Joseph T. Shipley, an eminent American scholar. The work is to be published by the American *Bookman*, an American quarterly of literary theory and criticism. With a view to obtaining authoritative contributions, the Editors have invited scholars of different countries to contribute articles on literatures of their own country.

The Indian Literatures Section of the cyclopaedia will contain 31 different contributions dealing with Vedic literature, epics and Puranas, Sanskrit poetry, drama and romance, Pali and Buddhist literatures, and literatures in all the modern Indian languages, and will total over two lakhs of words. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has been able to obtain articles on these subjects by eminent Indian scholars.

DE VALERA'S CALL TO HIS PEOPLE

The Premier of Eire, Mr. Eamon de Valera, urging the restoration of the Irish language, said in a recent interview:

"It was the aim of the British as often expressed by their statesmen, to make us English-speaking because they knew that when we had lost our language we would be gradually absorbed into the English nation."

"The British are opposed to Irish freedom. Their language and literature contain a good deal of that opposition and in relying solely on the English language, we are simply taking the English point of view in regard to our nation."

It would be a great mistake, he added, to think that because they had their freedom dangers to their dependent nationality would not arise. They would certainly arise and it would be a tremendous help to the nation if they had their own languages.

TRIBUTES TO SIR A. R. MUDALIAR

Tributes were paid at San Francisco to Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar for the "serenity, patience and skill" with which he conducted the proceedings of the Economic and Social Council Committee. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar presided over all the 21 meetings of the Committee and 19 meetings of the Sub-Committee.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that in recognition of his services during the war, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar has been granted the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Civil Law by the Oxford University.

THE NEW METROPOLITAN

The Rt. Rev. G. C. Hubback, the new Metropolitan, is the cousin of Sir John Hubback, ex-Governor of Orissa. Intending to be an engineer, he graduated from University College, Liverpool, served in the Admiralty Harbour, Dover and then came to Calcutta Port Trust as an engineer. After a couple of years he joined the Oxford Mission as a lay brother and then proceeded to England where he was ordained in 1912. The same year, he returned to India, worked as a Chaplain in a war hospital in Bombay till 1917 and after holding several appointments was appointed Bishop of Assam in 1924.

INDIAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN U.S.

Colonel Mahendra Sinhji has assumed the duties of military attache and agent to the General Staff in U.S.A. Col. Sinhji who is first to hold the newly created position visited the U.S. in 1942-43 as representative of the Indian Army.

SIR R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTI

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, is appointed Adviser to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The appointment which is a new one is believed to be in connection with constitutional questions concerning the States.

DUBLIN DOCTORATE FOR INDIAN

For the first time the Doctorate in Science of Trinity College, Dublin, has been conferred upon an Indian student. He is Dr. R. Behari, who is a research student at the College.

HUMAN SKIN FOR GRAFTING

Human skin can now be stored and used many weeks later for skin-grafting. Working on badly burned airmen, Squadron Leader D. N. Mathews, officer in charge of the plastic unit of the Royal Air Force, has evolved a method by which the skin is stored in airtight bottles, folded and wrapped in tullegras and enclosed in gauze wrung out of saline solution. Taken from human corpses, such skin retains "latent life" for many weeks when stored in a household refrigerator at a temperature of between three and six degrees centigrade.

Describing the discovery in the British medical journal, *Lancet* Squadron Leader Mathews says that it can then be applied to an injured part like a bedside dressing without anaesthetic or stitches.

Squadron Leader Mathews first considered the possibility of storing human skin as a means of reducing the number of operations needed in plastic operations for which injured airmen might be unsuited both physically and mentally.

The new procedure has the advantage of eliminating "donor areas"—places from which, under the old methods, skin has to be taken for grafting on wounds—and which often causes greater pain to patients than actual field operation, and that a "Skin Bank" could be created for experimental work in the still little explored field of herogenous grafting.

NEW CANCER TREATMENT

Professor Mikhali Nevyadomsky, a young Russian scientist, has discovered a new method of treating cancer tumours with a special fat emulsion obtained from naphthalene.

Nevyadomsky discovered in 1930 that naphthalene oil obtained in Baku destroyed malignant tumours in animals and further experiments showed that hydrocarbons of certain substances obtained from this oil destroyed the nuclei of cancer cells.

By this method he cured 90 out of 100 cancerous rats.

BALANCED DIET FOR INDIANS

Food Control and rationing in India would have to continue for three to five years after the war, said Mr. Kirby, Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, in an interview. This does not, however, mean that there was no scope for increasing the basic rations, he added.

Mr. Kirby claimed that neither the Government of India nor the Provincial Governments were likely to be caught napping in future, as they had now all the necessary information regarding food statistics. They could also draw upon the experience of some 50,000 people who were engaged in rationing work in urban and rural areas.

The question of "balanced diet", he said, was a vital problem waiting to be tackled. Industrial canteens, milk schemes, and school feeding schemes were to be encouraged. He suggested the opening up of nutrition restaurants displaying model food and giving training in preparing such food and food advice centres for disseminating such knowledge.

VITAMIN PILLS

Nowadays, people are becoming vitamin-conscious to an increasing degree. It is estimated that in the past year, £50,000,000 was spent in America alone on these health-giving pills. But the cold truth is that thousands of persons are taking special supplies of vitamins needlessly. What's needed by many middle-aged adults is an occasional fast to rest the liver and other over-worked organs.

Professor Haldi, a U.S. dietetic expert, calls attention to a test conducted in Duke University, U.S.A., by two doctors.

A group of volunteer students were given the usual diet for thirty days. Some were also given sugar pills, and the others were given vitamin pills.

Daily records were kept, and at the end of the thirty-day period, all were examined. There was no striking difference in health and well-being of the two groups.

INDUSTRIAL BANKING

In a communication to the Press Dr. Alagappa Chettiyar urges the need for credit bank facilities to promote industries. Madras, he says, is just now getting to be industrially minded.

One aspect of the industrialisation has, however, been completely neglected. No industry can thrive for long unless a well developed system of working credits is readily available to it. Inadequate or unsympathetic banking will cut at the root of industrial development. With so many new industries to be fostered in the early stages of their development a concomitant development of industrial banking can no longer be postponed. Joint stock banks can be of some help but not to the extent necessary. What is required is an industrial banking corporation in which the Government play a leading part in exactly the same way as they do in regard to the development of industries. The local joint stock banks will be shareholders of this corporation. It will naturally have a quasi public character. As the provision of long term credit is of the essence of industrial banking short term deposits from the public, which are the mainstay of the finance of ordinary banks will be unsuitable.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

The authorities in the United Kingdom have declared Bank of England notes of £ 10 and over as no longer legal tender from May 1 1945, says a Press *communique*. They have also restricted the export from England of £5 notes by travellers.

The Government of India are prepared to give a final opportunity to holders of Bank of England notes of £5 and over to obtain payment for these, notwithstanding the fact that they may be guilty of an infringement of notification of Oct. 4 1941; or a contravention of a prohibition under the Sea Customs Act.

The Reserve Bank of India will accept for collection at any of its offices in India Bank of England notes of £ 5 and over from Aug. 1 to Aug. 15, 1945 (inclusive).

MANUFACTURE OF LOCOMOTIVES

At an impressive ceremony recently the General Manager of the East Indian Railway handed over the E. I. R. Workshops at Singhbhum to Tatas, for the purpose of the manufacture of boilers and locomotives and later, of engineering machinery. The Workshops were renamed as TELCO Works.

Handing over the Workshops to Tatas. Mr. Ghosh, General Manager, E. I. R. described how the workshops which were originally started by the Peninsular Locomotive company for building wagons, were taken over by Government in 1927 for the manufacture of carriage under frames and by the Defence department in 1941 for the fabrication of armoured carriers and landing barges.

In taking over the workshops on behalf of Tatas, Dr. John Matthai, Director, said that the manufacture of broad-gauge locomotives at the E. I. R. Workshops at Jamalpur in the past and of metre-gauge locomotives at the B. B. & C. I. Workshops, Ajmer indicated that there were no inherent difficulties in the way of locomotives being manufactured in this country. Doubts as to whether the Indian demand for steam locomotives would be adequate to absorb the optimum capacity of an economic unit had been set at rest, once and for all as a result of able investigations, conducted by the late Mr. Humphreys and the late Mr. Sreenivasan, on behalf of the Railway Board in 1940.

RAILWAY EXTENSION IN SOUTH INDIA

Mr. J. F. C. Reynolds, General Manager, South Indian Railway, at a recent press conference in Madras foreshadowed the possibility of new lines of railway being constructed in South India in the post war period. He said that the subject had already been considered by the Railway Board and the Madras Government and it was agreed that the new constructions would be the Kollengode-Trichur metre gauge section, the Dindigul-Gudalur section as an alternative to the restoration of the Madurai-Bodinayakanur section; and the Tanjore Pattukottai and Arantangi-Karaikudi sections.

SRI MUTHIA BHAGAVATHER

We lament the death of Harikesanallur Gayaka Sikamani L. Muthia Bhagavather, the great composer and Singer. His connections with the Mysore State as its Asthana Vidwan and conferment of title of Doctorate by the Travancore State, are very well known to the music world.

The late Bhagavather who was a native of Travancore is reputed to have composed a ragamalika of 108 stanzas about Goddess Chamundesvari. His erudition in music was vast and his originality in many new ragams and songs unrivalled. His exposition and delivery during Harikatha Kalakshepams were superb. The late Bhagavather was responsible in popularising Maharaja Swati Tirunal's compositions.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD MUSIC

Indian and European musicians played works especially chosen to illustrate the way in which the two systems of music influenced one another at a concert at the Netherlands House, London, on July 17.

The artistes were Geoffrey Gilbert, Arnold Goldsborough, Professor Max Rostal and Narayana Menon. C. Lawson Reece introduced the items and there was a discussion on the contribution that India could make to world music.

THE LATE MR. PONNIA PILLAI

The late Ponnia Pillai was one of the most talented musicians, belonging to a family of musicians, well versed in Carnatic music. Being attached to the Madras and Annamalia Universities he was making every effort to maintain the high traditions of Carnatic music.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ART IN INDUSTRY

The Government of Bengal, it is learnt, have approved of a yearly grant of Rs. 25,000 from 1947-48 to the Indian Institute of Art in Industry. The grant is subject to certain provisions. During the years 1945-46 and 1946-47 smaller grants have been sanctioned, in view of the fact that it will take about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years for the programme of the institute to become fully developed.

MAJOR WAZIR ALI

Major Wazir Ali, one of India's best-known cricketers, has announced his intention of retiring from first class cricket after having served the "King of sports" for over 25 years and won renown in India and England.

In recognition of his services in the cause of Indian cricket, a purse is to be formally presented to the great Bhopal batsman when he makes his appearance in the coming winter.

INDIA AND M. C. C. VISIT

Sir Pelham Warner, Deputy Secretary of the Marylebone Cricket Club, in a letter to Mr. K. S. Ranga Rao, Honorary Secretary of the Board of Control for Cricket in India, says that at a meeting of the M.C.C. held on June 11, he was instructed to say that at the present moment "it is quite impossible to arrange even tentatively any visits of the M.C.C. to India or indeed to any of the Dominions"

CONSTANTINE TO RETIRE FROM CRICKET

Leary Constantine one of the greatest all-rounders the game has ever seen, is retiring from cricket, probably this year. The West Indies captain said at Lord's recently that he felt he was getting too old for the game. He will be 43 in September. "I think I had better give up the game before it gives me up", he said.

Constantine is still first choice as captain for the war-time West Indies sides, and is also playing some League cricket in the North.

NEW RECORD FOR MILE RACE

The Swedish runner, Gunder Haegg, has established a new world record, running a mile in 4 minutes and 1.4 seconds, beating the previous record of Arne Anderson, Sweden's record holder a year ago, who covered it in 4 minutes and 1.6 seconds.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE SOLAR ECLIPSE

Secrets of the total eclipse of the Sun (July 9) will remain secret. Any important discovery made when the skilled teams of British astronomers and radio physicists set their carefully co-ordinated networks of delicately-tuned instruments to record the eclipse will not be revealed until the end of the Japanese war, said an official at the National Physical Laboratory.

British experts will co-ordinate their findings when they return to London from their scattered observation posts. Only then will it be known whether their radio probings into electric conditions of atmospheric layers many miles from the earth will aid in future radio longwave development. Good results and belief that new data have been obtained are reported from at least one radio research station near London where the experiments were described as "according to plan".

PROF. SAHA'S PLEA

Closer scientific links between India and Russia were urged by Prof. Meghnad Saha of the Calcutta University, in a speech at Moscow. He was one of the party of foreign scientists now visiting the Soviet Union.

"India possesses many scientific societies and academies united under the aegis of the National Institute of Science at Calcutta," said the Indian according to the Moscow Radio. "I shall be happy if the Soviet Academy will establish contact with the Institute for further interchange of scientific information, scientists and students. Russia can teach us."

SIR VISVESVARAYYA ON THE INSTITUTE

Speaking at the eighth annual meeting of the Court of the Indian Institute of Science last month, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, President of the Court, referred to the increasing interest taken by the Government of India in the Institute's work. He urged the Government of India to provide a capital grant of Rs. 50 lakhs to the Institute and a recurring annual grant of Rs. 5 lakhs in addition to the current normal grant. He pleaded for compulsory mass education and for the expansion of industrial training.

FILM DELEGATION TO BRITAIN AND U.S.A.

Four members of the delegation of the Indian Film Industry which will visit the United Kingdom and the United States, have left Karachi for England on July 9. They are: Mr. P. N. Roy (Leader), Mr. S. Sundararajan, Mr. Kidar Sharma, and Mr. K. S. Hirelekar (Secretary), Mr. Roop K. Shorey, a Punjab producer, will join the delegation in England shortly.

Interviewed by the A. P. Mr. Hirelekar said that the delegation would also visit France and Sweden. They would spend six weeks in Europe and eight weeks in the United States and see the latest developments in the film industry both from technical and the organisational points of view.

INDIAN FILM COMPANY IN BRITAIN

A new film company, the "Three Stars Films Company Limited" has been formed with two-thirds of the capital subscribed in India and the remaining third in Britain. An Indian Finance expert, Mr. D. P. Kaura, will be the Managing Director and the Chairman of the Unico Corporation. Sir Francis Price, is the Chairman. Technical Directors are Mr. Mohammed Ali Currimbhoy, who is now in Paris and a British Technician, Mr. Sydney Bux. Also represented on the Board of Directors are Mr. G. M. Calcuttawalla and Mr. Hussein F. Currimbhoy.

EDUCATIONAL FILMS FOR STUDENTS

Sir J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, inaugurated on 1st July a scheme under which educational films will be shown on Sundays at certain Bombay cinema houses for the benefit of Bombay students. The scheme is jointly sponsored by the Information Films of India, and the Headmasters' Association of Bombay.

Thanking the sponsors, Sir Bomanji said that educational films shown to students would be of immense help not only in their studies but also in broadening their general outlook and adding to their knowledge. He said that the scheme filled a much-felt want and hoped that parents and guardians would encourage the students to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by this scheme.

MOTOR CARS FOR CIVILIAN USE

Two hundred Austin 10 h.p. cars, the first large motor consignment to reach India for civilian use in many years, have now arrived in Bombay.

They are part of a fleet of machines ordered by the Government of India War Transport Department. Their sale will be controlled and restricted to people engaged in essential war or civilian work in the country.

A recent announcement from Delhi said that the Austin 10 was the only car now available for distribution, and that its price would be about Rs. 5,750, plus transportation charges from the distribution centre—in this case Bombay—to the premises of the dealer or sub-dealer.

The comparative high price to be charged for the newly imported vehicles (the pre-war price in England of a Sunshine Saloon Austin 10 was £185, or Rs. 2450) is explained in Bombay in the following way:

The wholesale cost price of the car is approximately £288 (about Rs. 3,750) in the United Kingdom today. An import duty of 36 per cent. levied on British cars brings the wholesale landed cost in India to Rs. 4,992, or in round figures to Rs. 5,000. From the remaining Rs. 750 the War Transport Department has to meet freight, insurance, unpacking and servicing charges.

FORD 1946 MODEL

Production of 1946 model Ford automobiles began at Dearborn, Michigan as the first car came off the final assembly line at the Ford Motor Company's River Rouge plant on July 3.

The company officials said that civilians engaged in essential transportation will require the entire output for many months and it may be two years before cars will be available for those with priorities. Ford has a quota of 40,000 of the motor industry's overall allotment of 200,000 cars to be built this year.

EMPIRE AIR CONFERENCE

India's internal air lines ought to be paying their own way within five years. This view was expressed to *Reuter* by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Secretary to the Government of India, Posts and Air Department and India's chief delegate to the Commonwealth Air Transport Council which opened in London on July 9.

He said that India's plans for trunk services as feeders to Commonwealth efforts on international services must come first. As soon as practicable, afterwards external lines to the Middle East, Burma and Malaya would be developed.

"We hope that progress will be maintained in British aviation", he announced, "because we hope to use as far as possible British aircraft and British personnel."

Sir Gurunath Bewoor, referring to India's internal air lines told *Reuter*: "Our scheme definitely contemplates subsidies where they are justified. They will be justified where they will assist in developing routes which we have planned and these routes are the main trunk routes connecting the central cities of India. Subsidies will be granted for a limited time only, until such time when the routes, we hope will become paying. We look upon aviation as a service that must pay its way."

U.S. COMMERCIAL PLANES FOR INDIA

According to an American news agency, Indian aviation companies are seeking additional planes from the United States.

The chance that they will be able to buy surplus passenger craft by the end of the year is considered good by the Foreign Economic Administration. It is learned that the War Production Board is considering the allocation of a small number of new commercial types of planes to the Indian airlines.

MR. K. C. MAHINDRA'S IMPRESSIONS

Mr. K. C. Mahindra, former head of the Indian supply mission at Washington arrived at Karachi from Montreal on July 6.

Interviewed, Mr. Mahindra said that he resigned his office in February last and spent most of his time in New York. "These were the most interesting years of my life," said Mahindra and praised the hospitality he received from Americans all over the country.

Giving his impressions he said that as a businessman he was naturally interested in industrial organisations which contributed so largely to winning the war. He had great admiration for the manner in which American industry geared up to produce the almost 'fabulous' volume of output of machinery, ammunition and equipment for war purpose. "There is a great lesson to be learnt by every business man from American experiment," he added "and it should be of practical value to us in India where all our effort must be directed to the production of food and goods for the masses of people who are today living on the verge of starvation."

TRACTOR FACTORIES IN INDIA

Mr. Harry Ferguson, an industrialist, who is en route to England to examine the possibilities of establishing tractor factories there, announced in an interview in New York that he had "magnificent offers of all the resources I need" for factories in India from Indian interests.

While Mr. Ferguson indicated a desire to establish mass production factories in England to manufacture the light tractors and other implements he has invented, he said that should "past obstructionism" again arise in England, he would consider India, France, Canada or Australia as manufacturing bases.

MINIMUM PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS

In the course of a communication to the Government on fixation of agricultural prices, the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry state that they subscribe to the policy of assuring a minimum economic return to agriculturists along with an all-round improvement in economic conditions in India.

The Committee say that stabilisation of agricultural prices can only be viewed when the war-time controls are removed. In the opinion of the Committee, the scheme of price-fixation cannot be considered a substitute for a programme for the improvement of farming through the use of fertilisers, better seed, irrigation and stopping the processes of fragmentation, soil erosion and deforestation.

Price stabilisation should be on All-India basis in which every Indian State and Province should accept the policy and undertake to implement the same uniformly. Agricultural prices should be maintained at a level which must be fair to the producer i.e., which covers the cost of production and leaves a margin of income to ensure a healthy standard of living to the agriculturist.

- RAO BAHADUR M. R. RAMASWAMI SIVAN

The death occurred on July 5 at the age of 75 of Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, retired Principal of the Agricultural College, Coimbatore.

After retirement, Mr. Sivan went to Benares at the invitation of Pandit Malaviya to start a School of Agriculture in the Hindu University. He helped in the stabilisation of the Madura College which was threatened with disaffiliation. He was also a member of the Madras and Annamalai University Syndicates and of the National Planning Committee.

A PLAN FOR THE BETTERMENT OF LABOUR

To plan for the betterment of labour in India is to plan for the vast majority of her people, says a writer in *Investment and Finance*. More than seventy per cent of her people are workmen and a major portion of these work-men labour on land. Planning for Indian labour will naturally cover the system of land tenure and there will be an immediate need of reshuffling the whole system. The land tenure keeps most of Indian labour tied on land with primeaval methods of cultivation, poor output and heavy taxation to maintain the parasites known as landlord, who share the major portion of land products without ever taking the pains of cultivating it as the land belongs to them by convention.

To keep the system intact and to plan for the land labour is either a hoax with a view to deceive labour or an utter ignorant step of a reformist dreamer. Any efficient planning will be for saving the vast waste in labour on land and saving it from a meagre living on a starvation diet by employing their unused energy in other industries.

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The seventeenth meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian Medical Association was held at New Delhi, on July 9, with Dr. Jivaraj N. Mehta, the President of the Association in the chair.

The Committee discussed Prof. Adarkar's report on health insurance for industrial workers and a statement was prepared to be forwarded to the Department of Labour, Government of India, the Provincial Government and the employers and labour organisations. The statement puts forward certain suggestions the acceptance of which by the Government of India is urged for success of health insurance in the country. The statement also demands the inclusion of representatives of the Indian Medical Association in the Committees that might be appointed in future by the Government of India before the proposals are given final shape.

AURANZEB'S GRANT TO HINDU TEMPLES

Aurangzeb was not very fanatic and bigoted as he is said to be; he gave 'Jahagirs' to four Hindu temples in Ujjain alone. 'Historic truths' like these belying many historians' accounts of atrocities against Hindus by rulers during Moghul period, are being 'disclosed' in certain "Firmans" which are being brought out in a booklet by the Hindustani Cultural Society formed in March last to foster communal unity in the country.

These "Firmans" signed by Moghul Emperors from Akbar down to Bahadur Shah it is said, throw sufficient light on the religious, social and cultural relations between Hindus and Muslims during those days.

Giving an idea of the social and economic conditions of the Moghul period, the "firmans" indicate that the cost of 18,000 maunds of grain those days was only Rs. 122! The "firmans" which number about 100 are in possession of Mr. Lakshmi Narain, a mahant in charge of about 94 temples in Ujjain.

Dr. Bansari Prasad assisted by Dr. Tara Chand and Prof. Naimur Raham is translating these "Firmans" which are in Persian.

KASTURBA TRUST BOARD

As resolved by the Board of Trustees, the headquarters of the Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust have been shifted from Bombay to Wardha (C. P.) The Wardha office was opened on Monday, July 8.

The Organising Secretary, Sri Mridula Sarabhai continues to have her office in Bombay as at present and correspondence meant for her may be sent to Bombay as before.

KING DECORATES INDIAN

The first Indian to receive the Victoria Cross from the King at Buckingham Palace was decorated at an investiture recently. He was sepoy Ramdeo Jadhao of the Mahratta Light Infantry, who headed a long list of men and women who received decorations from the King.

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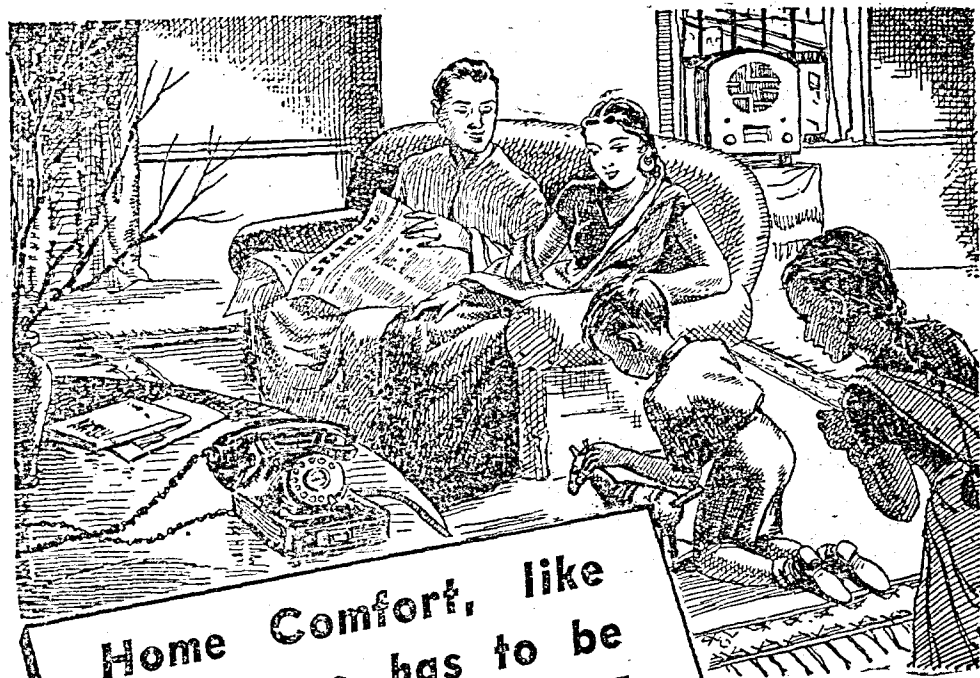
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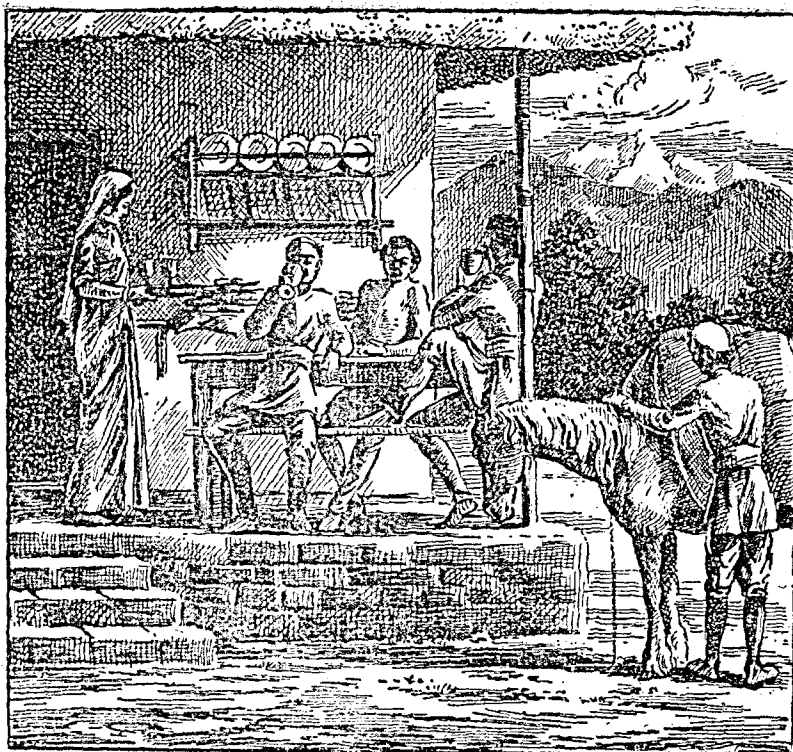
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The people of the Hills take their tea ready mixed with milk and sugar. The traditional vessel in the Eastern Himalayas is a long-stemmed cup of wood, lined with silver, but brass or China bowls are often used elsewhere.

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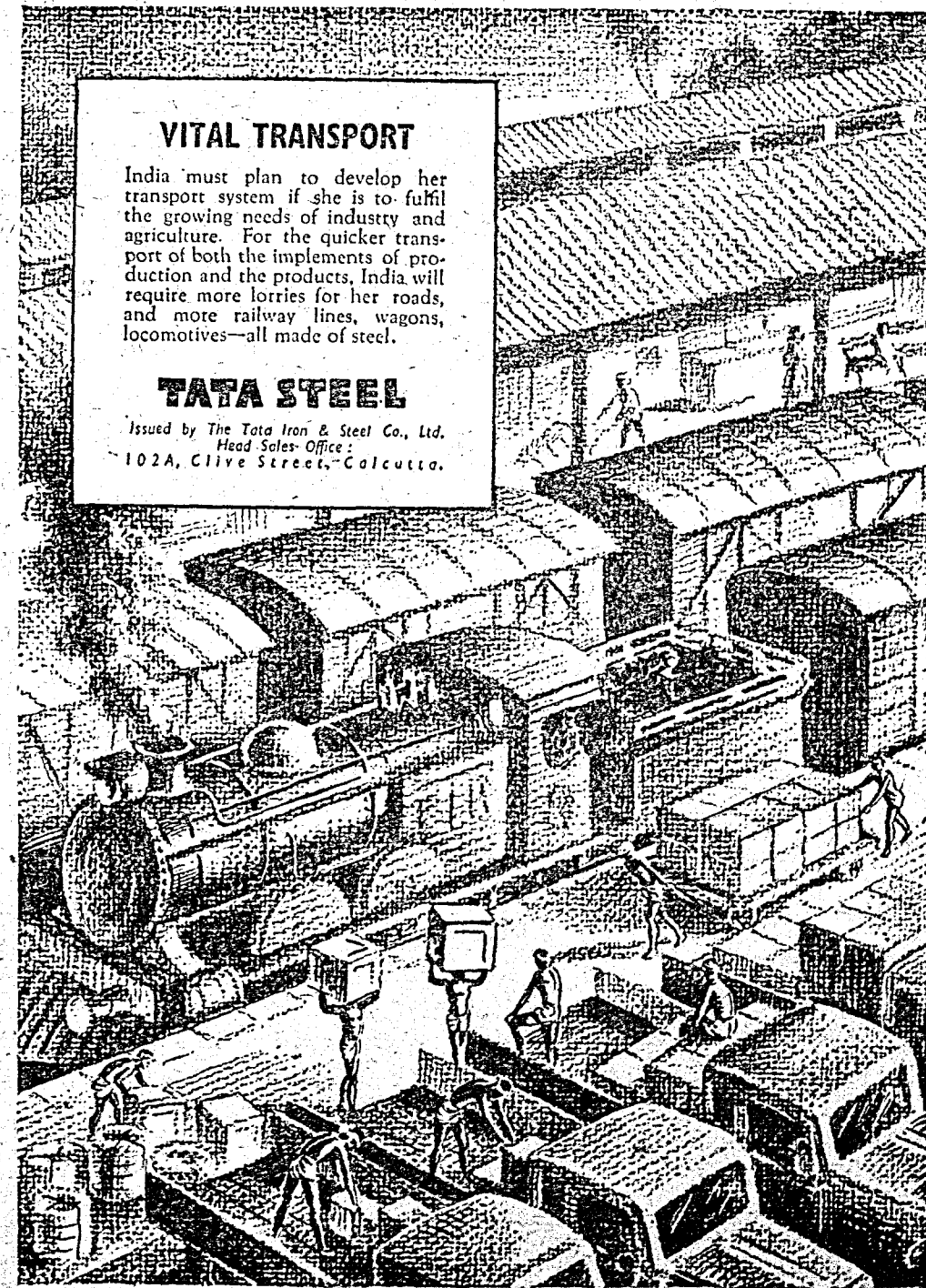
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VITAL TRANSPORT

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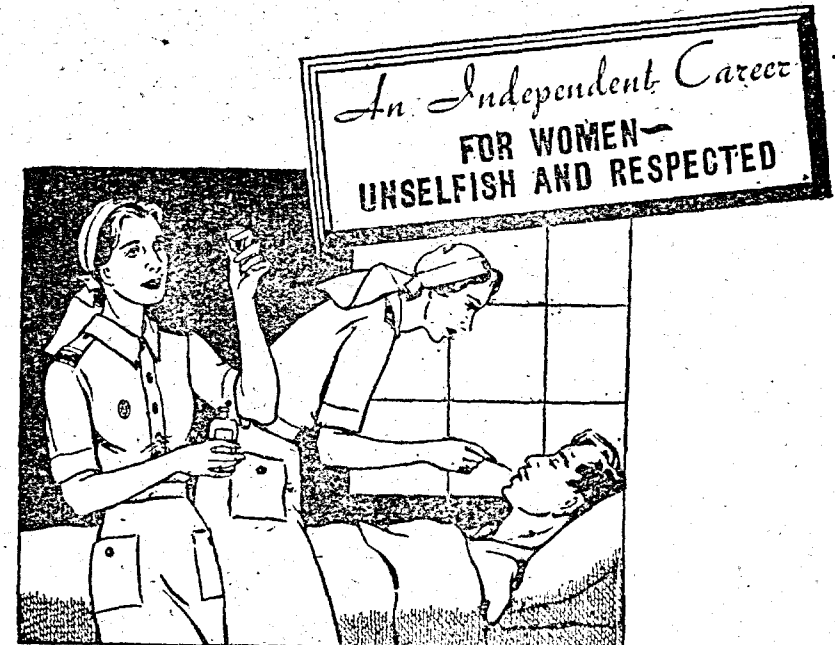
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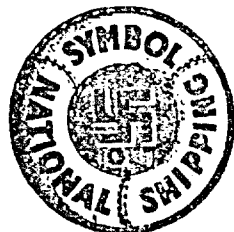
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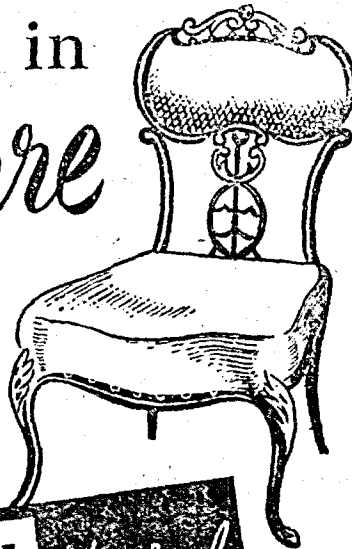
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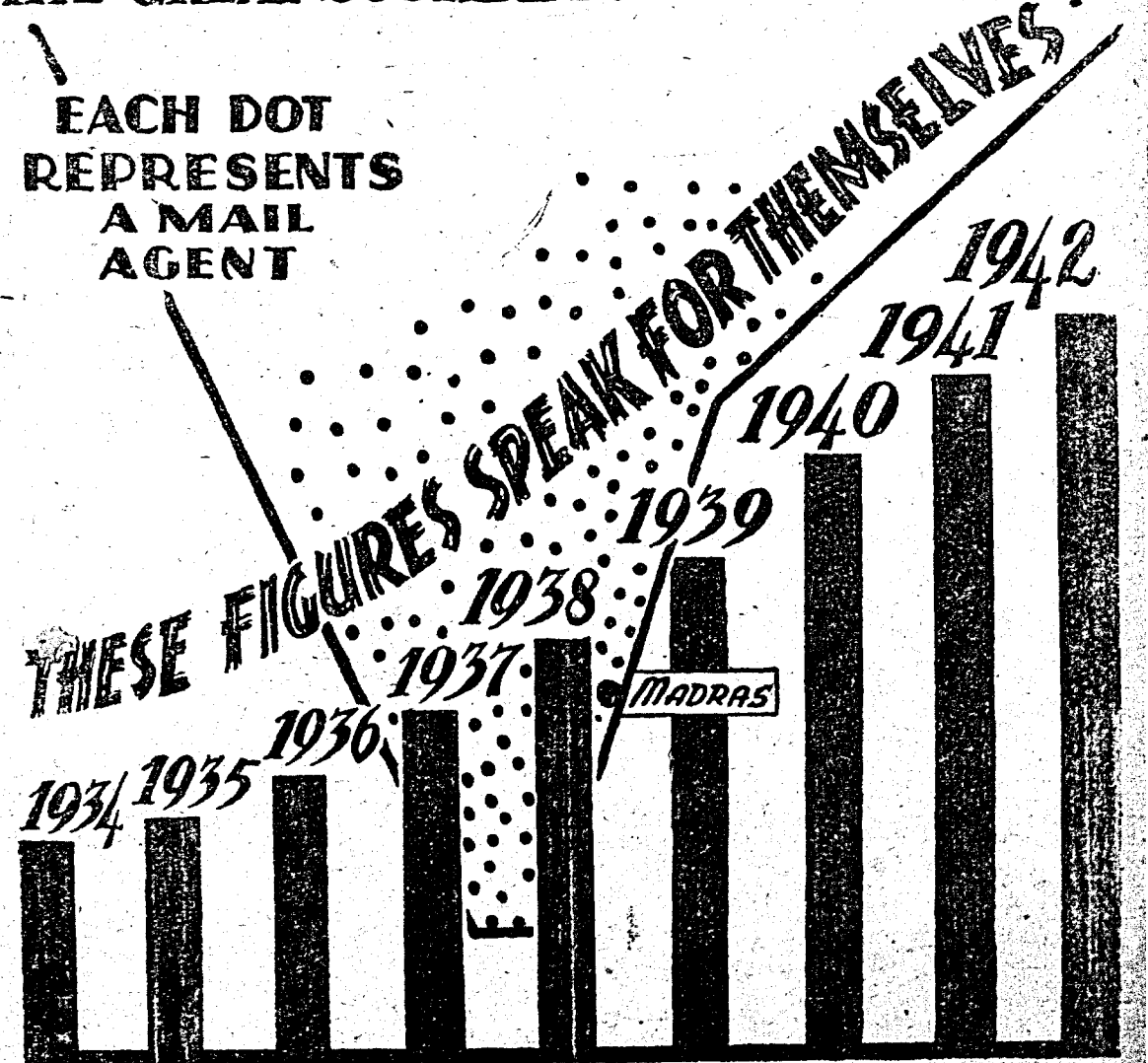
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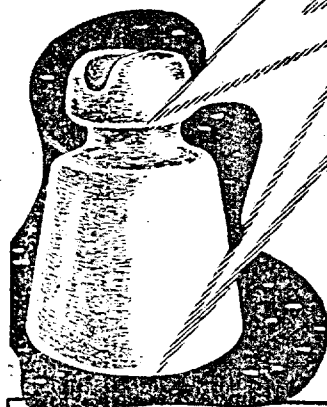
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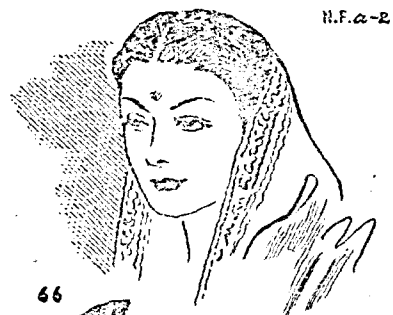
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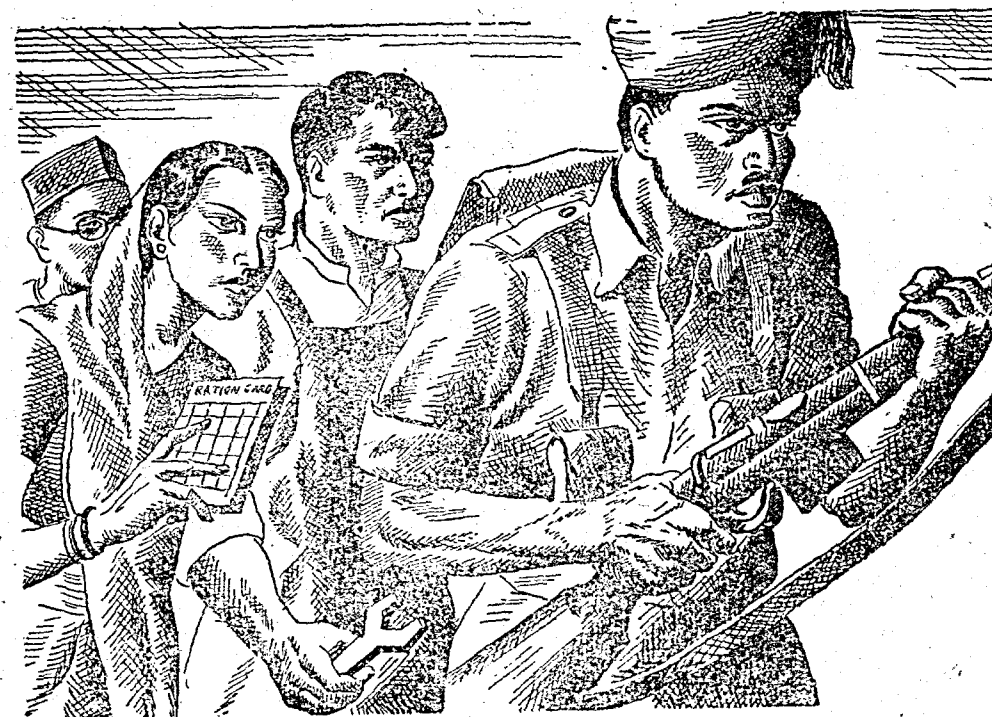
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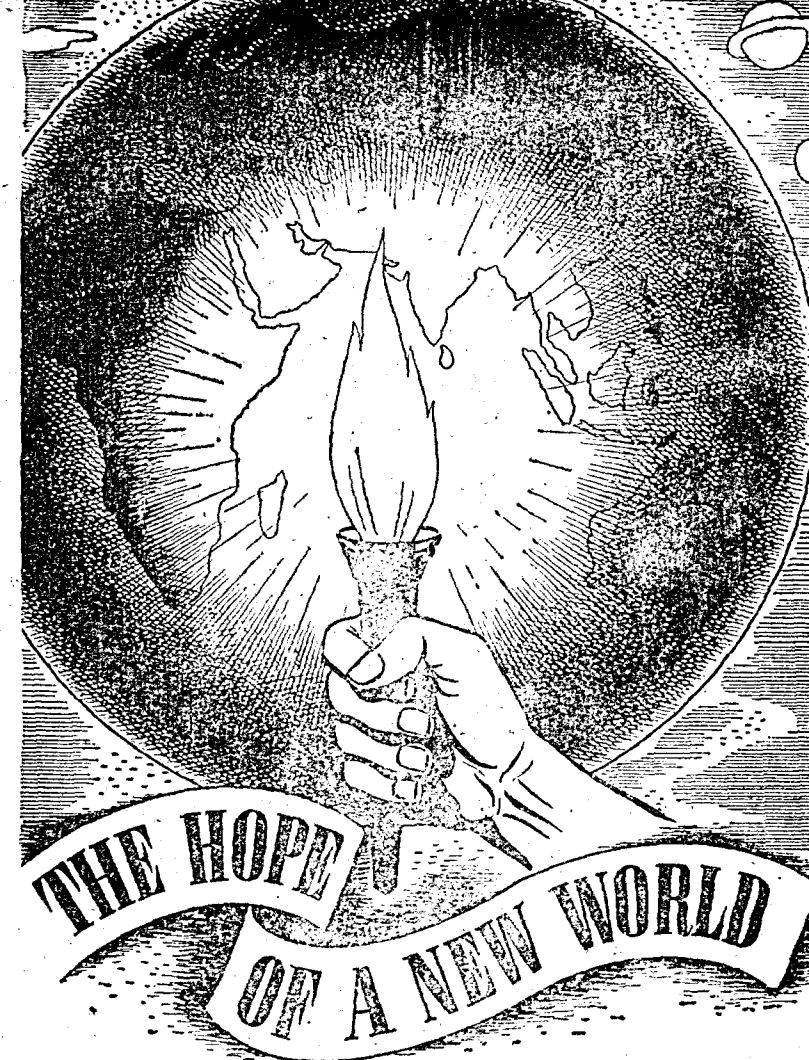
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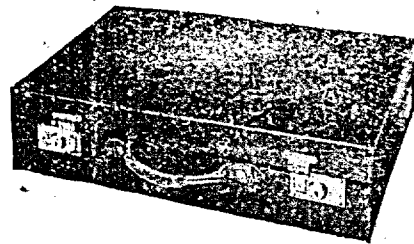
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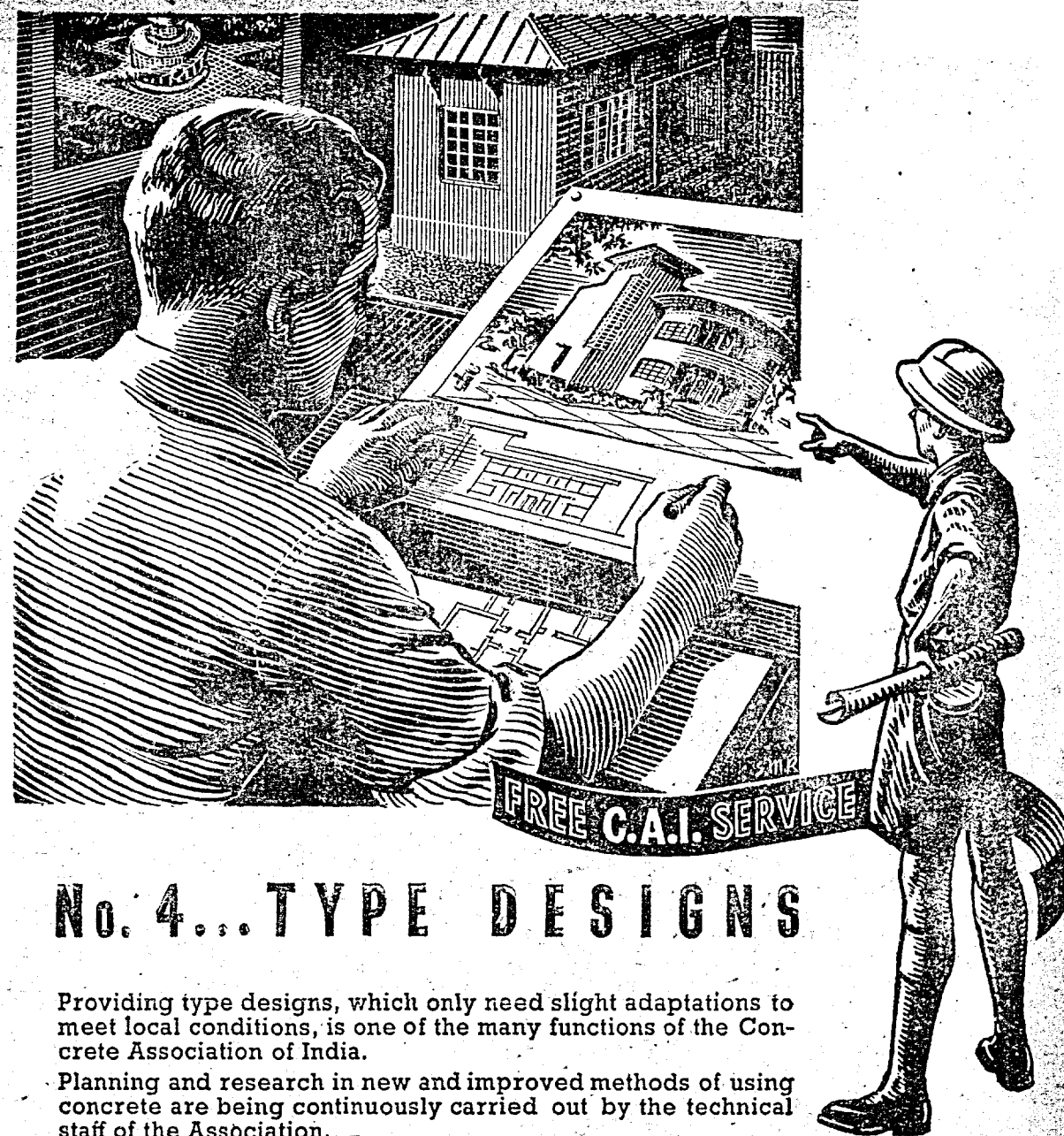
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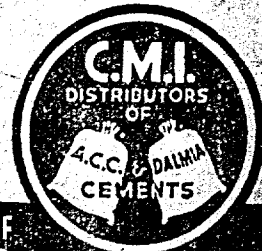
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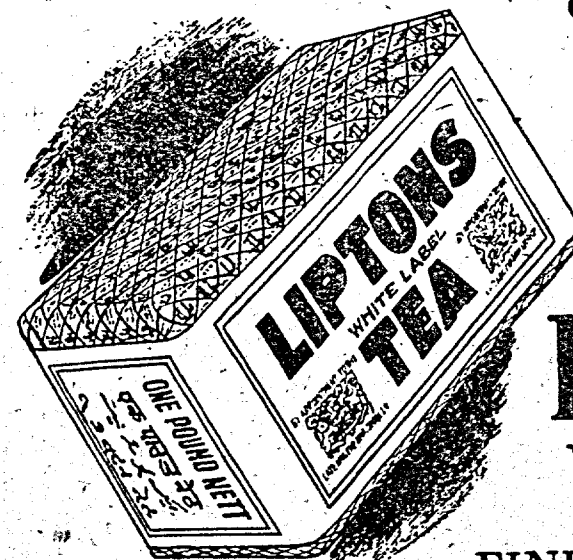
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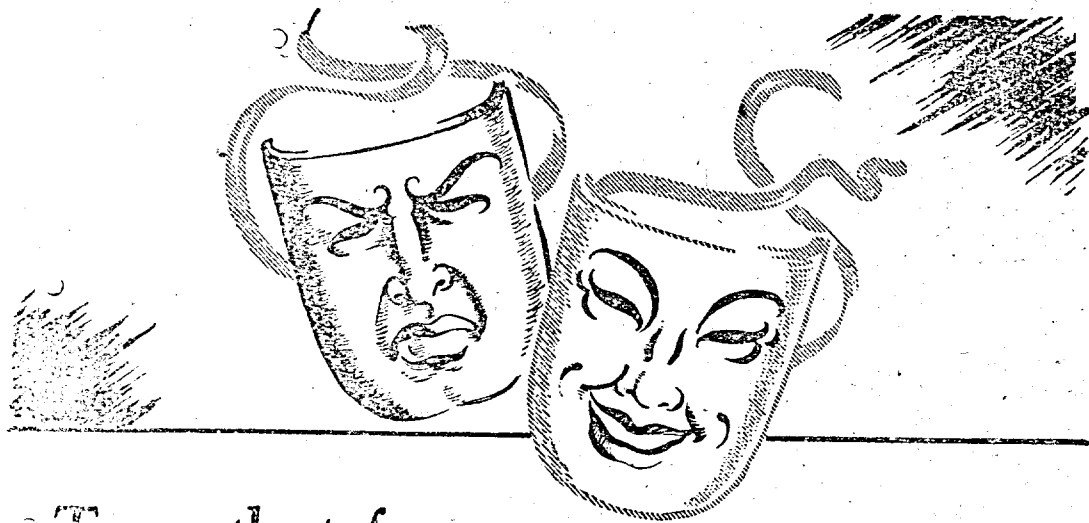
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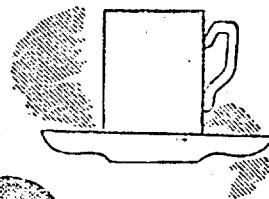
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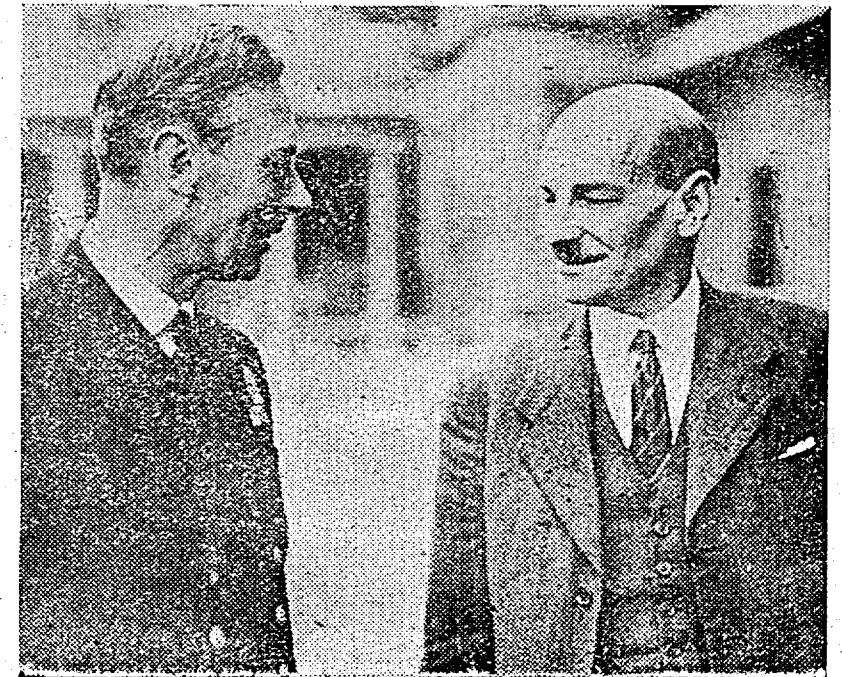
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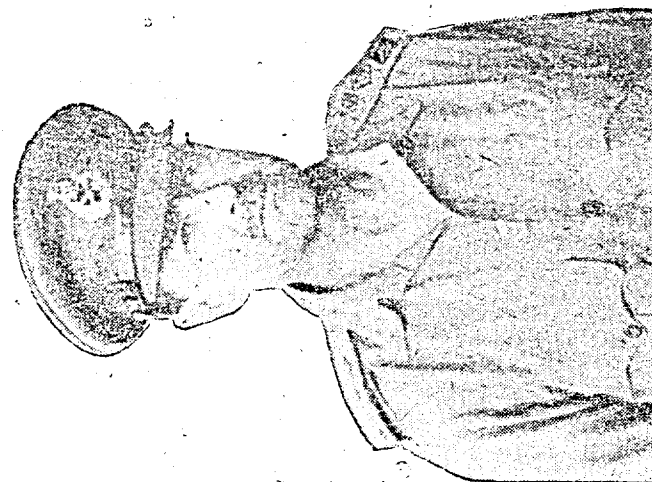
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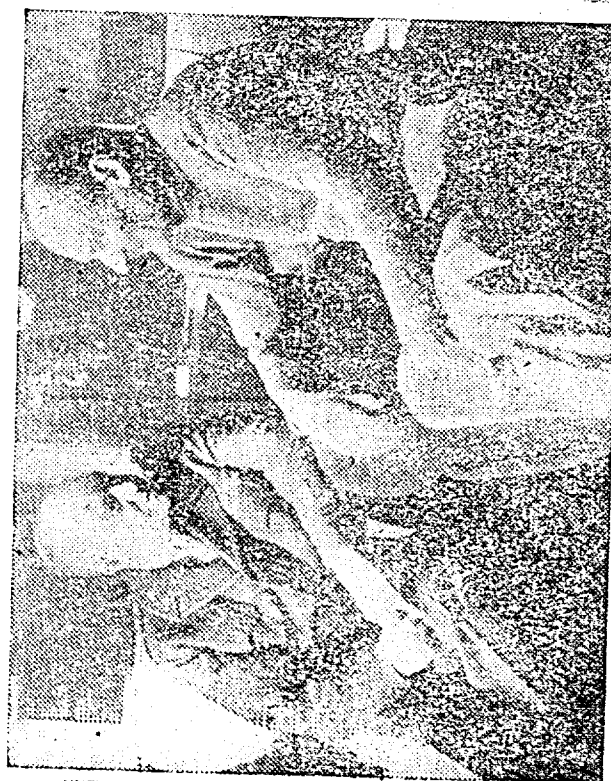
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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[No. 9.]

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

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

THE Editor of the *Indian Review* has asked me to describe briefly the provisions of the United Nations Charter bringing out the main directions in which

of suppressing aggression with the aid of military forces placed at the disposal of the Organization by the members: and the other a long range programme of securing world peace by abolishing the causes of war like economic rivalry and social injustice.

The Charter marks an advance on the Covenant by "providing for a peace with teeth." It creates a Security Council on which the members of the United Nations agree to confer "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." For the effective discharge of this responsibility the members undertake by special agreements to place at the disposal of the Security Council "armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage." The members agree that in carrying out its duties "the Security Council acts on their behalf" and further agree "to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter." The Security Council is thus an independent organ with defined responsibility which can act in its own sphere without reference to the General Assembly: it is expressly stipulated that, when a dispute is before the Security Council, the General Assembly shall not make a "recommendation" in regard to it. The Security Council



SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

these differ from those of the Covenant of the League: and I gladly respond to this invitation. Commander Stassen described the objective of the Conference at San Francisco to be "to build a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the World, based on justice and law and insured by force." The Charter has two aims—one immediate, that

is to consist of eleven members; the five Big Powers—China, France, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.—who will be permanent members and six others who will be non-permanent elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. (In the first elections, three members will be elected for a year.) In electing non-permanent members the Assembly shall pay due regard "to the contribution of the members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization and also to equitable geographical distribution." The functions of the Security Council fall under two broad categories, (i) Pacific settlement of disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and (ii) enforcement action when peaceful solution has failed. The Charter describes in detail the procedure to be followed under both heads. Chapter VI relates to "Pacific settlement". Under it the Security Council should first ask parties to a dispute to seek solution by "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice." Where this fails, the parties shall refer the dispute to the Security Council, which will either recommend "appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment or such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate." The scheme of "enforcement action" laid down in the Charter is most comprehensive. The Security Council may call upon the parties to a dispute to comply with "provisional measures" decided on by it in order to present an aggravation of the situation. The Council may, again, decide on the

measures not involving the use of armed force—economic and diplomatic sanctions. Where these are inadequate, it can mobilise the forces placed at its disposal. The Charter provides for a military staff committee to assist the Security Council in organizing these forces and in employing them and also in all questions relating to the regulation of armaments and disarmament. Regional arrangements and measures taken in self-defence also find a logical place in this carefully devised scheme.

At this point, reference must be made to the voting procedure in the Security Council which was the subject of much discussion in the Conference and outside. Important steps in the Pacific settlement of disputes can only be taken with the concurrence of the five permanent members of the Security Council—except that a party to a dispute should abstain from voting. All enforcement action again requires the concurrence of the five Big Powers and here a Big Power can veto action against itself. It is not possible in this brief survey, to give even a summary of the long controversy on this issue. Those supporting the 'veto' argued that the unity of Britain, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union which formed the essential foundation for the successful issue of the war was also essential for peace: that no practical objection could be sustained to the special voting privilege as the fact of "power" had to be recognized in this imperfect world: and that the Powers concerned could be trusted to use the privilege with restraint. Considerations such as these ultimately prevailed at the Conference and the voting

procedure was accepted. Mr. Mackenzie King's comment in the Canadian House of Commons on this subject is worth reproducing. He pointed out that if a Great Power broke its solemn promise to refrain from the use of force inconsistent with the purposes of the organization, "the world would be faced once more with the situation like that presented by German aggression in 1914 and again in 1939. Such a situation could not be met in any international body merely by an agreement on voting. No Charter can give the world security if among powerful nations there is not the will for security." At the close of the Conference, the Big Powers expressed their determination to continue in peace the joint and united action which had proved so useful in the war and associated themselves with President Truman's declaration "The United Nations will remain united." In this lies the world's hope of peace.

The long range policy embodied in the Charter for abolishing the causes of war now remains to be described. Firstly, economic causes being a fruitful source of war, the members of the Organization pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the organization to promote

"(a) higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

"(b) solutions of international, economic, social, health and related problems; and international, cultural and educational co-operation; and

"(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms

for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." For effectuating this, the Charter has set up an Economic and Social Council which will (unlike the Security Council) work as an organ under the control of the General Assembly. On this Council all powers, big and small, are on an equal footing. The functions of the Council are most comprehensive and are designed to enable that body to work for the largest measure of social justice and the achievement of fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

Secondly, one of the most important sub-committees of the Conference was charged with the duty of laying down the objectives of Colonial policies. As the result of its deliberations the Conference agreed to a declaration regarding non-self-governing territories—i.e., territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government—which will be a beacon of hope to peoples who form such a large proportion of the world's population. The Charter does not stop with the declaration. Under it the Colonial powers agree to transmit to the world organization periodically information relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the areas for which they are responsible. It is hoped that out of this system of reports will be evolved means of satisfying world opinion that the obligations of the Charter are being faithfully carried out, and that the highest standards are maintained in Colonial administrations.

Thirdly, the Charter differing from the Covenant makes the Court of International Justice an organ of the United Nations,

This and the addition to the Charter of a preamble and a "Statement of Purposes and Principles" are intended to keep before the members their obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner "that international peace and security and justice are not endangered", i.e., to introduce the "rule of law" among Nations by consent.

These are the important portions of the Charter. None of the delegates claim that the Charter is perfect. Their attitude is one of restrained optimism. The Charter is the best that can be produced under the present conditions. It is only a first step and as time goes on it should be improved. The framing of the Charter is only the beginning of a "long challenging endeavour". As confidence replaces suspicion, the identity of interests of the nations will be more widely recognized and there will be less disinclination to enlarge the area of world collaboration. Further the Charter itself can do no good unless the members of the United Nations have the will and determination to act according to its spirit.

Nothing is more fatal than to assume that peace can be maintained without a strong, dynamic public opinion in favour of it. In the last six years, we have seen millions laying down their lives for false doctrines of racial superiority and domination. World peace cannot be assured unless leaders of thought throughout the world work steadily and persistently for the re-establishment of real values based on faith in the dignity and worth of the human person and in fundamental human rights.

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime, has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE

to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

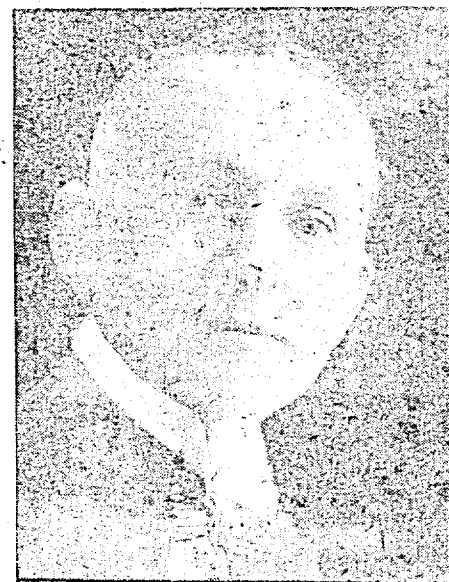
HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE most significant election in Great Britain in the memory of man is over and the result has astonished the world



MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

and, in the extent of its landslide, has surprised even the victors. The Labour Party, for the first time in history, is not only in office but in power at Westminster with a strong majority. Numerous well-known House of Commons figures are gone, many of them never to return.

Mr. Winston Churchill entered the last Parliament not as a Conservative but as an Independent. He stood and captured his seat as the one and only "Constitutionalist". He was not even a member of the Conservative Party when war broke out in 1939. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the then Prime Minister, wanted to form a National Government but, so little faith had the

Labour Party in him or his judgment, that they refused to serve in any Government of which he was the head and it was they who urged that he should resign and that Mr. Churchill should take his place, in which case they would co-operate whole-heartedly in forming a really National Government. The Conservatives were the strongest single party in the House and they saw the advantage to themselves, from the purely party point of view, of having Mr. Churchill as their Leader although they had persistently opposed him throughout the whole four years of the life of the Parliament up to that time. He was offered the Leadership of the Conservative Party and accepted the position—his first big blunder. He then had to consider the Conservative Party point of view instead of standing outside party and looking only to the National point of view.

Mr. Churchill had no illusions about the kind of men who had chosen him as their leader. As recently as 5th October, 1938, he attacked the Conservative Government in these words:

When I think of the immense combinations and resources which have been neglected or squandered, I cannot believe that a parallel exists in the whole course of history.

The responsibility must rest with those who have the undisputed control of our political affairs. They neither prevented Germany from re-arming, nor did they re-arm ourselves in time. . . They exploited and discredited the vast institution of the League of Nations and they neglected to make alliances and combinations which might have repaired previous errors.

No wonder the electors refused to vote for the men he—so describes and of whom he became the leader.

The Conservatives were convinced that if they could get a General Election soon

after the end of the war with Germany, they could sweep the country in another 'khaki' election on the lines of the 1918 election at the close of the last World War. Labour and Liberal protests were unheeded. The electoral roll was admittedly unsatisfactory because of its errors and omissions. It had been hurriedly prepared on very incomplete data and without adequate revision and many electors—including Mr. Churchill himself—found that their names had been omitted from the Roll. Even the date of the General Election, fixed by Mr. Churchill on the advice of the Conservative Party Headquarters, had to be altered and postponed in the case of between twenty and thirty constituencies owing to local conditions in these constituencies. Many electors who, at the qualifying period, had been working far from home, found that they could only go to record their votes at the place at which they were registered at the cost to themselves of two or three days' time and pay—a sacrifice many of them were unable to face.

Mr. Churchill apparently forgot what he had written on Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 'khaki' election in the first volume of 'The World Crisis.' Then Mr. Lloyd George went to the country on a personal appeal. Every candidate who supported him stood not for any principle but merely asked the electors to support 'the man who won the war'. 'Vote for . . . the Lloyd George candidate' posters filled all the hoardings from one end of the country to the other and those of us who fought in that election and dared to point out that 'the man who won the war' was not necessarily

nor even likely, with a strong backing of reactionary Conservatives, to be the best man to win the peace, had no chance of being elected and the result was a Parliament, predominantly Conservative, described by one of themselves as 'a lot of hard-faced men who seem to have done well out of the war.' The recent General Election was fought on exactly the same lines 'Vote for . . . and let Churchill finish the job.' No programme for peace—simply a personal appeal.

Of Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 Election, Mr. Churchill wrote:

* The whole nation was eager to acclaim "the pilot who weathered the storm". Was it wonderful that the pilot should turn from aggrieved and resentful associates of former days who sourly awaited the hour of peace to call him to account, and from Conservatives with whom he had no real sympathy, to the vast electorate who sought only to testify their gratitude by their votes?

The Election at once raised the party issue in its crudest form. . . .

When the Election came it woefully cheapened Britain. . . .

Mr. Lloyd George, having committed himself to the electoral scrimmage, played the part which circumstances enjoined. In his august station, national and European, he ought never to have been called upon to speak night after night upon the platform. The hardest test of all is to stand against the current of millions of rejoicing supporters.

He ought to have been more sure of himself at this time, and of the greatness of his work and situation. He could well have afforded, as it turned out, to speak words of sober restraint and of magnanimous calm.

In the wider sphere of Europe the blatantries of electioneering had robbed Britain in an appreciable degree of her dignity. The national bearing, faultless in the years of trial—loyal, cool, temperate, humane amidst terrors and reverses—had experienced quite a vulgar upset.

There is an uncanny parallel between the circumstances of that election in 1918 about which Mr. Churchill wrote so ably and the recent General Election. Had Mr. Churchill re-read and studied and taken to heart the words he wrote about

the 1918 Lloyd George Election, the result might have been different to some extent.

There is no doubt of the gratitude for and appreciation of Mr. Churchill's services as a War Leader felt and expressed by members of all parties, but to try to cash in on this to return to the House of Commons not merely Mr. Churchill himself but many of the more reactionary die-hard Conservatives was more than the country could stand after its experience, not merely of the Parliament elected in 1918 with its reactionary tendencies, but also of the years between the two world wars when the House of Commons was predominantly Conservative. It was under their regime that Japan was allowed to over-run Manchuria without protest, that Franco was fawned on in Spain, that Great Britain remained neutral while the dictators of Germany and Italy tried out their new weapons and planes against the lawful Government of Spain to establish the Franco rebel regime. Mr. Amery, the late Secretary of State for India, who has now lost his seat in Parliament, expressed the Conservative Government viewpoint on Japan in these words:

I confess that I see no reason why either in act or in word or in sympathy we should go individually or internationally against Japan in this matter. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stands condemned if we condemn Japan.

And Sir John Simon, when Foreign Secretary, on Mussolini's seizure of Abyssinia, stated the Conservative Government policy in these words:

I am not prepared to see a single British ship sunk, even in a successful naval battle, in the cause of Mussolini's aggression.

It was while giving lip-service to the support of the League of Nations that Sir Samuel Hoare, as Foreign Secretary, made his infamous pact with Laval—the Hoare—Laval Pact—for the dismemberment of Abyssinia, a member of the League. Mr. Neville Chamberlain went even further and in Rome proposed a toast to 'the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia.' For his Munich journey and disgraceful agreement with Hitler he was acclaimed in the House of Commons by the Conservatives and 187 out of 251 who voted for this agreement have lost their seats in this election.

And the 'Caretaker Government' formed by Mr. Churchill after the break-up of the late National Government contained the same Sir Samuel Hoare, under his new title of Lord Templewood, Mr. Amery, Lord Simon and others of that kidney! No wonder the electors, while grateful to Mr. Churchill for his great services as a War Leader, refused again to be saddled with the men with whom he chose to associate himself. As the *Times* in a leading article wrote:

It will be necessary to seek the explanation of the Conservative defeat largely in the circumstances and conduct of the election itself. Mr. Churchill himself introduced and insisted upon emphasising the narrower animosities of the party fight. As a result, the great national programme was allowed to slip into the background: the Prime Minister's own stature was temporarily diminished: and the voters, who were deeply interested in real, urgent, and essentially non-party subjects such as the housing of the people, seem to have visited their disappointment on the side which could be represented, on this showing, as taking but a perfunctory interest in the reconstruction programme, and as relying for success rather upon charges against the probably misconduct of their opponents than upon any creative virtues of their own.

There is no doubt that, whatever Mr. Churchill's merits as a War Leader,

which are acclaimed by all, his stock as a statesman and politician has slumped badly—entirely on account of his election speeches. It was hard to realize that the inspiring words of the war leader of the dark days of Dunkirk were uttered by the same man who descended to the deliberate misrepresentation of his political opponents—so ridiculous that it amused without frightening the electors, although not amusement but sadness that he could fall so far from his pedestal was the predominating feeling. In his tour of the country Mr. Churchill had great personal ovations everywhere. They admired his leadership in war but these same places voted against the candidates for Parliament with whom he chose to associate himself for Peace.

The war against Japan* will be prosecuted with the same vigour by a Labour as by a Conservative Government. That is the first plank in their programme and following on that—indeed along with that—a great housing programme will be speeded up. Coal, electricity and transport will also be amongst the matters receiving early and urgent attention from the Government.

One of the results of the election is the practical elimination of the Liberal Party as a force in politics. Liberalism is not dead—far from it—but it has been absorbed into the two other parties. Out of its 310 candidates only 10 were returned to Parliament and amongst the defeated are their leader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, their Chief Whip, Sir Percy Harris,

and Sir William Beveridge on whose plan they based most of their election campaign. As this plan had been adopted to a greater or lesser extent by the two other parties, the Liberals had little distinctive of their own to offer. They were to hold the balance between the two other parties but the electorate want something more definite than that in candidates who solicit their votes. The other fragmentary parties like the Commonwealth, who gained a certain amount of success during the war years while the party truce was in force, have practically disappeared, their leader Sir Richard Ackland even forfeiting his deposit.

The winning of Peace—real Peace—is as difficult as the winning of War, but it is not at all certain or even likely that a good War Leader will prove to be also a good leader for Peace. Mr. Churchill in 1932 published a book under the title 'Thoughts and Adventures'. In the course of this book, dealing with this question, he wrote:

Two opposite sides of human nature have to be simultaneously engaged. Those who can win a victory cannot make a peace: those who can make a peace would never have won a victory. Have we not seen this on the most gigantic scale drawing out before our eyes in Europe?

Anxious years lie ahead, years that will try every government everywhere. Great problems have to be met and solved but I am convinced that the government now established in power at Whitehall will meet these problems with a sympathetic understanding and an ability that may presage not merely a Labour Government now but a succession of Labour Governments in this country.

THE FUTURE OF CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

By Dr. R. K. B. S. S.

THE India of to-morrow will be so profoundly affected by Civil Aviation that the change can scarcely be described as anything but revolutionary. Those who have any say in development along other lines, such as Industry, Agriculture and Health would do well to have a clear view as to the paramount importance of Civil Aviation in the Reconstruction period. Planned and efficient air lines influence the methods of development in Industry, Commerce, Health and Agriculture. The keynote to the change from pre-war or pre-civil aviation days to the post-war period is speed:—*speed*. An Administrative head of Industry, Commerce or Health can make personal investigation and personal discussions his essential method of dealing with problems at a distance from his headquarters. A short experience proves conclusively that the Letter, the Telephone, the Telegraph and even the Radio are inadequate in many cases as compared with direct personal contacts and observation. In the post-war period no point in India where an aerodrome can be built, will be at a greater distance from any other similar point than one day's travelling. The Businessman or the Industrialist who fails to take advantage in the future of this factor will inevitably be left behind in the race. In respect of control of epidemics or transport of seriously ill persons for specialist medical treatment the usefulness of Civil aviation is only too obvious. That grains and other foodstuffs can be transported by air and dropped by

parachute in outlying difficult country, in large quantities, has been proved time and again during the present war, particularly during the Burma campaign and there are indications that, by the use of towed gliders, the commercial pay-load in goods, and even heavy goods of a weight for instance of small Tanks and Guns, will be far in excess of anything considered likely ten years ago.

Before we can discuss the likely development of Civil aviation in the future, we must know the position in the pre-war days when Civil aviation, having got over its labour pains, had been established in India.

In 1939 the Directorate of Civil Aviation was an alert and vigorous organization steadily progressing through prejudice and difficulty, to an important place in World Aviation. It is not enough to think of the internal developments of airways in the country, but of the establishment of contact with the world outside India, for much depends in all forms of development—Industrial, Commercial and Health—on repeated outside contacts, and India was, and is, on the main routes of World Air ports. Those outside contacts, already firmly established, in days when the performance of the aircraft available was greatly less than it is today, indicate the trend which must inevitably develop automatically, now that aeroplanes are capable of so much longer, faster and safer flights.

* This article was written on the 30th July.

This word "safer" is of the utmost importance. A reference to the pre-war Aircraft Rules and Regulations of the Government of India is sufficient to convince any interested person that the insistent policy of the Directorate was on safety. Accidents occur, but accidents occur in the house, on the roads, on the railways, and on the seas; some consider that the World itself is an Accident, but this policy of "Safety First" inherent in the Directorate of Civil Aviation will ensure the barest minimum of accidents in the future until they become insignificant.

Now, India, as I have had reason to state from this studio in the past is, to all intents and purposes, one potential vast airway. Conditions are such, both geographically and meteorologically, that, save for one or two mountainous areas, safe flying is continuous all the year round. The monsoons affect certain areas to a greater or lesser degree for a known period each year but alternative routes have been fully worked out and there is little doubt but that the use of Radio, as a Direction indicator to pilots, will enormously reduce the need for alternative routes, bearing in mind full safety standards in bad weather conditions. Much of the apparatus and systems developed to such surprising lengths during the war, is still on the Secret list but it is general knowledge now that a pilot completely lost in fog or monsoon can be told not only where he is, but can also be brought to an aerodrome and even to a safe landing on that aerodrome, although it may be obliterated by fog or heavy

rain. Before the war there was little use in this country for directive Radio in Civil aviation but the foundations for its development had been well and truly laid. It could not be otherwise when the Directorate's basic consideration was safety.

Immediately prior to the War safe air lines north and south, east and west—many of them carrying Mails—were well established and their records for timings and reliability were as good as those of any other country whether in the West or in the East. But they were a mere token of what is likely to develop in the very near future after the War. The three principal compartments in Civil Aviation were the Trunk Air lines (linked of course with the big aerodromes at which long-distance aircraft from outside India called) Feeder Lines (linking Indian main aerodromes with smaller ones off the main Air Routes), and added to these what might be termed "Sporting flying"; that is to say, the Flying Clubs, where people were taught to fly, and could enter into competitions some of them arranged on an All-India basis and where in general, air-mindedness was nurtured and cultivated. The Directorate of Civil Aviation had indicated that all these compartments shall continue and be developed. Before the War there were a few dozen aerodromes and landing grounds in the country but a glance at the map would show that this left vast areas of India out of reasonable touch with air travel. The needs of the War have provided India with very many more aerodromes—how many it is of course impossible for Security reasons to state—but there they are

waiting for the day when the Service aircraft gives place to the Civil aircraft, and we must consider what the position is likely to be on that day.

The most popular choice of the young men who come before the Provincial Selection Boards having applied for Commissions in the Fighting Services is to become a Pilot in the Royal Indian Air Force. At the Universities an Air Training Scheme has been in being for some years and at certain Universities—Madras among them—a Technological Course in Aeronautics has been instituted. The immediate position then after the War will be influenced very greatly by the large numbers of Indians ready trained in all branches of Flying and with a large practical knowledge of their jobs and their relative importance one to another. The Pilots, the Navigators, Wireless Operators, Maintenance Crews, the Electricians, the Mechanics and the hosts of other individuals who keep aeroplanes flying and flying safely, with constant communication between the ground and aircraft—all these trained people in large numbers will be available.

That then is briefly the comparative position pre-war and post-war; the development of Civil aviation will obviously depend to a great extent on the development of Industry, Commerce and the like; but the one cannot wait for the other. Civil aviation is ancillary to Industry and Commerce.

In the second Report of Reconstruction Committee of Council, the Government of India made clear that their

policy is to develop Civil Aviation with Indian capital and under Indian management and to offer training and opportunities for the employment of Indians. They recognize that subsidies may be necessary initially and they recognize their responsibility to ensure the provision of aerodromes, Radios, Meteorological centres, lighting and the like for Air services in and through the country. Plans have been prepared for a system of Trunk Air service in India to assist the proper development of India as a whole socially, commercially and industrially and these services are to carry Mails, freight and passengers. There is to be an Air Transport Licensing Board and co-ordination between the Air Services and other forms of transport will be secured. Training for future entrants into Civil Air Services is clearly necessary and schemes have also been prepared against this. It is abundantly clear then that everything is ready for a great development in Civil aviation in this country to which it is so eminently suited, once the air-line companies or corporations are formed.

It would, of course, be a profound mistake to think that all transport will be by air in future. It will be a long time before coal, timber and other heavy and bulky articles will be generally transported and distributed by air. But the comfort and speed of air travel are bound to attract largely increasing numbers of people and as I said before the businessman who does not take advantage of speed is bound to lose in the long run. Average flying speeds of 250 miles an hour can, I think, be relied on for long distance main line travel in this country; this means little more than six

hours on a non-stop flight from Colombo to Delhi; and it must be remembered that with the development of all the resources now or shortly to be at the disposal of the Government, journeys would be undertaken by night as well as by day. It is, I am sure, quite unnecessary for me to enumerate the many emergencies in which this rapid form of travel is of vital importance both to individuals, and adversely affected communities in flood or famine. But differences of opinion are always arising, and will undoubtedly continue to arise between groups of persons, and the immediate presence of somebody who can settle disputes or otherwise put matters right and prevent hardships and misunderstandings is essential and is made possible by air travel. Perhaps one of the most important results of development in this particular way is political and I use the word in the best sense. The more people move about and the more they see of others, the less impressive your political controversial problems become. Different races, different creeds have had profound effects, the one on the other through history once they have been forced into closer contacts, and generally speaking, much more tolerance may be expected or at least less bitterness. Tolerance and lack of bitterness are essentials between peace-loving peoples, and there is without the least shadow of a doubt an honest conviction in the minds of the Allied Nations that peace through tolerance and patient understanding—not I would say peace at any price—is worth striving for and this conviction has played a great part in bringing the War to its highly successful terminal phase. It is

generally said that without the terribly destructive power of the Allied Air Forces this success would not have been achieved; let us hope that Aviation will never again have to be used destructively—a destruction which has been catastrophic to so many countries,—and let us hope further and there is every indication that this is not unreasonable, that Aviation—Civil—will help in the social and economic development with as great a power and impetus as Aviation—Military—has helped to win the War. If that be the case, then I would state my own opinion that of all countries the one which would, and certainly should, reap benefits more than any other, is this country, India. (*A Broadcast Talk, Madras.*)

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SIR PHEROZSHAH MEHTA

By MR. G. A. NATESAN

Sir Pherozshah Mehta, whose birthday centenary was celebrated all over the country in the first week of August, dominated the public life of India for well nigh half a century. Apart from public meetings, the Corporation of Bombay and municipal bodies in Calcutta, Madras, Nagpur and other cities vied with one another in paying tributes to the memory of one who was the doyen of the Bombay City Corporation for over 30 years. In his speech at the Madras Corporation, Mr. G. A. Natesan who had the honour of introducing Madras Congressmen to Sir Pherozshah at the Bombay Congress of 1904 underlines some leading traits of Sir Pherozshah's public career. In this connection, we welcome *The Life and Times of Sir Pherozshah Mehta* which the Madras Law Journal Press has published in time to synchronize with the Centenary Celebrations. The book is a collection of talks given by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to a select gathering in Madras as early as 1943. Mehta is the central figure of these discourses but Mr. Sastri, with consummate mastery of details, presents a picture of his time which is as attractive as it is illuminating. Addressed to a private circle of friends, the talks happily abound in many intimate and revealing touches which make them altogether exhilarating. The facsimile of a forty-year old letter from Mehta to Mr. Natesan is reproduced from this interesting volume.

It is quite in the fitness of things that a grateful posterity should celebrate the centenary of Sir Pherozshah Mehta

in different parts of the country is justly deserved. For, he belonged to the galaxy of Indian patriots headed by Dadhabai, who fostered the spirit of Indian nationalism and worked fearlessly for the cause of Indian freedom. Of him it can truly be said that he belonged not to one province, but to the whole country, not to one race or caste, but to all the races and creeds that are to be found in India.



SIR PHEROZSHAH MEHTA

whose life-work was one of incessant service to the motherland. The tribute which is to-day being paid to his memory

Sobriety of thought and fearless independence were the distinguished characteristics of his public life; and we have it on the authority of His Highness the Aga Khan who knew him intimately, that even older men like Ranade, Tyabji, Wacha and Telang, owned discipleship to him.

I have always considered it as my good fortune that early in life, I came into contact with Sir Pherozshah Mehta, enjoyed his friendship, and in common with a group of Madras friends, his magnificent hospitality at his residence in Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta was ever proud to say that he was an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. In an address to the Indian National Congress in 1890, he made a memorable pronouncement in which he said :

A Parsi is a better and truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better or truer Muslim or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government.

This ideal he kept to the last and practised with unfaltering devotion. It was his thorough mastery of details and mature judgment that attracted him to many. His chambers on the Esplanade Road, Bombay, have been described as a temple where men of all shades and many minds went to pay homage to him and seek his guidance on all important matters.

The guiding principle of his political life was freedom from communal bias. In a representation to the Government made by the Bombay Presidency Association of which he was the President, he stressed that the only aim of British policy should be to bring the different races and creeds into harmony with each other and to induce the best minds in all communities to apply themselves to what is necessary and practicable for promoting the common good. On another occasion, he proclaimed publicly :

I will never be associated with any movement which recognized racial or communal divisions.

He was one of the few who criticized Lord Morley, when at the instance of Lord Minto, he introduced the communal franchise in India. Subsequent events have shown how unerring was his judgment in

regard to separate electorates. What was fondly hoped would be a temporary expedient now threatens to be a permanent malady of our political life. In the opinion of many, this introduction of communal electorates has been the cause of all our present troubles. Communalism, like a canker, has been eating into the very vitals of our politics. No wonder there are many who plead to-day for its abolition altogether.

Equally unerring was his condemnation of the Press Act of 1910 to which even Gokhale had been a party. Sir Pherozshah felt very strongly that the Press Act was obnoxious and we have seen how the officials began to trade on the fact that non-officials had given it their support and from time to time had made it a claim for further drastic measures for interfering with the freedom of the Press.

Yet one more striking instance of his unerring judgment. He watched with keen interest the South African Indian struggle and Mr. Gandhi's brave and heroic efforts. He commended publicly Mr. Gandhi's action and in 1915 described him as a "hero in the cause of independence." Yet, he felt that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, to which Mr. Gokhale had been a party, was a grievous surrender. Sir Pherozshah maintained that there could be no justification for any part of the British Empire to deny to the other parts, equal rights of citizenship. Commending the views of Sir Pherozshah, his talented biographer Mr. Mody (now Sir Homi Mody) made the following observations which are as true to-day as they were at the time they were written :

Sir Pherozshah maintained that Indians could never give up the great and vital principle of Imperial citizenship. Time has brought about a striking vindication of Pherozshah's point of view, on which such sharp differences of opinion existed at the moment, and has shown that in this as in many other things, his judgment was unrivalled and his political instinct sure and unerring. The South African problem, in spite of all the twaddle about common sacrifices and brotherhood in arms to which we were treated while the German menace hung over the world, unfolds to-day the same old tale of injustice, arrogance and oppression, which have disgraced British Imperialism for a generation. Even the Smuts-Gandhi compromise seems to have gone by the board, and it is beginning to be realised that the Indian position would have "been much stronger at the present moment if the principle of equal citizenship had not been sacrificed to the urgent needs of the situation."

It is hardly possible to do justice to Sir Pherozshah's many-sided activities. In the Senate and in the Syndicate of the Bombay University, he took an active part and his views always received great consideration at the hands of distinguished educationists. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and the University too, in appreciation of his great services, conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Laws.

In the Bombay Legislative Council of which he was a member for many years, he did yeoman service to the cause of the ryots. He strenuously opposed the notorious Land Revenue Bill of 1901 and after a heroic effort made by him to adjourn the consideration of the Bill, "he and some of his followers, including Mr. Gokhale, left the Council meeting as a sort of demonstration, declaring that they would not, even by their presence, participate in the enactment of so harmful and so unpopular a measure"

In the Imperial Legislative Council, in the last years of Lord Elgin and the first

years of Lord Curzon, "his manly outspokenness of utterance and the tone of equality with the highest of the land that came naturally to him" came almost as a shock to the officials, so much so that Sir James Westland, the then Finance Minister, complained of the "new spirit" that Sir Pherozshah Mehta had introduced into the Council. It is very interesting to remember that it was for the introduction of this "new spirit" that the Bengal public, headed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, presented him with a public address.

I have reserved to the last an account of his magnificent career in the Bombay Corporation for nearly fifty years. There, his transcendental abilities justly won for him a position of unrivalled predominance. An Anglo-Indian paper did not in the least exaggerate when it wrote :

The Bombay Corporation is Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Sir Pherozshah Mehta is the Bombay Corporation.

No wonder Sir Pherozshah was hailed as the uncrowned king of Bombay! It may truly be said that he dedicated himself to the service of the City. He gave up High Court work so that he might be free to attend and take part in the full sittings of the Bombay Corporation held every Thursday afternoon. Every one knew that even a heavy fee could not induce him to accept any work on a Thursday. People used to say that, among other things, for the sake of the Bombay Corporation, he declined a seat on the Bench. He never made his civic career a stepping stone for preferment in life. He declined the fat job of a Standing Counsel for the Parsi Panchayat

Trust, because he thought it might come into clash with his work as member of the Bombay Corporation. For, he ever put the interests of the people and the City before self. It was he who exalted civic life in public estimation, it was he who set a high and rigorous standard of civic virtue, and one can make bold to say that he is an example of shining purity for all aspirants to distinction in the sphere of local self-government.

No man who came across Sir Pherozshah Mehta could have failed to be struck by

his personality. It was not merely towering but dominating; but it was a domination of "a great citizen, a great patriot and a great Indian". During his long and memorable public career, he often came into conflict with many men, Indians and Europeans. He would fight with the best, he bore no malice, he rarely if ever descended to personalities, and he retained warm personal friendships for many with whom he exchanged the shrewdest buffets. He was a staunch friend and a courteous yet dreaded opponent.

DEMOCRACY FOR ASIA

BY PROF. MAX LERNER

THERE are men in America and Britain who will have some second thoughts about Japan after the fighting is over. The late Professor Nicholas Spykman of Yale expressed their viewpoint more nakedly than most. He wrote that just as America's interests in Europe will lie in maintaining a strong Germany to balance a strong Russia, so America's interests in Asia will lie in maintaining a strong Japan to balance whatever Power emerges from the present war in the Far East.

One thing is clear. If the pattern of the future in the Far East is to be one of anarchy and war, Japanese imperial power will not stay beaten.

It will be able to play the Western nations off against each other. It will be able to plunge the world into a fratricidal war for the division of the rich resources, teeming populations, strategic sea and air lanes of the Far East.

But even a United Nations understanding will prove a hollow thing unless it embodies the will to help the Asiatic peoples along on their road to democracy. This includes Japan as it includes also China and India.

We must remember that political history of Asia in modern times has been a battlefield of two ruling ideas, both of them false.

The dominant idea at first was, "Asia for the Western Powers." The West went seeking new fields for its capital and products, new stuff for its machines, new areas for its religions.

Along with our Western machines Japan took over our imperial pattern under a new slogan of its own. It turned our slogan topsy-turvy and made it "Asia for the Asiatics."

It is a phoney slogan, hypocritical and treacherous in the mouths of a conquering,

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM MEHTA TO MR. G. A. NATESAN.

20 January 1945
Dear Mr. Natesan,

I was very glad to make your acquaintance at Madras. But I should have liked to have had a fuller opportunity of exchanging views on different subjects, if only.

As I had desired a good deal of your public spirited activity in many directions.

I must however be more of you when you come to Bombay. As I am sure you will for next Congress.

I think you may

let. Surely alone you can do longer than any mischief, and as for any thing else public men must be magnanimous.

I have several times read reviews of your 'Indian Review' & I know it has been spoken of highly.

I am sure it will be a pleasure to you to read it.

With kind regards
Believe me
Yours sincerely
Pherozshah M. Mehta

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM MEHTA
TO MR. G. A. NATESAN.

31 Dec '44
My dear Mr. Natesan,
Will you and
your friends do me the
favour of coming here
to take tea with me
tomorrow at 3 o'clock
in the afternoon
Very sincerely
Chervanah M. Mehta

rather than a liberating, nation. But to the peoples of the East it rang true for a time.

Every Easterner will testify, as Nehru does candidly in his "Glimpses of World History," how profound was the impact of the Russo-Japanese war on everyone in the East who thirsted for release from the arrogance of Westerners.

The great naval battle of Thushima on May 27, 1905, in which for the first time an Eastern people dealt a staggering blow to one of the great Western Powers, sent an electric shiver all through Asia.

Japan has exploited that ever since. Resentment of the East against the West has been Japan's greatest weapon of external propaganda, just as the Emperor cult has been the core of her internal fighting faith.

Japan has sought to pit the East against the West, even though she made her own alliance with German Fascism, and even though she has proved herself the deadliest exploiter of the East.

"Asia for the Westerners" failed long ago. "Asia for the Asiatics" has now also failed. Both of them were doomed, because both were bankrupt ideas from the start.

There remains only the slogan and programme of "Asia for Democracy"—Asia within the framework of a united, decent world.

In Japan itself this will mean allowing the Japanese people, after their political destinies into their own hands. They have waited for this chance through centuries of feudalism.

In Asia, as a whole, it will mean self-government for those who are ready for it, and a genuine United Nations trusteeship to prepare the rest for it.

Only thus will the Japanese people discover that they are neither gods nor beasts, but men among other men, and that what is human and common to all men cuts across colour and geography.

THE ANARCHY OF CIVILIZATION

By MR. T. JAGAN MOHAN RAO

THE most pathetic feature of civilization is that it has definitely tended to become regressive in all its aspects. The universal attainment of democracy has ever been the highest political objective. But it is having a decreased empire over the minds of men. Likewise for the permanent establishment of universal peace mankind has waged in human wars, but still the prospect of a peaceful panorama is ever reading. The financier or economist of any doctrinaire bent of mind is aware of the

existence of a world-market, and yet insurmountable obstacles have been attempted to vitiate what might otherwise have been a smooth and free course. Wars, in general, gave a cruel stand-still for all kinds of activities and in those interim periods lofty promises are shouted alongside bullets, but the unfortunate characteristic is that no successful policies are implemented, and, where they have been, they are, and always remain precious mockeries. The League of Nations is an outstanding

achievement, albeit, it has proved itself a monumental failure.

Reflections on the present war naturally lead to this sort of disillusionment. For one thing it is a sad comment on the progress of mankind for, peace attained, through war is as dangerous as war itself. And secondly, it is the greatest upheaval to human history. Its gravity lies not so much in answering when it ends as in predicting where it lands us. Though every prediction can at the most be a dim possibility, it still rests with us to picture the future in relation to the present. Ever since the war began, there have been, indeed, sure signs of the growing recognition of the necessity for a world order. Assuredly, the interdependence of states in their manifold business is vindicated more significantly than ever. Thus the Atlantic Charter had envisaged a Bill of Rights, a Charter of Four Freedoms and it has become a prolific inauguration for, in the current sidelights of the war we are seeing everything being spoken in terms of internationalism.

This, of course, is no startling discovery. But in such background there will inevitably be a change in the theory of State, and an aversion for those obnoxious and dangerous elements that have been hitherto traditionally clung to, and save by the abrogation of which no peaceful order on a world basis can be built up. And that way lies international security, or, its grim alternative, war. And in the exploration of the means for averting, once for all war consists the highest wisdom of any political philosophy.

In the ultimate analysis war can best be explained as the highest expression of

the sovereign state, *i.e.*, the independent nation state which is the supreme legal and political authority in its territorial boundaries and which pays homage to any external power or brooks its internal affairs any interference from outside. The essence of this classic doctrine of sovereignty is, in the main, centred round the physical exhibition of its force as seen in the wars between one nation and another. Nationalism, it may be noted, is prolific of diverse, and very often, diametrically opposite results. And so far as its evil side is presented it has been mostly destructive, though the nation state had been the gospel of the 19th century. A nationalism that arrogates to itself the sovereign right of self-determination is dangerous for, in all its external behaviour, it ends in the politics of power, of prestige, of injustice through selfishness and, therefore, grave danger. It has variously manifested itself as in the wild cry of 'lebensraum' or the expulsion of Jews from every hand, or the eternal thirst for colonial acquisition. And where in a world such Moloch-like gestures are not to be the commonly recurrent features, it means the disappearance of the concept of the so-called national sovereignty. Empires are the outward manifestation of this spirit of sovereignty and all empires, as a rule, have itching palms. There are too many exponents, in vague and confusing realism, on the possibility of holding the balance among nation states. A super state (*primus inter pares* as it is also called) is incarnated with all the perfections of statecraft but experience has grievously shown its hollowness. And if still the masterspirits of the

age only rewrite the old sybilline words in an ingenuously different manner, it should be remembered that, without the spirit in it, any magnificent edifice would at most be a lifeless organism for political dissection. A world Bill of Rights would remain a sacred parchment, not when one nation is not mindful of the consequences of betraying those Rights, but only when every state, by its co-ordinating influence, affects to their mutual observance and strengthening. A world Budget would be more than an organized gamble if the financial policies emanating from its implementation would plunge all but those that shaped them into economic backwardness.

The point at which the foregoing analysis arrives is that in any modern world organization the guiding principle should be equality of all members participating in its discussions. This entails a process of levelling up and levelling down, both in the political and economic states, of the member states, if the ultimate pronouncements are the result of their voluntary effort and willing co-operation. This is where democracy fails to withstand any real test. And this dogma of equality will be an absolute myth unless the desire for its attainment is strong as much in the favouring small state, as, and perhaps more, in the big state. And what does then ensue but a conscious and ungrudging self-abrogation of those sovereign rights that are the products of the machine-gun and the vilest diplomacy? The cry of our age is for a change of heart and not for a newer theory of administrative machinery. What is there to prevent the victors in a

war to be ruthless masters of the vanquished in differently newer ways except if they ardently believe that freedom suppressed abroad takes away the substance of their own freedom?

The same is true of the economic problem. The world cannot endure to be half civilized and half barbarous, half fed and half clothed. It is a fundamental economic truism that full employment in one country cannot long be maintained by continually depleting the resources of another country. The growingly prosperous country in no time realizes the negative effect of ceaseless exploitation in the absence of markets. World prosperity is oftener at stake when it stands on a crumbling structure of economic decadence than when the latter is reconstructed from the foundations. Prosperity and depression are alike catching. This is the evidence of history and if history is not to repeat itself, it is high time to find some solution, not in obstructionist tactics and political masquerades but in terms of a world economy. This, in its turn, involves the old dogma of equality. A people assured of freedom from want from outside but finds itself in bonds of political subjection finds that it is only a restricted freedom half-hearted and bought in an expensive and hazardous market. Truly has Pearl Buck observed that the Four Freedoms sound hollow without that highest freedom—Liberty. And whatever capitalism and imperialism are prompted to do by way of liberation is only a saving step.

The thesis evolved from the above analysis is borne out by inescapable facts. It is a change of outlook towards a better

wisdom and reason, a reversion from the classicism of political and economic philosophy, as much as a change of mentality towards magnanimity. There is no penumbra of virtue around the glory of war. Success in war, as H. G. Wells said, is the victory of the dying over the

dead. And to understand this is to plan for the avoidance of war. The barbarism of modern warfare is no less obnoxious than the Mongol tyranny and it is inexplicable to speak of a 20th century civilization as different from a medieval anarchy.

Future of Indian Commerce and Trade

By MR. MAHESH CHAND

University of Allahabad

FOR the last six years the Indian commerce and trade has been continuously increasing. Though the total foreign trade increased upto 1941-42 and has thereafter declined, the excess of exports over imports has continued to increase. It was about Rs. 17 crores in 1938-39 and over Rs. 91 crores in 1943-44.

It would be a praiseworthy feature. But the term 'commerce and trade' does not merely include foreign trade. It also refers to the internal trade. Situated as India is, it is no doubt true that the internal trade is affected by the conditions of foreign trade. India is an agricultural country. Her export trade also principally consists of raw products and the course of her exports is an index of the situation in the internal agricultural marketing and of the condition of the agriculturists. Our net income from industries was estimated at Rs. 374 crores and our imports, which are mostly of manufactured goods, amounted to about Rs. 152 crores before the war. Clearly the imports play a dominant role even in regard to our industrial activities.

A study of exports and imports of India would give an indication of the internal agricultural and industrial conditions also. In the following paragraphs attention will therefore be confined to the foreign trade.

To take up the exports first, in 1938-39 out of our total exports of Rs. 163 crores, the value of manufactured exports was only about Rs. 40 crores. In other words, three-fourth of the export was of raw materials. The principal items of these exports are tea, food crops, fruits and vegetables, jute, cotton, wool, oilseeds, oilcakes, hides and skins, gums, resin and lac, and tobacco. India supplies two-fifth of the world's tea. Eighty to ninety per cent. of it has gone to the United Kingdom and the rest to Canada, U.S.A., Ceylon, Iran, Sudan and Australia. In a country where the milk-habit prevails, tea can only be exported unless it may be used to induce people to give up liquor-drinking, as was done in the Salem district of Madras. Food-crops and fruits and vegetables really should not be allowed to be exported so long as there is food shortage in this

country and also malnutrition. The reason why food-crops find an outlet is that the cultivator has to part with it compulsorily to meet his commitments (e.g., rent, debt, etc.) The middlemen who purchase them in the first instance are not ill-fed and sell them on to the exporters to make a profit. The State alone can put an end to the atrocities of the blood-suckers infesting the cultivators.

Peace-time demand for jute has been decreasing and in view of the food shortage it would be preferable to replace jute by food-crops. In the alternative, the attempt should be made to increase jute manufacture. War-time experience has shown that there has been sufficient excess capacity in the jute mills and it should be possible to use the extra raw jute. Raw cotton exports were mostly in short-staple cotton which were not being used internally. It was mostly taken up by Japan. Fortunately, during the World War II, most of the area under short-staple cotton has been diverted to other crops. The export of cotton to the European countries will be difficult to maintain after the War in view of powerful competition from American and Egyptian cotton. As regards raw wool, effort should be made to encourage the growth of wool manufacture. Most cotton and wool can be absorbed if the All-India Handloom Board formed by the Government of India pays proper attention to the development and marketing of cotton and wool products.

Oilseeds have been exported because no oil-crushing industry has been developed. The world tendency shows that if the

industry is not developed, it may not be possible to sell them in the world market, nor to have the oilcakes for use as cattle-food and manure in the fields. Lac and resin point to the overdue necessity for the establishment of the shellac industry. In fact, industrial development of the country would enable India to use most of the raw materials which had to be exported in the past.

Due to the present war, our export trade was lost to the extent of Rs. 29 crores on account of the Nazi occupation of European countries, of Rs. 19 crores on account of Jap hostilities and of Rs. 24 crores due to the fall of Burma, French Indo-China, the East Indies and other islands in the Pacific. Thus export trade worth Rs. 72 crores out of pre-war exports of Rs. 163 crores has been lost. In other words, half of the pre-war exports are gone. Yet the value of exports had increased to Rs. 199 crores during 1943-44 and is estimated to be about 220 crores during 1944-45. But the real measure is not the value but the quantity of exports: this has certainly gone down considerably. The exports to U.S.A., Australia, Mid-Eastern countries and South Africa have increased by about Rs. 40 crores but there have not been established permanent market relations due to the existence of an intervening agency, the U.K.C.C., which has purchased from India and sold to these countries. It has been suggested that the present publicity arrangements specially the Indian Information should be used by the Government to publicise Indian goods abroad. The Government of India also proposes to appoint some more trade commissioners in

the foreign markets to help expansion of foreign trade. But if these trade commissioners' reports are not a better stuff and are as late as they have been in the past, they shall little serve our commercial interests.

In any case, it is clear that in future the exports from India will comprise more of manufactured goods, specially so far as the Mid-Eastern countries like Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Palestine are concerned. There will be less of raw materials in the exports because, whatever the attitude of the Government, India is going to emerge from the present war as a more industrialised country. The political events are also likely to favour the industrial developments in this country. Of course, the worn-out machinery and stores in our industries and the effort by the foreign countries—specially by the United Kingdom—to dump consumers' goods into this country shall retard our progress if we decide to develop large-scale production. But if the small scale and cottage industries are to have their proper place in our production plan, and if we are more inclined to use swadeshi

goods, development of industries is assured. There must at least—and the likelihood is that there will—be developed the key industries like power production, vehicles, aluminium, heavy chemicals and other heavy industries.

It would be possible to discuss the industrial policy declared by the Central Government at this stage, but it shall not be very relevant. Hence I must pass on to assess the effect of the situation on the form of our import trade. In the year 1938-39, we imported goods, mostly manufactured consumers' goods, worth Rs. 152 crores. Due to the war, the value went down to Rs. 110 crores in 1942-43. Since then it is going up again. Due to the government effort to encourage import of consumers' goods, it may be about Rs. 200 crores during 1944-45. But after some years, capital goods are sure to be a growing feature of our imports.

To sum up, more of manufactured goods in exports, more of capital goods in imports and more industrial activity in the country shall be the features of our future commerce and trade.

CHINA'S RECORD OF RESISTANCE

BY MR. S. H. SHEN,

Chinese Commissioner in India.

AMONG the Allied nations, China was the first to face the menace of the Axis. She was caught unprepared by the sudden and treacherous attack of Japan in July, 1937; yet, aware of the cause of justice and righteousness she had to uphold, she unflinchingly stood up against the

challenge. Untold sacrifices and unprecedented sufferings have been experienced and borne with exemplary forbearance.

Despite the economic strain that the enemy's unrelenting blockade has forced on us, despite the drain on our resources and man-power, and despite the heavy toll exacted

of our lives and property, we are carrying on with revitalized energy and unshakable determination. The trials and tribulations which our country and our people have undergone have only steeled our will and fortified our determining to fight to the end until the Japs are driven back from China and their military machine is completely crushed.

The world should not forget that this fortitude on the part of China to fight the Japanese has contributed in no small measure to the speedy end of the war in the West as well as to the early final victory of the Allied nations in the global war. During these eight years of hard fighting, no less than two million men of the Japanese army had been either killed or wounded on the China fronts, while another two millions are being stranded and tied down in China.

We entered the war as a champion of justice and righteousness which is the antithesis of oppression and lawlessness as practised by bellicose Japan. We were the first to step into this global war and we will stay through to the end.

CAIRO CONFERENCE DECLARATION

In bringing the last phase of the world conflict to a close, China will support whole-heartedly the Declaration of the

Cairo Conference and the universal demands of the United Nations for the unconditional surrender of Japan. It must be unconditional surrender of the type imposed on Nazi Germany that will make this Far Eastern aggressor alike impotent for generations to come to wage offensive warfare.

There are tremendous problems lying before China, when peace is won. Fortunately during these eight years of war, China has spared no effort in her political and economic reconstruction. A genuine constitutional government is on its way of formation, the realization of which will be completed when the People's Congress will be called in November next. Extensive programmes are being devised for post-war reconstruction and the resuscitation of the country.

CHINA'S ROLE IN POST-WAR WORLD

A stabilized and progressive China will conduce to the equilibrium and the future peace of the Eastern hemisphere and of the world. China has always lived in amity and harmony with her neighbours, near and afar. So will she continue to foster a spirit of mutual respect and understanding among nations and to promote a policy of good neighbourly relations.

THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

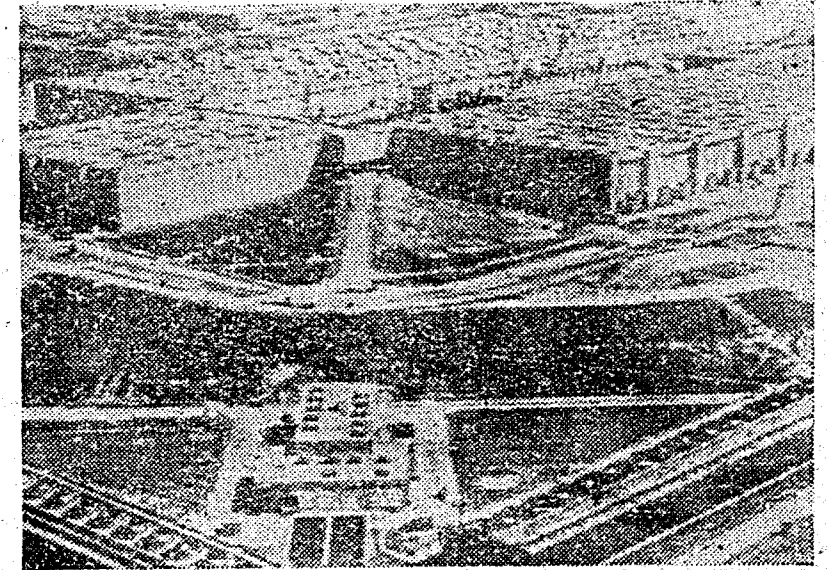
By MR. G. N. SARMA, M.A.

HISTORY is the record of man's life, of his efforts to live and to live well. No interpretation of History can be satisfactory which is not adequate to the richness and variety of human life. There can be as many interpretations of History as man's efforts and the aspects under which they can be grouped. A broad classification of the various interpretations of History is that into Deterministic and Non-deterministic. Deterministic theories of History regard man's efforts as governed by forces so compelling that he cannot but act in a particular manner. Non-deterministic theories emphasize man's character as a free agent whose responsibility for action rests with himself. Among the former may be mentioned the theological interpretation, the mechanistic or more specifically the geographic interpretation, the biological and racial interpretation, the materialistic and economic interpretation.

History, theologically interpreted, is a transcendental drama. "The sufferings of the present moment could not be compared to the glory which was to come." The thorough-going geographer is only incidentally concerned with man. History is a vast tropism. The biologist treats man as being inexorably governed by the law of Evolution. The destinies of nations and civilizations are governed by racial qualities. History reveals the conflict of races. It is a struggle for survival and one race succeeds another in claiming to be the supreme arbiter of the world. The struggle for survival leads to the extinction of certain species. Survival after the

struggle is a sure indication of fitness for the fulfilment of the Historic mission of the race. According to the racial theorist, racial questions overshadow all other problems of History and hold the key to them. Chamberlain maintained the thesis that "The awakening of the Teutonic peoples to the consciousness of their all important vocation and culture forms the turning point (in the History of Europe)." The materialistic interpretation may be more specifically called the economic interpretation of History and is largely the contribution of Karl Marx. It may be summarized in Engel's statement as "that view of the course of History which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into classes against one another".

Though none of these theories is wholly true, most of them contain elements of truth. The vision of faith can detect the working of Providence in the processes of History. The geographical interpretation depersonalises History but is of service as emphasizing the influence of nature and environment on man. "Hereafter History will be seen to walk on the earth, breathe the air and expand or diminish with the process of the sun". The biological interpretation is inadequate, as according to it, man has, in common with the rest of the animate kingdom, certain instincts and impulses. He cannot get over their dominant sway. Such a view ignores the essential characteristic of man as a being



BIRTH PLACE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB: A bird's eye view of the gigantic plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where the atomic bomb parts are manufactured



BRAINS BEHIND THE BOMB: Dr. Niels Bohr, Danish Nobel prize winner, and Dr. Enrico Fermi of Columbia University, two of the foremost nuclear physicists



COLONEL PAUL TIBBET and CAPT. ROBERT A. LEWIS pilot and co-pilot, who dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima

endowed with will. Purity of race is a dangerous myth. There is not one but a multitude of chosen races, each claiming its own peculiar, real or imaginary excellences. The value of the materialistic interpretation of History is very properly assessed by Benedetto Croce; "Historical materialism, if it is to express something critically acceptable, can be neither a new *a priori* notion of the philosophy of History, nor a new method of historical thought; it must be simply a canon of historical interpretation. This canon recommends that attention be directed to the so-called economic basis of society, in order that the forms and mutations of the latter may be better understood." "The historian," says A. D. Lindsay, "however grateful he may be for the light which economic interpretation has given, is up in arms against a theory which denies the individuality and uniqueness of history and reduces it to an automatic repetition of abstract formulae."

No single theory can express the entire significance of the story of man. His various motives and manifold ideals render any single interpretation narrow and inadequate. A true and adequate theory of History must, therefore, combine the elements of truth in the partial interpretations. It must transcend the limitations of the mechanistic and the deterministic views for the motives that lie behind man's effort and the perpetual striving after his ideals refuse to be bound by external limitations. The origin of man may be of the earth, and earthy, but his destiny is lofty and splendid. It is the vision of his destiny which animates him and lifts him

above the animal kingdom. "Social History", says Professor Unwin, "must be concerned with life, truth and beauty—with the energising souls of men in community; and these are ends in themselves." History must reveal the ideal driving forces of the past and the increasing purpose which runs through the ages.

Such a view demands consideration of the method of writing History. The first task of a historian is a critical examination of documentary sources of information. The next is to construct a narrative of what it was that actually happened, of the facts derived from historical evidence. He adheres, in the construction of narratives to the sequence of events in time. His concern is not only with what it was that actually happened but also with when it actually came about.

What actually happened can, however, never be told. The inadequacy of historical material, its liability to be partial and to be exaggerated, always confront to the historian. "Common report and outward seeming", as Lord Acton says, "are bad copies of the reality." Even if the material be abundant and unimpeachable, it is impossible to tell what it was that actually happened. "Beyond the question of certainty is the question of detachment. . . . Our most sacred and disinterested convictions ought to take shape in the tranquil regions of the air, above the tumult and tempest of active life". The narration of facts involves their assessment. They are transformed from hard objective realities by being related to the mental background of the historian. Their mere recognition

involves a linking-up with certain concepts which form part of his very being. A relation between facts springs up and History acquires the character of a synthesis.

An adequate interpretation of History considers the story of man from a synthetic point of view. Facts in appearance fortuitous and chaotic fall into an ordered harmony. They are not to be valued merely as facts, and linked up with one another as beads on a string. A whole view alone can reveal their significance. It alone can subdue the angularities of details by fitting them into the frame-work of truth. A mere narration of events will be a dust storm of facts, unintelligible and meaningless. Truth in History is not the recording of facts and events in the spirit of a coroner. To the question, what is to be the standard of truth for the historian, the analogy of the artist, as Viscount Haldane points out, may prove not without significance for an answer. No mere narration of details will give the whole that at once dominates these details and yet does not exist apart from them. The historian must resemble the portrait painter rather than the photographer. " an event", says Dean Inge "is a fact which has its place in a system

and has its meaning and importance within that system". The filing of events into the scheme of History is similar to the blending of particulars into the universal. The particular has in it the elements of the universal. The facts of History point out to something beyond themselves. Otherwise no relation can arise between them. History would be a chaos, not a cosmos. The unity of thought is reflected in the unity of historical events.

A synthetic view of history involves a conception of time as a whole. A fact in itself is without significance; so is a date in history. It is a fixing point in an endless stream, cœval with the world and eternal. The chronicler regards time as a temporal succession. He endeavours to be exact in dates as he endeavours to be true in the narration of facts and events. His earnestness is futile—his aspiration false in its very nature. It is based on a false conception of truth and of time. The historian, if he should be true to his task, should be a philosopher—a spectator of all time and all existence. He must possess spiritual insight into the nature of man and must be able to comprehend in one sweep of vision the manifold achievements of his will.

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN

SEPTEMBER 18, 1931—AUGUST 14, 1945

It was in Manchuria, in the autumn of 1931, that the spirit of Japanese aggressive imperialism first demonstrated itself in a most ruthless manner. The notorious

Kwantung Army, the spearhead of Japanese expansionism on the continent, from its base in the Liaotung Peninsula, marched northward and proceeded to bring the whole

of Manchuria under the direct rule of Japan. Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, the Military Governor of the Province and virtual Dictator, was killed in a railway "accident" at Moukden, believed to have been instigated by the notorious Doihara gang of the Kwantung Army. Tokyo turned a deaf ear to the protests of the civilized world, and got busy consolidating these easy conquests at the expense of the Chinese Republic. It was a crime not against China alone, but against the world as a whole.

PEARL HARBOUR

At dawn on December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour and Japan's grand adventure for world domination was on the way. The initial surprise achieved by the treacherous attack helped the Japanese to win a series of spectacular success. By March 9, 1942, Malaya, Java, the Philippines, Sumatra, Borneo, Burma, the Andamans and a number of important islands in the Pacific had been occupied. The Japanese had also penetrated to New Guinea and the Aleutians. Japanese supremacy in the Pacific was complete; Nippon had risen to the height of her power.

The second stage of the Pacific War, generally referred to as the "holding war", found the Japanese consolidating their positions. In Australia they saw a potential base of great strategical importance but their efforts to obtain possession of at least the northern portion of Australia failed completely. In the Battle of the Coral Sea (May 4-8, 1942), the Japanese Navy was caught in the Coral Sea while she was sailing to attack the north-eastern portion of Australia and was severely mauled. In the Midway Sea Battle (June 3-6, 1942) the

Japanese Navy, on its way to attack Pearl Harbour, suffered yet another shattering defeat. In these battles the Allies not only sank a number of Japanese warships but succeeded in depriving the enemy of air and sea supremacy in the Pacific.

ROAD BACK

In 1943, the Allies started on their long road back to Tokyo. It was a slow moving affair; but under the circumstances, the Allies had no option but to adopt "island hopping" tactics. American Marines landed on Guadalcanal and Tulagi Island in the Solomons, which was the first landing made on ground, captured earlier by the enemy. In March, the Japanese Navy sustained yet another shattering defeat in the Battle of the Bismarck Sea.

By 1944, the Allied counter-offensive was well under way and the Japanese were being steadily pushed back. On June 15, the Americans landed on Saipan in the Marianas and the same day a fleet of "Superfortress" giant bombers, especially constructed to carry the air war to Japan, attacked Tokyo. On July 21, the Allies landed on Guam followed by another landing on Tinian Island. In October, U.S. forces returned to the Philippines when under Gen. MacArthur they landed on Leyte Island. The remnants of the Jap Navy suffered a great defeat off the Philippines when it tried to interfere with Allied landing operations; and retired into oblivion. With Saipan and Guam in Allied hands the frequency of air attacks also increased.

THE DELUGE

The year 1945 saw the war against Japanese aggression mount to a crescendo.

On January 9, the Americans landed on Luzon. On February 4, the Allies entered Manila. On February 16, an American Task Force sailed close to the Japanese mainland and hurled a large number of carrier-borne aircraft against Tokyo. Three days later American forces landed on Iwojima, an island 750 miles from Kyushu. By March 16, Iwojima was in American hands. On April 1, the Americans landed on Okinawa, 325 miles from the Japanese mainland. A month later Australian forces landed on Tarakan Island off the north-east coast of Borneo. On June 11, another force of Australians landed on Labuan Island off the north-west coast of Borneo, cutting off Japan's sea lanes to the southern regions. On June 21, Japanese resistance on Okinawa collapsed. By June 28, Luzon Island was completely liberated and further landings had been made on Borneo. The effect of air bombing of Japan was being felt in the waning fighting strength of the Japanese. Lack of air power made it impossible for the Japanese to protect their military and industrial centres which began to crumble. The Allies had won air and sea mastery over and around Japan. On July 5, the Philippines campaign had ended. On July 19, a force of 2,000 carrier-borne aircraft (the biggest force ever used) attacked Tokyo. On July 14, American naval units sailed close to Japanese shores to batter military and industrial targets without interference from the Jap Navy. This was followed by a shelling of coastal targets near Tokyo by a combined Anglo-American Fleet. August saw Japan reeling under the most shattering air

bombardment in history. On August 4, it was announced that Gen. MacArthur would lead the invasion forces against Japan. Two days later the first 'atomic bomb' fell on Hiroshima. On July 9, the Red Army crossed the Soviet-Japanese border in Manchuria at several points while Soviet bombers were attacking Manchuria and Korea. The same day a second 'atomic bomb' hit Nagasaki. On August 13, between 1,200 and 1,500 bombers attacked Tokyo. By August 14, the Red Army had dashed 200 miles south across Manchuria and had broken into China. Russian troops also invaded Korea and the island of Karafuto.

CHINA AND BURMA

On July 7, 1937, Japanese forces in North China perpetrated what they called, "the Marco Polo bridge incident" and launched a fresh, large-scale aggression. It became clear that the North China "incident" was a mere pretext and that the Japanese militarists were determined to execute their old policy and aim of conquest and expansion on the Chinese sub-continent. Despite all Chinese efforts and their heavy sacrifices, the Japanese in the course of the next few years overran large and important areas of the country and also established themselves at strategic points, along almost the entire coastline. The seat of the Chinese Government, at first shifted from Nanking to Hankow, was later moved further west to Chungking on the Yangtze.

The spring of 1945 saw the tide turning definitely against Japan. With the complete defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany on May 7, and more particularly

after the series of staggering reverses suffered by the Japanese in Burma, the Philippines, Saipan, Iwojima, Okinawa and in the whole of Western Pacific generally, the outlook for China grew brighter and brighter and continued to be so till the Dawn of Complete Victory for China and her Allies, and crushing defeat for Japan.

The enemy overran Burma by the middle of May, 1942, Rangoon, Mandalay and Myitkyina fell one after the other. The Burma Army was withdrawn to India just on the eve of the monsoon.

Two years later (May, 1944), it was at Kohima that the tide of the war which threatened India was turned. The Japanese

met their "Stalingrad" at Imphal. The famous 14th Army, the defenders of Eastern Assam, defeated the Japanese invasion and in the course of barely a year rolled back the enemy into Burma. Myitkyina, Akyab, Meiktila, Mandalay and Rangoon were recovered and the Japanese pushed back into the Shan Hills. In the last great battle of the Burma campaign, the battle of the Sittang break-out, the Japanese lost over 11,500 in killed and prisoner. The Allied air force and the British East Indies Fleet together with the Royal Indian Navy all played a conspicuous part in the liberation of Burma.

TEMPERAMENT AND CAREER

BY MR. V. K. VARADACHARI

WE often hear people saying that they haven't got the aptitude or the temperament for a particular job or profession. "I shall never amount to anything as a lawyer or a doctor because I haven't got the aptitude or the proper temperament." This is an argument that is most frequently employed by persons who have failed to achieve success in their endeavours or are sceptical about their future. But this is neither a true nor a complete explanation.

It is no doubt conceded that there are infinite tendencies to be satisfied in every individual and the stifling of any one of these arrests his growth to that extent and makes him weak. In the early years of a child we find the child developing strong likes and dislikes for various objects. But a careful and a deep analysis would reveal

that they are not deep-rooted. Psychological researches have shown that human beings differ in "general ability." They have not proved to what extent these differences are caused by inherited nature, how much they are inborn. We do not deny that some people possess by nature special abilities and disabilities that determine their career in life. We have the example of the first class geniuses. The great musician composing at his 5th year, the great painter painting while tending his sheep, are all of an exceptional kind. They are unusual persons.

But, for ordinary average human beings, out of the infinite tendencies exhibited, the urge to show our attempts at its best in any field of activity should be most strongly developed.

As the human personality is highly gullible in the early stages of its evolution,

a long trained and highly regulated mixture of education enables the individual to take to any calling or activity in life with natural ease and affinity and eventually leaves a permanent impress on the mind of the individual that even the mere contemplation of change to any other walk is bitter for him. Hence likes and dislikes are more the outcome of life and environment than the one that shapes and moulds human personality. Why else do we condemn instinct and impulse so vehemently and with such consistency?

"If education is not the mere collection of facts but the concentration of mind," should not a man who has had the

benefits of a sound educational system be capable of adapting himself to the circumstances and try to make the best out of a bad job. Should he not strive to spring up to the top, however lowly he might be placed?

Hence, a sound educational system should be one that in a general way harmonises between the intellectual, the moral and the practical parts of human nature. The human will should be made capable of obeying the joint impulses of these directing forces. In its cultivation does his success depend, and not on that vague and undefinable thing, called temperament which is nothing more than an insubstantial bogie.

THE ATOMIC BOMB

THE appalling damage wrought by the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6 marks a new era in the history of war. This most destructive explosive yet discovered by man has, it is said, more than 200 times the blast power of the British 22,000 pounder. It has swept the Allies on to victory against the Japanese faster than could have been hoped and it has reduced Japan to nothingness. In fact, the explosion on Hiroshima has destroyed a whole world of ideas and altogether revolutionised the strategy of war. Tanks and dreadnoughts and the V series of horrors have become obsolete in the light of this latest discovery in the armoury of war. The unleashing of this fearful instrument of destruction so potent with deadly ill to civilization has

caused more dismay than satisfaction among thinking minds.

WHERE HIROSHIMA HAD ONCE BEEN

The devastating effect of the bomb was such that it literally "seared to death all living things, human and animal" within a radius of nearly 9 square miles. "A column of smoke rising $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles into the air, marked the spot where Hiroshima had been", said an observer in the Super-Fortress that dropped the bomb.

After the missile had been released, I sighted and stood back for the shock. When it came, the men aboard with me gasped 'My God,' and what had been Hiroshima was a mountain of smoke like a giant mushroom.

A thousand feet above the ground was a great mass of dust, boiling, swirling, and extending over most of the city.

A Tokyo radio broadcast picked up in New York said that

the dead and injured were burned beyond recognition, and that the authorities were unable to get any definite check on civilian casualties. The city was stated to be a "disastrous ruin."

The effect was widespread. Those outdoors were burned to death and those indoors were killed by indescribable pressure and heat. With houses and buildings smashed, including emergency medical facilities the medical authorities have their hands full.

Such is the awful effect of the new weapon, it was underscored in a declaration by the Navy department that the Japanese "must now take their choice: Mass suicide or surrender."

SCIENTISTS AT WORK

It would appear that German scientists had almost succeeded in their researches when the collapse of the Wehrmacht came. "By God's grace Germany did not succeed first", said Mr. Churchill. "If she had, none of us in Britain would be here", commented a representative Minister of Aircraft production. Before 1939, said President Truman,

it was the accepted belief of scientists that it was theoretically possible to release atomic energy but no one knew any practical method of doing it. By 1942, however, we knew the Germans were working feverishly to find a way to add atomic energy to other engines of war with which they hoped to enslave the world. But they failed. We may be grateful to Providence that the Germans got V-one's and V-two's late and in limited quantities and even more grateful that they did not get atomic bombs at all.

Anyway as Mr. Winston Churchill said, the atomic bomb "constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of human genius of which there is record". The whole world is discussing the startling possibilities of this discovery. The tremendous implications of this new development are hard to grasp for laymen but there is no doubt as to the possibilities of the application of this new source of energy in the sphere of industry.

THE MORALITY OF IT

But the wiser among men are more concerned with the perils involved in the discovery of this terrific weapon. Is America justified at all in using the bomb against the Japanese? The Hague Regulations forbid the employment of arms, projectiles, and material calculated to cause "unnecessary suffering". On that score the German flame throwers were condemned by British moralists, and the Archbishop of Canterbury urged the British Premier not to use the "same infamous weapon." The Allies are setting a bad example in resorting to this objectionable method of indiscriminate bombing whereby civilians no less than military objectives come under fire. Prof. Gilbert Murray is naturally alarmed at the problem involved in keeping the secret of the atomic bomb from nations with aggressive tendencies. "The ultimate consequence of monkeying with the bomb", writes George Bernard Shaw, "may well be the explosion of the world." A Vatican spokesman said the news created a "painful impression" in the Holy See, while the Dean of St. Albans went so far as to cancel arrangements for a civic service of thanksgiving at the Abbey as a protest against the use of the Atomic Bomb. Making a statement later, he said:

I do not hold a service of thanksgiving in St. Albans because I cannot honestly give thanks to God for an event brought about by the wrong use of force, by an act of wholesale, indiscriminate massacre, which is different in kind from all acts of open warfare hitherto, however brutal and hideous.

Hanson Baldwin, an American military commentator, declared in the *New York Times* that America may have "to reap

the whirlwind" sown by the atomic bomb. He added:

Because our bombing has been more effective and, therefore, more devastating the name of America has become synonymous with destruction.

Now, we have been the first to introduce this new weapon of unpredictable effects which may bring us a quick victory, but will sow the seeds of hate more widely than ever.

Atomic energy may well lead to a bright new world in which man shares common brotherhood, or we may, beneath rockets and bombs, descend to a world of troglodytes.

Mr. Churchill, of course, defends the use of the bomb; but the New Prime Minister fully realizes the perils of this discovery. In reply to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Attlee pointed out

that unless the forces of destruction now let loose on the world were brought under control, it was vain to plan for the future. The atomic bomb must be controlled in the interests of all peoples, and not exploited in the interests of only one people.

For to keep a scientific discovery of this magnitude secret for long is neither possible nor desirable and the only way of security in so organising society as not to give occasion for the wrong use of this tremendous source of power.

THE EFFECT OF THE BOMBING

As we go to press, gruesome details of the havoc wrought by the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki have come to light, which make painful, nay, blood-curdling reading. We are told that the two 500-pound atom bombs that flattened the once thriving cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed or injured nearly 200,000 Japanese. Bomb number one dropped on Hiroshima naval base either blew up or destroyed by fire practically all houses within a nine-mile radius, caused intense heat wave ripples and "black rain."

These are the outstanding points made by the Japanese News Agency giving the first details of effects of these missiles.

60,000 died at Hiroshima while 100,000 were injured, over 200,000 rendered homeless. At Nagasaki over 10,000 were killed, 20,000 injured and 90,000 made homeless.

The agency said that these figures were still incomplete as many people were dying daily from burns and many bodies had not yet been recovered from the ruins.

Many of those who received burns cannot survive because of the uncanny effect the bomb produces on the human body. Even those who received minor burns looked quite healthy at first only to weaken after a few days for some unknown reason and many have since died.

BRITISH ADVISORY COMMITTEE

No wonder that British reaction to this new horror has been intense and widespread. The new government has promptly responded to the wishes of the people and set up an Advisory Committee to deal with questions involved in the discovery of atomic energy. The Chairman is Sir John Anderson, former Chancellor of the Exchequer and himself a scientist, who has been in charge of Britain's atomic bomb research. Other members—military, political, and scientific—are:

Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office;

Field Marshal Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff;

Sir Alan Barlow, Second Secretary to the Treasury;

Sir Edward Appleton, Director of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research;

Sir Henry Dale, President of the Royal Society;

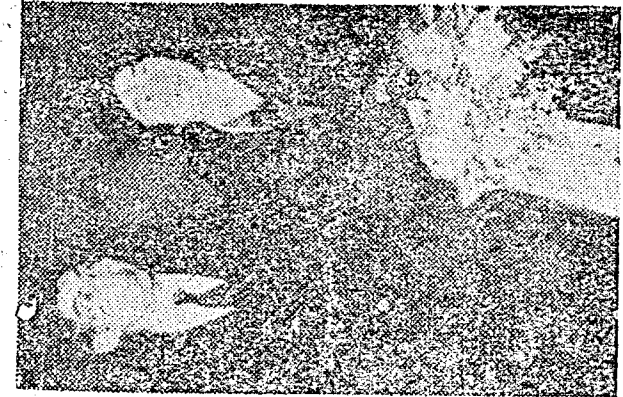
Prof. P. S. Blackett

Sir James Chadwick, and

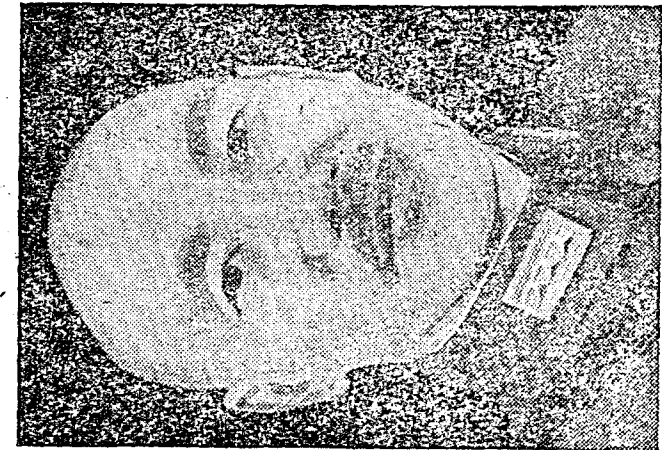
Sir George Thompson.

Announcing this in the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister declared that it is

the intention of the British Government to devote all their efforts to making the new discovery serve the purpose of world peace and co-operate with others to that end.



PRINCE CHICHIBU, pre-British brother of Hirohito, with his consort

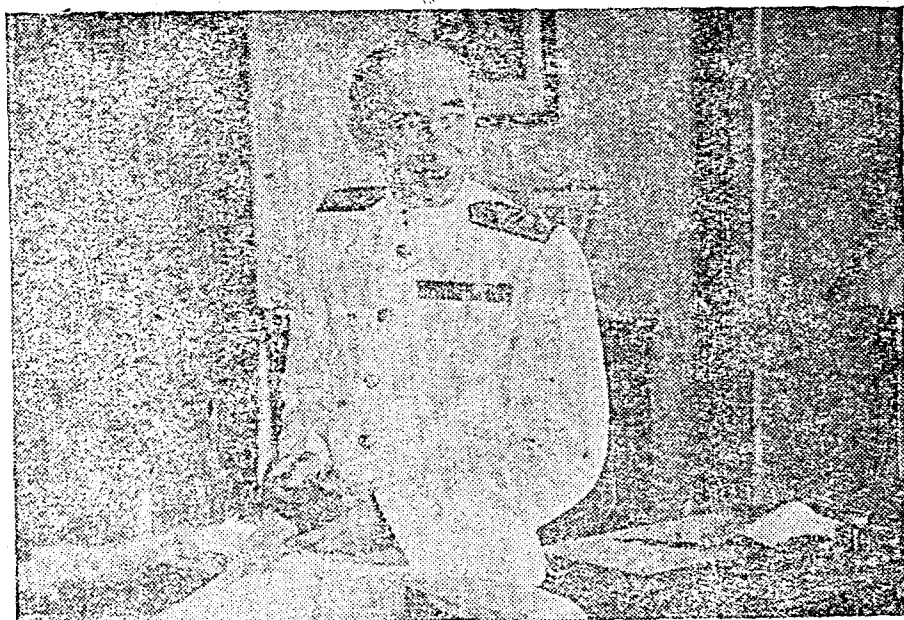


Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK



EMPEROR HIROHITO
The Mikado.

THE JAPANESE SURRENDER



ADMIRAL ROWLINGS



MOUNTBATTEN and MACARTHUR

WITH the collapse of Germany and the switching over of the Allied offensive to the Far East and the Pacific, the fate of the Japanese was doomed. But Japan persisted and tried to hold on in the teeth of a position, the hopelessness of which was becoming evident, hour by hour. Meanwhile, the atomic bomb and the Russian advance on Manchuria settled the issue for the Japanese. Exactly three weeks after the Potsdam ultimatum, "Surrender or be destroyed" Japan admitted defeat and sued for peace on the basis of the demand for complete surrender. In a midnight broadcast on August 14, the British Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee and President Harry Truman made this welcome announcement simultaneously from London and Washington. Allied armed forces were immediately ordered to suspend offensive action, the Mikado issued a similar "cease-fire" order and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Pacific, was appointed Allied Commander to accept the surrender.

MR. ATTLEE'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Announcing Japan's surrender, Mr. Attlee gave the text of Japan's reply to the Allied terms. It reads:

With reference to the announcement of August 10 regarding the acceptance of the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration and the reply of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, sent by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. James F. Byrnes on August 11, the Japanese Government has the honour to reply to the Governments of the four Powers as follows:—

- (1) His Majesty the Emperor has issued an Imperial rescript regarding Japan's acceptance of the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration.
- (2) The Emperor is prepared to authorise and ensure signature by his Government and Imperial Headquarters of the necessary terms for carrying out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration.
- (3) His Majesty is also prepared to issue this communication to all Military, Naval, and Air authorities to issue to all Forces under their control wherever located, to cease active resistance and to surrender arms.

THE KING'S MESSAGE

H.M. the King, in his speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament on the same day, said at the outset that

the surrender of Japan has brought to an end the six years of warfare which caused untold misery to the world.

My armed Forces, from every part of the Commonwealth and Empire, have fought with steady courage and endurance.

To them, as well as to all others who bore their share in bringing about this great victory, and to all our Allies, our gratitude is due.

It is the firm purpose of my Government in closest co-operation with the Governments of my Dominions and in concert with all peace-loving peoples to attain a world of freedom, peace, and social justice so that the sacrifices of the war will not have been in vain.

THE MIKADO'S STATEMENT

The Japanese news agency reported that the Emperor was graciously pleased personally to read the imperial rescript accepting the Potsdam declaration. The Emperor's decision was arrived at after consultation with the Ministers and war lords. We are told:

His Majesty listened silently as his Ministers and military and naval chiefs offered their views. After they had spoken, His Majesty was graciously pleased to take the final decision to accept the terms of the Potsdam declaration, since he thought that the Allied reply recognised his authority as sovereign ruler, although such a course involved much that would be hard for his imperial ancestors and the nation to endure.

The agency concluded:

All those present were profoundly impressed by the gracious concern of His Majesty for his subjects. They silently bowed obedience and wept.

The Mikado, in his statement to his "good and loyal subjects", said:

But now, the war has lasted nearly four years. Despite the best that has been done by everyone—the gallant fighting of military and naval Forces, the diligence and assiduity of our servants of State, and the devoted service of our 100,000,000 people—the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interests.

Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in the ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilisation.

Such being the case, how are we to save the millions of our subjects to ourselves to alone

before the hallowed spirits of our imperial ancestors?

This is the reason why we have ordered the acceptance of the provisions of the joint declaration of the Powers.

Never had Japan faced such a day; and the Japanese news agency gave a remarkable description of the scenes outside the Imperial Palace in Tokyo.

Weeping people who had gathered outside the Imperial Palace bowed to the very ground in shame, because their efforts were not enough.

His Majesty's subjects are moved to tears by His Majesty's boundless and infinite solicitude.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S COMMENT

In President Truman's words, the Japanese reply is "full acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration which specifies unconditional surrender."

This is a great day. This is the day we have been waiting for since Pearl Harbour. This is the day when Fascism finally dies as we all know it would. This is the day for democracy.

THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST

India shared in the rejoicings of the United Nations over the common victory. Broadcasting to the nation on V—J. day, H. E. Lord Wavell said:

To-day the valour and skill of the Indian Army is acclaimed all over the world, India, can, indeed, claim a large share of the victory both in the West and in the East.

INDIA'S PART IN THE VICTORY

Conveying the congratulations of His Majesty's Government on the "truly magnificent part which India has played" in the achievement of this final triumph over Japan, Mr. (now Lord) Pethick-Lawrence, the new Secretary of State for India, said in his message to the Viceroy:

We in this country are deeply conscious of the vital contribution which the armed forces of India, the Princes and the people as a whole, have made, not only on battlefields but in workshops and factories, which have transformed India into a great arsenal and fighting base.

The unsurpassed gallantry and endurance of the Indian forces will stand recorded as a most glorious page in India's history.

Those who have made the supreme sacrifice in this greatest world struggle for the triumph of right over might are not here to rejoice with us to-day at this moment of victory, but their names are remembered with thankfulness and pride.

ALLIED LANDING AND OCCUPATION

Though the atomic bomb and the Russian advance made the surrender inevitable Japan had already realised that she had lost the war. Arrangements were promptly made in the various sectors for the formal surrender. Except for sporadic outbursts and intransigence of isolated groups in far away areas, the Japanese wisely submitted to the inevitable and promptly carried out the Mikado's order. Thus they escaped complete collapse and annihilation.

The formal occupation of Japan from sea and air began on August 30, "The Day" as Admiral Chester Nimitz called it. General MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander, landed at the Atsugi airfield on the 30th morning in his transport plane "Bataan".

Shortly afterwards, the mightiest Allied Fleet ever assembled began landing troops of the Fourth Marine Combat Team on the north shore of Tokyo Bay just above Yokosuka, the naval base. Not a shot was fired and the landings were perfectly peaceful.

The Japanese surrender was solemnly signed aboard the 45,000-ton American battleship, *Missouri*, at Tokyo harbour at 1.30 a.m. G.M.T. (8 a.m. I.S.T.) on September 2 ending the greatest world war in history, and marking the deathknell of the Empire of Japan.

The Instrument of Surrender declares among other terms:

We hereby proclaim unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers of the Japanese Imperial-General Headquarters and of all Japanese armed forces under Japanese control wherever situated. . .

The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate these terms of surrender.

The order of the signing was Japan, General MacArthur, the United States, China, the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R., Australia, Canada, France, the Netherlands and New Zealand.

Gen. MacArthur then added.

"Let us pray that peace be now restored to the world, and that God will preserve it always. These proceedings are closed."

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Lord Wavell's Visit to London

LORD Wavell is again in London on the invitation of the new Labour Government for consultations in regard to India policy. This is a welcome step from all points of view, for with a new government in office in England and with the changed circumstances brought about by the surrender of the Japs it is admittedly desirable that the whole field of problems, political and economic, confronting the country should be reviewed *de novo*. The New Secretary of State for India, who is known to be a good friend of this country, has started well, without losing time and it is earnestly hoped that direct personal discussions with Lord Wavell will pave the way for an early settlement. But then the Viceroy and the New Secretary must make up their mind that this time, at any rate, it will not be an affair of much cry and little wool. If, as an inspired cable tells us that there will be no departure from the stale, old plea of agreement among the parties as a prerequisite for any forward step, all the labour and anxious thought on the part of all interested in this baffling problem will have been wasted. It is impossible to expect such agreement anywhere in the world, and to insist on it is to by-pass the pressing demand for freedom with a view to maintain the *status quo*.

The General Elections

Coupled with the announcement of the Viceregal mission to England, plans for the dissolution of the Central Legislative Assembly and for General Elections in the Provinces have been announced, following a meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indeed the Elections are long overdue and the ten-year old Legislatures need new blood. This has acted as a tonic to the public which has been threatening to become apathetic. It is good to see the parties becoming alert and anxious to consolidate their position and make a full, whole-hearted drive to win the public to their respective views. It is good to see Pandit Jawaharlal on the one hand and Mr. Jinnah on the other enter into the business with

keenness and zest. And with the promise, nay assurance, of free elections, we may look to the electors to choose their representatives on definite, clear-cut issues and unhesitatingly support them in their efforts to set up responsible government in the Centre and frame the future constitution of India. The lifting of the ban on Congress bodies and the rapid release of the politicals have heartened the people already to a great extent.

But, why should the country wait till the Budget Session of 1946 for any settlement? There are immediate problems of economic and administrative nature that cry for urgent attention. Poverty and corruption, high price and unemployment and all the troubles following demobilization need competent handling. None but popular representatives in office could cope with them. Why should not an interim arrangement preparatory to a final settlement be devised in the meanwhile?

The Viceroy's Clemency

On the eve of his departure to London on an important mission, Lord Wavell has done the right thing in responding favourably to the universal public demand for the commutation of death sentences in connection with the August disturbances of 1942. This is a graceful gesture in tune with his recent appeal to "forget and forgive"—a gesture that has been received by the public with a profound feeling of relief and satisfaction. For it is realised that it was not an easy step to take in the face of specific legal decisions. The Viceroy has doubtless been helped by the large volume of public opinion in favour of this step; and his wise and courageous action in tempering justice with mercy has averted a situation which threatened a setback on the prospect of good relations between Britain and India. It was well known that the fate of the August prisoners was one of the main issues which engaged Gandhiji in his talks and correspondence with the Viceroy. To him and to C. R. and others who have been unwearying in their efforts in this good cause, it would be no small comfort that their labours had not gone in vain.

The Late Dr. Arundale

In the death of Dr. G. S. Arundale, India and the world of Theosophy have lost a leader of remarkable talents. He was one of the few foreigners who made India their home and spent their lives in the service of this country. He came to India in 1903 with the late Dr. Annie Besant and was associated with her in education and politics. As Principal of the Central Hindu College and later of the National University he did a great deal for the cause of education. A disciple of Dr. Besant he naturally engaged himself in all her activities, having been General Secretary of the Theosophical Society and organising Secretary of the All-India Home Rule League. One of the ablest fighters in the cause of Indian freedom he did not hesitate to undergo suffering by internment along with Dr. Besant in 1917. In 1934, after the death of Besant he became President of the Theosophical Society of which he had already been a leading figure for thirty years.

Throughout his 42 years in India Dr. Arundale was inspired by the Besant tradition of culture and service. Impressive in personality he was eloquent and versatile, both as speaker and writer. While Dr. Besant kept her audiences spell-bound by her solemnity and soaring eloquence, Dr. Arundale's speeches always sparkled with wit and humour. Indeed cheerfulness was the dominant note of his character and it was coupled with a buoyant enthusiasm which was catching.

To the end, Dr. Arundale was a busy writer, and, apart from books and pamphlets, continued to edit the *Theosophist* and more than one journal of political or religious interest. Readers of this *Review* will re-collect many a vigorous contribution from his pen in these pages.

In recent years Adyar, the beautiful headquarters of the Theosophical Society, has come to be known as the home of art—and a special kind of art—of which the presiding genius is Mrs. Rukmini Arundale. Our deepest sympathies go to her in her bereavement.

Sir N. N. Sircar

A colourful personality has passed away in the death of Sir Nripendranath Sircar, former Law Member of the Government of India and leader of the Central Assembly.

Nripendra entered the judicial service in 1902, and if he had continued there would have had a commonplace career. But he was ambitious. In 1905 he resigned, went to England and was called to the bar in 1907. Since then his career was meteoric. In 1928 he was appointed Advocate General of Bengal and was knighted in 1931. He was a delegate to the Round Table Conference in 1932 and a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He became Law Member of the Government of India from 1934 to 1939.

As Law Member it fell to him to handle two pieces of legislation—the Indian Companies Act and the Indian Insurance Act—both of some significance in recent Indian history. The latter act naturally inaugurated an extremely welcome phase of Indian insurance business. The way he piloted these two bills marked him out as a lawyer of commanding ability and resourcefulness. He was an able and spirited speaker and as Government leader held his own in an Assembly of remarkable debating talent.

Sir Nripendra maintained a steady and alert interest in constitutional and political problems, and to the end continued to be a belligerent and formidable supporter of orthodox Hinduism. He brought such legal knowledge and power of analysis to bear on the treatment of these problems that his advocacy lent special weight to the causes he espoused.

During the latter part of his life Sir Nripendra used his new quarterly, *The Hindusthan*—as a vehicle for the expression of his views on many subjects, and it is sad to think that this excellent venture in journalism should so soon be deprived of his guidance.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

End of Lend-Lease

THE sudden termination of the lend-lease arrangements by the President of the United States has upset British calculations though it had been well understood that the arrangements were strictly a war-time measure and would terminate with the war. Announcing the termination in Parliament, Premier Attlee confessed that he "had not anticipated that operations under the Lend-Lease Act would continue for any length of time after the defeat of Japan." His complaint was that the cessation was so sudden that it had caused a great deal of difficulty and complication. President Truman, however, did not think it necessary or expedient to consult the British Government before declaring the end of lend-lease. It is considered to be an astute move to convince the American people that he was not being led by the nose by the British as some critics were alleging. "It may also be due to a shrewd calculation that the U.S.A. will have a freer hand in coming to an agreement with Britain about post-war arrangements."

Russo-Chinese Treaty

The treaty between China and the Soviet Union provides for collaboration between the two countries to prevent a repetition of Japanese aggression. The Soviet Union is to render military and other assistance exclusively to the Central Government of China.

The treaty re-affirms respect for China's full sovereignty in the three eastern provinces. The trunk lines of the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian Railways will be combined into one jointly owned and operated line, known as the Chinese Changchuan Railway, for a period of 30 years. Then it is to revert to China. The Chinese Government declares Dairen a free port. For 30 years Port Arthur will be a joint Chinese-Russian naval base.

Generalissimo Stalin has given an assurance that after the Japanese capitulation, Russian forces will withdraw from Manchuria within three months.

Trial of War Criminals

All leading Nazis now in custody, including Rudolph Hess, are named in the first list of war criminals to be tried before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg.

The announcement, issued simultaneously in Washington, London, Paris and Moscow, gives the names of 24 leading Nazis, including Hess, Goering, Von Ribbentrop, and Ley.

Although no dates for trial have been fixed, it is generally expected that they will begin early in October.

The announcement said investigations are going forward of the cases of other war criminals not included in the list.

The list is headed by Goering, Head of the German Air Force and one time number two Nazi. He is followed by Hess, former Deputy Fuehrer, who has been held prisoner in Britain since his mysterious flight across the North Sea in 1941. He was Hitler's closest friend and aide. Then comes Von Ribbentrop, the Nazi Foreign Minister, charged with being one of the chief fomentors of World War II.

Parliament and the United Nations Charter

The House of Commons, on August 23, approved the United Nations' Peace Charter without voting. Earlier it had been approved by the House of Lords.

The amendment, which was to have been moved by nine new Labour Members, was withdrawn. The amendment expressed the view that the security proposals contained in the Charter had been rendered inadequate by the atomic bomb, and suggested "the setting up of an international centre for the production of, and research on, atomic power."

Sentence on Marshal Petain

General de Gaulle has commuted the death sentence of ex-Marshall Petain, who will now serve a sentence of life imprisonment. Petain, who is in his 90th year, was sentenced to death "for intelligence with the enemy", the Court adding a strong recommendation for mercy.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

INDIAN LIBERALISM. A study. By V. N. Naik, M.A., with an Introduction by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay.

The Liberal party came into being as a protest against the Congress attitude to the Montagu reforms. The Liberals or Moderates, as they were called, took the view that the scheme, if accepted and worked, would pave the way for real political advance; whereas the bulk of the Congress rejected it as unworthy of notice. Congress had a large following; but the top men of the Congress at the time took the liberal view and led the revolt against what was thought to be the extremist position of the majority.

And so came the gibe that the Federation was composed of leaders without much following. Sir Maharaj Singh explained this weakness.

As advocates of the *via media* and as adherents of the mean as against extremes, we cannot be expected to command a large following. . . . Liberals may diminish in number and our party may disappear in a future self-governing India but liberalism represents something which is not merely a political philosophy.

This Silver Jubilee volume is in essence a history of the Liberal movement in India from 1918 to 1945. The author has taken pains to present the Liberal outlook and programme in the best light; and with copious extracts from the utterances of leaders justified the policy and mission of the Liberals during the last 25 years.

It is true the Party has ceased to be the power that it once used to be. But Liberal principles are not to be despised and will continue to count in the counsels of the nation. Said the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri:

May be, the days of our power are gone; but the days of our influence are by no means gone. Few though we are, we are not without the power of warning against dangers, of advising in difficulties, of pointing the way of safety and sanity.

FRANCE. By Dorothy M. Pickles (69), Oxford University Press. As. 6.

Few can attempt to do full justice in a short booklet to the admirable contribution of France to European culture and civilization in all its profound and many-sided aspects. It is refreshing to note that France is slowly emerging from Nazi tutelage and domination after her defeat and temporary eclipse as a great power in 1940. She has borne the ravages of three invasions within the last 70 years and this searching pamphlet gives us in a nut-shell France's problems during the Third Republic and defines the factors which have gone to build up her enduring unity and strength.

NEW POWERS OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Verbatim Report of debate on Molotov's proposals in Soviet Parliament. Peoples' Publishing House, Bombay. As. 8.

This pamphlet containing the speeches and debate on the bills to reorganise the All-Union Peoples' Commissariats for Defence and for Foreign Affairs into Union Republican Peoples' Commissariats at the joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet nationalities strikingly indicates the nature of Soviet National policy and the growing stability and strength of the Union. The introduction of reforms of such dimensions at the height of a total war is an effective pointer to the success of the policy marking a new step towards the solution of the national question of the U.S.S.R.

PLAN FOR INDIAN LABOUR. By Kanji Dwarkadas. Thacker & Co., Ltd. As. 8.

In this stimulating pamphlet Mr. Dwarkadas outlines a scheme for Indian labour and emphasises the supreme need for an adequate housing plan for workers in Bombay and other parts of India. He points out that legislative provision should be made for ensuring working-class quarters and localities, sufficient water-supply, bath-rooms, medical facilities and sickness insurance for workers.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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CHRISTIANITY CHALLENGES CAPITALISM.

By W. M. Ryburn Clarence Falk. Fellowship of Socialist Christians, Lahore.

We are painfully aware of the grave inadequacies of capitalism which is slowly withering under the impact of socialism in our day. Now, the challenge to capitalism has come from Christianity and from the Christian angle, the socialist programme outlined in this stimulating pamphlet is bound to attract the attention of progressive Christians and Churchmen and will make them realise their duty to the compelling claim of the unprivileged and under-privileged in our acquisitive society which is based on monopoly and thrives on profit-motive.

RECONSTRUCTION IN POST-WAR INDIA.

A Plan of Development all round. By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. The All-India Manufacturers' Organisation. Bombay.

In this searching and highly suggestive pamphlet the author points out that the basic needs are a modern democratic constitution, some measure of social and economic security, effective future military defence and a vigorous drive towards a national status and towards the fostering of a progressively efficient population. Within a short compass this booklet endeavours to show the country's grave deficiencies and its wants and the results that are likely to accrue by following any particular reconstruction plan. It provides an excellent background for present-day reconstruction problems from the social, political and economic angles.

BOOKS RECEIVED

REFLECTIONS ON THE GANDHIAN REVOLUTION. By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Vora & Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay.

DIALOGUES FROM SOCRATES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE. By F. L. Brayne. Oxford University Press. 4 as. each pamphlet.

SOVIET RUSSIA. By A. R. Williams. The Socialist Literature Publishing Co., Gokulpura, Agra. Rs. 5-8.

VICTORY WHOSE? By R. C. Joshi. People's Publishing House, 190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.

PRESNA. By Premnayan Tendani, Vidyamandir, Chowk, Lucknow.

VISVASAMSKRITI. By Kalidas Kapur, Vidyamandir, Lucknow.

PROBLEMS OF GERMANY AND FUTURE PEACE. By Ram Singh. The Vanguard, 30, Faiz Bazaar, Delhi.

BETTER VILLAGES. By F. L. Brayne. Oxford University Press, Madras. Rs. 2-4.

POVERTY AND SOCIAL CHANGE. By Tarlok Singh. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., Madras. Rs. 3-8.

ON BEAUTY. By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay.

OUR STANDARD OF LIVING. By M. L. Dautwala. Padma Publication, Bombay.

INDO-POLISH LIBRARY: (1) The Soviet Occupation of Poland, 1939-41 By F. E.

(2) AMERICA ON POLAND. By Hon. Alwin E. Okonski, Padma Publications.

SEAFARERS ASHORE. (The British People—how they live and work) Thirty-page booklet of photographs and descriptive commentary. Longmans Green & Co., Madras.

A. A. AND SERVICE ANNUAL, 1945. A. A. & Service, Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras. An attractively got-up, 50 page annual with three art plates and a number of papers dealing with different phases of India's industrial economy. Re. 1-8.

THE CONGRESS CARAVAN 1885-1945. By R. P. Aiyar and L. S. Bhandare. National Youth Publications, Bombay.

GEMS FROM CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES. Collected by U. U. Bhat, National Youth Publications, Bombay. 6 as.

THE NATIONAL FLAG. National Youth Publications, Bombay 4 as.

RADICAL DEMOCRACY. By Ellen Roy. Modern Age Publications, Navsari Chamber, Bombay.

REPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH PLANNING COMMITTEE. Council of Scientific and Industrial Research Bureau of Information, New Delhi and Madras.

MY BELOVED ROMANCE IN LETTERS. By John Jvachin Carlsson, Kitabistan, Allahabad. Rs. 2-4.

MOTIVE FOR MURDER. By Florence Kilpatrick, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 4-12.

I HAVE IT FROM GANDHIJI. By Homi J. H. Tale-yarkhan. New Book Co., Ltd., Bombay.

PEGGY THE PENGUIN. By Fat Sharpe. Thacker & Co., Bombay Rs. 2.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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August 1. End of Potsdam talks.
—Viceroy opens Conference of Governors in Delhi.
August 2. President Truman meets King George on board *The Renown*.
August 3. Council of Foreign Ministers set up to prepare peace treaties.
August 4. Mr. Attlee completes his Cabinet: Pethick Lawrence for India Office.
August 5. Hiroshima atom bombed.
August 6. Pherozshah centenary celebrations by Bombay and Madras Corporations.
August 7. Labour Cabinet meets for the first time and prepares its programme.
August 8. Russia declares war on Japan.
August 9. Red air force over Korea.
—Soviet troops cross the Manchurian border.
August 10. Japan offers to accept Potsdam terms for surrender.
August 11. Nagasaki atom bombed.

August 17. Paper control order amended.
—Bombay Press-owners demand withdrawal of whole order.
August 18. Death sentences on Kulasekara-patnam case commuted.
August 19. Hindu Mahasabha leaders renounce title in protest against Government policy.
—Death sentence on Marshal Petain commuted by Gen. de Gaulle.
August 20. Japanese envoys leave Manila with instructions from Gen. MacArthur.
August 21. British Government invites Lord Wavell for consultations.
August 22. Ban on Congress bodies lifted.
—Sir J. Colville to act as Viceroy.
August 23. Subhas Chandra Bose reported killed in an aircrash.
August 24. Lord Wavell leaves for London.
August 25. The Government of Madras lift their ban on all Congress organisations.
August 26. Russo-Chinese agreement.
August 27. Trial of Nazi war criminals begins at Nuremburg.
August 28. General MacArthur lands in Okinawa.
August 29. Sir Firoz Khan Noon resigns from the Viceroy's Executive Council.
August 30. Allied fleet land in Tokyo and Allied army occupy the city.

Dr. G. S. ARUNDALE

August 12. Dr. G. S. Arundale, President, Theosophical Society, dead.
—Sir N. N. Sircar dead.
August 13. Congress President replies to Mr. Jinnah's demand for publication of Wavell-Azad letters.
August 14. Japan surrenders.
August 15. The Mikado broadcasts to his people for the first time.
—Petain sentenced to death: Court recommends non-execution of the Marshal.
August 16. Viceroy commutes sentences on Chimur—Ashti prisoners.



THE LATE SIR N. N. SIRCAR

August 31. Allied forces enter Yokohama: Surrender terms signed.
—Text of Desai-Liaquat Pact published.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



INDIA'S INSOLUBLE HUNGER

John Fischer, who was in India during the great Bengal famine of 1943, gives a harrowing account of what he saw in Bengal, in the course of an article in *Harper's Magazine*. Mr. Fischer holds that famines like that are inevitable so long as the population continues to crowd so heavily on the thin margin of subsistence. But to attribute all our woes to this "relentless fecundity" is no remedy. What he saw at the Howrah station in Calcutta is, gruesome enough in all conscience, whatever the causes.

Then, as my eyes got accustomed to the steamy, striking half-light, I saw that the floor was covered with huddled bodies, some wrapped in strips of dirty white cotton, most of them naked. They were crowded hip to hip, and as I picked my way toward the street, I couldn't help hopping on many of them. Only a few groaned or whimpered. Even the babies—and there were hundreds of them—lay limp and quiet, apparently too weak to cry. And it was plain that some of those people on the station floor were dead, and had been dead for a long time.

That week, the writer goes on to say, the newly-formed Municipal Corpse Disposal Squad removed 112 bodies from the streets, more—to this day nobody knows how many—were taken away by charitable organizations and private citizens, still others lay for days on the sidewalks and in gutters.

Though all these months the white Brahmin cattle wandered by the hundreds through the streets of Calcutta... no one ever ate a cow, no one ever dreamed of it. I never heard of a Bengalee Hindu who would not perish with all his family rather than taste meat. Nor was there any violence. No grocery stall, no rice warehouse, none of the wealthy clubs or restaurants ever was threatened by a hungry mob. The Bengalee just died with that bottomless docility which, to us, Americans, is the most shocking thing about India.

How many died? No one, of course, really knows. When Lord Wavell set the army to distributing food, the *Statesman* was estimating the deaths at 10,000 a week. The official figures were lower; calculations by private agencies were

higher. None pretended to be entirely accurate or complete.

After comparing many different estimates, my own guess—and I believe it to be conservative—is that the 1943 famine, plus the epidemics of malaria, smallpox, dysentery, and dengue fever, which followed in its train, probably wiped out about three million people.

What is the way out? He met scores of officials from the Viceroy's staff down to the local tax collectors, without finding one who thought he could see a way out. Everywhere he saw

a kind of tacit confession of imperial bankruptcy. The surest indication that British rule in India is not likely to survive much longer, it seems to me, lies in this failure to face up to the essential tasks of Government... They are merely ineffectual, they lack confidence in themselves; they hold out no real hope that they can improve the lot of the average Indian; and such governments seldom hang on long.

STATES AND FUTURE CONSTITUTION

A claim that the Indian States have not only earned a place for themselves in the Indian body politic, but have in some measure become pathfinders of the future, is advanced by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner, in an article in the *Commonwealth and Empire Review*.

Sardar Panikkar says that though the actual achievement of the States is sufficient warrant for the belief that their position in any political scheme is assured, it is the way they adjust themselves to changed industrial, economic and social conditions in the future that will mark their importance and usefulness.

Sardar Panikkar admits that in a vast majority of States, the problem of adjustment of personal rule with association of people has not yet been seriously tackled and adds: "It is only to be expected that pressure from public opinion will be increasingly felt when the war is over and the States which have so far been satisfied with the personal form of rule may, by force of circumstances, be compelled to adjust their forms of government to more modern and progressive conceptions."

HIROHITO—THE MAN AND LEGEND

To foreigners who have met him, Emperor Hirohito seems a pleasant enough little man—short-sighted, inclining nowadays to stoutness and entirely lacking in personality. But in the eyes of every Japanese, he is quite, literally, a divine person, writes Mr. W. N. Ewer of the *Daily Herald*.

Tenno—or heavenly king (or he may be called Tenshi, Son of Heaven)—is the 126th descendant in direct line of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. That for all Japanese, is not just a pleasant myth. It is a simple unquestionable historical fact.

It was only 80 years ago—just after Japan had been compelled to break her complete isolation from the outer world—that the power of the Shoguns was broken by a revolt and that a young Emperor was restored to the imperial throne of his ancestors.

Japan was—on the surface—Westernised by the efforts of a small group of aristocrats. She was given a constitution on the English model.

Tenno became in some ways a constitutional Emperor. But he still retained his divinity. Hirohito is the third of the modern Emperors, grandson of Emperor Meiji, whose reign saw Japan change from an isolated feudal community to a powerful industrial and military State. Had the liberalising movement continued, he might have become a liberal Emperor.

He was sent to the Peers' School, where he mixed with other boys. As Crown Prince he was—to the horror of old-fashioned Japan—sent on a visit to England to learn something of the outer world.

When his father died in 1926, he ascended the throne and he chose as his "reign title" a name which means "enlightened peace". But a period of reaction had set in. The army and navy chiefs were already in virtual control of the Government.

Hirohito may have had dreams of an enlightened peace. But he couldn't resist the men around him. He was the master of Japan. His word was law. Every one of his subjects owed him the reverence due to a God. But he was in practice an obedient servant of the military and naval staffs.

He retired into the august seclusion of the Emperor. Inside the walls that surround the great gardens of his palace or at his closely guarded seaside villa at

Hayama, he lives ordinarily a modest, simple, dull little life.

He is a devoted husband and father. He likes to ride his white horses, to play golf and tennis and to swim. He potters about at his hobby of marine biology.

His private life is very simple. His tastes are frugal, and though he is probably the richest man in the world he dislikes all extravagance. But as Emperor his humanity is obliterated in the state of office. The ceremonial of the Court is beyond belief. His Ministers approach him on their knees. Everything possible is done to present this simple little man to his subjects as a divine and majestic figure incarnating in his own godlike presence the destiny laid down for Japan 2,500 years ago by the Sun Goddess herself.

And people believe it. It is their belief in Hirohito's divinity which leads generals to commit harakiri if they feel they have been unworthy.

TOLSTOY AND COMMUNISM

Was Tolstoy a communist? This question is generally answered in the affirmative by many people ignorant of Tolstoy and Communism alike. Mr. J. Paul, writing in the *New Review*, points out the radical difference between the teachings of Tolstoy and Communism. The Russian philosopher was a count and never a comrade!

He was an aristocrat and he had any number of highly influential relations. He had vast estates. He got enormous sums out of the sale of his early novels. But by the time he was forty or forty-five he came to ignore all worldly things. He developed alarming symptoms of other-worldliness. His wife was very much distressed. So too were many of his friends. So too was Turgenev. But Tolstoy never paid any heed to them. He was possessed with a mania for renunciation. He renounced his vast Samara Estate. He neglected his own dear Yasmaya Polyana Estate. He washed his hands clean of all the profits got by the sale of his books. He dropped the title of Count. And when a peasant addressed him as 'Your Excellency', he replied sharply, 'I am called simply Leo Nikolaevich.' He flung aside his costly garments and went about in the clothes of a peasant. He was so poorly clothed that when he went to a monastery the monks took him for a beggar. He refused to have anything to do with money. He denounced property as the 'root of all evil.' He was fast becoming an ascetic, and was treading the same path along which St. Francis of Assisi went.

Directly in contrast to all this, stands the view of the Communists. They do not regard property as the root of all evil: if it is the root of anything it is the root of all good.

The only thing is that property should not be private. If the State controls it, everything is quite all right. Tolstoy most emphatically believed that the poor are blessed. The communist knows that the poor are wretched. Tolstoy believed that the poor will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. The communist is quite willing to let the Kingdom of Heaven alone. His sole concern is with the lower kingdom of earth. And he is quiet sure that the poor will inherit the Kingdom of Earth—this kingdom is for the proletariat.

And then, what is the communist's attitude to violence? Obviously not Tolstoy's.

The communist is for defeating the bourgeoisie in the class war by fair or foul means. They resort to violence. The communist hates wars only when they are imperialist wars. Tolstoy hates wars, imperialist and all. That is why he was against all revolutionaries. He did not like even Chaykovski's movement for elementary socialism. He was so much against violence that he became a good vegetarian in his last days.

Tolstoy disliked all human institutions. The supreme example of a human institution is the State and Tolstoy hated all States.

He hated all law. He hated all organised movements. He believed in extreme individualism. He never concerned himself with public affairs. He used to boast that he never read newspapers. He was for leaving the individual to himself. He was an anarchist—he denounced governments, he denounced trade, property, custom, law. The communist is for the State-ownership of property. Tolstoy believes neither in the State nor in property. Communism is extreme collectivism. Tolstoy is for extreme individualism. Communism is all for organisations, Tolstoy all for anarchy.

THE INDIAN HOME

The Roman-Urdu Edition of the Indian Home is an attractively got-up monthly specially designed for the benefit of Indian Servicemen at home and abroad and for their family. It has just completed one year of its useful service and the annual number that is to hand has a number of items of varied interest. It contains civic and social information, helpful articles on village uplift, rehabilitation of troops, hygiene, child-welfare, domestic hints, wholesome and amusing entertainment. There is in this magazine something of particular interest to every member of the family.

The magazine is published by Mr. Mohan V. Raj, M.A., B.Sc. (Minn.), for Indian Home Publications, Ltd., Bombay. The editors, Miss Shanta Wagle and Mrs. Shabla Wilson, deserve congratulations on their novel and attractive venture.

PIGEONS AND THE WAR

Pigeons are serving in every branch of the armed services: the Army, Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard, in airplanes and in submarines. They are also faithfully serving the FBI, helping to apprehend enemy agents, says a writer in the *American Mercury*.

"Training for an Army pigeon begins at the age of about four weeks. The bird is first introduced into the spotless loft with all compartments closed except the one that the pigeoneer wants the newcomer to occupy. Once the pigeon has made a choice, he abides by that and no one can move him. In the first stage of the training the pigeon is taken a few feet from the loft, while the Army pigeoneer inside rattles a tin cup full of grain. This is repeated until the association between food and loft becomes indelibly fixed. By the end of a week, the young pigeon will fly back to its loft from a five-mile distance. On entrance to the loft it is immediately fed, for the pigeoneer is constantly trying to strengthen the automatic association of the loft and food. As the training proceeds, the pigeons are taken distances of more than 100 miles from the loft and released.

The next step is to train the pigeon to return to an ambulatory loft. When the pigeon is released, his motorized home may be ten or fifteen miles from its original site. A pigeon does not require a stationary loft, but he does need sufficiently distinguishing characteristics to recognize it.

Later his mate is introduced. It does not take long—there is no competition—for the male to discover that this is the female he has dreamed about all his life. The really vigorous training begins after mating, for the pigeons are exceptionally devoted parents. They cannot rush back sufficiently fast to see how their squabs are doing. At this stage, they may be sent out on flights of 500 to 1,000 miles."

THE SIMLA FAILURE

Under the heading "Failure Again in India," Uma Shankar, an Indian journalist, now in the United States, writes in the American Liberal magazine, *The Nation*: "It would be completely false to say that the Simla Conference broke down because Indians could not agree. In fact the vast majority of Indians, at least as represented by the acknowledged leaders of various parties did agree.

The British had good reasons for letting Mr. M. A. Jinnah, wreck their scheme besides their traditional policy of playing off one section against another. The Muslim League is a reactionary force representing landed interests.

One reason why the British may be supporting Mr. Jinnah is the desire to gain favour with reactionary Muslim elements in the Middle East, where they wish to lock out possible Soviet influence. At least, that reason may be advanced, if any member of the British Cabinet questions why Mr. Jinnah was allowed to exercise so much power.

Regardless of the nature of the British Government and within the frame of the Wavell offer, action is possible without injustice to Mr. Jinnah's claims. If elections were now held, it would be possible to form some estimate of the relative strength of the various parties and to judge Mr. Jinnah's claims. The plea that war makes elections impossible does not hold water. For all practical purposes, England is just as close to war as India."

"Uma Shankar," the A.P.I. learns, is the pen-name of Uma Shankar Bajpai, son of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Agent-General for India in Washington.

GANDHIJI'S DAILY ROUTINE

Mr. K. Rama Rao has given a vivid account of the daily routine of Mahatma Gandhi. Here are a few items:

Mahatma Gandhi's 'wardrobe' consists of six pieces of cloth, three loin-clothes, and three chaddars (upper clothes), the chaddar serving as shirt and blanket in one. An extra pair is kept for use in an emergency.

He bathes in warm water always. No soap is used. He has first a massage with oil and lime-juice mixed. Another massage in the bath with a piece of rough cloth and the whole body becomes perfectly clean.

He shaves himself with a safety-razor without, however, a mirror before him, with the result that at times some small islands of unmown hair are left over for the next operation. An occasional hair-cut is performed by one of the Ashramites.

Gandhiji's reading is select rather than vast. His main concern now is the Constructive Programme, and he reads all the literature that comes to his hand, bearing on the subject, concerned. Three books he was recently reading were on *Tridosh* (Ayurvedic), the second on *Rashtra Bhasha* (common language for India); and a third on the cow and cattle wealth of India. In jail his reading was extensive. He read half of Shakespeare and a good deal of Bernard Shaw. Mira Ben put Browning in his hands and he liked *The Grammarian's Funeral* and *Rabi Ben Ezra* most. He made such an intensive study of Marx's *Das Capital* that to-day he can give points to sworn Communists.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

FOOD POSITION IN HYDERABAD

Mr. C. A. G. Savidge, Revenue Member, giving an account of the food situation in the Nizam's State at a press conference said that the Government aimed at building up a buffer stock of 100,000 tons of grains. To meet all requirements, including commitments made in the Government of India last year, the State would require 180,000 tons up to the end of December provided the prospects of the present kharif and abi crops come up to expectations.

Rationing had been introduced in nine towns and Government was trying to devise a really good rationing system wherein there will be no inequality—a system that will be as fair and as easy as possible.

The satisfactory rice position has made it possible to increase the rice ration while the quota of 12,000 tons of wheat allotted by the Government of India has materially improved the wheat situation which was not quite strong owing to the decrease in acreage.

HYDERABAD'S NEW PORTFOLIO

A "firman" issued last month by the Nizam announces that Nawab Liaquat Jung, Officiating Finance Member, will continue to be a member of the Executive Council holding a new portfolio of Arts and Crafts after handing over charge of Finance to Mr. Zahid Hussain who is expected to arrive in Hyderabad this month.

The Nizam expresses the hope that the creation of a separate portfolio for Arts and Crafts, hitherto included in the Public Works portfolio, will further facilitate the work of the Council.

A subsequent *firman* issued by H. E. H. the Nizam announces the appointment of Nawab Liaquat Jung Bahadur as Commerce and Industries Member in recognition of the loyal and faithful services rendered by him.

Baroda

BARODA PLANNING AHEAD

In furtherance of the creation of a separate Ministry for post-war planning, His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has constituted a Board of Industrial Advice for general industrial development, as well as for post-war planning, with certain outstanding industrialists in British India to serve on this Board. The undermentioned gentlemen have agreed to work on this Board:—

Sir Homi Mehta, Chairman; Sir Sultan Chinoy, Dr. John Matthai, Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand and Mr. M. C. Ghia.

Raja Ratna S. V. Mukerjee, Member of Post-war Development, will be ex-officio Member of this Board with Mr. R. S. Kanungo, Chief Secretary to the Government, as the Convener.

BARODA BUDGET

Several cut motions were taken up on the last day of the Baroda Legislative Assembly budget session, but on the Government members agreeing to remove genuine grievances or enlightening the House with the correct situation, all of them one after another, were dropped.

Mr. B. G. Desai brought to the notice of the Assembly an error in the method of the presentation of the budget. His objection was upheld by the Speaker and the House was told that, in future, it would be strictly regularised.

Mr. C. G. Vakharia asked for more grants for the archaeological institution and better facilities for the post-graduate studies at the Baroda College and an advisory bureau for students.

After an explanatory statement given by the Law Member, the budget was put to the vote and carried without a single dissentient voice.

Mysore

NEW COLLEGE IN BANGALORE

Dewan Bahadur P. Mahadeviah declared open an Intermediate College known as "Basappa Intermediate College", started by the Veerasaiva Educational Society of Bangalore.

This college, is the outcome of private initiative and Messrs. Basappa, N. Rudriah and Kenchappa have donated Rs. 40,000, Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5,000, respectively, besides others, who have donated liberal sums. To begin with, the college has started with provision for study of Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics.

It might be mentioned here that repeated representations were made on the floor of the State Legislature for increasing the number of colleges in the State and Government members, who explained Government's policy in this regard had observed that private initiative was necessary for progress in this direction.

KOLAR GOLD FIELDS

The Kolar Gold Fields in the Mysore State contain some of the deepest gold mines in the world, producing almost the entire output of the precious metal in India. Over 20 million ounces of gold, valued at over £102 millions, have been produced from the gold fields since the commencement of mining operations to the end of 1943.

Cochin

COCHIN BUDGET

According to the Budget estimates of the Cochin Government, presented to the Standing Finance Committee, for the next financial year 1121 ME, the receipts are anticipated to be Rs. 262.82 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 255.20 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 7.62 lakhs. This surplus does not take into calculation the substantial increase of Rs. 32 lakhs expected to be brought in by the Excise auction sales. Therefore, the net surplus may be expected to stand at Rs. 40 lakhs.

Travancore

TRAVANCORE RESERVOIR SCHEME

The immense possibilities for growing sugarcane, tobacco and mulberry besides paddy that would open out as a result of the successful working of the scheme were indicated by Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, laying the foundation stone of the Perunchani Reservoir Scheme.

The scheme is to be an extension of the existing Kodayar Irrigation Project, the only one of its kind in the whole of Travancore. Situated about 18 miles from Nagercoil and set in the midst of most beautiful surroundings of natural scenery and wild jungle, the site of the proposed scheme is a few hundreds of feet above the historic Pandiyan Dam. The major river coursing through this area is the Paralayar, which after its confluence with Kodayar becomes the Southern Tambraparni.

ABOLITION OF TOLLS

The Government of Travancore have decided to abolish all tolls in the State and levy instead a tax on vehicles, as is done in British India and some Indian States, with effect from the coming Malayalam year. Making the announcement at Sri Mulam Assembly, the Dewan-President, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, said that the vehicle tax was expected to be about 75 per cent. of the Madras rates. Municipal tolls would also be abolished and any claims for compensation would be considered and decided on the merits of each case.

EDUCATION IN TRAVANCORE

By 52 votes to 9, 3 remaining neutral, the Sri Mulam assembly recommended to the Government to take immediate steps to absorb all private-managed primary schools in the State under the management of the Government.

Gwalior

CHILD EDUCATION IN GWALIOR

"It is a matter of deep regret that the important question of child education is not receiving the serious attention it deserves. The small child is akin to a growing plant which, if not properly looked after, is affected by unharmonious environments", observed Her Highness the Maharani Scindia, while performing the opening ceremony of the Montessori school in Gwalior recently.

Her Highness continued: "The pre-school education of a child is more important than that of a grown-up boy because the growth of his mental faculties begins at this tender age. A child's mind readily receives impressions of whatever action is performed exactly in the way as does the open lens of a camera. Whatever type of education the child receives, forms at a later stage the foundation of his character and reveals the truth of the axiom. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world."

Remarking that a mother's lap serves as a primary school for her child's education, Her Highness advised mothers and teachers to handle children with extreme patience and care. She expressed concern at the existing low percentage of mothers who really appreciated the importance of pre-school education of a child, and said that the present regrettable lack of good education among women was largely responsible for that low figure.

Rajkot

RAJKOT POST-WAR PLAN

Rajkot State has a post-war programme for the development of irrigation since agriculture here, as elsewhere, is a gamble with the monsoon. The authorities have placed orders for plants for implementing the scheme to grow more food crops. It is stated that the scheme has received the approval of Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India.

Eastern States

JOINT HIGH COURT FOR E. STATES

Thirty-nine States of the Eastern States Agency are understood to have joined the scheme for a joint high court for the agency. The affairs of the court, according to the Eastern States Publicity Bureau, will be controlled by a board of control, consisting of six representatives of the States, elected every three years, and one political officer as the representative of the managed States. The contribution of the States will be fixed on the revenue basis. The prerogative of mercy will be vested in the Rulers.

Kashmir

KASHMIR CONFERENCE

The sixth annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference ended at dawn on August 6, after a night long stormy debate over the resolution regarding the right of self-determination for nationalities. The resolution was carried by 159 votes to 83, the opposition staging a walk-out.

The resolution suggested to the Congress to re-examine the Hindu-Muslim question in a spirit of self-analysis and work out a concrete formula of its own which may "allay the suspicions of majority domination".

Bhopal

SIR J. BHORE APPOINTED PREMIER

Following the retirement from the State service of Raja Sir Audhinarain Bisaryya, H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal has appointed Sir Joseph Bhore, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., to be Prime Minister of Bhopal and President of the State Council of Ministers.

Sir Joseph was sworn in on August 2 by the Chief Justice of Bhopal.

Chamber of Princes

MR. K. V. ANANTARAMAN

Rajamantra Pravina K. V. Anantaraman, till recently First Member of Council, Mysore, has been appointed Director, Major States' Committee, Chamber of Princes.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Indians in S. Africa

The Trade Commissioner for the Union of South Africa gives some figures about the Asiatic population in the Union which are of great interest to us in this country. According to the last census taken in South Africa, there were 219,621 Asiatics living in that country. Of these 36,254 were born in India; 1,648 were born in China; and 146 were born in Japan. The overwhelming majority, of course, were born in the Union.

In fact, the number of Indians in the Union who are actually born in India is shrinking all the time. This is accounted for by a natural decrease—*i.e.*, by the death of immigrants who went to the Union before 1910—and by the fact that immigration has been on a comparatively small scale ever since.

Of the total number of Asiatics enumerated, nearly 82 per cent. were South African subjects, and some 16 per cent. British-Indian subjects.

U.S.A.

U.S. AID FOR FAMINE RELIEF

Ten American societies have offered to help raise a fund of 12,00,000 dollars for relief of the famine-stricken areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Mr. Gilbert White Executive Secretary for American Relief for India, announced recently.

Mr. White said that appeals had been sent to community chests and war fund organisations of principal cities throughout the United States and replies promising help came from Chicago, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Gary and Muncie in Indiana, Oil City in Pennsylvania, Jonesboro in Arkansas, Hamilton in Ohio and Olympia in Washington State. Tentative commitments also were received from several other cities.

The money will be used principally for purchase of food to supplement diet, drugs and medical supplies which will be shipped to Calcutta by the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee.

Kenya

STATUS OF INDIANS IN KENYA

The Kenya Government's scheme for the reorganisation of the administration of Kenya is "entirely unacceptable as it aims at reducing Indian subjects in Kenya to political servitude and at bringing about their ultimate economic destruction," says Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, in a communication to the Department of Commonwealth Relations, Government of India.

Sir Rahimtoola says that the proposal "is a sinister move on the part of the Government of Kenya to make it impossible for Indian subjects to live as a self-respecting people in that Colony. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government of India to bring pressure to bear upon the Government of Kenya to see the justice of the Indian cause and to force them to withdraw these proposals forthwith."

In another communication to the Government, Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy refers to the assurance of the Kenya Government to the India Government regarding the temporary nature of the regulations about the entry into the colony of non-natives and says that so far as the Association was aware, the Government of Kenya had no intention whatsoever either of rescinding or relaxing the immigration regulations against the entry of Indians. Sir Rahimtoola requests the Government of India to make known the step it proposes to take to protect the legitimate rights of Indians to enter Kenya after the war emergency is over.

England

SOCIAL CENTRE FOR INDIANS

Indians in London have opened their own social centre. The first of its kind in England, it is situated at Irving Street, Leicester Square. The centre has been convened by a number of Indian businessmen in London.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

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DEPARTMENTAL

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NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE VICEROY'S MOVE

A press note issued on August 21 on Lord Wae'll's visit to London said: His Majesty's Government has invited His Excellency the Viceroy to visit London as soon as possible for consultations and His Excellency has accepted the invitation.

The Viceroy left for London on August 24. The press note announcing the decision to hold general elections stated:

"General elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures are long overdue, and the Governor-General has decided after consultation with His Majesty's Government and the Provincial Governors that they must now be held as soon as possible.

"The Central Assembly will, therefore, be left to expire on the 1st October, and the general election for that Chamber will be completed in time for the new members to take their seats at the Budget Session of 1946. The electoral rolls for the Council of State are not ready, and the life of that Chamber will, therefore, be further extended to 1st May, 1946, with a view to the holding of a general election as soon as may be after that date.

"In the circumstances, the Governor-General will not summon session of either of the two Chambers this autumn."

KING'S ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

The King in his speech from the throne on the opening of Parliament on August 16, made this reference to India: "In accordance with the promises already made to my Indian peoples, my Government will do their utmost to promote, in connection with the leaders of Indian opinion, early realisation of full self-government in India."

DESAI-LIAQAT PACT

The following is the text of the Desai-Liaquat Pact:

The Congress and League agree that they will join in forming an interim Government on the following lines:

(a) Equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Legislature. Persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature.

(b) Representatives of minorities (in particular Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs.)

(c) The Commander-in-Chief.

The Government will be formed and function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act. It is, however, understood that if the Cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly, they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers of the Governor-General or the Viceroy.

It is agreed between the Congress and the League that if such interim Government is formed, their first step would be to release the Working Committee members.

The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end are at present indicated to take the following course:

On the basis of the above understanding, some way should be found to get the Governor-General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires an interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and the League and when the Governor-General invites Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai either jointly or separately. The above proposals would be made, desiring that they are prepared to join in forming the Government.

PANDIT NEHRU ON THE SITUATION

"I am prepared to take all responsibility for the happenings of 1942, because I am responsible for creating those conditions in the country," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing one of the largest rallies in recent years in the Gandhi ground, Delhi, on August 29.

Pandit Nehru in his 90-minute speech spoke of the 1942 Movement and said that it was true that the movement was not started by any Congress declaration, but when all the leaders were arrested overnight, the masses could not tolerate it. The people took it to be an attack on the independence of the country. They had only two alternatives—either to submit to the Government or to take the challenge. He was glad and proud of the movement which followed. He would have felt very sorry if the country had not taken up the challenge. The movement was responsible for creating a new spirit in the country.

Pandit Nehru said they were passing through an age of great revolutions. In this atomic bomb age, he said, the demand for Pakistan was a hoarse and meaningless cry. At this time, the question was not how to divide the country, but how to draw several countries together in order to defend themselves against great powers. In this age small countries had no place. He said that nobody, not even Mr. Jinnah, had defined Pakistan. He referred to the speech of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in which he had clarified the self-determination clause. The Congress made its position clear that if any part of India wanted to break away nobody could stop it forcibly. But in the Punjab, he said, Pakistan raised a complex question. How could a vast number of Sikhs and Hindus live in Pakistan? Similar was the case in Bengal.

SARDAR ON CONGRESS & LEAGUE

The view that all issues pending between the League and the Congress were capable of being easily settled by arbitration and that they constituted no insuperable obstacle in the way of the attainment of India's independence was expressed by Sardar Vallabhai Patel, addressing a recent gathering.

It was easy to create quarrels, but difficult to reconcile hostile parties. If he were given power to rule over Britain, declared the Sardar, he could produce wars among England, Scotland and Wales. The British Government had been repeating that a Hindu-Muslim settlement was their responsibility. Nobody invited them to shoulder this responsibility.

The world was not bankrupt of people with impartiality and a sense of justice. It should not, therefore, be difficult to arrange for all outstanding issues between the League and the Congress to be settled by arbitration. But as far as the Congress was concerned, it was not prepared to go knocking at the doors of the Government or the League. The position of Mahatma Gandhi was apparent. He was like an ocean in his generosity. He would go to the door of anyone who called him. But, said the Sardar, his own personal opinion was that, while the Congress need not close its doors to any offer, it should not make any further offers. It had done enough.

In this connection, he referred to certain fears that the Congress was going too far in placating the League. The Congress stood for justice and it would be willing to give to each party what was justly its due, but no more. The Congress did not even insist on anybody to accept its own standard of justice. When there could be no agreement on any question, it was easy to settle such matters by arbitration.

MR. GANDHI'S OFFER TO MR. JINNAH

"I said and I repeat now that my offer to Mr. Jinnah was not in the nature of a bargain. It was my settled conviction, though originally received from Rajaji", said Gandhiji in an interview to the Nagpur correspondent of the *Hindu* replying to the question whether his offer to Mr. Jinnah made in September last year stood.

Gandhiji added, "I am not in the habit of deriving anything from anybody however great he is, unless I can appropriate and assimilate it for myself. Therefore, even if Rajaji went back on that formula, I shall stick to it so long as I retain my sanity. I hold it to be substantial and also directly derivable from the Congress resolutions and immediately from the resolution of August 8, 1942. Only I have given it a concrete shape".

HINDU MAHASABHA PROTESTS

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha concluded its two-day session at Delhi on August 19, after adopting their main political resolution without any amendment. The resolution declared that a Constituent Assembly based on separate electorates was unacceptable, that the Communal Award should go and that the parity principle in the Wavell formula was "pernicious". The Committee also passed a number of resolutions condemning the continuance of Section 93 in Bengal, assuring the Mahasabha's support to the Arya Samaj for any movement that is launched against the banning of the *Satyarth Prakash* and expressing concern at the "impending unemployment of millions of Indian men and women due to demobilisation."

Prominent leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha have decided to renounce their titles in protest against what they describe as "the Government's increasingly hostile attitude towards the legitimate rights of Hindus." Their decision is in accordance with a resolution passed by the Working Committee and the All-India Committee of the Mahasabha at Delhi on August 18.

Dr. Sir Gokulchand Narang, speaking at the All-India Committee, announced that he had decided to give up his title. Later the President Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee stated that Raja Maheswar Dhayal Seth of the United Provinces and Rai Bahadur Harischandra of Delhi had declared their intention to renounce their titles.

BAN ON CONGRESS BODIES LIFTED

Following the official announcement that General Elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures will be held as soon as possible, the Governments of Bombay, United Provinces and Bihar and subsequently other provinces have removed the ban on the All-India Congress Committee and all other Congress organisations in their provinces.

The Government of Bengal has also decided to remove the ban on the A.I.C.C. and all other Congress organisations in the province.

SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON

A *communiqué* says: "The Hon. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., has informed the Governor-General that he wishes to resign from the Executive Council on 15th September, 1945, in order that he may return to party politics. The Governor-General has accepted his resignation."

Sir Firoz Khan has joined the Muslim League: -

It is learnt that since the Defence and Civil Defence Portfolios were created purely as a war-time measure, no new member will be appointed in Sir Firoz Khan Noon's place.

ADMISSIONS TO SCHOOLS

Excess admissions to schools up to a limit of 10 per cent. of the strength of each class have been sanctioned by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. Also, in some of Government colleges, specific provision has been made for increased admissions. These arrangements are described in a Press communique issued by the Government of Madras.

Referring to the lack of accommodation in colleges for the numbers seeking admission the Government point out that the root of the problem goes down to secondary schools, and set forth proposals to reorganise secondary education.

POST-WAR EDUCATION

A scheme estimated to cost rupees one crore during the first five years has been prepared by Justice W. R. Puranik, Vice-chancellor of the Nagpur University.

Through this scheme Justice Puranik proposes to develop the university post-graduate teaching and research under its direct management fulfilling its own highest academic aspirations on one hand while making its contribution to the solution of the urgent problems of the community on the other.

The main items in the scheme are (1) extension of the Laxminarayan Institute of Technology; (2) construction of a library building and increase of books; (3) construction of a gymnasium and sports-pavilion; (4) hostels for boys and girls and quarters for professors and (5) establishment of a "Translation Bureau" which will adapt a vocabulary of the languages of the province for this purpose.

Justice Puranik points out that in this scheme he does not take consideration of

the establishment of colleges of medicine, veterinary science and agriculture and animal husbandry, engineering or expansion of the colleges of science and agriculture and certain other colleges at Jabulpore and Amraoti as financial requirements of these institutions were being dealt as part of departmental plans of the Government.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGN TRAINING

The Government of India have made their final selection of candidates for the award of Madras Government scholarships for technical training abroad.

Out of a list of 106 candidates sent up by the Government of Madras, it is understood that 49 candidates have been selected. An official communication is expected to be sent to them soon individually intimating that they should keep themselves in readiness to start at short notice.

It is further understood that eight candidates have been selected from the Madras list for award of Government of India scholarships for foreign training.

ANDHRA LAW COLLEGE

The Hon. Mr. Justice P. V. Rajamannar of the Madras High Court, inaugurated the Andhra Law College at Masulipatam in the presence of a large gathering. Mr. L. Subba Rao, acting Vice-Chancellor, presided.

The Vice-Chancellor described the progress of the scheme to start the College and its realisation and thanked the Judge for his help in this connexion.

Inaugurating the College, Mr. Justice Rajamannar explained the ideals of the art of law and promised his help to the college in the future.

CHIMUR AND ASHTI PRISONERS

The death sentences on the seven Chimur and Ashti Case prisoners have been commuted to transportation for life by the Governor-General.

The seven accused in the Chimur and Ashti case were sentenced to death in connexion with incidents in Chimur and Ashti villages, in the Central Provinces, during the 1942 disturbances. The sentences were to have been carried out in March last, when a postponement was secured for submitting a mercy petition to the King. The King rejected the petition, whereupon Mr. Gandhi intervened on their behalf. Another attempt was made to save the lives of the condemned men by a *Habeas Corpus* application, which was rejected by the Nagpur High Court in May last. An attempt was made to take the matter before the Privy Council which refused to grant leave to appeal. Mr. Gandhi immediately wrote to the Viceroy urging commutation of the sentences.

KULASEKARAPATNAM PRISONERS

In addition to the above, the death sentences on prisoners involved in the Fatwa, Jawnpur, and Kulasekarapatnam Cases have also been commuted by the Governor-General.

In the Kulasekarapatnam Rioting Case, Kasirajan and Rajagopalan were charged with rioting and murder during the August, 1942, disturbances.

Rajagopalan and Kasirajan were sentenced to death in connection with the raid on a salt factory at Kulasekarapatnam on September 20, 1942, resulting in the death of an Excise official in charge of the factory.

Twenty-two persons were put up before the Special Judge of Tinnevely for trial under the provisions of Ordinance No. II of 1942 on charges of rioting, murder, etc. Several of them were convicted of various offences while the two prisoners were convicted of the offence of murder, among others and sentenced to death.

The High Court dismissed their appeal. The matter was taken up to the Federal Court, who confirmed the sentence of death, by a majority decision, Varadachari J. dissenting. An application was then made to the Privy Council for special leave to appeal, but it was dismissed. H. E. the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General were then moved for mercy to the condemned prisoners.

SOLDIERS WHO JOINED ENEMY

"The Government of India have decided to treat with mercy and generosity the rank and file of those soldiers who yielded to pressure and who were so misguided as to join the forces raised by the enemy," says a press communique. But they will allow the law to take its course and will try by Court Martial the leaders and those who are guilty of particularly heinous crimes.

The communique says that the offence of going over to the enemy and fighting against his former comrade is the most serious offence that a soldier can commit. It is punishable with death by the laws of almost all countries, and those who have committed this offence and been recaptured can claim no rights as belligerents or prisoners of war.

The Government of India, feels, however, that allowance must be made for the circumstances in which the rank and file found themselves placed after their capture. From that date they were in no position to learn the truth of the progress of the war or to hear any news but false and propagandist Japanese or German reports. Some of them were misled by this propaganda or gave way to pressure or the desire for better treatment and joined the enemy with no motives beyond an immediate improvement in their living conditions. Those men, therefore, who seem to have been merely misguided—and they are the majority—will be treated with clemency.

INSURANCE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Insurance Central Advisory Committee was held at "Dare House", Madras, on August 17, Sir Azizul Haque, Commerce Member to the Government of India, presiding.

The Committee discussed the report of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government to investigate certain trends and undesirable features found in the managements of Insurance Companies in India and to suggest measures for removing the abuses found. The Committee came to certain tentative conclusions after discussion and the same would be considered by the Government before giving effect to the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee. After disposing of certain routine items, the meeting terminated.

Among the important subjects considered by the Committee were questions regarding restriction of investments by insurance companies, the voting rights of shareholders and the formula put forward by the Superintendent of Insurance (Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan), for limiting expenses of insurance companies.

At a dinner given the same night by insurance companies, in Madras, to Mr. L. S. Vaidyanathan at the Cosmopolitan Club, Mr. Vaidyanathan explained the scope of his formula for limiting expenses and how such limitation would help the healthy growth of insurance companies. He gave an account, in this connection, of the legislation undertaken in New York City where conditions similar to those prevailing in India existed before the legislative measures were enacted.

WAR RISK INSURANCE

A press note says that in view of the cessation of hostilities with Japan, the War Risk Factories Insurance Scheme will be withdrawn from the first of next month and the War Risk (goods) Insurance Scheme from first of October.

SOCIAL INSURANCE FOR SEAMEN

The *ad hoc* Advisory Committee constituted by the Government of India to consider the question of improving the conditions of Indian seamen generally, is expected to discuss at its first meeting, to be held in New Delhi on August 4, the question of evolving a social insurance scheme for the seamen employed in coastal and foreign-going ships registered in India, as well as in foreign countries.

The formation of a suitable permanent machinery, for advising Government on maritime labour problems and directly dealing with all matters concerning ship-owners and seamen, will be another subject for discussion. The question of setting up either a national maritime board or a tripartite conference will be considered in this connection.

Other subjects that will be considered are regulation of hours of work of Indian seamen, recruitment, holidays with pay and clothing for seamen.

THE JUPITER INSURANCE CO.

"We, as Indians and as members of the business community, owe a duty to ourselves and to the community to show that we can make money and make profits not at the expense of others, but by adding to the common prosperity of the country," observed Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., D.Litt., Bar-at-Law, on the occasion of meeting members, staff, agents and field-workers of the Jupiter General Insurance Company, the management of which he has taken over as its new Chairman. Mr. J. C. Thakkar, the outgoing Chairman, presided.

Mr. E. S. Joel, the General Manager of the Company, welcoming Dr. Chettiar, observed that it was a happy augury for the Company, which is the second largest composite insurance office in India, that so eminent a captain of industry as Dr. Chettiar would be at its helm.

INDIAN INDUSTRIALISTS
DELEGATION

The Indian Industrialists Delegation, which recently toured the United Kingdom and the United States, has not placed any orders for heavy machinery or other industrial equipment in either country. This was revealed recently at a Press Conference held by Mr. Tata and Mr. A. D. Shroff, members of the Delegation.

Mr. Shroff explained that this was because so far as the United States was concerned, they had no dollars with which to pay for any purchases and in England they did not see any good "bargains."

At the outset, Mr. Tata said that a fuller statement of the views and the general impressions of the Delegation as a whole would be issued after all its members had returned to India. This would be by the middle of this month when Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. N. R. Sarker are expected to return.

LEND-LEASE AID TO INDIA

The total Lease-Lend Shipment to India to the end of June, 1945, amounted to 2,033,385,000 dollars, according to the report on Lend-Lease operations upto June, 1945, submitted by President Truman to Congress. By means of this aid, the United States helped to relieve many of India's needs and strengthened the striking power of the Allied forces in the farflung China-Burma-India theatre, the report declared.

The major share of these shipments was munitions. Aircraft represented one-quarter

of the dollar value of all Lend-Lease material sent to India: tanks and vehicles amounted to more than 20 per cent. and ordinance 12 per cent.

After pointing out that India in reverse Lend-Lease has given aid to America to the extent of 516,713,000 dollars, the report says "India's ports have proved extremely valuable, for example, in movements of war materials like jute and mica under reverse Lend-Lease for war plants in the United States.

Under reverse Lend-Lease, India produced these strategic materials, transported them to shipside and provided loading facilities. United States under Lend-Lease provided hauling and transportation equipment. United States also supplied large quantities of tyre-making materials to enable Indian plants to produce tyres for military vehicles.

CAPITAL GOODS FOR INDIA

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member, Government of India, who recently returned from a mission to the United Kingdom and United States mainly for securing capital goods and expert assistance and to have talks with His Majesty's Government on the question of elimination of the Commercial Safeguards clauses from the Government of India Act, 1935, told Press Correspondents recently that it might take two years and more before India could get imports of capital goods from the United Kingdom. From U.S.A. deliveries might be earlier.

In regard to Commercial Safeguards, Sir Ardeshir said that organised bodies of British industrialists were not prepared for any radical change in the safeguards provided for in the Act at present. They would like to consider the question in the context of the larger constitutional issue.

WOMEN M.P.'s

There were 14 women in the last Parliament and in this one there are a couple of dozen. Not much of an increase perhaps, but the swing to the Left in women's representation is as marked as that of the General Election, comments a writer in *Daily Herald*.

Eight of the 14 last time were Tories. Two of them (Lady Astor and Mrs. Beatrice Wright) retired. Five of the others were knocked out. The only one to retain her seat was Lady Davidson at Hemel, Hampstead.

All Labour women M.P.'s, except Mrs. Agnes Hardie, who has retired, fought victorious defensive actions; Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Dr. Edith Summerskill and Mrs. Jennie Adamson, Lady Megan Lloyd George remained as a Liberal and the fate of Miss Eleanor Rathbone as a University member has still to be announced. The new women M.P.'s are all Labour.

MRS. SAROJINI'S REMINDER TO LORD LAWRENCE

"Lord Wavell's sudden summons to London naturally presupposes a desire on the part of the Socialist Government of England to make a new offer or a new paraphrase of the old rejected offer to the people of India", says Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in an interview.

Mrs. Naidu adds, "But, however complex and difficult our domestic problems be, India is no longer in a mood to consider fresh versions of the stale and too familiar phrases—'self-government' or 'Dominion status'. She demands and can accept

nothing less than full independence, with all its far-reaching and intricate implications.

"May I venture to remind Lord Pethick-Lawrence that he and his distinguished wife, both old and valued friends of mine, have always proved in precept and practice their unwavering fidelity to the basic principles of equality and freedom. In this crucial hour of human history, there is an unequalled opportunity for the Secretary of State for India to rise to a height of wise and courageous statesmanship and make a splendid affirmation of his own avowed ideals on behalf of India's independence."

Concluding, Mrs. Naidu says, "Free and friendly India would be an invaluable asset to Britain in rebuilding the ruined world. Unhappy and rebellious India in subjection would be an indictment of Britain's moral failure and spiritual defeat."

MUSLIM LADIES AS NURSES

A strong plea to the Muslim ladies to come forward to take up training as nurses has been put forward by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, in a statement to the Orient Press. Sir Ziauddin points out that, while in England there is one nurse for every 300 persons, there is only one Muslim nurse for every five lakhs of Muslim population in India. He further states that the proposed Medical College at Aligarh will have an institute for training nurses as an integral part of the College. The estimated cost of the Institute, he says, will be Rs. 10 lakhs, the major portion of which will be utilised for providing stipends for food and clothing to the trainees.

Sir Ziauddin announces that Mrs. Saida Akhthar of Bangalore has taken upon herself the task of collecting the requisite amount for the Nurses Institute and is also contributing Rs. 10,000 herself.

Literary

AMERICANS AND INDIA

"One of the first things soon after my arrival in America was the fact that while almost every part of the world was represented amongst the journalists in America, Indian journalists were conspicuous by their absence," said Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru while addressing the Journalists' Association at Allahabad.

There was no Indian agency to send news from there to India of Indian interest. Taking advantage of the absence of this organisation in America, British propaganda, unfavourable to India and Indian situation, had its own way and was little counteracted by the work of Indian journalists there. The fact that struck him most was that in spite of goodwill of Americans towards India their ignorance of affairs of India was profound.

MERGER OF FINANCIAL DAILIES IN BRITAIN

Britain's two financial daily newspapers are amalgamating. The *Financial News, Limited* has bought controlling interest in the *Financial Times, Limited*, held by Lord Camrose and his family. Minority holders of the *Financial Times, Limited*, will be offered the same price as has been paid for the controlling interest, namely, 41sh. 3d. per share.

The *Financial Times* will acquire the copyright of the *Financial News* and subsequently the two papers will amalgamate.

Mr. Brendan Bracken is associated with the *Financial News, Limited*, which now controls both the papers.

AMERICAN PUBLISHER'S OFFER TO CHURCHILL

According to a reliable report in New York, Mr. Winston Churchill has been offered 1,00,000 dollars (Rs. 33,00,000) for his story of the war. The figure covers book and magazine serial rights. The offer has been made by a big American publisher, who said he would be trying to get Mr. Churchill to sign a contract immediately.

Personal

LORD SINHA

Lord Sinha, who last month took his seat in the House of Lords for the first time since his father's death in 1928, had, it will be recalled, many legal difficulties to overcome before his right to a seat in the Upper House was recognised.

Lord Sinha is the son of the first Lord Sinha who was raised to the peerage as Baron Sinha of Raipur in 1919. As a member of the House of Lords, the first Lord Sinha piloted the Government of India Act of 1919 through the Upper House. At that time he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The Japanese News Agency announced the death of Subhas Chandra Bose in a Japanese hospital as a result of injuries received in an air crash on August 22.



The Agency added that Lieut-Gen. Tsunamasa Shidi was instantly killed, and Colonel Habibur Rahman, Subhas Chandra Bose's adjutant, and four other Japanese officers were injured in the crash.

THE LATE MR. RANGACHARI

Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachari, whose death occurred at the ripe age of eighty, was one of the older politicians of India with a record of public service spread over 25 years. Like most members of the old brigade, he was a lawyer by profession and started public life with active participation in the civic affairs of his home town—Madras.

PROGRESS OF CANCER RESEARCH

The progress in cancer treatment made during the war at the London Royal Cancer Hospital was described as "little short of amazing" by Mr. Chester Beaty, President, at the hospital's last annual meeting.

Experiments, which may throw light upon racial, geographical and economic incidence of some cancers in man, were mentioned in the reports of the work carried out during the year.

Cancer of the liver is far more common in the natives of South Africa and Southern Asia than in the natives of Britain, while in England and Wales, cancers of the skin, mouth, throat and stomach become progressively more common as one descends the scale from the richer to the poorer classes.

Mr. C. E. Shattock, Chairman of the Medical Committee, said that no cure in the true sense of the word has yet been put to the credit of chemotherapy, but it was within the realms of possibility that increasing experience might indicate that it was a key to success.

TULSI LEAF AS CURE FOR MALARIA

The *Tulsi* leaf (*Ocimum Sanctum*) is an effective malaria cure, says Dr. Mohanlal Sethi of Ludhiana.

As a prophylactic against malaria, five fresh leaves of *tulsi* with three black pepper, should be chewed and swallowed early in the morning or between meals, twice a week. For children the dose should be reduced proportionately.

PENICILLIN FOR INSANITY

Penicillin has just saved the reason of five patients in a Birmingham mental hospital.

The doctor in charge, who believes that the new drug can be used to arrest and cure mental diseases, grew the penicillin himself and has said that he will be glad to show anyone how to do so. Some of his penicillin was produced in ordinary jam jars.

HYDERABAD EXPERIMENT IN DIETARY

Extensive and repeated surveys of the dietary conditions in Hyderabad State having revealed inadequacies in both quantity and quality, also a marked lack in protective value, the Nizam's Government have appointed a Nutrition Advisory Committee to ensure better nourishment of the population. Among the schemes engaging attention are: measures for increasing milk production and regulating its supply; the extensive growing of vegetables and fruits; the establishment of fisheries; measures to improve the breeding of cattle and poultry; feeding of school children; organising of canteens for industrial workers; introduction of mobile canteens to supply foods of approved nutritional value at cheap rates and demonstration kitchens and stalls to show how the dietary habits of the people, mainly dependent on rice and wheat can be changed.

EXCESSIVE CLEANING OF VEGETABLES

Meticulous processing and refining of foodstuffs, which removes "those imponderable metals which are found in soil and are needed for health," is blamed for teeth decay by Sir Leonard Erskine Hill, former Applied Physiology Director of the National Institute of Medical Research, Britain.

He points out that "natives in general suffer from tooth decay only when they come to eat white flour and sugar in place of their own diet," and says that modern methods of washing wheat in the roller-milling process, excessive cleaning of vegetables, peeling of potatoes, destroy the "imponderables" essential for healthy teeth.

Similarly, careful filtering of reservoir water-supplies, while guarding against typhoid and cholera epidemics, also removes any trace of the elusive metals.

YAWNING AND EXCITEMENT

The assumption that yawning is caused by boredom is a mistaken one. A person is just as apt to yawn when moved by acute attention, or breathless excitement.

FUTURE OF INDIAN BANKING

Confidence that the Indian banking system was in a position to make its full contribution to the post-war economic development of the country was expressed by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, presiding over the eleventh annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Bank held at Delhi on August 6.

Sir Chintaman said that while the general banking picture continued to be healthy and encouraging, there were certain undesirable tendencies which, if not checked in time, might react unfavourably on the country's banking structure. He uttered a word of caution in particular against three "unsound practices". These were (1) the tendency among a few banks to acquire control of non-banking companies by the purchase of the latter's shares regardless of the price and yield; (2) indiscriminate branch banking engaged in by a number of banks. In some cases, he said, the expenditure incurred on branches was out of all proportion to the resources of the institution or the capacity of the head office to control them efficiently; and (3) excessive manipulation practised in a few instances at the time of the preparation of balance-sheets which gave an altogether misleading impression of the bank's financial position, particularly in respect of deposits.

BANK OF ENGLAND

Much has been heard of late of the proposal by England's Labour Government to nationalise the Bank of England. This venerable financial institution has long been on Labour's list for nationalisation, although comparatively little interest has been displayed by the layman in the proposal, and indeed it would have little effect on the man in the street.

Apart from keeping Government deposits and managing the National Debt, the chief function of the Bank of England is to issue Bank of England notes for use by the public.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

Rehabilitation, development, amenities to passengers, construction of new lines and staff welfare constitute the important items of a Rs. 319 crores plan for post-war development of the Indian Railways, according to information received. The plan is claimed to be practical enough to operate without putting any excessive strain on Government finance and elastic enough to be enlarged or adjusted to conform to the needs of other maturing post-war schemes.

Considerable doubling of track, additions to stations and yards and improvement in signalling, interlocking and other arrangements for improving the efficiency of the working of railways are envisaged in the plan. The Railway Advisory Committee are also advised to consider suggestions for the improvement of amenities to Third-Class passengers like the construction of new platforms, increasing the number of over-bridges, latrines and waiting accommodation, provision of separate waiting rooms for women, improved booking arrangements and additional comforts during travel by the reduction of the number of passengers carried in each compartment. It is proposed to reduce the number of ordinary passenger classes to three (corresponding to the present Second, Inter and Third) with considerable improvement in all the three, and to have in addition 'deluxe air-conditioned accommodation' in important trains. As an initial measure for ten years, and annual construction of 500 miles of new railway lines is envisaged and the programme is capable of expansion. Special consideration will also be given to lines required for the development of the country.

The construction of locomotives will be speeded up, and in addition to the railway-workshop already placed under the management of the Tata's for manufacturing boilers, a second workshop is to be reorganised for production, under State control, of locomotives and boilers.

TRADE UNIONS AND ART

In the United States of America, Trade Unions have lately taken a fancy for Art. They have made elaborate arrangements for Art-teaching in a way, which is suited to the average labourer, who is usually without any previous training, or much of talents.

The students who join these classes are just ordinary labourers, between 13 and 52 in age. Judging from the conditions prevailing in India, and general standard of labour class on the whole, it is surprising that they have any inclination at all for these finer aspects of culture. But that they find time and energy to dabble with paints after a day's hard toil is all the more astonishing. Perhaps it indicates a better condition of labour also.

After a strenuous physical exertion for full seven hours of the day, in an atmosphere of heat, sweat and noise, they rush to quiet painting classes to get their physical relaxation coupled with intellectual and emotional pleasure, through the medium of painting or other plastic arts. It is a manner of recreation almost unknown to us and unthinkable for our Unions. But it is certainly a very desirable and noble past-time to escape from the anxieties of our day to day problems.

This scheme not only offers a healthy and noble mode of recreation they give a chance to an ordinary labourer to test his talents in the sphere of Art.

BARODA ART EXHIBITION

The Commercial and Industrial Art Exhibition organised by the Art and Science Association at the Cottage Industries Institute was declared open by Sir B. L. Mitter, the Dewan.

The exhibition was organised on the basis of an All-India competition and about 150 entries had been received some of them from distant parts of India.

Prizes to the extent of about Rs. 1,300 were awarded. Among the entries, the most striking were poster designs for the Cottage Industries Institute and the Alembic Chemical Works as also some textile and label designs.

INDIAN CRICKETERS

"I think India has a bright future in international cricket, if we apply ourselves to the game and have the will to perform creditably on all kinds of wickets," said Dr. P. Subbaroyan, President of the Board of Cricket Control for India, in an interview in Calcutta.

Dr. Subbaroyan was sure that when hostilities in the East ceased, English teams would visit Australia and India. He said: "We must build a side who will work as a team, we must improve our fielding. Our cricketers must pay attention to this department of the game as they did to batting and bowling, inasmuch as good fielding makes a moderate bowling side into a good one in any contest."

Dr. Subbaroyan emphasized that Indian players should be able to overcome the difficulties of different kinds of wickets. He said: "We have batsmen of reputation in Merchant, Hazare, Amarnath and Mustaq Ali. Mody is very good, and I am sure he will be a source of strength for any Indian side for many years to come, as he is still young. In Gul Mahomed we have a batsman who would distinguish himself in any company."

ENGLISH SOCCER TEAM FOR INDIA

There is a bright prospect for a representative English football team visiting India next year. It may be recalled that at the last annual meeting of the All-India Football Federation, it was considered whether the Football Association of England could be approached for sending an England team. Mr. G. C. Guha, Joint Honorary Secretary of the I.F.A. who is now in London on business, was commissioned by the Indian Federation to contact the Football Association.

It is learnt that Mr. Guha called on S. F. Rous, Secretary of the Football Association, who has tentatively agreed to send an England XI (not an international side) composed of professionals and amateurs to India in 1946 or 1947. The Football Association will officially consider India's invitation.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Research fellowships in Chemistry, Physics and Biology worth Rs. 336,000 are being given to the National Institute of Science of India by the Imperial Chemical Industries (India). The fellowships are to be available over the next five to seven years.

Details of the gift are contained in a letter sent by Lord McGowan, Chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., to Professor Wadia, President of the National Institute. Lord McGowan writes: "We thought there could be no better way of encouraging the advance of science in India and with it the general prosperity of the country than by the offer of these fellowships which, under the wise administration of your Council, will, I hope, lead to augmentation of the distinguished successes in science already attained by so many of your fellow countrymen."

Each fellowship is to be worth Rs. 400 a month, and will be tenable for two years with the possibility of extension to three years. In addition there will be a grant for research expenses to be made to the fellowship holders according to their needs of special apparatus and materials. The fellowships will be open to persons irrespective of sex, race or religion under 35 years of age. The over-riding qualification for membership will be scientific ability.

GERMAN WAR SECRETS IN BRITISH HANDS

Practically all German war secrets are now known to the British, says a report. It is further reported that the Allied campaign to extract every possible war industrial secret from the Reich is assured of hundred per cent. success following sweeping disclosures by two key German officials—Albert Speer, formerly Hitler's Minister of Armaments and War Production and Dr. Osenberg, head of the Reich Research Council. Both these men now in British hands, have handed over documents including a list of 15,000 leading German technicians and details of armament development in which they were engaged. Other documents embrace the entire field of research in missiles in Germany.

'MUHURT' OF UDAY SHANKAR'S FILM

An event of considerable significance to the Indian film industry came off in Madras when the "Muhurt" was performed of Uday Shankar's film, "Kalpana", at the Gemini Studio.

The film is being produced under the banner of "Stage and Screen Presentations"—the company of which Uday Shankar is a partner along with Sir Chinnbhai Madhowlal and Mr. Vishnudas Shirali. A special licence for the film had been granted by the Government on the basis of Uday Shankar's services to Indian art and culture.

The "Muhurt," which was quite a simple affair, was preceded by six months continuous rehearsals, which is an unprecedented thing in Indian films. "Kalpana" is a social story dealing with some of the modern problems and abounds in dances and music of a novel type.

CINEGUILD LTD.

In order to increase their output of first class pictures, Anthony Havelock-Allan, David Lean and Ronald Neame have formed Cineguild, a production company working from Denham Studios.

These three young men have each gained an invaluable knowledge of film-making through years of experience in every technical department of the business. They first came together during the making of Noel Coward's "In Which We Serve", David Lean as co-Director, Anthony Havelock-Allan as Associate Producer and Ronald Neame Director of Lighting. They took charge of the production of Noel Coward's "This Happy Breed" with David Lean directing solo. By this time they were working as a team and had collected a nucleus of experienced technicians. Thus Cineguild came into being.

Cineguild's film of Noel Coward's "Blithe Spirit" emerged in Technicolor as brilliant and gay as the stage play, and this has been followed by "Brief Encounter", starring Celia Johnson and Trevor Howard and based on a play from Noel Coward's "Tonight at 8-30" series.

CHEAPER CARS

In a speech to the London Rotary Club reviewing the war production activities of his organisation, Sir Miles Thomas, Vice-Chairman of the Nuffield Organisation, predicted that in future cars would be cheaper. He said: "There is no doubt that we have learned a tremendous amount during six years of war production. Things, such as the development of faster cutting steels and tools, which speed up machining operations very considerably will help the public by making it possible for us eventually to lower the price of cars."

MANUFACTURE OF U.S. CARS IN INDIA

The American General Motors Corporation have built a large plant in India for the manufacture of American-designed automobiles by Indian labour, says the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

Now that Germany and Japan have been industrially crippled, India is the world's third wealthiest country, it adds, and asks its readers: "How many Americans know that the British Empire's biggest steel plant is in India?"

MANUFACTURE OF MOTOR CARS

Mr. M. D. Mehta, who has returned from the United Kingdom and U.S.A. after establishing contacts with well-known motor car manufacturers there, has finalised arrangements for the manufacture in India of a small motor car, which will be within the means of the average motor car buyer.

MORE TYRES FOR CIVIL PURPOSES

Private motorists will obtain a substantial increase in the allotment of tyres for civil purposes in the next quota period, according to the Rubber Controller.

Additional allotments of crude rubber are also being made to manufacturers to enable them to switch over smoothly and rapidly to the production of civil goods. Many items, such as hot water bottles, gum boots and good quality sports shoes, are expected to reappear as a result of these allotments.

400 MAJOR AIRPORTS IN INDIA

To-day, India has between 350 and 400 major airports. India's economy has been built up to the highest possible pitch of production. In terms of money India's contribution to the war effort is somewhere about £500,000,000.

These facts were revealed by Lieut.-Col. J. D. Boyle at the week-end Youth Conference at Peterborough with India as its keynote. Over 1,500 delegates from Britain's youth centres attended the meetings.

The Indian Army had been completely modernised, said Colonel Boyle, but when Japan overran Burma, the cupboard was bare. The condition in India then was much as it was in Britain at the time of Dunkirk. But Indian soldiers, thinly stretched over the enormous frontier remained imperturbable. They hung on literally by the skin of their teeth and their reward now had been the most complete and smashing defeat of the Japanese on land yet achieved in any theatre of the Eastern war.

BRITAIN'S NEW FIGHTER PLANE

Secrets of Britain's jet fighter aircraft "Meteor" used against flying bombs last year and now classed as the world's finest fighter, are now revealed.

The "Meteor" is an all-metal low-winged, single-seater monoplane, powered by two jet-turbined engines. Its armament consists of four 20 millimetre Hispano guns, and a Camera Gun incorporated in the Gun button may be used independently from the gun. In flight the "Meteor" is very manoeuvrable. It is the first jet-turbined propelled aircraft to fly successfully in Britain and possibly in the world.

AMERICA'S BIGGEST TRANSPORT PLANE

The world's largest troop-carrier land-based air-plane XC99 is being built at San Diego. This was announced by Mr. Harry Woodhead, President of the Consolidated Vulture Aircraft Corporation.

The plane is the military counterpart of the 204 passenger liner ordered by the Pan-American World Airways. It has a wingspan of 250 feet, a length of 183 feet and powered by six engines.

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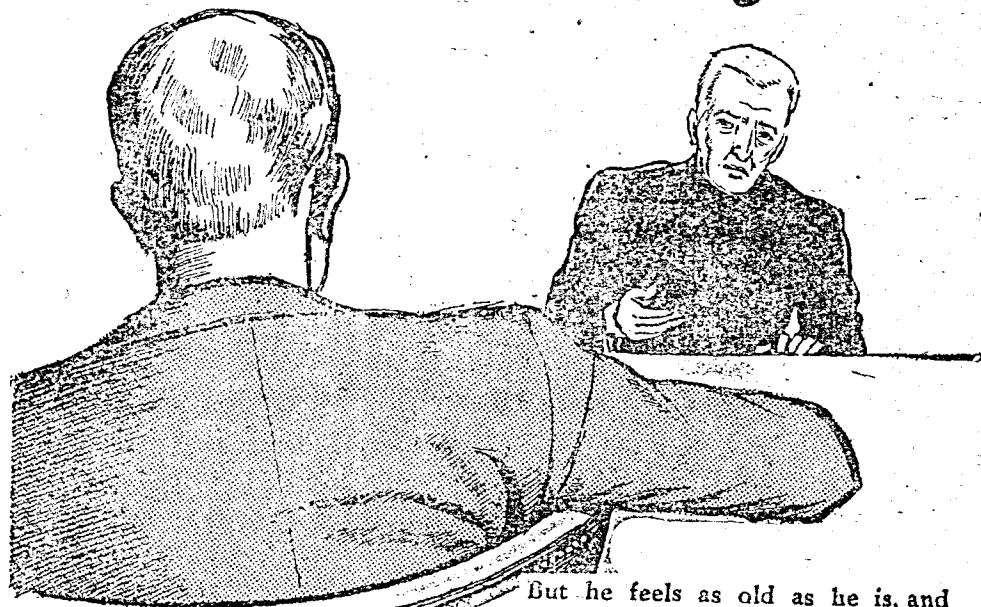
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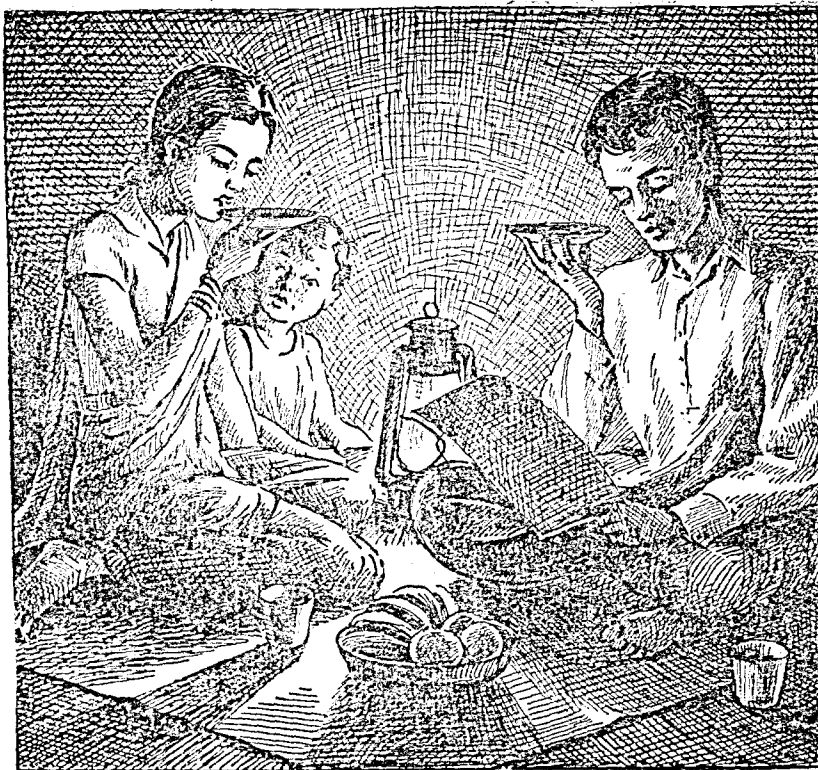
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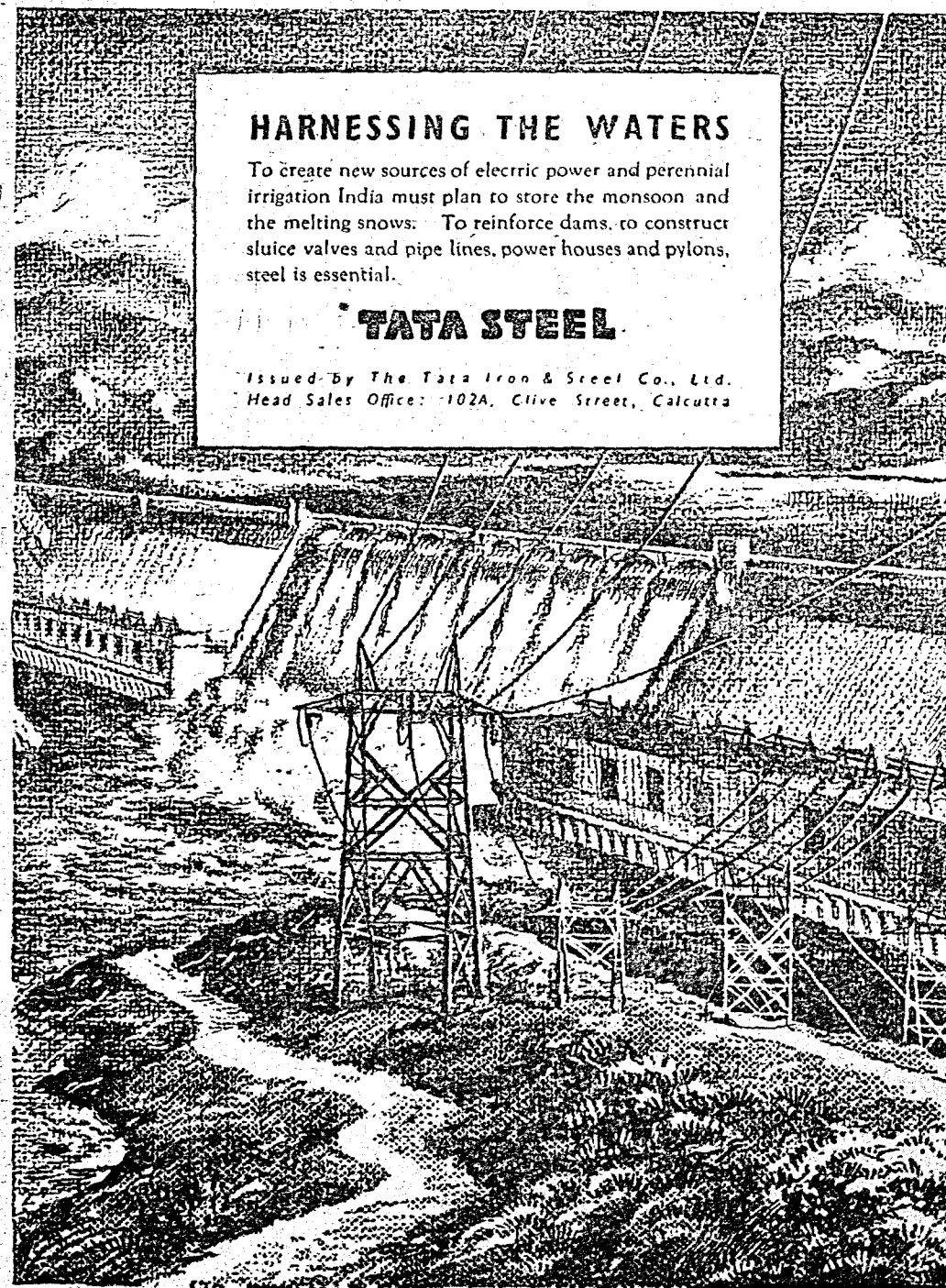
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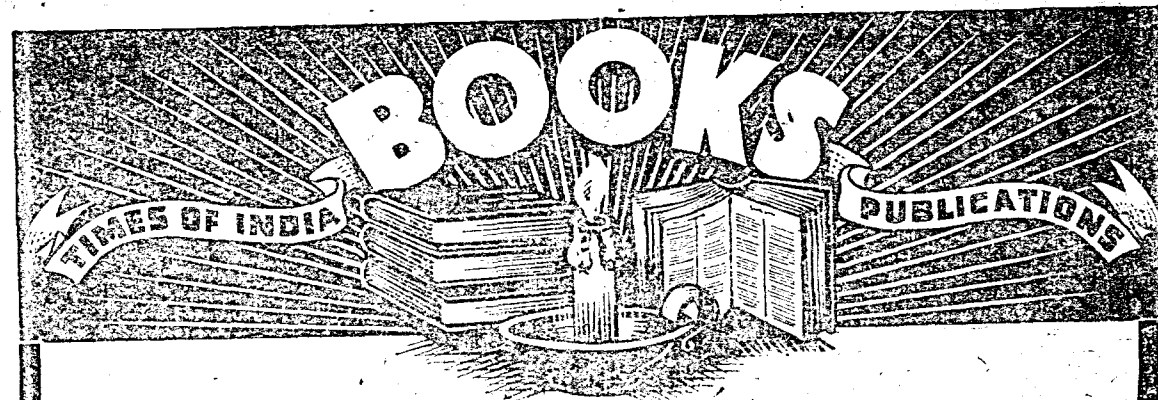
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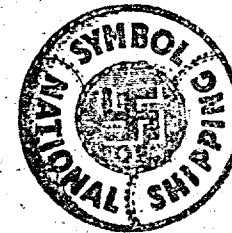
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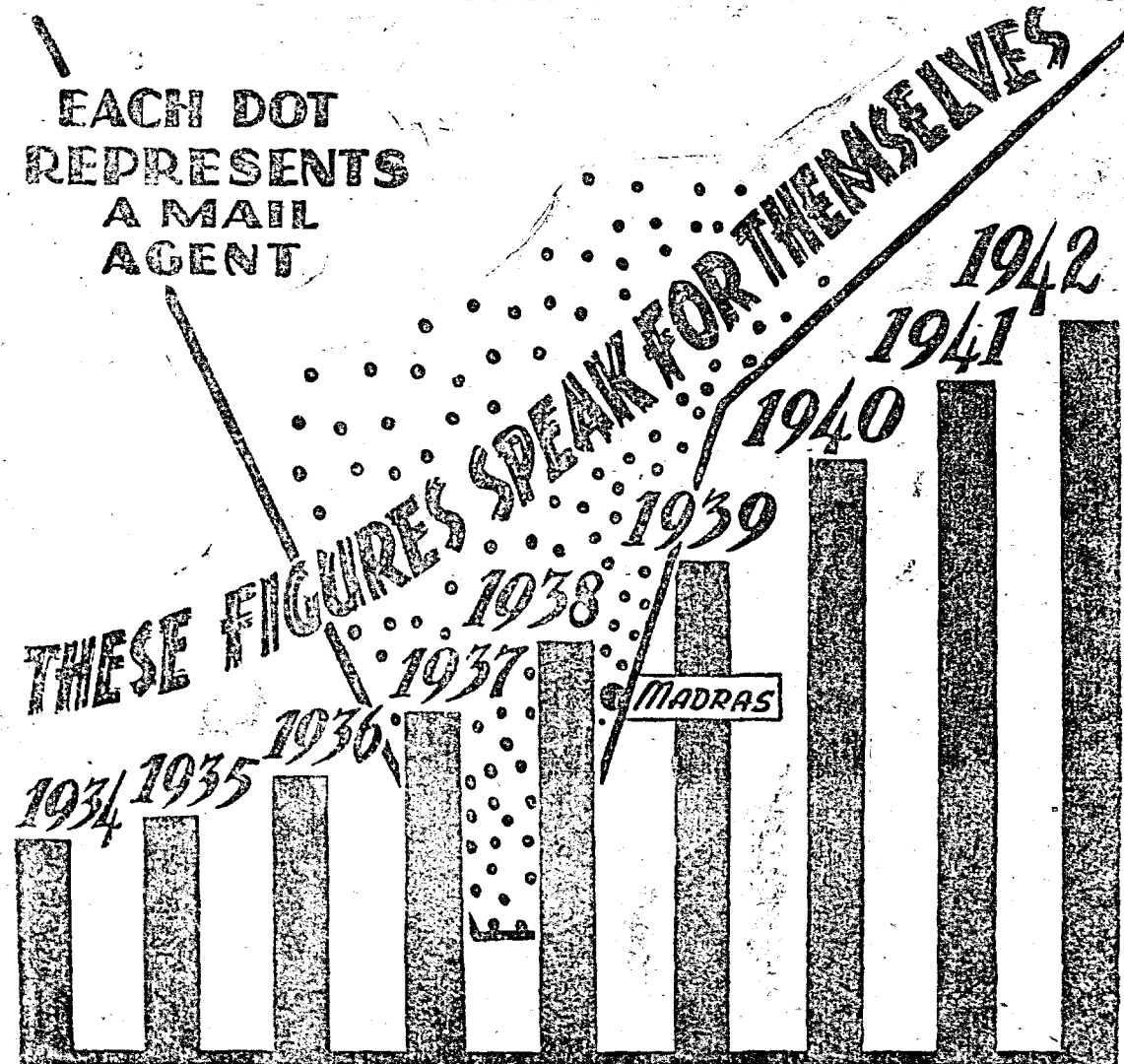


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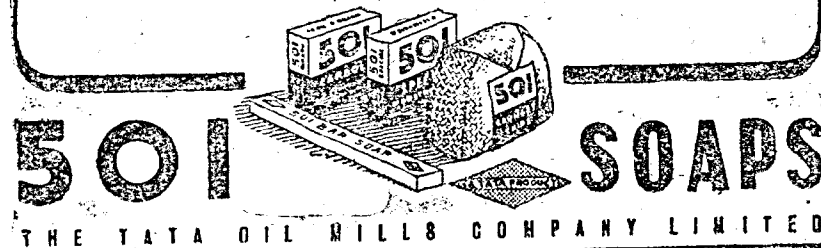


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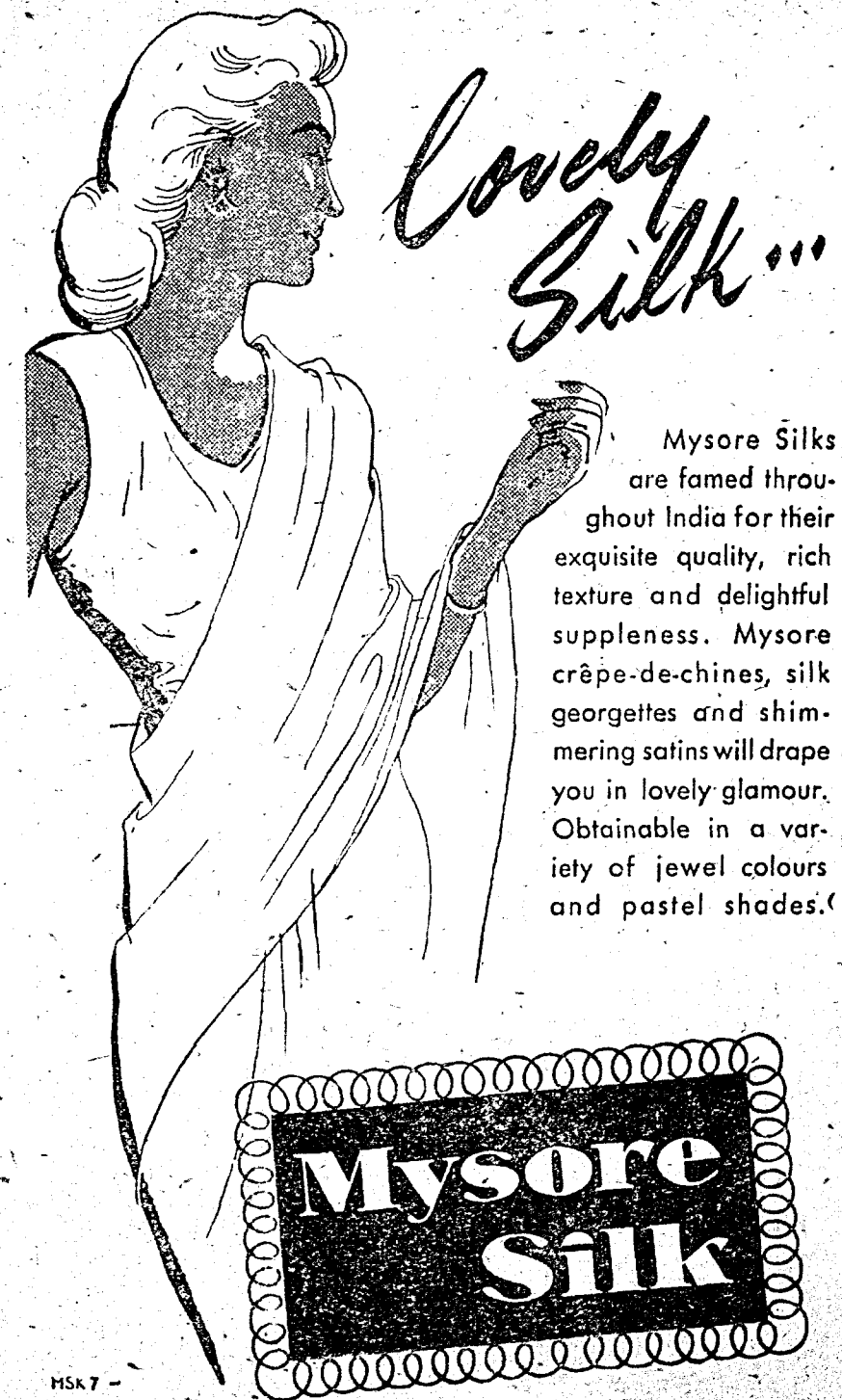
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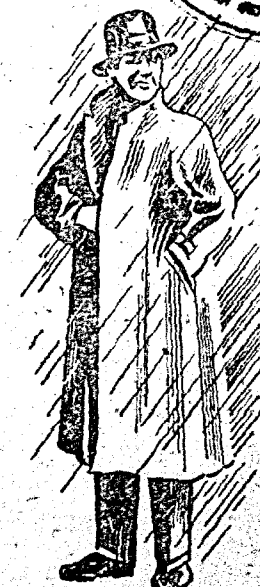
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