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INDIAN REVIEW

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.



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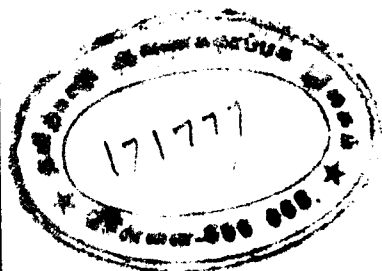
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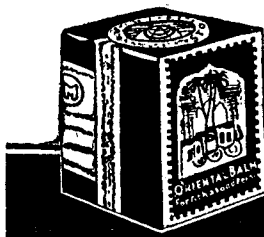
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Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

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FEBRUARY 1946

[No. 2.]

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

By DR. SIR C. V. RAMAN, Kt.

AS has been remarked by Robert Louis Stevenson in a charming little essay on this subject, it is scarcely possible to speak of books that have influenced one without finding oneself engaged on an auto-biographical essay of a sort. A man's outlook on the problems of life is necessarily moulded by the influences to which he has been subject, and especially by the influences brought to bear on him when at an impressionable age. The share which books have had in shaping his mental outlook and ultimately also his career in life, is, I fancy a highly variable one, and to no small extent dependent on the person's environment at home and at school in his early days. Indeed, a good home and a good school may be judged by the kind of books they put in the way of the growing young person for him to feed his mind and his emotions upon. I believe it is the exception rather than the rule for the books which are formally taught at school and at college to exercise any profound influence on the mind of the student. The element of compulsion introduced in the prescription of books for study is usually fatal to that attitude of mind which is necessary for the full appreciation of their

contents. It is the books the merits of which you have, so to say, discovered for yourself, that really influence you.

The failure to recognise this elementary fact of human psychology, namely the antithesis between choice and compulsion, is responsible for the unfruitful character of a vast amount of scholastic effort in the way of both teaching and learning. I can tell you here a story about myself or rather against myself in this connection. Forty-five years ago, a well-meaning University prescribed Robert Louis Stevenson's well-known story "Kidnapped" as an English text for the First Arts course. I do not remember the precise number of times this text was taught or lectured upon in class, or the precise number of times I read through the book during the two years' course of study for the examination. The copy I purchased and used disappeared in due course. One evening, a couple of years ago, a copy of Stevenson's "Kidnapped" beautifully printed and bound caught my eye at a Railway bookstall. I was tempted to buy it and took it home and started reading the book before going to bed. Believe it or not, the story or rather the manner of its telling, gripped me so powerfully that

I had to finish reading the whole book at a sitting before retiring for the night. I had, so to say, discovered Stevenson's magic charm of writing for myself. Since then, I have read everything that Stevenson wrote with the keenest enjoyment.

I finished my school and college career and my University examinations at the age of eighteen. In this short span of years had been compressed the study of four languages and of a great variety of diverse subjects, in several cases up to the highest University standards. A list of all the volumes I had to study would be of terrifying length. Did these books influence me? Yes, in the narrow sense of making me tolerably familiar with subjects so diverse as Ancient Greek and Roman history, modern Indian and European History, Formal Logic, Economics, Monetary Theory and Public Finance, the later Sanskrit writers and the minor English authors, to say nothing of Physiography, Chemistry and a dozen branches of Pure and Applied Mathematics, and of Experimental and Theoretical Physics. But out of all this welter of subjects and books, can I pick out anything that helped really to mould my mental and spiritual outlook and determine my chosen path in life? Yes, I can and I shall mention three books.

A purposeful life needs an axis or hinge to which it is firmly fixed and yet around which it can freely revolve. As I see it, this axis or hinge has been, in my own case, strangely enough, not the love of science nor even the love of Nature, but a certain abstract idealism or belief in the value of the human spirit and the virtue of human endeavour and achievement.

The nearest point to which I can trace this source of idealism is my recollection of reading Edwin Arnold's great book, *The Light of Asia*. I remember being powerfully moved by the story of Siddhartha's great renunciation, of his search for truth and of his final enlightenment. This was at a time when I was young enough to be impressionable, and the reading of the book fixed firmly in my mind the idea that this capacity for renunciation in the pursuit of exalted aims is the very essence of human greatness. This is not an unfamiliar idea to us in India, but it is not easy to live up to. It has always seemed to me a surprising and regrettable fact that the profound teaching of the Buddha has not left a deeper and stronger impress on the life of our country of which he was the greatest son that ever lived.

The next of the books that I have to mention is one of the most remarkable works of all time, namely, *The Elements* of Euclid. Familiarity with some parts of Euclid and a certain dislike of its formalism have dethroned this great work from the apparently unassailable position which it occupied in the esteem of the learned world for an almost incredibly long period of time. Indeed, my own early reactions to the compulsory study of Euclid were anything but favourable. The reason for this is, I think, to be found in the excessive emphasis placed on the subject as an intellectual discipline and the undue attention given to details as distinguished from its broader aspects. To put it a little differently, the student of Euclid is invited to look at the trees and to examine

their branches and twigs so minutely, that he ceases even to be conscious of the existence of the wood. The real value of Geometry appears when we consider it as a whole, not as merely as the properties of straight lines, triangles and circles, but of everything else, curves, figures and solids of all kinds. Thus regarded, Geometry makes a profound appeal both to our senses and to our intellect. Indeed, of all branches of Mathematics, it is that which links most closely what we see with the eye with what we perceive by reasoning. The ancient Greeks had a fine sense of the value of intellectual discipline, they had also a fine sense of the beautiful. They loved Geometry just because it had both these appeals. In my early years, it was a great struggle for me to learn to overcome the dislike of the formalism of Euclid and gradually to perceive the fascination and beauty of the subject. Not until many years later, however, did I fully appreciate the central position of Geometry in relation to all natural knowledge. I can illustrate this relationship by a thousand examples but will content myself with remarking that every mineral found in Nature, every crystal made by man, every leaf, flower or fruit that we see growing, every living thing from the smallest to the largest that walks on earth, flies in the air or swims in the waters or lives deep down on the ocean floor, speaks aloud of the fundamental role of Geometry in Nature. The pages of Euclid are like the opening bars of the music in the grand opera of Nature's great drama. So to say, they lift the veil and show to our vision a glimpse of a vast world of natural knowledge awaiting study.

Of all the great names in the world of learning that have come down to us from the remote past, that of Archimedes, by common consent, occupies the foremost place. Speaking of the modern world, the supremest figure, in my judgment is that of Hermann Von Helmholtz. In the range and depth of his knowledge, in the clearness and profundity of his scientific vision, he easily transcended all other names I could mention, even including Isaac Newton. Rightly he has been described as the intellectual Colossus of the nineteenth century. It was my great good fortune, while I was still a student at college, to have possessed a copy of an English translation of his great work on "The Sensations of Tone." As is well known, this was one of Helmholtz's masterpieces. It treats the subject of music and musical instruments not only with profound knowledge and insight, but also with extreme clarity of language and expression. I discovered this book for myself and read it with the keenest interest and attention. It can be said without exaggeration that it profoundly influenced my intellectual outlook. For the first time, I understood from its perusal what scientific research really meant and how it could be undertaken. I also gathered from it a variety of problems for research which were later to occupy my attention and keep me busy for many years. Helmholtz had written yet another great masterpiece entitled "The Physiology of Vision." Unfortunately, this was not available to me as it had not then been translated into the English language.

AUTHORS WHO HAVE INSPIRED ME

BY MR. C. JINARAJADASA

—:o:—

ONE of the happiest experiences of an educated man is the constant looking back on authors who have inspired him. Therefore the truly educated man is a lover of books, and surrounds himself with books. Each book is the voice of a guide and friend; and so to possess books is to be rich in friendship. I say "to possess books", not merely to have them on the shelves. The distinction is obvious, and need not be expatiated upon.

There are certain authors to whom I turn constantly. Even if I do not pick out so very often one of their books from my shelves, their thoughts are somewhere at the back of my mind, especially as I try to create anything literary or artistic.

Foremost of these are the unknown authors of the twelve principal Upanishads. In one way or another, every phase of philosophy is somewhere to be found in an Upanishad, not necessarily fully developed but only in germ. And as all philosophies turn at last towards the goal, that of the Unity, anyone who has steeped himself in the Upanishads is reminded of them, as he listens to the latest speculation of the modern mind.

Next to the Upanishads, I think Dante influences me most. Fortunately for me, I read Dante in the original, and so sense an exquisiteness in art which no other poet possesses. There is in Homer, in the Greek, a wonderful gigantic quality, as if somehow one were consorting with an order of super-men. The rolling waves of his language, the stark reality in things which he presents,

united to the indescribable Greek quality of looking at life "as it is", make Homer by far and away the greatest of the poets. But Dante is unique in another sphere. It is, that whatever is the thing or event, or human characteristic, which Dante describes in his *Divine Comedy*, he makes it as it were a window through which to look at a whole host of cosmic happenings. He is "archetypal"...I know no other word to use for him. If he describes the growth of a plant, he makes you see the growth of the soul as well. He uses a language almost perfect for poetry, for Italian has a diamond-like clearness. And in addition, Italian has an artistic sweetness and sonority which, in the hands of a master like Dante, makes whatever he says so said, that it could not by any possibility be said in a better or truer or more beautiful way.

After Dante comes Richard Wagner. He is best known for his music-dramas, for in them he has made unity of abstract music and the drama which no one ever before has attempted. Combine the dramas of Aeschylus with the lofty music of Beethoven, and you get something of what Wagner dreamed of as art and life. If one could imagine Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet", or his "King Lear" raised to the nth in their emotional and artistic appeal, that is what one finds in one of Wagner's typical musical dramas like *Lohengrin* or *Parsifal*. As to his great Trilogy, *The Ring of the Niebelung*, which takes four successive evenings to perform, we see in it the dramatisation of a whole cosmos at work,

with Gods and men, and with all the creatures of earth and sea, of fire and air in conflict or co-operation.

Of this group of Dante and Wagner, is immortal and ever-youthful Plato. Plato affects me to my inmost depths because of his great concept of Archetypes at work in his visible cosmos of men and things. Along one line, Dante is the end of art, along another Wagner. So too is Plato the end of all philosophy and art, for when all is said and done, the clue to the mystery of life is the Archetype.

And lastly comes Ruskin, whose gospel of humanitarianism is the noblest gospel that I know. Ruskin to me thinks true. He thinks true because he feels true. And he feels true, because he has realised that all art, all religion, all science and philosophy

lead to one goal, which is to understand man, and to love and serve man. He brings all the powers of his intensely artistic nature to preach that gospel. In many ways, especially in Political Economy, we are still in darkness, because we have not yet cared to understand Ruskin.

My walls are full of books, but if I were going to be exiled to a desert island with only a few of the world's books permitted to be taken, I should select just these few: a volume of the twelve Upanishads, the Bible, the Sutta Nipata, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Hardy's poems, the two Oxford books of English and Spanish verse, Wagner's *Niabelungen Ring*, and a Shakespeare. And why so few? Because I have discovered my world of literature, and what I read in these reflects my own inner discovery.

It is because these authors have inspired me to "live pure, speak true, right wrong, follow The King"—that unseen King who is the Atman in the universe and in myself—I say to each: "Tasmai Sri Gurave Namah!"

The Nationalization of the Bank of England

BY MR. B. N. CHATTERJI,

Lucknow University.

THE Labour Government of England have lost no time in redeeming one of the election pledges made to the country at the time of the last elections by introducing a bill in the House of Commons for the nationalization of the Bank of England.

The bank as is well-known has been a stockholder's bank since its incorporation on July 27, 1694. The original capital which stood at £1,200,000 was increased from time to time until it amounted to £14,553,000. The entire capital of the Bank was lent to Government and thus constituted a guardian capital. The stocks of the Bank like those of other public corporations were listed on the London Stock Exchange and the stockholders have been getting a dividend of 10 per cent. for years. These stocks will be compulsorily acquired

by the Government and the stockholders will be paid £55,000,000 as consideration.

Formerly service on the board of directors was a monopoly of the leading merchant bankers of London but in recent years there has been a tendency to appoint a few industrialists on the board. Lord Keynes had been for some years a director of the Bank. In future the Governor and Directors of the Bank will be appointed by Government and the Bank will have to act under Government instructions in matters relating to policy.

Whatever might have been the constitution of the Bank in the past, it is admitted on all hands that for years past, it has functioned as a state department. It has operated under special powers set forth in its Charters and has acquired large powers which it has

exercised by custom. Since the passing of the Bank Charter Act of 1844 until the abandonment of gold standard in 1931, the Bank was charged with the responsibility of making an adequate supply of credit available to trade and industry, controlling currency and maintaining the convertibility of the bank note, regulating exchanges and supplying gold for liquidating England's balance of payment on foreign trade account as also for international payments.

It is generally conceded that the Bank discharged its duties with consummate skill and judgment and it soon came to be recognised as the leading Central Bank in the world whose policies and conventions set a pattern for other Central Banks to follow.

During the First World War the Bank played a very important part in helping the British Government in its war efforts by granting credits and issuing loans on behalf of Government.

Again the Bank was largely responsible for the restoration of the old gold-parity of £3-17-10½d. per standard ounce in 1925. It is true the Bank came in for much criticism for its part in the restoration of the old gold parity which indirectly aggravated the effects of the World Economic Depression by bringing about an appreciation of sterling. Judging by subsequent events, it may be said that the authorities committed an error of judgment in advising the government to restore the old gold parity, but it must at the same time be admitted that the attitude of the Bank was dictated by considerations of the position of London in the international money markets.

The suspension of gold standard in 1931 not only left the pound sterling unprotected against inevitable fluctuations but also exposed it to the danger of speculative operations. With a view to meet the situation, the Issue Department of the Bank undertook the buying and selling of pounds against foreign currencies and for some time a considerable amount of cover against the fiduciary issue of the Bank consisted of foreign bills. After some time the authorities of the Bank felt that its resources were quite inadequate to iron out sterling fluctu-

ations and that interventions in the foreign exchange market undertaken in public interests should be executed with public funds. Accordingly a special machinery in the form of Exchange Equalisation Account was set up. Though the Account was under the control of the Treasury, the Bank acted in close co-operation with the Government. It is now known that the Bank played no insignificant part in the operations undertaken on behalf of the Account.

The World Economic Depression found British industry totally unprepared to meet an economic disturbance of this magnitude. Important basic industries like coal, iron, textile, shipping were neither organised nor rationalised. It was felt that suitable machinery should be set up for institutional financing with a view to help the national industries. That the Bank was alive to its responsibilities was shown by the fact that within a very short time two institutions *viz.*, the Banker's Industrial Development Company and the Security Management Trust were set up in 1930, under the auspices of the Bank, for financing the rationalising and reconstruction of shipbuilding, iron and cotton industries. Since then the Bank has participated in the capital issue of two other financing institutions, *viz.* Finance Corporation for industry and the Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation Ltd.

The successful financing of the Second World War was largely due to the expert guidance of the Bank.

It would thus appear that during the greater part of the last 50 years the Bank has for all practical purposes functioned as a state Bank. As the national economy of England was organized on capitalistic basis, the interests of the City of London which held practically all the stock of the Bank were identical with those of the Government. Consequently, there was hardly any matter of policy on which there was any serious divergence of opinion between the board of Directors and the Government. Prof. G.D.H. Cole has made some serious allegations against the Bank's activities in an interesting article in the September issue of the "Picture Post." He has charged the

Bank with responsibility for discrediting the economic and financial policy of the First Labour Government and thus bringing about its fall in 1931. The gravamen of his charge is that the Bank allowed itself to be used as a tool in the hands of the City of London by opposing a progressive approach to social and economic problems of the day.

The nationalization of the Bank is not calculated to produce any spectacular effect in the immediate future. Its importance at the present moment lies in the fact that it marks the symbolic end of the control of the Bank by the City of London. The Labour Government has placed a socialist programme before the country. A bill for the nationalization of coal mines is already before the House of Commons. Other progressive measures are bound to follow. The nationalization of the Bank, therefore, at this juncture will ensure a socialistic approach to the future economy of the country.

The problems which England will have to face in the near future will call for bold constructive leadership. The War has left England much enfeebled in resources and national wealth. If the pre-war standard of life is to be maintained, England must increase her exports by 50 per cent. National industries will have to be rehabilitated and the change over from war time to peace time production expedited. The Government is pledged to a policy of full employment. To achieve these objects, the money rates must be kept low and the supply of money and credit kept up at a

level which will eliminate all possibility of depression. For the rebuilding of national economy, it will be necessary to control capital movements for a long time and regulate investment policy. It may also be necessary to maintain a general control over foreign payments on trade account. The socialised Bank will be called upon to deal with the regulation of foreign exchange and the determination of the supply of credit.

Nationalisation of the Central Bank of a country acquires special significance only when a radical change in the social and economic order is contemplated. The Central Bank in such circumstances can be used as a powerful lever for supplying cheap credit to trade, business, and industry, stabilising prices, regulating exchanges, and bringing the internal financial and monetary policy in line with the policy of the Government.

The Bank of England is going to be nationalised at a time when great changes in social and economic order are contemplated. It has great potentialities for doing good. At any rate it will no longer be in a position to do mischief. The Labour Government in secure control of the Bank can go forward with its policy of employment and expansion with the assurance there will be no finance-ridden Central Bank to wreck its plans and programme the success of which will depend as much on the courage and vision of the Government as on the sagacity of its policy and skill in execution.

THE STUDY OF POLITICS

BY PROF. M. RUTHNASAMY

Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University.

POLITICS cannot do without history. Not only because as Seely said, "Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history" but for a more fundamental reason because history furnishes us with the bulk of the facts and experiences which are the raw material that help us in formulating the principles

and maxims of politics. As Lord Acton said, "the Science of politics is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history." Any attempt to build a science of politics or syllabuses or courses in political science except on a foundation of history will prove a delusion and a snare. Specialization in political science cannot

go to the extent of separating it from its source and strength.

But Politics to be worthy of the name and of inclusion in courses of academic study must be science. It must be that political science which in the language of one of its greatest students and exponents, Lord Acton, "resides in the serene regions, remote from the conflicts of party opinion, a science whose principles are clear, definite and certain and not more difficult to apply than the principles of the moral code." It must be founded on a study of moral principles, natural rights as well as on the facts of history and contemporary observation. For as both Burke and Mill agree in saying, politics is as much a theory of natural rights and of moral law as a practical art based on the experience of mankind. It is this two-fold path to political knowledge that we at Universities are called upon to build.

The academic teacher of political science is at the opposite pole of the politician who re-discovers old theories or, is hard put to it, invents theories of natural rights or indulges in mere strategy or tactics in the field of political action.

I found few of the politicians had had a training in history or political science or economics. It was either philosophy, or natural science, or just law. Not that it would have certainly saved them from error in thought or action if they had read history or politics or economics at the University. Nor is political knowledge of much use or even necessary in appeals to the masses—especially when there is a war on with the British. But, however independent the politician may be of academic learning, the teacher of politics at our colleges and Universities cannot afford to neglect the source of knowledge to be found in the contemporary political scene.

That is why I must deplore in public, as I did in private, the decision of the inter-University Board at its recent meeting in Colombo to recommend to Universities to

see to it that the teachers under their control do not take part in politics. I can understand that there may be circumstances local or temporary in which teachers may be advised not to take part in political campaigns. But apart from the fact that to deny to the teacher a right to take an active part in the political life of his country is to deny him one of the important rights of citizenship, the right to be elected to the representative assemblies of the country, you are denying the political life of the country the beneficial influence that may come from a body of detached and cultured and leisured men giving their mind and energy to the business of politics. Central and provincial and especially local Governments may profit not a little from the presence and work of competent and well-chosen representatives of the body of teachers.

But there is one condition on which the teacher would be welcomed in politics. He must give politics what the teacher and none else can give—impartiality, independence, liberal knowledge, a sense of permanent values. If he joins in the shouting of the slogans of the hour and finding arguments for popular moves, he is not serving the cause of good Government or proving the need for the introduction of the teacher into political life. And Frederic II's jibe that he could always get a professor to support any policy of his would be applicable in these our democratic days. . . .

May I, as a former teacher and as one interested in the political population of teachers, plead that we should deal with these questions with science and with reason, *sine ira, sine studio* as the great historian Tacitus said—without anger and without bias. So doing, we may serve our country at a critical moment in its history. And the taunt of Henry IV to his friend may not be hurled at us "Go and hang yourself Crillon. We fought a great fight at Argues, but you were not there."

ART CONTEMPLATION

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

ALTHOUGH art, in one sense, may be concerned with the very essence of reality, it is clear that the persons and things with which it immediately deals, like the characters it describes or the scenes of external nature in which it presents them, are by no means real. But they are not therefore to be reckoned as illusions in the ordinary sense of the word, for they never mislead us. We merely *entertain* them, as it is said, neither believing nor disbelieving in them. The example commonly given by Indian writers in this connection is that of a painted horse (*chitra-turaga*). We speak and think of it as a horse; but, all the time, we know that it is not one. This characteristic of art implies that it can have no bearing upon our activity, for all activity is directed towards real objects. In illustrating this fact, *viz.* that the content of art lies outside actual life, a well-known Shakespearian scholar has stated that 'we dismiss the agony of Lear in a moment, if the kitten goes and burns its nose'.

This dissociation of art from our practical interests often gives rise to a misapprehension that the contemplation of the aesthetic object is quite passive. People take for granted that beauty is given ready-made in a work of art, and that we have merely to yield ourselves entirely to its influence to derive delight from it. Any effort that may be required on our part, they think, is restricted to keep out from our mind distracting factors that may wake us to a sense of

the actual world from which we have withdrawn ourselves for the time being. This is not the view of uninstructed laymen alone; it sometimes receives support from even writers of standing in the field of art criticism. Thus Addison, referring to 'the pleasures of the imagination' by which he means the pleasures that may arise from the contemplation of nature or of art, speaks of the ease with which they can be secured. They require, he says, 'very little attention of thought or application of mind in the beholder'.

What is overlooked in this naive view, as we may call it, is the essentially creative character of art. So far as the artist is concerned, it is not difficult to see the need for constructive power. Even in realistic art, where he is supposed to be reproducing what is given in nature and not aiming at the creation of beauty, he has to exercise a good deal of activity in the form of selecting, from among the features presented, those that are fit for portrayal and properly unifying them. For nature, even at its best, contains irrelevant features, if not also ugly or disagreeable ones. To paint a landscape is more than to photograph it. The painter does not reproduce it as it is, but as his imagination represents it to him. In other words, the artist never copies the given mechanically, but idealises it; and in this idealisation lies the secret of his art. In the case of the spectator, doubtless, no such effort is necessary; for there are the aids, which

the genius of the artist has provided, to guide him in his contemplation. But the process should still involve activity, inasmuch as a proper appreciation of a work embodying the results of idealisation is impossible without an imaginative reconstruction of its content. It is only when thus ideally reconstructed that the beauty of the work becomes actual for the spectator; and it is only when it is thus 'verified by his own heart', as the Sanskrit expression goes, that he, rising above the interests of common life, forgets himself and is said to realise the aesthetic end. To put the same in the Indian way, the beautiful as a value needs to be striven for and achieved (*sadhya*), no matter whether one approaches it as an artist or as a spectator.

This view of art contemplation entirely transforms the idea of the aesthetic end. In the naive view alluded to above, the end is delight, to which contemplation is but a means; and the contemplation is justified by the end to which it leads. But here no such dualism of end and means is recognised. There is only a single self-justifying process of contemplation, which represents a *progressive* appreciation of the aesthetic object. The purpose is thus present throughout the process or is immanent in it; and, if we look upon its culminating stage as the result, it is because that the stage is marked by the repose of achievement. The value of art accordingly consists not in providing mere delight for us, but in the totality of experience for which aesthetic contemplation stands. The feeling of pleasure is, no doubt, there, but

only as an aspect of that experience. This is the significance of the term *rasa*, used in Sanskrit for aesthetic value—a term which literally means 'savour' or 'savouring' and implies that art valuation is an active process of which delight is only a characteristic feature. It is therefore wrong to think that art exists for our delectation. If it did, some at all events would not attach much importance to it. It aims rather at inducing in us a unique attitude of mind which signifies not only pleasure but also complete disinterestedness and a sympathetic insight into the whole situation depicted by the artist. The uniqueness of this attitude will become clear when we mention that, in the view of Indian thinkers, it is comparable to the ideal state of the *Jivanmukta* or one that has realised the goal of life.

We have stated that art has no aim beyond itself; but it may appear that this is not consistent with fact, since it is found actually utilised in various spheres of life. For example, it has been used to further the interests of religion in all countries and in all ages. But this is only an apparent inconsistency. When we say that art is its own end, we think of the aesthetic process as integral and self-sufficing, so that its purpose is included in it. Art may have other purposes also, like the one to which allusion has just been made. But the point to be particularly noted is that, however excellent such purposes may in themselves be, they are external to art and possess no aesthetic value. To give an illustration from the parallel realm of conduct, the ethical value of a good deed consists in

the *doing* of it and in the right direction of the will involved in it. Any consequences that may follow from the deed are extraneous to it; and they, as students of the Gita will well realise, have no direct bearing upon that value. One and the same work of art may have both

these aims. But it takes away nothing from its worth if, while fulfilling its intrinsic purpose, it does not serve as a means to an external end. If, however, the reverse holds good in any case, *e.g.* a poem that is purely didactic, we may still value it for its usefulness but not as art.

CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.A.

BY MR. N. L. AHMAD

THE United States is a federation where there are two parallel systems of government, national and State. The powers and functions of national government are defined by the national constitution while those of each state government are defined by the National Constitution and by the constitution of the particular states. National government possesses only such powers as have been expressly granted, a State government possesses all the residuary powers. Matters which are of national importance and which require uniformity, as for instance, foreign policy, armed forces, currency etc., are handed over to the National government. Other matters, in which uniformity is not required like elementary education, public works of local importance, etc., are left to local control. In the national sphere, the legislature, executive and judiciary are each confined by the constitution to a particular field of action. The same principle is followed in the working of the State governments. No members of the national executive is eligible to sit in the national legislature, called Congress; nor can a member of a State executive sit in the legislature of that State. The result is that the executive cannot control the legislature.

The Congress is composed of two houses. The House of Representatives is elected for a term of two years by large constituencies, almost equal in population. The franchise is fixed by the particular State from which the representative comes. The other house, called the Senate, is composed of two members from each state elected for six years. One third of them retire every two years. The citizens of each state elect their Senators on a general ticket. Custom forbids a candidate to offer himself for election in any district other than the one in which he resides. This factor, coupled with the demands of the constituents for places, pensions and grants for local objects, the committee method of conducting business in Congress, and the many careers open to men of talent, makes it difficult for men of high intellectual ability to seek election to the Congress. The Senate, which represents the federating units, plays an important part in government. Its longer term, continuity, wider powers, and smaller size attracts the highest talent. The Senate has established itself as equally powerful with the House of Representatives even in finance. In other matters its powers are peculiar and important. Its concurrence is required for

all important, administrative and judicial appointments made by the President. Every treaty negotiated by the executive requires the approval of two-thirds of the Senators.

The President, who is the head of the executive, is elected for four years by presidential electors specially chosen by the people in each State. The number of the presidential electors in each state is the same as the number of its representatives in Congress. This election by the electoral college has become in practice a vote by the whole people. The President possesses the right of vetoing a bill passed by the Congress and he frequently uses it. But, his veto can be over-ridden if both houses pass the bill once again each by a two-thirds majority. The President appoints heads of executive departments and a large number of other officials. The executive heads are responsible to the President and not to the Congress. He controls the whole vast business of administration on the executive side and ranks as one of the most important and powerful functionaries in the world. Mr. Woodrow Wilson in his *Constitutional Government in the United States*, published in 1908, says about the President, "No one else represents the people as a whole exercising a national choice, and inasmuch as his strictly executive duties are in fact subordinated, so far as all detail is concerned, the President represents not so much the party's governing efficiency as its controlling ideas and principles. He is not so much part of its organization as its vital link of connection with the thinking nation. . . . His is the only national voice in affairs. His position takes the imagination of the country."

The national judiciary of the Americans consists of a Supreme Court and inferior Federal Courts, which have been created all over the country. The Supreme Court enjoys original jurisdiction in some cases and hears appeals from the inferior Federal Courts. But its most important function is that of the guardian of the Constitution. The Supreme Court possess the power to declare any act of the legislature or decree of the executive unconstitutional and therefore null and void. The exercise of this power by the judiciary constitutes an effective safe-guard against the abuse of power by the legislature and the executive. The Federal Judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and they hold office for life.

Let me turn now to the State Government. Each State has a legislature composed of two houses, popularly elected, with practically equal legislative powers. The legislature works by a system of committees, resembling that of Congress. This system affords little opportunity for debate in public. Abuse of legislative power for the benefit of private corporations or individuals is noticeable in the States. "Private Bills" are sponsored for this purpose by professional politicians. The Governor who is the head of the State executive, is elected by the people of the whole State. He is responsible for the maintenance of order and for vetoing bad private bills.

The Governor often over-shadows the legislature by his determination, courage, and uprightness. Judges in a large number of States are elected by the people. In some States they are appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Council or of the

legislature, while in others they are elected by the legislature. The tenure of the judges varies greatly. The salaries are not high. Election of judges by popular vote, low salaries, and short terms militate against the efficiency and integrity of the local judiciary. It is interesting to note that the States where the Governor appoints the judges usually possess an upright and competent judiciary. Ex-President William H. Taft pointed out "the lax enforcement of the criminal law", which remains "one of the greatest evils from which the people of U.S.A. suffer."

Local government is an important feature of democracy in America. The New England type of local government is based on the town, which corresponds to the parish in England. The town is governed by the whole body of resident citizens, who meet at least once a year to discuss the general affairs of the community and to elect officials for the ensuing year. The American institution has been "both the school and pattern of democracy". The county stands above the town. Its officials, who are elected by the citizens for short terms, have specific statutory functions. In the southern States there are no towns; the county has been the unit of local government. The county has no council, but a number of elected officials with specific functions. In the Middle East and the Western States, both the types, town and county, exist. The important feature of this system of local government in America is the existence of popularly elected single officials or small administrative boards for short terms with specific duties prescribed by the state.

The principles of popular government are religiously applied also to the municipal government of cities, large and small. The Mayor is elected by the whole body of citizens. The legislature which consists in some cities of one house, in others of two, is elected by the several wards. Its members receive salaries. The large cities also have boards, and officials who too are popularly elected. The local judges and magistrates too are elected by the citizens for short terms.

The efficient and smooth working of the constitution of the U.S.A. is dependent on the existence of an efficient and powerful party organization. The large number of elected bodies and functionaries in the national State, and local spheres and the separation of governmental functions and powers necessitate the organization of democracy on party lines.

Each of the two great political parties, Republican and Democrat, has a party committee in every ward and city, in every township, in every electoral district, in every state. At the top of all, a national committee exists to fight the Presidential election. Each of these committees is elected by the party voters in a Primary or in a convention composed of delegates from the Primaries. The committees are appointed annually. The Primaries and conventions nominate their candidates for the several offices open to election in their respective jurisdictions. All these arrangements scrupulously comply with the doctrine of sovereignty of the people. But in actual practice real political power tends to fall in the hands of the party bosses and party machine. This is due to the plethora of elections, which call for the sacrifice of a

considerable amount of hard-earned leisure and energy on the part of an average citizen, for which he is not prepared.

The constitution of the U.S.A. presents several features, which we in India can reasonably adopt and others which we can usefully adopt to suit our own purpose. We in India have been used to powerful paternal government for a very long time and I can well imagine that a President of the American type will appeal greatly to our imagination. He will give us that unity of purpose and direction that is necessary to solve our domestic problems and to adjust our international policies in accordance with the popular will. We require also a Senate of the American pattern, which will be representative of our federating provinces and which will prevent the President from abusing his power in important matters. The President's dealings with the minorities should be made subject to the approval of the Senate which will be fully representative of the provinces where national minor-

ities are in majority. We should provide also for more opportunities for the executive to maintain frequent contact and constant exchange of views with the legislature.

Private Bills should not be allowed to come into existence in our legislatures, national and provincial. This can be secured by the rules for private bill committees and by a system of standing orders. In order to draw higher talent to the legislature, citizens should be able to seek election from districts other than those, in which they reside. Judges and police magistrates in the provincial and local spheres should be nominated for life by the head of the provincial executive, rather than elected by the people. Only then should we expect a vigorous enforcement of criminal law. Members of local bodies should receive adequate salaries and should not work in an honorary capacity. This should help in securing integrity in the working of our local self-governing institutions.—*Broadcast.*

Indian Federal Finance in Peace and War

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

THE theory of public finance has been developed chiefly in countries with a unitary form of government. It is not therefore surprising that most of the orthodox canons on the subject tend to neglect the peculiar aspects of federal finance. Of course, there is little fundamental difference of principle between the problems that arise from either form of political organisation, but in detail there

are differences sufficiently numerous and important to reduce seriously the value of propositions based upon the one and applied to the other. No 'unitary' public finance can deal adequately with the problem, for instance, of double taxation or of 'intermediate' distribution, as they arise under a federal system.

India's federal finance is to be studied with reference rather to the future than the

present. An enquiry into the Indian federal finance raises some difficult economic and constitutional problems. It is further complicated and partly by the fact that the Indian budgets, Central and Provincial have been thrown completely out of gear. The immediate financial prospects cannot safely be made the basis of a rigid constitutional scheme. It will be necessary to aim at a considerable degree of elasticity in the financial framework, so that changing industrial and economic conditions in India at a later date might make it imperative to modify the financial schemes now proposed.

The success of a modern government depends in a very large measure on the financial resources which it can command for carrying out its policies. The self-rule of the Indian people, if it is to fulfil its cherished ends, must be based on a sound financial organisation. This does not mean that high taxation is a condition of the successful working of the self-government. Taxes will have to be raised, under the reformed constitution according to the people's capacity to pay, whatever may be the amount yielded by them. Though high taxation is not a condition of self-government, neither, can low taxation be necessarily expected as its result. The chief merit of the financial organisation of a self-governing India shall not lie in raising less revenue or retrenching more expenditure than at present but in raising revenue wisely and spending it productively. We will do well to remember Gladstone's saying, "Good finance consists more in the spending than in the collecting of revenue".

Nothing is more naive than the view entertained in some quarters that under a national regime, the government of the country will be less expensive or that the taxes will be lower. Economy can and must be effected in various directions. Substantial economies in existing expenditure could only be brought about by a comprehensive reorganisation of the system of administration but it might not be possible here to make any definite allowance for the effect of such reorganisation. In fact, it is a mistake to suppose that the cost of administration as a whole under the new political order will markedly fall off. In dealing with the financial foundation of a Federal Government in India, it is necessary to ensure that a sufficient field is available for raising money taxation. The field of taxation assumes a definite constitutional importance under a system of Federal Government. The autonomy of the central and local authorities in their respective spheres which is the essence of Federation implies that each of these governments should have unhampered fiscal powers, that is to say a division of the sphere of government must also include a division of the available sources of taxation.

The problem of federal finance in India is to find a suitable basis on which to allocate existing or potential sources of revenue between the units and the federal body appropriate to their functions. The authors of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms pointed out that if self-government was to become a reality, the Provinces should be in a position to calculate their resources with certainty,

and to some extent be free to develop their own taxable capacity. They proposed therefore that genuinely federal system of finance should be set up, and that the sources of revenue should be separated between the Central Government and the Provinces. In conformity with this principle, the system of complete separation of heads of revenue was adopted in the Government of India Act. (1919).

The Indian Federal system of finance came into existence with the Reforms of 1921-22 and it assumed a more developed Federal shape with the Government of India Act. 1935. The war did not lead to great changes in the financial relations between Federal and Provincial authorities. But the working of the financial system is conditioned by the following circumstances. The population of India is about 70% of the population of the British Commonwealth. Two-thirds of the population live on one-fourth of the area, and the population is increasing at the rate of 5 million a year. The structure of public finance is influenced largely by its dependence on agriculture. Seven tenths of the population of India depends on agriculture for living. Not only is the national income very low but there is a great disparity in the incomes of different classes of the people of India.

Indian production compares very unfavourably with progressive countries; only 10% is engaged in industry and about 1 or 2% in large scale industry. In trade India ranks about ninth or tenth among the countries of the world. The

implications of all these facts on the national income and financial structure, are obvious.

The main conclusions that may be drawn from the working of Indian federal finance in peace and war are:

1. The whole system is regressive, consumption taxes forming the bulk of the revenue of the Provincial and Central Governments. Taxes on incomes form only 4% of the total, while taxes on real property account for 18% and of this the major part is land revenue which is 12% of the total revenue.

2. The revenue of the Central is largely from customs and Railways and thus the Centre also depends largely on consumption taxes.

3. Provincial Revenues are mainly from taxes on real property *i.e.*, 36%; land revenue, 31% and forests 4%; excise 17% stamps 12% and irrigation 11%.

4. Local revenues are derived from taxes on real property *i.e.*, on lands and houses to the extent of 35%.

5. A comparison with other tax systems shows there is not much scope for income and business taxation and Indian financial structure is to be based largely on consumption taxes and taxation of property of which land taxation is the most important. Subsidies from the Centre to the Provinces form 4% of the total revenue of the Provinces as compared with 8% in Canada. The problem therefore is not only of increasing the revenue but also of equitable adjustment.

Indian Women's Charter of Rights*

BY MRS. HANSA MEHTA

I shall briefly outline the salient features of a Women's Charter of Rights.

Firstly we stand for the freedom of woman and her equality with man.

Equality, however, is not to mean identity but equality of opportunity. A woman is as much a human being as man is. If freedom and equality are the basis of human development, woman must be entitled to share them with man. There should be no disability attached to her sex.

This idea should form the basis of the charter. It is gratifying to note that the preamble of the charter signed at San Francisco by the United Nations which includes India accepts this position of equality between man and woman.

The Indian National Congress passed a resolution on the fundamental rights as long ago as 1931:

No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour.

The National Planning Committee also says:

In a planned society, woman's place shall be equal to that of man. Equal status, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities shall be the guiding principles to regulate the status of woman whatever the basis of society to the plan.

It is on this accepted basis of equality between man and woman that the charter which will define the rights and responsibilities of woman as an individual and as a member of society is to be prepared.

As an individual, woman shall enjoy all the rights of, and shall be required to perform all the duties of, a citizen whether these rights are political, civic or economic. The State shall recognize the individual as the unit of

society and not the family. Woman, therefore, shall be enfranchised in her own rights and not as in relation to man.

The present basis of franchise which gives the woman the right to vote as a wife of a man with a certain income violates this principle and, therefore, cannot be accepted by us. We must reaffirm our demand for adult suffrage as the only way to enfranchise a larger number of women than we have today, which is one woman to four men when the population ratio is almost fifty-fifty.

Women should be more and more associated with the administration of the country. I would also urge that besides putting up women candidates for the seats reserved for them, some women should be selected to stand from the general constituencies.

UPROOT ILLITERACY

Without education it is not possible for any one to understand his or her responsibility. We must, therefore, lay great emphasis on the right of every woman to be educated and we must demand the removal of such obstacles as for example child marriage, child labour or *purdah* which come in the way of her education.

The question as to what kind of education it is to be, will have to be carefully considered. The present educational system will not be a helpful guide in deciding the nature of our future education except in a negative way. It is evident that the present system is not very popular from the progress it has made. The Sargent scheme has recognised the necessity of overhauling the entire system and we must endorse that plea.

There are one or two things, however, we must make clear with regard to women's

* From the Presidential Address to the All-India Women's Conference at Hyderabad (Sind):

education. It will have to be education that helps the fullest development of woman's personality and will train her to be a useful member of society.

Women shall have facilities for training for any profession or occupation that she may choose to follow. . . .

The question of co-education is also agitating the minds of the educationalists. Whatever its pros and cons, we must remember that ours is a poor country and we cannot afford the luxury of two separate institutions where one can serve the purpose.

HEALTH SERVICES

After education the most vital need is health. Every woman shall have facilities to maintain and protect her health. That a woman should have a right to health seems a very self-evident proposition and ordinarily would require no comment. But such self-evident propositions are not very evident in this country. It is clear that much requires to be done with regard to the improvement of public health.

The figures of maternal mortality in India are simply appalling. Dr. Miss Lazarus has shown in her pamphlet on our *Nursing Services* that more women die due to child bearing, which is a normal physiological function, than the number of men and women who die of plague, small-pox or cholera. One reason for this is lack of proper and adequate health services. The other reasons are lack of education, existence of social evils like child marriage and *purdah*, and lack of sanitary housing. Women should have a right to better homes and better health services in order to save her from a life of toil and misery and an untimely death.

In this mammon-made world the worth of a person is reckoned on his or her economic status. It is in the economic sphere that woman will have to fight hard to establish her position. We must demand the right for every woman to work.

There are services from which married women are debarred. If a married woman accepts and abides by the conditions of service, there is no reason why she should be excluded.

There can be, however, exceptions to this rule. We would not like for instance women, and specially pregnant women, to be employed in heavy industries or in underground work in mines which would affect their health. Women will be required to take up such work as will help the country.

Woman shall only have a right to work but work under the right conditions *i.e.* in relation to place of work, hours of work, pay, holidays, sickness allowance, maternity benefit, etc. The labour conditions in this country are far from satisfactory. The Conference has been urging for the necessary reforms, all these years. We have advocated insurance against sickness and asked for maternity benefits.

HOUSEWIFE'S ROLE

There is one type of work which has not been recognized so far to which I would like to draw your attention. It is the work of the housewife. She works from early morning till late at night. An average housewife hardly enjoys rest or holiday. And yet this work is not considered of value in that it is not productive and brings no return in the

shape of rupees, annas or pies. It is one of the reasons why there is a growing dislike among the educated and more awakened women for this kind of work; and they prefer to seek careers outside the home. It is time that the importance of this work was recognized and conditions of work improved.

The work of the housewife has recently been recognized in England as the Beveridge report includes it for the benefits under the Social Insurance scheme. If such a scheme is undertaken by the Government in this country, we should see that the housewife's work gets recognition. Besides this, the housewife should have a right to a part of her husband's income: she should have no feeling of dependence on man but realize that she can claim a portion of the income as hers by right; and, as a corollary, the husband should have no right to dispose of his entire income without the consent of his wife.

RIGHT TO LEISURE

Every woman shall have a right to leisure. With the exception of a very

few women who belong to the upper rich in this country, the Indian woman does not enjoy much leisure. Her life is that of one, long drudgery. This is neither good for her health nor for her development as she hardly finds time to improve her mind. She has no time for cultural pursuits, with the result that her life becomes drab and the home, of which she is the centre is without joy. A person without leisure is virtually a slave.

We must find ways and means to free the Indian woman from her life of slavery. It is by regulating the home life, providing amenities of life and providing labour saving devices, that we can solve this problem to a large extent. Organizing creches and infant schools is also a way to help the woman in looking after her children. The Kasturba Memorial Fund will do the greatest national service if they can evolve means to take off the heavy load of work which tends almost to crush the life out of the woman.

These are some of the important rights a woman should enjoy as an individual.

HISTORY OF SUGAR IN INDIA

BY MR. B. N. ASTHANA

SUGAR has been manufactured in India since times immemorial. India being the original home of sugar-cane and possessing half the world acreage, the growth of the sugar industry in India forms a romantic chapter in the industrial progress of the country. Sheltered behind an adequate tariff wall, the sugar industry has made phenomenal progress and has built up a thriving sugar industry in a

period of world-wide Economic Depression. Within less than a decade of the grant of protection, India became self-sufficient as regards her requirements of sugar.

The earliest history of sugar in India is found in Bengal. About 35 B.C. Dioscorides said, "there is a kind of it, called sacclioron which is found in reeds in India". Pliny, in 77 A.D. describes sugar as being brought

to the west from Arabia and India and adds that the best quality was available in the latter country. Arian in 145 A.D. mentions sugar—honey from the reeds—as an article of trade between India and Red Sea ports. Thus sugar has not only been produced in India but has also been an article of commerce since very old times. Alexander Aphrodisius, in 212 A.D. said, "what the Indians called sugar was a concrete honey in reeds....." Similarly, Marcopolo speaks of sugar as being found in Bengal in 1250 A.D. Systematic cultivation of sugar-cane and manufacture of sugar outside India dates only from the 16th century. In India, according to Ain-i-Akbari, sugar industry was in a very flourishing stage even before the 16th century.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, sugar was being exported to foreign countries in large quantities. The export trade of sugar was carried on by the East India Co. The net profits on the imports into England from India earned by the Company amounted to about 50%. A better idea of the company's profits can be had from the following statement of the Company's profits quoted by an ancient authority.

Coy's Imports in 1798..5242 Tons	99,882
Freight and Shipping	104,838
Duties	6,948
Charges on Sales	4,930
Total Cost.	£ 216,598
Gross amount received on sales	331,381
Less: Total Cost.	216,598
Net Profit (Approx. 50%)	114,985

As a natural consequence of such high rates of profits earned on the export of sugar, the amount of export increased. The following table serves to show the quantity exported in various years, by private traders.

Years.	Total Exp.		To Eng.		To America	
	Sa.	Rs.	Sa.	Rs.	Sa.	Rs.
1796	8.20	186	3.05	051	1.26	171
1798	8.46	752	1.82	650	5.19	833
1800	23.89	691	6.98	667	6.59	340
1802	12.01	798	2.17	899	2.10	379
1804	10.71	366		672	8.53	313
1806	33.24	168	54	478	11.69	251

From the year 1800 to 1806 a fall in the figure of exports is in evidence. This was brought about partly by the increased business done by the E.I.Co., and partly by the increased production in the West Indies. It was in the 19th century that sugar ceased to be an article of export, but it had to be imported into India from foreign countries. The principal exporters to India were Mauritius and Java. The political manipulations of the British, French and Portuguese merchants to capture the sugar market of England hit the Indian manufacturers very hard. The East India Co., in their own interests, tried to keep up the exports, but they met with little success. Protective duty was imposed upon Indian sugar when it threatened to compete with the West Indies produce; the same step-motherly attitude has been responsible for the diminishing trend of exports noticed in 1800-6.

Things became still worse when in the year 1840 Beet sugar industry in Europe progressed with rapid strides. Tariff was applied against this bounty-fed sugar in America and India was made the

chief dumping ground. Scientific plantation of sugarcane was adopted in Java, and sugar of a better quality was the result. These factors inevitably cut India off from her many valuable markets in Europe. In less than half a century, the exports equalled the imports and it took another quarter of a century to turn India into an importer from an exporter of sugar. By the end of the 19th century, no less than 200 refineries had to be closed down in U. P. alone. A countervailing duty was imposed, but as there was no planned attempt to protect the Indian industry, the imposition was of no avail. The chief cause of the fall of price which was continuing since the last quarter of the 19th century was the unbridled foreign competition. Another cause was that the sugar was manufactured from 'gur' by crude and wasteful methods and was not found to be equal to the foreign produce in quality. The unit of production was small and the use of machinery was not popular. The Government did not permit the preparation of rum from molasses, which further diminished their profits.

The Indian sugarcane was thinner, contained lesser sucrose and the average yield per acre was so low that the produce of sugar could hardly meet the huge demand of the country, a large section of which is vegetarian.

It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that sporadic attempts were made at producing sugar on modern lines. The Agricultural Department of the Government of India are making vigorous efforts since 1901 to breed better varieties of cane and increase the yield. Dr.

Barber's experiments have yielded better results. Red-rot resisting varieties have been introduced and attempts are being made to produce superior seedling by hybridisation between the canes of the North and South to suit the climate and agricultural methods of North India and give a better yield. The researches at the Imperial Research Institute at Coimbatore and the Provincial Cane-Breeding Stations and the cross-breeding of the sugarcane plants have resulted in the evolution of a number of improved varieties, taller, thicker, and containing greater sucrose. Some of the varieties evolved at the Cane-Breeding Station at Coimbatore like No. 210, 213, and 214 have well established their superiority over the indigenous varieties, and now they command an area of about 4 million acres.

The history of the sugar industry in recent years has been a history largely of tariff and production. Before the grant of protection to the industry in 1932, the condition of the refined sugar industry was in an extremely deplorable state. Foreign competition, lack of efficient methods of production, and the low sucrose contents of sugarcane have all been a bar to the progress of the industry. In the year 1894, a small *ad valorem* duty of 5% was levied for revenue purposes only. The duty was raised to 10% in 1916, to 15% in 1921 and to 25% in 1922. This *ad valorem* duty was converted into a specific duty of Rs. 4-8 per cent. in 1925, which was raised to Rs. 6 per cent. in 1930 and to Rs. 7-4 in 1931. The increasing duties on imports of sugar into India were

undertaken with a view to provide additional revenue to meet the budgetary deficit during the war and the post-war period. In the year 1919, the Indian Sugar Committee was appointed "for the organisation and development of sugar industry." The Committee recommended the establishment of a Sugar Research Institute. The Government have all along shown a strange antipathy to the Indian Sugar industry with regard to protection. But in the year 1929-30, at the instance of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the Government adopted a definite policy with regard to the encouragement of the establishment of sugar factories by means of protective tariff. The question of protection was referred to the Tariff Board. The Board examined the case of the industry in the light of the conditions laid down by the Fiscal Commission. The Sugar Industry Protection Act of 1932 was passed. A protective duty of Rs. 7-4 per cent. was imposed for 7 years and Rs. 6-4 thereafter for 8 years. It was further provided that the duties could be increased in case of necessity. The situation became much easier.

But, unfortunately, with a view to check a too rapid growth of the industry under artificial stimulus and in order to meet the loss of revenue to the Government from sugar imports, an Excise Duty was imposed from 1934 at the rate of 10 as. on Khandsari and Rs. 1-5 per cent. on factory-produced sugar. Besides, it was proposed to set aside from the proceeds of the Excise Duty an amount equivalent to one anna per cent., representing about

seven lakhs of Rupees, to be distributed among the Provinces with a view to assisting the organisation and operation of co-operative societies among the cane growers so as to help them in securing fair prices. An annual grant of Rupees Ten lakhs was to be given to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for research and help to both 'gur' and sugar. The import duty was raised to Rs. 7-12 per cent. and the surcharge on sugar imposed in 1931 was reduced from Rs. 1-13 to Rs. 1-5. The Duty was again reduced to Rs. 7-4 from February 1937 and surcharge of Rs. 2-0 was imposed on internally produced sugar. This made the total import duty on sugar Rs. 9-4. The Excise on Khandsari was also reduced to Re. 1. The Tariff Board in 1939 recommended the reduction of the Duty to Rs. 8-12 per cent., and the Excise on Khandsari to annas eight per cent. From the 1st March, 1940, the duty had again to be raised to Rs. 9-12 per cent. on account of an increase in the Excise from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. Much stimulus was provided to the sugar industry from the protective tariff, but since the imposition of Excise, the production of Khandsari has gone down considerably.

The area under cultivation of sugar cane has kept pace with increased production: from 2,677,000 acres in 1929-30, it has increased to 4,132,000 acres 1936-37. In 1929-30, about 940,000 tons of sugar were imported into India, but since 1931-32, there has been a sharp decline in the quantity of imports and by the year 1936-37, the imports were reduced to 23,000 tons. The number of factories

increased from 29 in 1929-30 to 32 in 1931-32 and to 148 in 1940-41. A majority of these are situated in Bihar and U. P., and in the year 1940-41 there were 71 factories in U. P. and 32 in Bihar as against 14 and 12 respectively in 1932. Since the imposition of the tariff, the much needed stimulus was provided to the production of sugar in India. The production in the year 1929-30 was only 89,000 tons, which increased to 12,42,000 tons in 1940-41. The production of sugar in U. P. amounted to 659,500 tons and in Bihar to 322,100 tons in the same year. The rapid expansion in the industry brought about by the protection granted to it in 1932 naturally had its effect upon the imports of sugar in British India. The reduction in the amount of imports led to a saving of about Rupees 18 crores to the country and the Government revenues benefited to the extent of about Rupees 8 crores.

This phenomenal development in the sugar industry of India has been nothing short of a romance. The chief cause of it, as pointed out above, has been the grant of protection in 1932 but for which the development would not have been so rapid. Besides, there have been equally important causes for the growth of the industry. It was a period of world-wide Economic Depression, the low prices of materials and machinery contributed in no mean way to the expansion of the industry. The low rates of interest further led to the development of the industry. Again, this period of Economic Depression was accompanied by low prices of land and there were improved facilities for irrigation Nation. Hind.

brought about by development in canals and tubewells, and the provision of cheap energy available in Hydro-electricity. The industry has the advantage of cheap labour and transport and is localised in the heart of the sugar belt of the country. The area has a net work of railways providing easy and cheap transport for the material and distribution of finished products. Last but not the least, have been the efforts of the Imperial Sugar Institute. All these factors have contributed to the remarkable development of the industry. As a result, India is now the largest sugar producing country in the world. The capital invested in the industry is estimated to be between 25 and 30 crores.

The rapid expansion of the industry has given rise to a number of problems. Zoning of cane areas, regulation of cane supplies to factories, development of the quality of cane, fixing the minimum prices of cane, licensing of factories and contractors, supervision of weighments and payments, transport facilities, and the protection of labour, have all received their due attention from the Government.

Sugar industry is the most controlled industry in the country, especially in the two provinces of U. P. and Bihar. The Central Government, in order to regulate prices of sugar-cane, passed the Sugar Cane Act of 1934 authorising the Provincial Governments to frame rules relating to control of prices, weighments and purchase of sugar. Prices in U. P. and Bihar were fixed on a sliding scale method based on the recommendations of the Mehta Committee of 1938 which contained the representatives of both the

growers and manufacturers. Rules were framed for the marketing of the produce and inspectors were appointed to supervise the work. Further efforts of the Government in this direction are marked by the Sugar Factories Control Act of 1938 embodying the following:—

- (a) The licensing of sugar factories.
- (b) the regulation of sugar-cane supplies to factories.
- (c) the establishment of a Sugar Control Board and Advisory Committees.
- (d) the minimum price of sugarcane.
- (e) a cess on the sale of sugar cane.

The measures adopted by the Government, particularly after 1938, provided much stimulus to the industry and were taken with a view to solve the manifold problems relating to the industry arising as a result of the rapid expansion of the industry.

The industry had to face a crisis in her development twice—once in the year 1937 and the second time in 1940. In 1937 it was expected that the price of sugarcane would continue to rise. Consequently the acreage under cultivation increased considerably and reached the record figure of 4.5 million acres. The production of sugar amounted to 12,30,000 tons, whereas the estimated consumption was 11,50,000 tons. The over-production resulted in a fall of price. In order to check brisk internal competition and over-production and the consequent diminishing profits, the Sugar Syndicate was formed and Sugar Control Acts were passed.

The international Sugar Agreement signed in 1937 in utter disregard of the interests of the industry in India banned the export of sugar by sea except to Burma. This meant the denial to India of the right to sell her produce to the neighbouring countries of the Middle East, during the years of over-production. In the year 1939-40, when there was record production of sugar, India could very well export a few lakhs of tons of sugar, which she was unable to do on account of the International Sugar Convention. This

resulted in a serious slump in the industry. The industry found itself in the grip of a very serious crisis in 1940.

The industry has been subjected to severe handicaps and it is in spite of these that it emerged successfully out of the crisis and to-day claims to be the second largest industry of India. The levy of a high Excise Duty and the lack of co-ordination between the Central and Provincial Governments have hampered the growth of the industry at every stage. A common and uniform policy with regard to the fixation of cane prices was not followed, which caused the cycle of fluctuations in the area under cane cultivation leading to the years of under-production and over-production. The Government did not assist the industry by arranging export by sea in 1940 when the high price of sugar led to over-production. Had the Government risen to the occasion, the crisis of 1940 could have been averted. It was, further, argued that the Government did not permit the preparation of power alcohol from the molasses which could have produced 24 million gallons out of the 34 lakh tons of molasses which now annually go to waste.

The Indian sugar industry is now the second largest industry, next in importance only to the Cotton Textile industry. It is one of the greatest national assets of the country. Sheltered behind an adequate tariff wall, the industry has made phenomenal progress and provides employment to nearly 11½ lakhs of workers including about 3,000 graduates in Arts, Science, Commerce and Engineering. The industry has not only saved millions of our money from going abroad, but has brought positive gain to the doors of millions of agriculturists, and labours, not to speak of a very large number of share-holders in the industry. The industry has a great future before it. The rise in standard of living envisaged by the Bombay Plan is bound to give impetus to the industry.

WHY THE HINDUSTANI MOVEMENT?

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

General Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

EVER since the resignation of Mahatma Gandhi from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, there has been a great deal of controversy in regard to the Hindi and Hindustani movements. Babu Purushottamdas Tandon and the Sammelan insist that Hindi alone should be the national language and Nagri the national script, while Gandhiji and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha maintain that Hindustani, which is the simple style of both Hindi and Urdu, should be studied as national scripts. The Sammelan argues that Hindi is an old name given by the Muslims to the language of Northern India. It contains many words of Sanskrit origin which are easily understood in other Indian provinces. Nagri is more scientific and convenient than the Persian script. Hence the Sammelan stresses the desirability of patronising Hindi and Nagri.

Mahatma Gandhi favours the term Hindustani, firstly because it was adopted by the Indian National Congress as early as 1925 at the Cawnpore session. Secondly, the terms Hindi and Urdu have unfortunately developed communal associations, with the result that the Hindi style is being increasingly Sanskritised and the Urdu style steadily burdened with Arabic and Persian words. It is, therefore, necessary to evolve and develop a simple style in the form of Hindustani, which would be a happy fusion of both Hindi and Urdu. It must be borne in mind that the Rashtra-Bhasha is meant to unite and not to divide the component elements of the Indian Nation. Hindi alone or

Urdu alone is no longer in a position to serve the purpose. This is a stern fact and it is no use repudiating it. Hindustani can find a sympathetic echo in the hearts of both the Hindi and Urdu speaking population. Moreover, the Hindi and Urdu style have grown too heavy and cumbersome; the masses for whom the national language is really meant can feel at home only with the simple Hindustani.

Thus the Hindustani movement is not against Hindi and Urdu which are free to cultivate their respective literatures; Hindustani seeks to develop a third style by trying to bridge the gaping gulf between the two. By dint of its simplicity, catholicity and goodwill, this common style should be our Rashtra-Bhasha. The Hindustani style is still existent in both Hindi and Urdu literatures; but it needs definite and well-organised stimulus and encouragement.

It must, however, be made clear that we do not regard the language of the All India Radio as Hindustani. It is pure and simple Urdu.

Further, Gandhiji has been stressing the need of learning both the Nagri and Urdu scripts. And the reasons are not far to seek. If a natural style of Hindustani is to be evolved, it is necessary that an increasing number of our countrymen should try to learn both the Hindi and Urdu styles. This is the only practical way of narrowing the widening differences between the two streams. No person or institution, however great or representative, can dare coin a language. True Hindustani

must be the spontaneous expression of those national-minded citizens who have cared to familiarise themselves with both Hindi and Urdu.

It is impossible to be well conversant with the Hindi and Urdu styles without learning both the Nagri and Urdu scripts. This is as plain as pike-staff. Hence Gandhiji's emphasis on the desirability of knowing the two scripts of Hindustani. More-over, if the English language and the Roman scripts are to be successfully dislodged from their present position of undue importance, we must be well up in both the Nagri and Urdu scripts. Otherwise, the help of English or the Roman script for mutual intercourse will have to be sought on many occasions.

Those who plead for the Roman script in place of Nagri and Urdu do not know national psychology. It is now as evident as the Himalayas that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims are prepared to give up Nagri and Urdu scripts. Therefore, for

the sake of closer social and cultural contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims, the knowledge of the two scripts is highly desirable. Those who are conversant with only Nagri should try to learn Urdu and those who only know Urdu should make it a point to learn Nagri.

But the question of compulsion does not arise. The movement sponsored by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha is purely voluntary; it is an appeal and a request and not a mandate or order. The Sabha believes that the salvation of the country lies in the popularisation of both the Nagri and Urdu scripts. Those who share this belief are welcome to take the Hindustani examination of the Sabha in both the styles and the scripts. Who can compel those who do not desire to do so? It must not be forgotten for a single moment that the Hindustani movement is a movement of love, goodwill and tolerance. The movement is only a means to an end, namely national unity and solidarity.

DEVELOP INDUSTRIES OR PERISH

BY SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

WORLD trends at the close of the War seem full of evil portents. It has been remarked that we are moving into a dangerous new world; it is too soon, however, to lose ourselves in pessimism.

The population is growing rapidly but it is not equipped with up-to-date knowledge of world conditions or with modern tools and practices which reduce cost of production.

The average value of work done per head of population is so low and poor that it makes living precarious. It is less than one-tenth of what one finds among some of the more advanced populations of the West and in the Dominions of the British Commonwealth.

The intelligent citizen should think for himself and form a clear idea of the reasons which keep the average Indian so poor. One reason he will find is that

the latter does not work hard enough or with discipline and he is not equipped with any technical skill or useful business habits worth mentioning and he has not learnt the use of modern machinery to produce commodities cheap or to get speedy results of any kind by mechanical power.

Machinery and machine tools which progressive nations use and business methods which industrial nations practise are not known in this country on account of absence of mass education and business training. The great bulk of the population is not acquainted with modern conditions of work and existence. India is very rich in man power and human talent but this potential huge force is kept idle through lack of elementary education and political power. In addition to these drawbacks, custom and convention which are not corrected by education, play their part in keeping the people idle. More than three-fourths of the population are victims to old habits and the traditions of by-gone days. It should be added that for carrying on the functions of a democratic government, we have a larger number of literate population in India than there is in Great Britain itself.

To the masses of the uneducated population, progress and prosperity are a matter of chance or a gift from heaven and not the result of human regulation and effort.

In these circumstances, attempts should be made to create conditions favourable to mass thinking and collective effort. No intelligent adult citizen should be allowed to

remain illiterate or incapable of building up his thoughts and business activities wisely to secure for himself and family satisfactory living conditions. Nor should he be without knowledge or incentive to render some disinterested social service to his neighbours and countrymen according to his gifts or resources as a token of his contribution to the building up of a prosperous and happy India.

At present the popular mind is disturbed. The present-day unrest in India is a healthy discontent with a stagnant state of affairs. Political power in the form of Dominion Status was promised so long ago as 1917, but the people have not yet obtained the necessary democratic power to plan their own future or to give attention to the country's higher needs. Unless this comes about and people achieve a political position to enable them to look after their own interests, their hardships will not abate or cease to grow. . .

Owing to political conditions, growth of industries has been particularly slow for several generations past. Why industries are of supreme importance for raising the income of the people at the present time is that there is a local market for the products of industries, and promotion of industries, besides bringing profit to business circles, provides employment to large numbers of the working population.

Only about 10 per cent. of the population of India obtain employment in industries and of this, not more than 3 per cent. find a place in organized industries. In most progressive countries, occupations are balanced according to experience and agriculture provides

occupation for not more than 33 per cent. of the population; whereas in India, in the absence of industries, nearly 70 per cent. have to eke out a living from agriculture.

Wherever occupations under agriculture, industries, transport, etc., are developed on sound lines, industries are found to be more profitable than agriculture. Agriculture is necessary for living conditions, but industries make for efficiency and prosperity. There can be no civilized life without adequate industrial activities.

The result of mass illiteracy and inadequate growth of industries and other gainful occupations has been that the work done per worker per day in India is estimated to average less than 0.5 H.P. hours as compared with 6 and 13 H.P. hours respectively in the two most industrially developed countries of the world, namely, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

In these circumstances, the proper course to take for the next ten years is to concentrate attention on industries and manufactures and their other subsidiary activities. If there is any misapprehension or doubt in this matter, it should be removed by investigation and discussion in open meetings and in the public press. So long as the public view of this matter continues to be hazy, people will continue to be apathetic and careless of their future. No citizen can forget the record of deaths from starvation that took place on the Calcutta side in 1943. Even to-day deaths from destitution are not uncommon in that part of the country.

In the present impoverished condition of India, there is no remedy but through industries. The cry should go forth in this post-war period in every nook and corner of the country; "Develop Industries or Perish".—Address to Sixth All India Manufacturers' Conference, Madras.

WAR AND WORDS

By MR. GAYA PRASAD RASTOGI,

Calcutta

DURING the recent War many new words became popular. Many words have been so much advertised that even ordinary people understand the meanings of those words. A few words have become so popular in villages also that people do not know their substitutes in their mother tongue.

A.R.P. i.e., Air Raid Precaution:—This was deeply connected with black-out. Who did not hear during the dark days of 1942

and 1943 of A.R.P. whistles, sirens, wardens and shelters etc.? We owe A.R.P. entirely to the war.

Black-out:—Two years back, it was difficult for a person to walk in the lanes without a torch in his hand; but torch was also forbidden by the Government. The street lights were either altogether off or were very dim and covered by special black covers allowing only a little light just below. This was known as black-out.

All the houses and buildings were also subjected to similar black-out regulation so that the enemy could not see their targets from the sky.

Control:—Almost every man or grown up child is acquainted with this word these days. The word "Control" existed before the war, but now it has a special meaning. A commodity whose price has been fixed by the Government and whose supply, has been controlled is called "Controlled" commodity. The system of "Control" is now known throughout the country.

Permit:—Permit is now too well known as an instrument to get certain things to need any discussion.

Ration:—Not only do the military people get ration these days, but civilians also get their ration of various articles and commodities i.e., grain, cloth, petrol etc. This word has given us several other words i.e., T.R.O. (Town Rationing Officer), A.R.O. (Area Rationing Officer).

D. I. R.:—Defence of India Rules is a ready weapon in the hands of Government officials to fight the people with. The trials under this D.I.R. are summary, if special permission from the Higher Court is not obtained. The Government officials must be sorry to learn of the prospect of the death of the all powerful D.I.R.

Now I come to those words that are known to those who are interested in newspapers.

Black-market:—The word is not only connected with businessmen but with all. It means that a certain article is being sold above the controlled rates. Not only during war days, but even at present many commodities

are not available in the market. One who needs such commodities urgently pays higher price for them. The paying and taking of prices above the controlled prices is called black-marketing.

Blitz:—Another German word. It means any action with great rapidity i.e., Herr Hitler made a blitz towards Russia and Poland. Now-a-days the word is well known.

Camouflage:—Literally it means a whiff of smoke thrown on the face of a person. In war language it means deceiving the enemy by clever devices so as to prevent him from seeing things like motor-trucks, barracks, stores, etc.

Fifth Column:—The term "fifth column" originated from the Spanish civil war before the last world war and was meant to indicate a huge group of Spanish people secretly siding the enemy of the nation. It has therefore acquired the meaning of a hostile and secret party within the country.

Gestapo:—This is a German word. In Germany, Hitler kept a secret police organisation which was named "Gestapo". Its duty was to see that no Government man was siding with the enemy. The leader of the party in Germany was Herr Himmler.

Infiltration:—Somehow or other this word has the same meaning as the word "Fifth Column". But one who joins the fifth column is called a fifth columnist. During the war, residents of one country settled secretly, some in the garb of soldiers and some in the garb of businessmen. They "infiltrated" in those countries.

Lebensraum:—This is also a German word. The word literally means breathing space. This was the pretext of Herr Hitler

for attacking Poland in the year 1939. He said that there were so many men in Germany that there was no breathing space for them; so he wanted breathing space for them.

Morale:—The I.N.A. heroes are at present undergoing trials, imprisonment and other hardships, but undoubtedly their morale is excellent, for they are always loud in praising their Netaji and the ideals for which the Indian National Army was organised.

Sabotage:—It comes from "Sabot", a French word for a heavy wooden shoe used by farmers. Sabotage means destroying or undermining something vehemently. In this war, the word became very popular and

often we read in the newspapers of the sabotage activities of the Axis powers against the Allies.

Torpedo:—Torpedo is a small boat, which goes inside the water and is so very powerful that it destroys big ships. Now-a-days the word has become very popular and it means to destroy any scheme or proposal.

Quisling:—Who can dare say that he does not know this gentleman? He was a Norwegian Minister. He deceived his country. So he who deceives his own party can be easily called a Quisling. The Indian Communists are quislings to the Indian National Congress. Quisling was executed recently.

INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM*

BY PROF. M. AFZUL HUSAIN

OF the many problems of peace none is more important than the food supply of the world. In Europe, in the Far East and in our own country there is food shortage. Even in pre-war days a large majority of the world's population were underfed. To secure for all peoples freedom from want is a responsibility of the United Nations. Towards this end a Food and Agricultural Organisation has been set up by the Hot Springs Conference.

In so far as the food problem of India is concerned, the first difficulty we are up against is the lack of accurate statistical data.

* Address to Indian Science Congress at Bangalore, January 2.

This makes efficient agricultural planning impossible.

FOOD REQUIREMENTS

What are our requirements of food? What will they be in the immediate future? In 1941 India's population was 389 millions as against 338 millions a decade previously. At this rate of increase the population is 415 millions today. It is estimated that by 1970 the population will be 650 millions. The country must be prepared for such a situation unless some calamity befalls, reducing our population and solving the problem for us!

What are our food resources today? Have they kept pace with the increase in popula-

tion? Since 1911 seven million acres have been added to the area under cultivation. But the area sown per capita has declined from 0.9 to 0.72 acres, that is, by 25 per cent. Even for an emergency-restricted diet, designed to tide over difficult times 1.2 acres of land per capita under cultivation is regarded as the minimum in the U.S.A. where crop yields are higher per acre than in India. For a population of 400 million India must increase her production by 10 per cent. in cereals, by 20 per cent. in pulses, by 25 per cent. in fats and oils, by 50 per cent. in fruits, 100 per cent. in vegetables 800 per cent. in milk, and 300 per cent. in fish, flesh and eggs. These figures are overwhelming in that these increases are required to meet the proper nutritional needs of the existing population. Further increases will be required for an increased population!

What is the solution of the problem? We have either to increase the supply or reduce the demand. Reduction of demand means reducing population and there are some who think this to be the best solution. But it is not a practicable proposition in the present circumstances in this country. Others hold the view that the problem is not one of over-population but of under-development of natural resources and their inadequate utilisation. However our food position is so acute that neither population reduction nor agrico-biology can bring immediate results. And, the time factor is important.

CARBO-HYDRATES

At present over 72 per cent. of the carbo-hydrates of human food are derived from cereals, about 20 per cent. from

sugarcane and the balance mainly from from pulses. India, with 90 per cent. of her cultivated area under food crops and 64 per cent. under cereals, is short of rice. Unless there can be a rapid increase in yields or in the area under cereals, both unlikely, India must produce per acre quantities of carbohydrates much in excess of what the cereals can yield. This only tubers can do. Potato, sweet potato, and cassava are already being grown in India. In all countries where population has increased cereals have been replaced by tubers. In most European countries potatoes and cereals supply in equal proportions the carbo-hydrate requirements of human diet. As regards food value, tubers are richer in carbohydrates, mineral matter and calcium, although they are poorer than cereals in proteins and deficient in fats. The greatest advantage of tubers over cereals is the yield per acre. An acre of potato will provide a quantity of carbohydrates at least four times that of wheat. Sweet potato and cassava will provide 5 times. The superiority of rice and wheat in comparison with tubers is their high protein content. But there is no reason why India should persist in obtaining protein supply from cereals and not from sources from which protein can be produced more effectively and economically.

If India could grow cereals and tubers in the same proportions as pre-war Germany, namely 4 to 1, she could supply in full her present requirements of carbo-hydrates from an acreage equal to 60 per cent. of the present acreage

under cereals. If tubers present difficulties of transport and storage these can be overcome by employing modern methods of dehydration and cold storage. The area thus released from cereals would permit the acreage under pulses to be increased and the acreage under edible oilseed and fodder to be doubled. . . .

Food technology should be studied systematically and developed. At present

there is a great wastage of nutritional matter due to wrong methods of processing food and preparation.

Although I have emphasised the application of scientific knowledge in food production, it should be remembered that research in pure science lays the true foundation of knowledge and this alone can help us to progress in technology.



This picture shows Vivien Leigh with Bernard Shaw and Gabriel Pascal, discussing the film version of Shaw's famous play "Caesar and Cleopatra". Vivien Leigh will play the part of Cleopatra; and Gabriel Pascal is producing the film.

INDIAN STATES FORGING AHEAD

—(o)—

THE VICEROY'S ASSURANCE TO PRINCES

H.E. LORD WAVELL, addressing the Chamber of Princes which met at Delhi last month, after an interval of nearly two years, gave an assurance on one of the main points of difference which led to the crisis of 1944, namely, treaty rights and relationship with the crown. The assurance was a qualified one, with a slight but unmistakable shift of emphasis regarding the Princes' part in constitution-making. "I can assure you," said the Viceroy, "there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent."

I am confident that Your Highnesses will, through your accredited representatives, take your full share in the preliminary discussions, which were announced in my broadcast of September 19, as well as in the intended constitution-making body, and that your consent to any changes which emerge as a result of these negotiations will not unreasonably be withheld.

I am also confident that in your approach to problems you will have no intention or desire to stand in the way of the growth of India to its full stature or to hinder the political, economic or social progress and advancement of your subjects.

Speaking of States whose finance is inadequate, Lord Wavell suggested that it was incumbent upon them to modify the constitutional position so as to ensure the welfare of their subjects for the future. In order that these States might have political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people with the administration, he strongly urged that they should arrange to join a larger unit or combine with other small states to form a political entity of a sufficient size.

The long-term instance was the management of India's water supplies in which direction lay India's best way to progress. In many of the schemes now under consideration for final control, for irrigation, for navigation, for hydro-electric power, the Provinces of British India and States were closely concerned and it was essential that they should work in close co-operation, so that unified development could take place.

The Viceroy touched on the importance of gradually approximating taxation policies

and systems in Indian States with those of British India.

Referring to the economic problems, the Viceroy said:

It is my earnest aim and will be my constant endeavour that the interests of the States should receive the same attention and sympathy from the Government of India in the process of development as the Provinces of British India. I am also sure that the States will afford that same measure of cordial co-operation in controls and in Planning as they have given in the past.

THE VICEROY'S LAST BROADCAST

In this connection, it may be of interest to recall the Viceroy's words, broadcast on September 19 under instructions from the British Government.

It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body, and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable.

His Excellency said that discussions should also be undertaken with representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they could best take their part in the constitution-making body. The Viceroy added:

His Majesty's Government have further authorised me as soon as the results of the Provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties.

THE PRINCES' DECLARATION

The Chamber of Princes, meeting on January 18 took an important step forward by a declaration on behalf of all members through its Chancellor H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal, promising popular Assemblies with elected majorities suitable to the special circumstances in India to-day, rule of law, security of person and property and a number of fundamental rights of citizenship, including *habeas corpus*, free expression of opinion, equality before law, abolition of racial and religious discrimination and also forced labour—an impressive list of reforms, which the Chancellor

said, would be put through without undue delay. Every thinking Indian, claimed His Highness, whether prince or peasant, wanted the achievement of her goal by India, which would make her free, great and respected in the world. This declaration, he said, was intended to record the intention of the Princes to make every effort to settle the Indian problem on a just and reasonable basis. An impartial and competent Judiciary, independent of the Executive, would hereafter undertake the administration of justice, and administrative budgets of States, as distinguished from personal expenditure of the Rulers; the incidence of taxation would be fair and equitable and place appropriate emphasis on nation-building departments.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR TRAVANCORE

H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore and his Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, are to be congratulated on the lead they have given to the States by the scheme of political reforms just announced. A press *communiqué* states that it is modelled on the constitution of the United States of America in the matter of relations between the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. Briefly stated, the scheme adumbrates the establishment of a bicameral legislature fully elected and without a shred of the nominated element which

will have jurisdiction over the entire field of Government, barring certain topics like the status and property of the sovereign and members of his family, external and political relations, devaswoms and management and control of Hindu Religious Endowments and armed forces. Subject to the right of veto on grounds to be publicly announced, agreed decisions of the legislature will be accepted by Government.

The noteworthy feature of the legislature is that its representatives in the lower house will be elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage for men and women and "without recourse to any reservations or weightages, communal or otherwise." The upper house will be functional in character and will represent the various trades and professions. The Dewan of Travancore will be appointed by

the Ruler and hold office during his pleasure and will be irremovable. The relevant paragraph in the Proclamation relating to the status of the Dewan states:

Neither the Dewan nor any member of the executive Government will be removable by a vote of the legislature, though, as already stated, they will carry out agreed decisions and resolutions in the legislature unless veto is imposed on stated grounds.

REFORMS IN BHOPAL

In tune with the spirit of reform that is abroad, H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal has also announced important constitutional changes in his state in a Birthday "Firman."

In view of my policy that administration and legislation should be in accordance with the wishes and requirements of the people and in their best and truest interest, as also that the fullest scope should be given to my own people to serve the State, I had ordered my Government to provide for a closer and fuller association of the people with the administration.

The following recommendations made by his Government have been sanctioned by him.

That the franchise may be suitably extended and an elected majority provided in the Legislature; fresh elections may be held as soon as the necessary electoral rolls have been compiled according to the extended franchise after the next session of the Legislative Council; the Consultative Committees of elected members of the new Legislative Council may be set up to advise Government departments in matters of administration and the selection of candidates for appointment to Government services may be entrusted to a Public Service Commission.

PANDIT NEHRU'S REACTION

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All-India States People's Conference, welcomed the Princes' Declaration of rights as "a definite sign of the times and of realisation of the big changes that are coming to India in the near future." Mr. Nehru added, however, that declarations by themselves did not go far but he did not wish to lessen the significance of the present declaration.

Mr. Nehru also added that he was glad of the many progressive features in the Travancore scheme.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The New Speaker

THE election of Mr. G. V. Mavlankar as President of the Central Legislative Assembly, though by a narrow majority, is a decisive victory for the Congress and the popular cause. Mr. Mavlankar brings to his new task considerable experience as President of the Bombay Legislative Assembly during its tenure. He had a formidable opponent in Sir Cowasji Jehangir, a nominated member who had the support of the Government and the Muslim League. We can easily dismiss the League's pose of safeguarding minority interests as a puerile afterthought, as everyone knows its main objective is to thwart the Congress at every step, and any stick is good enough for that purpose. But the Government's behaviour was as indiscreet as it is reprehensible. For, to nominate a non-official and then get him elected Speaker with the help of the official bloc and the nominated votes is tantamount to nominating the President—a retrograde step that would have taken the Assembly back to the twenties. That ugly situation was averted by the wise action of Sir Ardeshir Dalal and the few who chose to remain neutral.

In refreshing contrast to the attitude of the Muslim League, was the action of the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who directed the election of Sir Mohammed Yamin Khan, nominee of the Muslim League, as Deputy President of the House.

Responding to a message from the Congress President, Sardar Mangal Singh withdrew his candidature. It is stated that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in coming to this decision felt that the Congress should set a better example as against the League, which opposed the election of Mr. Mavlankar.

The Viceroy's Address

Lord Wavell's first address to the new Central Legislature was remarkable for its brevity. There is no beating about the bush, as is usual in Viceregal utterances on such occasions, and we welcome his plain statements as a refreshing change from the platitudinous performances of his predecessor. It is true that His Excellency frankly told his audience that he had not come to make "any novel or striking political announcement" but he added significantly enough that His Majesty's Government "have a determination to establish a new Executive Council formed from the political leaders, and to bring about a constitution-making body or convention as soon as possible." We like the statement in this categorical form, without any of those impossible conditions attached to make it perfectly vapid. If this means that attempts to delay or thwart the main purpose of the recent elections will not be tolerated, it is a welcome gesture which will be heartily reciprocated.

Cripps offer a dead letter

Major Wyatt, a member of the British Parliamentary Delegation, is reported to have said in Bombay that the "Cripps offer is now a dead letter." It bears no relation to present-day conditions in India and is "completely out of date." Indeed it was out of date long ago. Gandhiji meant the same thing when he dismissed it with the cryptic remark that it was "a post-dated cheque." "Any idea that the Cripps proposals are acceptable to Indians is foolish", says Major Wyatt. "The British Government has to think in terms of something entirely fresh and something new."

Is Islam in Danger?

We commend the straight talk given by Capt. Shah Nawaz to a gathering of Muslims at Delhi the other day. Deprecating the cry of "Islam in Danger" raised by a section of Mahomedans who follow the League's lead, Capt. Shah Nawaz pointed out;

Islam is really in danger in Palestine, Iran and Indonesia, where Muslim majority nationalists are being suppressed by British bayonets. Those who raise this cry in India are really a fifth column of Britain and are delaying the freedom of the country.

He said the friends of Islam were those who condemned the use of Indian troops against Indonesia, for Capt. Schegal revealed:

Indians are held in contempt in all the south-east Asiatic countries for Britain had been using Indian troops; for suppressing their freedom movements.

The Late Mr. J. N. Basu

The public life of Bengal and indeed of all India is the poorer by the death of Mr. Jatindranath Basu, the well-known Liberal leader of Calcutta, at the age of 74. A nephew of the late Bhupendranath Basu, one of the leaders of an earlier generation of Congressmen, Jatindranath came of a reputed political family. For nearly half a century he was associated with various public activities to which he addressed himself with a zeal and thoroughness which made him universally popular. Mr. Basu was a Liberal in his political convictions and was identified with the Liberal party with its more progressive section. He was indeed one of the founders of the Liberal Federation and presided over one of its Annual Sessions.

At the two Round Table Conferences which he attended as a delegate, he sought

to achieve for this country, equality of status and functions with the British Dominions. He was noted for his burning passion to apply Liberal principles to the solution of the social and economic problems which face this country.

Gandhiji's visit to Madras

After a lapse of nine years, Gandhiji was again in our midst last month in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Hindi Prachar Sabha. His ten days' stay in Madras was the occasion for boundless rejoicings, and people flocked to hear him and for *darshan*, in their tens of thousands. For the first time, Madras was privileged to participate in his public prayers, so long a novelty to the city. In all his talks—his public engagements kept him busy all through the day and far into the night—he emphasised the same old teachings he has taught all along—non-violence and the study of Hinduism and the prosecution of his constructive programme. It was good to see Gandhiji as active and cheerful as ever, at his great age. The British delegation who met him the other day were deeply impressed by the visit. "I found Mr. Gandhi endowed with an extremely brilliant and comprehensive mind, with a fund of humour", remarked Major Wyatt. Mr. Hopkins Morris who had seen him at the Round Table Conference in London, thought "he looks younger and fitter." "I hope when I am 75, I will be as healthy, clean and physically fit as Mr. Gandhi," said Mr. Bottomley. To Mr. Sorensen the visit was a memorable one.

"We may or may not agree," he said, "with the specific ideas he explains, but we certainly cannot ignore or evade the impact of his vivid personality. He belongs to India and we are bound to appreciate this, if we would understand the soul of India."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Food Situation in Britain

THE worsening of the food situation in Britain which will necessitate further cuts in rationing, and which has led the Opposition to try and arrange a full-dress debate in Parliament on the food situation, has culminated in the despatch of a telegram from the British Premier, Mr. Attlee, to the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Chifley, appealing for increased food exports from Australia.

The telegram was described by the Australian Minister of Commerce, Mr. William Scully, as an "alarming document."

De Valera's Attitude to Britain

Prime Minister Eamon de Valera speaking at Waterford on January 29 when the Freedom of the City was conferred on him, warned the people that they would be wrong to think Eire hated Britain. His own attitude, he said, was one of love.

He added:

All we wanted was to establish foundations on which we could live side by side, together as good friends. That is my position to-day—as it was 30 years ago. Once the rights of the Irish Nation are recognised and established, then we recognise that with Britain as our nearest neighbour, there are many things we have in common and we are prepared to co-operate with Britain in things in which we should co-operate. If Britain wants co-operation on that basis, she can have it gladly.

Soviet-British Compromise

The complete deadlock in the Security Council on the Greek issue was resolved on February 6, due to the spirit of compromise shown, both by M. Andrei Vyshinsky, the chief Russian delegate, and by Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Minister.

The Council finally decided to declare the matter closed, no formal resolution that the presence of British troops in Greece did not constitute a threat to peace being considered necessary.

Sarawak to be Crown Colony

The British Government have accepted the proposal of Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, Rajah of the North Borneo Independent State of Sarawak, that Sarawak should now be ceded to the British Crown.

Announcing this in the House of Commons, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. George Hall, emphasised that no pressure had been exerted on the Rajah. It was at his request that the cession was to take place.

Mr. Hall added that the cession must not actually take place until full consultation with a properly constituted State Council of Sarawak had been held. Documents were now being drawn up to effect the cession. It was expected that the Rajah would visit the State in March, to consult with the Supreme State Council. The Status of Sarawak, if ceded, would be that of a Crown Colony.

All Party Agreement in China

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has since announced the death knell of the one party Koumintang rule in China in favour of a democratic government when he instructed the Standing Committee of the Central executive committee of the Koumintang to accept the results and decisions of the all-party political consultative conference.

New Cabinet of France

Gen. de Gaulle having resigned, M. Felix Gouin has now completed his Cabinet. He himself is to be not only head of the Government but Minister of National Defence just as General Charles de Gaulle was.

The New Government consists of 20 Ministers and 4 Under-Secretaries of State as compared with 22 Ministers in General de Gaulle's Cabinet. It contains 6 communists, 7 Socialists, 6 M. R. P. and 1 non-party man.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

RADICAL DEMOCRACY. By Ellen Roy. Radical Democratic Party. As. 12.

Ellen Roy briefly reviews the march of democracy from its dawn in ancient Greece down to our own day in this suggestive and stimulating pamphlet underlining its essential features and characteristics from a study of history. It is a valuable piece of critical analysis of the concept and ideal of democracy and its inadequate institutional techniques and stresses the necessity of widening and enriching that ideal to suit the compelling claims of our changing civilization rooted in capitalism and inequality.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME: Some Hints.

By Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava. Punjab Gram Seva Mandal Book Depot, Lajpat Rai Bhawan, Lahore. As. 12.

In this instructive booklet, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava deals with the essentials of the constructive programme and gives many practical hints for carrying them out successfully. He points out the need for communal unity, removal of untouchability; introduction of prohibition, spread of khadi, development of Village Industries, rural uplift, spread of basic education, uplift of introduction of Economic equality and improvement of agriculture. Emphasising the value of non-violence in politics, he outlines a short programme for students giving suggestions for their guidance in the national struggle for freedom.

OUR AGRICULTURAL PLAN. By D. S. Dubey, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Re. 1-8.

The economic development of India has become a vital necessity for solving not only the problem of hunger and unemployment but for improving the standard of the semi-starved millions. Mr. D. S. Dubey's practical and fruitful plan for the regeneration of the many villages in India is a **comprehensive scheme** designed to suit Indian condition, culture, tradition and civilization. Immensely aware of the great social experiment in Russia and other economic plans, Dr. Dubey enforces the necessity of a re-modelled Panchayat system with a constitution of the co-operative village development society.

CONSOLIDATING BANKING LAW: By U. T. Shah. Vora & Co., Publishers, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Rs. 1/12.

The need for a single, consolidated and up-to-date banking law for the whole of India has been long felt. This pamphlet which includes the memorandum prepared on behalf of some of the Indian banks, is an attempt at reviewing the aims and objects as well as some of the clauses of the Bill which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in November 1944, and purporting to consolidate and amend the law relating to Banking in India. Mr. Shah's penetrating analysis of the provisions of the bill is not only critical but eminently suggestive in that he puts forward some alterations and amendments.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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MALAYA. By G. S. Rawlings. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs. No. 29. As. 6.

We get a brief and informative account of the history of Malaya, its peoples, their customs and manners, the administration, economic resources and education in this booklet by G. S. Rawlings who writes with much sympathy and understanding. The effects of the Japanese invasion and the political future of the country are also discussed by the author who pleads for unity among the diverse communities inhabiting the peninsula.

MARSHAL TITO: MICHAEL PADEV. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Rs. 4-12.

Michael Padev, the well-known Balkan journalist, tells here the thrilling story of Yugoslavia's famous soldier and statesman. With deep insight and understanding he describes Tito's childhood, his early struggles and set backs as an underground labour organiser, and his success in building up the Yugoslav Liberation Front. The author has presented here an authentic, moving and human portrait of the Yugoslav Marshal and has also pointed out the essential significance of Tito's political leadership.

IDEAS HAVE LEGS. By Peter Howard. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 143. Rs. 5-8.

Peter Howard is an entertaining Journalist who has something to say about the march of ideas and knows how to say it with power and point. In this lucid and readable book we get something about the philosophy and outlook of the men who shape our life on this planet. His studies of Churchill, Beaverbrook, Lenin and a host of others are acutely critical and penetrating.

POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION. By Hansa Mehta. Pratibha Publication. No. 4. As. 12.

In this short pamphlet Mrs. Hansa Mehta outlines a scheme for educational reconstruction in post-war India. She points out that educational reconstruction can only be a part of national reconstruction and analyses the merits and defects of the Sargent plan and underlines the educational needs and requirements of a free India. She also reviews the problems that arise in regard to women's education and concludes that no social changes can be effected unless power is transferred to people by the ruling authorities.

BOOKS RECEIVED

TRANSFORMATION OF SIKHISM. By Sir Gokul Chand Narang. Foreword by Sir Jogendra Singh. New Book Society, Post Box 47, Lahore.

IRRIGATION AND DRAINAGE. By K. M. Gururaja Rao. The Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Bangalore City.

OCEAN FRONT. The story of the war in the Pacific 1941-44. Oxford University Press. 1sh.

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING. By Barbara Wootton. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

WORLD IN TRANCE. By Leopold Schwarzschild. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay.

HOMER. (Masters of European Literature) By S. K. Ghose, Himalaya Publications, Patna.

A MODERNIST'S PILGRIMAGE. By Sudhan Mozumdar. Himalaya Publications, Patna.

A MEMORANDUM ON THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF PAKISTAN. By Sir Homi Mody and Dr. John Matthai.

THIS INDIA. By D. F. Karaka. Thacker & Co., Bombay.

CHRISTIANITY: ITS ECONOMY AND WAY OF LIFE. By J. C. Kumarappa, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

PEARLS OF ISLAM. Edited by Mohammad Amin, Bar-at-Law. The Lion Press, Lahore. Re. One; but given free to those who apply to author, care of Post Master, Lahore.

NEW YORK WITH ITS PANTS. By D. F. Karaka, Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

- January 1. King Confers O. M. on Churchill.
—Lord Pethick Lawrence broadcasts to India.
- January 2. British Parliamentary Delegation leaves for India.
—William Joyce executed.
- January 3. H. E. The Commander-in-Chief remits life sentence passed on the three I. N. A. officers by the Court Martial.
- January 4. Government's nominees to Central Assembly announced.
- January 5. British Delegation arrives at Karachi.
- January 6. Turkey's Premier repudiates Soviet Territorial Rights.
- January 7. Gandhiji meets Mr. Casey again.
- January 8. United Nations Assembly meets in London.
- January 9. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, member, Viceroy's Council resigns.
- January 10. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh is elected President of the Fifth Session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.
—World Assembly meets at London: Prime Minister Attlee presides.
- January 11. Teheran rejects Tripartite Commission proposal.
- January 12. Bank Notes Ordinance promulgated—Notes of high denominations cease to be legal tender.
—Dr. Armattoe reiterates his story of the Russian Atom Bomb.
- January 13. Prof. Einstein accuses Britain of trouble making enterprise.
- January 14. Future of Indian States is discussed at the meeting of Chamber of Princes at Delhi.
- January 15. Proposals for New Constitution in Travancore are released.
- January 16. Congress Leaders meet M.P.'s at New Delhi.
- January 17. H. E. Lord Wavell addresses the Princes' Chamber at New Delhi.
—Independence for Transjordan is announced.
- Dr. Ba Maw, head of Burmese Government under Japanese, surrenders to Gl. McArthur's Headquarters at Tokyo.
- January 18. Nawab of Bhopal announces important reforms.
- January 19. Pandit Nehru welcomes Princes' declaration.
—Gen. de Gaulle resigns.
- January 20. Syria and Lebanon demand withdrawal of foreign forces.
- January 21. Gandhiji arrives in Madras.
—Budget Session of Central Assembly opens.
- January 22. British Delegation arrives in Madras.
—Government sustains first defeat in the Central Assembly on Indonesian issue.
—Mandamus petition *re.* demonetisation Ordinance dismissed in Bombay High Court.
- January 23. M.P.'s. meet Gandhiji in Madras.
- January 24. Mr. G. V. Mavlankar elected President of Central Assembly.
—U. Saw, former Burma Premier, released.
- January 25. Gandhiji addresses Hindi Prachar Silver Jubilee.
- January 26. Central Government notifies extension of time limit for exchange of Bank notes.
- January 27. Bengal Government puts up a memorial tablet at Vivekananda's birth place.
- January 28. The Viceroy addresses the new Assembly.
—Sir A. Hyderi to succeed Sir Ardeshir Dalal.
—Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit arrives in Karachi.
- January 29. Mrs. Asaf Ali appears in Calcutta.
- January 30. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald appointed Governor-General of Malaya.
—Maharaja of Rewa deposed.
- January 31. Maharaja of Cochin passes away.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



DIVIDE AND RULE POLICY

Writing in the *Tribune*, Mr. Sunder Dhirga shows up how the Pakistan theory of the Muslim League is a cent percent. British creation. He expresses amazement. Mr. Jinnah's appeal delivered to his followers in Bombay in which he refuted the charge against the League of "playing the game of British Imperialism and carrying out the wishes of Britain." He gives certain facts based on historical documents and would like the public to judge for themselves as to who is right: Mr. Jinnah or those making the charges.

In 1889 when Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., introduced a bill in Parliament for conferring democratic institutions on India, an Englishman in India, Mr. Beck, the first Principal of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, prepared a memorial on behalf of the Muslims vehemently opposing this bill. The memorial was based on the Beck-fangled theory that since India was not one single nation democratic form of Government did not suit it.

In 1893, Beck formed the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association and became its Secretary. The aims of the Association were (a) to support measures that would strengthen British rule in India (b) to prevent the spread of political agitation among the Muslims and (c) to protect the political rights of the Muslims. In one of his writings, Mr. Beck stated "It is imperative for the Muslims and the British to unite with a view to fight these agitators and prevent the introduction of democratic form of Government unsuited as it is to the needs and genius of the country."

The All-India Muslim League of which Mr. Jinnah has been the President for the past seven years, says the writer, is the creation of Viceroy Minto. This is evident from the letter of Mr. Archibald, who succeeded Mr. Beck as the Principal of the Aligarh College written to Nawab Mohsil-ul-Mulk, dated 18th August, 1906:

Col. Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary of his Excellency the Viceroy, informs me that His Excellency is agreeable to receive the deputation. He advises that a formal letter requesting permission to wait on His Excellency be sent to him. In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions. The formal letter should be sent with the signature of some representative Mussalmans. The deputation should consist of the representatives of all the provinces. The third point to be considered is the text of the address. I would here suggest that we

begin with a solemn expression of loyalty. The Government decision to take a step in the direction of self-government should be appreciated. But our apprehension should be expressed that the principle of election, if introduced, would prove detrimental to the interest of the Muslim minority. It should repeatedly be suggested that nomination or representation by religion be introduced to meet Muslim opinion. We should also say that in a country like India due weight must be given to the views of the Zamindars. But in all these views, I must be in the background. They must be from you. I can prepare for you the draft of the address or revise it.

The deputationists formed themselves into the All-India Muslim League on 30th December, 1906.

The above move of Lord Minto, which resulted in weaning away the Muslim from the Congress fold by granting them separate representation under the Morley-Minto Reforms gave great relief to the preservers of the British Raj in India as is evident from a letter written by a high dignitary of Lord Minto's government to Lady Minto then in England:

A very big thing happened—a work of statesmanship that will effect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62,000,000 (now 3 crores) people from joining the hands of the seditious opposition.

That arch-imperialist, Mr. Churchill, has all along been striving to keep the people of India divided among themselves. In 1910 he said:

If the Indians ever unite against us the game would be up. If they agree to have nothing at all to do with us, the whole thing would collapse.

It is, therefore clear, says the writer, that the two-nation theory which Mr. Jinnah is championing with all his might is a 100 per cent. British invention.

Likewise is the theory of Pakistan which originated with Viceroy Curzon, who partitioned the Punjab and created a separate Muslim province in the North-West Frontier. Similarly, he set about partitioning Bengal and creating a separate Muslim province in the North East. Later on, Bombay was partitioned and a separate Muslim province of Sind was created.

Indeed, in the view of this writer, the British have been consistently aiming at the division of India and encouraging all fissiparous tendencies.

THE DANCE—DRAMA OF KERALA

The *Prabuddha Bharata* has an interesting article on the Dance Drama of Kerala by Mr. L. K. Bala Ratnam. Among the many popular and interesting entertainments, evolved by Kerala's indigenous theatre and provided for the spectators is the *Thullal* which belongs to the realm of story telling:

It is more delightful and pleasing to the people than the rather slow-moving and ponderous *Koothu* of the Chakyar. The credit of its invention goes to Kunjan Nambiar, one of the greatest of Malayalam poets, who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century. Performed during day-time, unlike *Koodiyattam* and *Kathakali* which are performed at night, there is only one actor in a *Thullal* play. The actor wears a simple costume consisting of a frilled skirt, some arm and chest decorations. His face is painted and he wears a head-dress. He is assisted by a songster who plays on a musical instrument known as *maddalam* and a follower who keeps time by sounding the cymbals. The actor not only sings but also dances and makes appropriate gesticulations which are of a simple nature. *Thullals* are composed in such easy language that even the man in the street is able to understand them.

At present there are three distinct forms known by the names of *Seethankan*, *Parayan* and *Ottan*.

The recital is, in the first two, in a less rapid style than in the third one named *Ottan*. The make-up of the actor is also less elaborate. On the head, wrists, and biceps, the actor wears young coconut fronds, and ties a lot of broad tapes of red and white colour, forming loops at the bottom over a short skirt, round his waist. Jangling anklets are worn at the ankles. When he is dancing or doing his steps, these help to keep time in a pleasing manner. The *Seethankan* variety has greater quickness of movement than the *Parayan* one. The latter is well suited for the narration of pathetic stories.

Ottan Thullal is the most popular. The majority of *Thullals* are written in this form.

The make-up of the actor is an elaborate affair. The face is painted green and a head-gear, resplendent with little mirrors and gilt-work, is worn. The eyelashes are smeared with collyrium which is also used to draw two lines from the corners of the eyes to the ears across the temples. A vertical mark *gopi* adorns the forehead. An ornamented breastplate hangs from the neck to the waist. Two little plaques adorn the shoulders. *Kankanams* (bangles) are worn on the wrists while tiny little bells in the legs tinkle rhythmically as the actor dances. A red skirt with a large quantity of looped tape is worn round the waist.

As noticed already, the actor is helped by a musician who leads the song and works on a *maddalam* (drum), and another who keeps time to the song with a cymbal.

In concluding the writer says:

If the cultural standing of a country is to be gauged by the glory of her arts, then Kerala surely stands on a unique pedestal. Here you meet also some of the oldest dance and dramatic arts of India—the *Kathakali*, *Thullal*, *Chakyar Koothu*, *Koodiyattam*, *Kaikkottikuli*, etc. which speak greatly of the aesthetic culture and the emotional faculties of our ancients.

FREEDOM THE ONLY WAY OUT

The upheaval in the colonial countries in the East is at least partly due to the racial arrogance of the white rulers, says Brigadier-General Carlos P. Romulo of Philippines, writing in the *Colliers*. He says:

Wherever I went, I saw odious distinctions of race that violate human dignities. I saw gentle Burmese women stepping into the gutter to make way for white men. I saw Malayan gentlemen barred from British dining rooms and clubs in Singapore. I saw professors—graduates of Cambridge and Oxford—refused teaching positions even in primary schools in their own country because they didn't bow at the approach of a Dutch overseer.

Thus when the lid blew off this pot of seething racial resentment, it is easy to understand why white men were obliged to fight for their lives not only against oncoming Japanese but against the Malaysians they had treated so contemptuously.

After examining the Imperialists' excuses for denying freedom to the colonial peoples, he says:

First, how dare we say: "Freedom is right for the Filipinos and the Dutch, but not for the Javanese. It is right for the Chinese, but not for the Indians." The essence of our world struggle is that all men shall be free.

Literacy is a significant yardstick of the development of a nation. Apply it to colonial nations in the Far East, and what do we find? The Dutch have been in the Indies for more than 300 years, taking out rubber, quinine, tin, oil, sugar, rice, tea, coffee, spices, metals and copra. Java's literacy in that time has climbed to seven percent. During one 30 year campaign at the turn of the century, Holland spent more than \$250,000,000 subduing Achiuese states in northern Sumatra, a territory somewhat smaller than West Virginia. Yet in a similar period of years, the education budget for all of Sumatra has not tottalled a tenth of that amount.

The same is the case in Indo-China, Malaya and Burma. The writer concludes:

Essentially the problem of the Pacific represents the race problem of the world. Ignore it, side-step it, neglect it, and the next war will be a race war.

A FOREIGN OFFICE FOR INDIA

A plea for the establishment of a separate Foreign Office for India, independent of outside control, is made by Mr. Sarwar Hasan in the pages of the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs*. He argues that India being on the threshold of independence, or Dominion status which virtually implies independence, she must manage her foreign affairs independently of Britain, even as the Dominions are doing. In fact one of the attributes of Dominion status is independence in matters of foreign policy. And for the conduct of their foreign relations each of the Dominions has a Department of Foreign Affairs.

So far as India is concerned her foreign relations are still conducted by and under the direction and control of the British Foreign Office. This cannot continue for long.

The External Affairs Department of the Government of India advises His Majesty's Government on the conduct of India's foreign relations.

This arrangement is based upon the assumption that there is an identity between the foreign interests of the British Government and those of the Government of India. This identity does exist at present. The Government of India have no independent foreign policy of their own and follow in the footsteps of His Majesty's Government in foreign affairs. This does not mean that in every instance the Government of India takes the same line as is taken by His Majesty's Government. There are no doubt occasions when the Government of India disagrees with His Majesty's Government in matters of foreign policy and even sends out strong protests against a particular line of policy followed or about to be followed by London. But in so far as the Government of India does not possess an independent status and is dependent upon the British Government, it is physically impossible for it to pursue a foreign policy different from that of His Majesty's Government. It is now recognised as of the essence of Dominion Status that a Dominion should be able to follow a policy entirely independent of and if necessary, even at variance with that followed by His Majesty's Government.

For the conduct of her foreign policy, India must have a full-fledged External Affairs Department. What will be the functions of this Department? Obviously action in foreign affairs would be taken

and policy framed by her Foreign Minister in consultation with his cabinet colleagues, the cabinet being responsible to the Indian Legislature.

The most important function of the External Affairs Department would be to recommend courses of action in the international sphere and to execute commitments undertaken on behalf of this country in that sphere. For this it would be necessary that the Department must be in possession of full, exact and up-to-date knowledge, with regard to all and any matters, in which India is or can be interested. Further it must be able to make this knowledge available at a moment's notice whenever it is required. It must therefore acquire accurate and exhaustive information and digest it. The sources of information would be many; there would be dispatches from diplomatic representatives in foreign capitals, formal and informal communications from other governments, and reports from diverse sources. These latter sources would include newspapers, magazines, and speeches made by foreign politicians. This aspect of the work of the Department would be the foundation of its constructive and creative activities and must be performed most diligently.

The Department should be organised into divisions according to countries.

I would suggest that to begin with, it should have four regional divisions: (a) the U.K. and the British Commonwealth; (b) Middle East and Africa; (c) Europe and the Americas; and (d) Eastern Asia and the Pacific. Each one of these Divisions should have a head who has specialised in the affairs of the countries that fall in his Division. In addition the Department would have a Legal Adviser's Division and an Economic Adviser's Division.

Much of the work of the Indian External Affairs Department would relate to preparing material for Indian delegates to international conferences. If a conference is meeting to discuss and decide on purely political matters, preparation for it would be made entirely in the External Affairs Department.

With the delegates would go all the essential documents, necessary for the conduct of negotiations at the conference, and experts of the Department, who have specialised in the region with which the conference is concerned. They would take with them memoranda specially prepared in the Department for the conference.

With India taking more and more active part in international affairs and possessing a full-fledged Department of the External Affairs of her own, with diplomatic representatives in various parts of the world, it would be necessary for her to staff her own diplomatic service.

INDIA A RUSSIAN VIEW

New Times, a semi-monthly journal issued from Moscow has an interesting description of India as seen by a Russian named Mikheyer, during the eventful days of August 1942.

We arrived in Bombay on the eve of the opening of the Indian National Congress. This large city was seething with strikes and meetings. Thousands of Indians filled the squares, parks and the beach. The meetings went on day and night. Strong patrols of English troops marched down the streets to the accompaniment of a drum-and-life band, the music of which sounded strange to us. The rattle of tanquettes was heard. Mounted police in colourful uniforms with turbans on their heads patrolled the streets and squares. Here and there materials for barricades and barbed wire entanglements were visible. Alarming news was coming in from the front in those days. The Japanese were nearing the frontiers of India through Burma.

Fabulous India, Rich and poverty-stricken. Ragged, emaciated and exhausted people. Rickshaws, cab drivers, street conjurers, dancers, singers and musicians. As in Karachi and Lahore so at Bombay the poorer classes, the workers and minor-salaried people, live in the suburbs. Standard houses, all of one type. These are just squalid, congested hovels. From morning till night the streets teem with people. Here as in China, the street serves as the home for many. People spend the greater part of the twenty-four hours in the street, and many of them sleep out on the pavement at night.

In striking contrast to the squalor and poverty and crowded habitations of the suburbs are the well kept lawns and palaces of Bombay.

In the centre and also in the bay the whites and wealthy Indians live. A multitude of Indians serve the white in this district. To have only a couple of servants is bad form. At least half a dozen if not more must be kept if one is to live up to one's reputation. In India as in China the cheapest commodity is human labour. Under the scorching tropical sun people work for a mere pittance, sometimes only for food. "The natives must not be paid more than they need for food, otherwise they will not work, they are too lazy," such are the ethics of the white employers of coloured labour.

We were told about the storm of indignation that was roused when American soldiers, who appeared in India in 1942, paid cabmen, rickshaws, and the natives generally, two and three times as much for their services as was customarily paid them. Even this pay was miserable enough, but still people said that "the Americans were flinging their money about," that they were "spoiling the labour market," and so forth. A rich Dutchman whom we met on a steamer in Cochin, in the South of India, and who owing

to the war had been obliged to flee from his rubber plantations in Java, was particularly loud in inveighing against this "corruption of the Indians." Sitting on deck sipping gin and watching the overseas driving the coolies who were carrying baskets full of coal to the bunkers, this Dutchman tried to prove to us the advantages of cheap labour, claiming that it was "in the interest of the civilization of the coloured peoples themselves."

Whether it was the cheap labour or the general conditions in India I cannot say, but I shall remember for the rest of my life the sad spectacle presented by these lean, starving people, sickly, hollow-cheested, with legs as thin as laths, their ribs almost breaking through their skin which was scarified by disease. I remember the exhausted-looking women who had lost nearly all their hair, and the puny children rummaging in garbage heaps for scraps of food.

INDIA AND WORLD AFFAIRS

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, writing in the magazine *Asia and the Americas* solemnly warns that "India as she is cannot play a secondary part in the world. She will either count for a great deal or not count at all."

Calling upon India to revitalise herself Pandit Nehru terms America, Russia and China as examples of what he calls "vital energy". It is easy to understand why America is energetic since she is "a new people uninhibited and without the burdens and complexities of old races. . . but the vitality of the Chinese people has astonished me. I cannot imagine a people endowed with such bedrock strength going under," he says.

Referring to Russia, Pandit Nehru says that the Russians are not a new people but have been "reincarnated anew in a manner for which there is no example in history. . . . The Russian example shows how a people can revitalise itself and become youthful again if it is prepared to pay the price for it and tap the springs of suppressed strength and energy among the masses."

The magazine *Asia and the Americas* said that the article was the first of a series drawn from Pandit Nehru's forthcoming book "Discovery of India" written in prison at Ahmednagar Fort.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

HYDERABAD POST WAR PROGRAMME

The Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, recently laid the foundation stone of the building to house the Hyderabad branch of the Institution of Engineers (India).

Addressing the Engineers Assembly the Nawab of Chhatari said, "we have a large programme of post-war works, such as the expansion of our railway system, construction of national and provincial highways and laying down of a net work of district, taluka and village roads. Schemes of town planning, water supply and drainage of district towns are to be implemented as soon as possible. Generation of electric power from our potential resources is among high priorities of our post-war programmes."

Successful execution of these programmes would largely depend, he said, on the abilities of engineers, their devotion to work and above all the noble ideals which were among the aims of their institution.

BLANKET-WEAVING IN HYDERABAD

In the light of the experience gained by a previous scheme in respect of the blanket-weaving industry, the Commerce and Industries Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, have sanctioned a similar scheme at an estimated cost of Rs. 2,42,000 and Rs. 18,800 recurring and non-recurring, respectively. The cost of the scheme will be financed by the Rural Welfare Board.

CAPT. ANSARI

Few tales of bravery can surpass that of Capt. M. A. Ansari, a nephew of the Nizam of Hyderabad, who endured torture, starvation and flogging in front of his men before he was finally beheaded by the Japanese. Despite his treatment this officer of the 5th Rajput Regiment defied his captors until the end, opposing them at every turn in the interests of his men.

Mysore

SURGEONS' CONFERENCE

About a hundred delegates from all over the country attended the 7th Annual Conference of the Association of Surgeons of India held recently in Mysore. Lt. Col. Mirajkar, presiding over the session, stressed the need for an institution in India akin to the Colleges of Surgery in other countries to promote and encourage and to be the centre of the highest standard of surgical efficiency in the country.

H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore in a message to the Conference observed: "Consisting as it does of eminent surgeons from all parts of India the Conference of the Association will provide valuable opportunities for exchange of ideas on the science and art of surgery."

Hospital facilities should be made available geographically to all people, said the President. On Nursing, he said that it was a branch of medicine and urged that more and more educated girls belonging to all classes should be encouraged to take up this profession.

THE DEWAN ON FOOD SITUATION

A survey of the possibilities of post-war development of industries in the State, a review of the food situation and the need to husband the State's resources in this direction, and an exhortation to educated young men to enter the field of commerce, were features of an address delivered by Pradhana Siromani N. Madhava Rao, Dewan of Mysore at a large gathering of merchants, officials and public men at the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce.

Referring to the progress made by the Mysore Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Madhava Rao said the Chamber was started in 1916 and had done valuable work in promoting trade and industry in the State. It had increased its membership from 39 in the beginning to 270 at present, and had a spacious habitation for itself.

Travancore

FOOD SITUATION IN TRAVANCORE

Until the food position materially improves the present system of local procurement of rice and paddy and of imports from outside will continue. A Press communique issued in this connection, says that while the Government were considering the possibility of removing or relaxing controls in respect of the procurement and movement of rice or paddy within and outside the State, the food situation in India and elsewhere has deteriorated and this Government were, in fact, requested to send supplies of rice on a loan basis both to Ceylon and to the Madras Presidency. In view of the situation caused by the cyclone in the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency, and the drought in other parts of the Presidency and similar factors existing elsewhere, this Government have no alternative but to maintain the system of local procurement of rice and paddy and of imports from outside that prevailed during the war period until the position materially improves. They will, however, endeavour to utilise the ordinary trade agencies for storage and movement of stocks and the sale of foodstuffs.

TRAVANCORE RECRUITMENT

A Press note issued by the Government says that information has been received that in the matter of recruitment to Indian Defence Force, Travancore leads all Indian States.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

We understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has extended the term of office of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as Dewan of Travancore by a further period of five years.

Idar

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR IDAR

The Maharaja of Idar announced at a durbar at Hinatnagar on January 6 abolition of certain taxes and the appointment of an Executive Council including a representative of the people. He stated that a committee to frame the constitution of Responsible Government would be announced later. It will be recalled that at the State People's Conference held recently relief from taxation, and the constitution of Responsible Government were demanded.

Orchha

ORCHHA STATE

Demand for a separate Bundelkhand Province by ceding to Bundelkhand all the districts and units which were dismembered after the mutiny was voiced by the Ruler of Orchha in Bundelkhand, while inaugurating the Third Bundelkhand Unification Conference. His Highness exhorted Bundelkhandis to remain united behind their demand for a separate Province.

The proposed Bundelkhand Province would cover an area of 52,937 square miles.

A resolution demanding the establishment of a Constituent Assembly and grant of responsible Government to Orchha State was moved at the conference.

Responding to the demands of the people of the State His Highness Sawai Mahendra Maharaj Sir Varsinghideo, Ruler, announced grant of Responsible Government to his subjects shortly and has promised to enforce the scheme soon after consulting the Princes and the Paramount Power.

The Maharaja made this declaration while inaugurating the third session of Bundelkhand unification conference held at Tikamgarh under the presidentship of Rajendrasingh (M.L.A.) of Jubbulpore.

Baroda

CONCESSIONS TO INSURERS

The Baroda Government have agreed to insurers registered in British India keeping in Baroda assets equal to 55 per cent. of their Baroda liabilities and taking credit for it for the purposes of the British Indian Insurance Act. That Government have also agreed to grant concessions to British Indian provident societies on the lines of those granted by the Mysore Government.

Cochin

COCHIN INDUSTRIAL BOARD

On the recommendation of the Industrial Development Committee, the Cochin Government have appointed an Industrial Advisory Board, whose function will be to advise the Government on matters connected with the industrial development of the State.

The Chief Engineer will be the Chairman, and the Deputy Secretary to the Government (Post War Reconstruction) Secretary. The following are the members of the Committee: The Conservators of Forests, the Comptroller of Finance, the Director of Industries and Commerce, Dr. K. N. Menon, Kerala Varna Thampuram, Rao Sahib C. P. Lonappan, and Mr. K. P. Rau.

General

THE STATE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

"The war has shaken up Asia and Europe, broken down old frontiers and upset in many ways the old economic foundations, and out of this turmoil new patterns are arising," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, presiding over the 17th Annual Session of the All India States People's Conference at Udaipur on December 31.

Pandit Nehru continued:

It is certain that the countries of Asia will not submit willingly to any empire or any domination and will revolt against it with a passion which even the atom bomb will not be able to suppress, and from that revolt will develop that terrible thing, the third world war.

In India we stand on the verge of big developments, which will probably be initiated more by the people than by the British Government. The attempts of this Government to crush the national movement have failed and the Indian people are

stronger and more determined to achieve their freedom than ever.

The people of the Indian States have moved with the rest of India. They have played a notable part in 1942 and after, and today they are as firm as they have never been before.

Speaking of the Indian States problem Pandit Nehru opined that

the way of approach to this problem is to make the people's welfare and progress the primary considerations. This involves political freedom, a democratic structure, fundamental liberties and rights guaranteed, and an independent judiciary. It involves equally economic freedom and the removal of all fetters, feudal or otherwise, on the individual.

It is inevitable, said the Pandit that the vast majority of states which cannot possibly form economic units should be absorbed into neighbouring areas.

It seems to me important that the absorption should be with the provinces and not with other existing States, as has recently been done in Western India.

It is also not desirable that a number of small States should be grouped together to form a larger state unit. There will be no history or tradition or unity about this. Only an artificial joining together of backward areas with no leaven to pull them up. Therefore, the union should be with provinces.

The major Indian States, under a reformed and democratic system of administration, can play an important and distinctive part as autonomous units in the Federation.

Such a Federation must be a willing union of its various parts with a minimum list of common and essential federal subjects with will apply to all units.

In the open Session of the Conference the next day important resolutions were moved and passed. The Conference confirmed and reiterated the resolutions passed by the standing Committee at Jaipur on October last in regard to proposals for changes in the constitution of India. The first resolution demanded

that the States' people should be represented on a fully democratic basis on any future constitution-making body and for an assurance that the Conference would willingly co-operate with the Rulers and Governments of States on that basis with a view to the establishment of responsible Governments in them.

Another resolution passed by the Conference appreciated and welcomed the policy and programme for the future laid down in the Congress election manifesto,

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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Indonesia

INDIAN TROOPS IN INDONESIA

There is no truth whatsoever in the recent allegation that British and Indian troops are refusing to do their duty, said General Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief in India, referring to the presence of British-Indian troops in Indonesia, in his address to officers at the Garrison Theatre, at Shillong on January 6.

He said: "In the face of great provocation, their discipline has been, and is magnificent. This is not to say that the men themselves like the position in which they find themselves. No one for that matter likes their being there in the present circumstances. I earnestly hope that the whole situation will soon be settled."

General Auchinleck made an appeal for close co-operation between Indian and British officers in peace as in war. "During the war, the Indian Army's reputation for efficiency, as well as for valour has equalled, if not surpassed, that any other Army in the world."

East Africa

KENYA CONGRESS RESOLUTION

The Congress, representative of Muslims as well as of Hindus, and including 100 delegates from Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, has passed resolutions expressing a unanimous vote of no confidence in the present Kenya Government, demanding increased Indian representation in the Colony's Councils, and an urgent need for a comprehensive inquiry by a Royal Commission on political, and other factors, concerning all races.

Another resolution, deploring the hurried implementation of the Kenya Re-organisation Proposals, states: "It is painful to observe that even Britain's Labour Government is unable to withstand racial aggrandisement on the part of European communities in the Colonial Empire."

S. Africa

UNITED TRANSVAAL CONGRESS

In response to a desire of the Transvaal Indian community for a United Transvaal Congress, candidates representing all shades of opinion were elected by the Transvaal Indian Congress at a mass meeting at Johannesburg.

Mr. Y. M. Dadoo was elected President; two Secretaries, two Treasurers, nine Vice-Presidents and 64 members of the Working Committee, were all elected following agreement on the lists of candidates.

The Transvaal Congress which represents the interests of 27,000 Indians, issued an assurance to all members that decisions on important issues affecting the Indian community would be taken purely on merits and that there would be no departure from the procedure previously followed by the Congress.

Burma

RETURN TO BURMA OF EVACUEES

Half a million Indian refugees from Burma are eligible for repatriation to Burma. The repatriation will begin sometime in March, 1946. Four ports—Calcutta, Chittagong, Vizagapatam and Madras—have been selected for the purpose of repatriation. About a hundred thousand refugees will sail for Burma from each of these ports.

These facts were disclosed by Rao Bahadur Manicklal Kapadia, member of the Civil Supplies Board Government of Burma, in an address to Burma refugees at Surat.

U. S. A.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO U.S.A.

President Truman, at a press conference in Washington on January 8, announced himself as firmly in favour of immigration from India to the United States what it had already done for China.

The President thus confirmed indications given during the House of Representatives debate on the Indian Immigration Bill, that the Administration is firmly behind it.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

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ECONOMISTS' WARNING TO INDIA GOVERNMENT

India, in spite of her own economic handicaps had during the war been 'forced to finance H. M. G.'s purchases' by the 'worst possible methods of currency inflation'. After the war the same methods are being continued to drain India's resources by 'forced lending for rehabilitation of Great Britain', even when her own people suffering from hunger and disease are threatened with yet another famine, signs of which are already in the air.

This is the purport of a manifesto issued by 24 leading economists of India, warning against the dangers of deficit-induced fiat money, and urging the Government of India to limit their financial liabilities to what they can raise by loans and taxation.

The economists maintain that this deliberate inflation of currency in India 'to finance the deficits of His Majesty's Government' are responsible for the accruing of 'sterling balances' during and after the war, and, if continued further, will forebode economic disaster.

Referring to the 'Demonetisation Ordinances' in this connection, they assert: "The ordinances do not directly reduce the volume of currency but merely change the form in which it is held," and to say that they can check black marketeers and profiteers in this state of unchecked currency inflation is "to ignore an elementary economic truth."

THE FOOD DELEGATION

The Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava, announced in the Assembly during the debate on the food situation on February 5, that he proposed to take a delegation to London and then to Washington to press India's case for more food-grains to meet India's shortage which he estimated at three million tons. He said that it was for every country to go and plead its cause before the Combined Food Board. "We sent the Food Secretary to do that, and although I would not say that his mission has failed, yet I think it is necessary for us to do more—to shout more, if I may say so—and press our case more strongly, if we are to get what we need."

"With this object in view, it is my proposal that I myself should go to London and then to Washington. I want to take with me, as members of the delegation, representatives of the Governments of Madras, Mysore and Bombay and I would also like to take with me two or three non-officials. I would be very grateful if different parties in this House will give me two or three representatives. I propose, after the debate is over, to have a talk with Party Leaders on this subject.

"Why I want non-officials is that I realise they can put forward the popular point of view better."

The delegation has since left India.

Utterances of the Day

VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

In one of the briefest addresses to the Central Assembly, H. E. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, said in inaugurating the present session on January 28:

"I have not come here to make any novel or striking political announcement but simply to meet the newly chosen representatives of India—those of you who are here—and to speak to you a few words of welcome and encouragement.

"The intentions of His Majesty's Government have, I think, been made sufficiently clear. They have a determination to establish a new Executive Council formed from the political leaders; and to bring about a Constitution-making Body or Convention as soon as possible. I cannot enter into any details at the moment of the methods by which these bodies will be formed and how the difficulties, of which we are all fully conscious, will be surrounded. Nor do I think it wise to try to set a date or dates for the steps to India's freedom. I can only assure you that they have a priority label in Delhi and Whitehall. I ask you for your co-operation and goodwill in our great task.

"In this session, you have already debated on adjournment motions, some of the pressing questions of the day. Proposals for legislation will be put before you by Government spokesmen. These include some important measures which are the result of the most careful deliberation and which I think will, if passed by the Legislature, advance the credit and welfare of India, I do not speak with any intention of influencing your votes. It may be that you will think it right, some of you, to vote against the Government on almost every issue and to inflict the maximum number of defeats. If you believe that this is your political duty, I have nothing to say. I may think that it will be a short-sighted policy to prevent or

delay legislation that is likely to be of real benefit in India. But that is for you to decide.

"I do claim, however, that you should not, in the course of the debates in this House during this session, say anything which may reduce the chances of my forming a political Executive Council, affect adversely the prospect of a settlement on the main constitutional issues, or increase the bitterness already abroad in the country. Enough, and more than enough, animosity, has been caused during the elections of the Central Assembly; and the Provincial elections are likely to have the same effect. It would be a great help to me, and I think, to the leaders of your parties, if moderation would be studied in all speeches here during this session.

"I hope and believe that the period of destructive work in the Assembly is near an end. If I am successful in forming a new Executive Council with the support of the principal parties, you will have a very great deal of most important constructive work to put in at your next session. Legislation by Ordinance is not at all to my taste. And I very much hope that you will thus relieve me of the necessity to use my powers, even though it may involve long sittings to get through all the proposals put before you.

"I think the Parliamentary Delegation have received a very generous welcome to India and that they have met them with their earnestness and sincerity, and of the general desire in Great Britain to achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement. I am sure that they have made it quite clear that their purpose is not to delay the programme of His Majesty's Government, but to inform themselves, and thus their parties, of present conditions and opinions in India.

"At the moment all our minds are inevitably concentrated on the great political issues shortly to be decided. Some of you may alternate between ardent hopes and chilling fears. I for my part, am firmly optimistic, believing in an old and homely proverb, Where there is a will, there is a way."

Political

ALL-INDIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

That the economists yield to no one in the demand for freedom which must be won for ourselves and not sought as a gift from outside, was the declaration made by Sir Manoharlal, Finance Minister, Punjab, while inaugurating the 28th session of the All-India Economic Conference at Lahore on December 30 last.

While proclaiming his faith in the country's freedom, Sir Manohar Lal observed: "Before that ideal all thought must bend, to that end all our efforts must be directed." Sir Manohar continued:

India has her own immediate tasks, but in such a world, distracted and half-ruined, she cannot withhold her hand of fellowship, and in the disintegrated East, her responsibility and her duty is even more manifest. The teaching of economics, and the leadership of economists, at all times of high importance, is of special value to-day. On poverty no worthwhile polity can be raised, economic strength is the very basis of national strength.

Prof. D. G. Karve, in the course of his presidential address observed:

I make bold to say that Economics ought to assume a more willing and more constructive role in the shaping of social policy and that it will not be able to do this satisfactorily unless it broadens its visions so as to take in all the significant aspects, even including apparently non-economic aspects if they are really significant.

"I am convinced", he said, "that there will never be a living social power, i.e., an authority which is organically connected with the social environment of which the economist himself is a part."

Judging from past experience of revolutionary changes in human societies, it is only to be expected that the principles of collectivism and planning will ultimately be found to have several degrees and forms of manifestation according to local environment.

Dr. E. D. Lucas thanked the President for the encyclopaedic presentation of his address.

Dr. A. I. Qureshi, Secretary of the A.I. Economic Association, in thanking the Reception Committee expressed gratitude to Dr. E. D. Lucas for his life work extending over forty years, done for the service of the silent and suffering man at the plough for whom so much was said but little was done.

GANDHIJI ON C. R.'s LEADERSHIP

We welcome the reappearance of the *Harijan*, Gandhiji's well-known weekly. In a signed article in the very first issue which appears after three and a half years' suspension, Gandhiji recounts his experiences of the South Indian tour.

After refuting the suggestion that those who wanted to approach him during his recent tour of South India were prevented from doing so, Mahatma Gandhi says that Mr. Rajagopalachari was one of his oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed of all he (Mahatma Gandhi) stood for.

Gandhiji continues:

That in 1942, he differed from me I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference. He is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was, therefore, pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras. But the masses are devoted to Rajaji. I am neither vain nor foolish enough to feel that I could have had the huge public demonstrations, all along the route of the pilgrimage, if he had no influence with the masses in Tamil Nad. Congressmen in the south will act as they think best. But I would be less than loyal to the organisation, if I did not warn them against losing the valuable services which no one can shoulder as Rajaji can at the present moment.

LEAGUE MINISTRY FOR SIND

In a move characterised as unconstitutional and unjustifiable by the Sind Assembly Coalition Party, Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of Sind, has installed a League Ministry in the province.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, who has again become Premier, is yet to complete his Cabinet—only four of the six places have been filled with Leaguers—and he has approached the Assembly Congress Party Chief, Prof. Ghansyam, to nominate two members to the Cabinet to represent the minorities.

The Coalition Party, however, has decided to have no negotiations with Sir Ghulam Hussain as Premier, but to sit in Opposition and overthrow the Ministry at the earliest opportunity.

ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL
CONFERENCE

Presiding over the 21st Session of the All India Educational Conference at Madras on December 28, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer stressed the need for state control of Primary Education. The highlights of Sir C. P.'s address may be briefly summarised:

Stop wastage and stagnation at various stages of education. Divorce university education from education for different callings or professions. Hold separate tests for entry into Government service. Let the State control universal primary education and take education if possible to the doors of the lowly and the high-placed alike. Plan out a scheme of education which can make India really great.

His Excellency the Governor of Madras declared the Conference open.

More than two thousand delegates from all over India (including a number of ladies) attended the Conference. Besides distinguished educationists, Mr. C. H. Shaikh, Assistant Educational Adviser to the Government of India, who had been specially deputed to observe the proceedings of the Conference, was also present.

Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, requesting His Excellency to declare the Conference open observed:

Ere long, nascent democracies will, we hope, be functioning in this country. History is not unlikely to repeat itself and in the first flush of newly vested power, great plans for the spiritual, moral and material regeneration of the people may be envisaged. Now is the time for us educationists to state in no ambiguous terms that the first duty of the State is to educate, to give the citizens the knowledge and the power to think aright and appreciate all such reforms.

The four day session concluded with the ratification of the resolutions submitted by the sections relating to childhood and Home Education, Oriental Studies, Internationalism, Peace and Geopolitics and Health and Physical Education.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer was in the chair to give the Conference its final touches and also to extend an invitation to the Federation to hold its next Conference at Trivandrum.

INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD'S
DECISIONS

The 21st annual meeting of the Inter-University Board was held at Colombo on December 21 and 22 with Dr. Amarnath Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University in the chair.

The Board was of the opinion that in respect of Honours and Masters' examinations, the Universities should adopt a uniform system of examination by two independent examiners. It was suggested that the Federal Public Service Commission should hold its examinations in August, October, November and from January to the middle of February.

While reiterating its previous resolution in favour of the adoption of modern Indian languages as media of instruction for the intermediate and degree courses, it recommended

that the Central and Provincial Governments and States should subsidise the production of books of university standard in the different Indian languages; that the universities should, to begin with, select certain areas and institutions where the medium of instruction should be an Indian language and where special grants should be made for the employment of qualified teachers and the upkeep of such colleges; and that the alumni of these institutions should receive preference in the matter of employment, particularly in the Education Department and such other departments in which proficiency in an Indian language is likely to prove an added qualification.

The Board also expressed itself in favour of an Honours course being of 3 years after the Intermediate Examination.

It emphasised the need for physical training and also expressed the opinion that adequate funds be provided for the Army, Navy and Air Training Corps by the State.

Dr. J. C. Chatterjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Agra University, was elected chairman for the next year and it was resolved that the Board should meet next at Jaipur in Rajputana.

MARWARI MONEY-LENDERS

"I should like to give a strong expression to the necessity for legislative insistence on those Marwari money-lenders who lend money in other linguistic areas to keep their accounts in Telugu or Kanarese or the language which is known to the people who borrow from them. That a Court should be more or less compelled to receive accounts in 'Marwari' script, a language known only to those 'Marwari' money-lenders and to no one else in Bellary, is to place a burden which is almost intolerable on courts. Even the numbers of the pages on those accounts could not be read by either of the learned counsel who appeared in this matter, and were under great disability, as I have been, in coming to a decision as regards those debts on piece-meal translations of scattered accounts entries. I would recommend a legislation on those lines to the serious notice of the Government in the interests not only of persons who borrow from those money-lenders but in the interests of the latter as well."

This observation was made by Mr. E. E. Mack, I.C.S. District Judge, in a petition filed by two Marwari firms Rajaji Kesari-mul and Harakchand Kesari-mul who sought adjudication of Doddabasappa as an insolvent.

PETITION FOR WRIT OF MANDAMUS

Mr. Justice Kanla dismissed with costs at the Bombay High Court the petition filed by Mr. Joseph Michael D'Souza, holder of a 1,000 rupee note requesting the issue of a writ in the nature of a mandamus directing the Reserve Bank of India to discharge unconditionally its obligations of a promise to pay on demand contained in the note.

Mr. Justice Kanla held that the word "Exchange" contained in Section 39 of the

Reserve Bank of India Act empowering the exchange of notes for current notes or coin, covered the obligations of the Bank to give such current notes or coin also as against notes which ceased to be legal tender.

Clause 6 of the Demonetisation Ordinance clearly covered, the Judge observed, the obligations of the Bank to pay for notes in exchange and also to pay on the promise contained in the currency note.

Mr. Joseph Michael D'Souza filed an appeal against the decision of Mr. Justice Kanla before Chief Justice Lokur. This appeal was also dismissed with costs.

The petitioner in his appeal submitted that the Judge erred in holding that the word "exchange" used in the Demonetisation Ordinance and the Reserve Bank of India Act included a promise under a bank note to receive the payment of the amount in discharge of the bank's liability to perform the promise. The petitioner also stated that the Judge was wrong in stating that the transaction in question did not involve the case of satisfying an obligation to pay a debt.

DEBT CONCILIATION ACT

A Bill to further amend the Madras Debt Conciliation Act, 1936, has been published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, for eliciting public opinion.

The Bill provides that all application for the settlement of debts pending on the date on which a Debt Conciliation Board ceased to exist and in respect of which a directive has not been issued by the Government under Section 4-A should be deemed to have been dismissed on the date on which the new provision comes into force. Section 4-A empowers the Government to direct that after a specified date, a Board should not receive applications and that applications received by it after a date fixed by them in this behalf and not finally disposed of by it on or before the specified date, should not be proceeded with.

INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA

According to the "Indian Insurance Year Book, 1945," a provident society "submitted its valuation return with all the paraphernalia of the Schedules with respect to the only policy on its books on the valuation date!" "It was a situation bordering on the comic," it observes.

The Book states that there is an appreciable number of societies with less than 100 policies on their books and quite a large number with less than 1,000 policies, while only a very few have 1,000 policies and more. "All those societies which have been functioning for a period of 10 years or more and yet have less than a 1,000 policies on their books," it says, "should realise in their own interests and those of the policyholders whom it is their desire to serve, that they have not been able to secure the confidence of the public and that therefore they should amalgamate with large societies." There are, in its opinion, too many small, tiny and uneconomic units; amalgamation between societies, is therefore "the only cure for the present state of things."

BRITAIN'S NEW SOCIAL CHARTER

Britain's "great social insurance charter" for every person in the country was laid before Parliament on January 25 by the Government in the form of a National Insurance Bill.

The scheme, which is based on Sir William Beveridge's proposals to the Coalition Government, provides benefits for everyone, rich or poor, young or old; in sickness and unemployment, at every stage from the cradle to the grave—all for a simple weekly contribution which everyone will pay, whose income is above £75 a year.

It will give sickness benefits, maternity grants and allowances, widows' allowances

for orphans, or pensions (in future to be called retirement pensions) and what has never figured in any previous social legislation in this country—death grants.

All these benefits are offered in return for a weekly contribution of 4s. 7d. for a man above 18 in the employment of another; 3s. 10d. for an employer; 5s. 9d. for a man who is self-employed; and 4s. 8d. for a "man of leisure."

The scheme will be self-supporting from the contributions of insured persons and the Exchequer and will cost £452,000,000 in 1949, rising to £496,000,000 in 1954-1955.

The Government is rapidly achieving its ambition, after being only six months in office, of providing complete social security for every citizen within a single administrative frame-work epitomised in the slogan "One scheme; one contribution; one stamp; one record and one card."

INSURANCE FUND FOR COTTAGE INDUSTRY

The cottage industries in India have not received the attention that they deserve from the Economists. The *Saturday Mail* points out that out of a total of 78 lakhs of workers engaged in the different industries in India more than 63 lakhs are engaged in small scale and cottage industries. About 80 per cent of the total workers are therefore engaged in small industries yet these industries are not getting the encouragement that they can command. Mr. S. S. Shukla has given an illuminating picture of the difficulties that these cottage industries are suffering from and has also suggested remedies. The most urgent needs of these industries are adequate purchase of raw-materials and the marketing of finished goods. All these difficulties can more or less be redressed if the blocked funds of the Insurance Companies be available.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE

On December 27, at the Banqueting Hall, Madras, H. E. the Governor opened the South India Industrial and Commercial Conference convened by the Southern India Chamber of Commerce. There was a large and representative gathering of officials, non-officials, commercial and industrial magnates from all over South India.

Referring to industrial development His Excellency said:

There are down here in Madras, and South India generally, great opportunities for building up industry and I hope that people will in the years to come try to build those industries up and, although agriculture in this country plays a predominant factor, try to get people to go into business and into manufacture far more than they have done in the past.

His Excellency declared:

Government are not against industry in any form or shape at all. We want to help in every way we can.

Sir M. Visveswaraya presided over the Conference and Dr. Sir R. M. Alagappa Chettiar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed those present. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar unveiled portraits of former and present Presidents of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

The Conference concluded its deliberations the next day, after adopting a number of resolutions in regard to problems connected with trade and commerce in the Province. Foodgrains control, important means providing full employment and raising the standard of living, the development of trade and commerce, and postal and telegraphic services, the improvement of Madras and other minor ports, the jurisdiction of civil courts over taxation appeals and the rights

of Indians overseas, formed the subjects of resolutions. Mr. C. Rajan, moved a resolution opposing the road rail scheme of the Government as, in his opinion, it was not fair on the part of the present Government to commit a future Government to a policy which might not be acceptable to them.

Mr. Manian Natesan, seconding the resolution, suggested the formation of a joint board of representatives from the industry and from the transport agencies which would work out the transport rates. He also pleaded for encouragement for the ship-building industry of Vizagapatam.

Sir Visveswaraya in concluding the proceedings supported the suggestion for a separate portfolio which would be entrusted to a full-time Minister for Industries, Commerce, Industrial Research and Statistics. He suggested that in future there should be an Economic Council consisting of the representatives of the Government and the people. If they could not have a Council, the Government should get into touch with leaders who are trusted both by the Government and the people. It was possible to get such men who would form a sort of a liaison committee.

DEAL FORCED ON INDIA

India's position has certainly not improved as a result of the Anglo-American financial agreement, says Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, editor of the *Eastern Economist*.

He says: Whether terms of the agreement are favourable or not, the public have got a right to complain against the thoroughly indifferent and unworthy attitude of the Government of India which had not even cared (a) to see for its being consulted at every stage and (b) to send a proper representative to be at Washington to make representations during the pendency of negotiations. India has the biggest stake in the matter of sterling balances and yet her Government has made no attempt to get her a hearing at Washington.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Important extracts from Mrs. Hansa Mehta's Presidential address to the All India Women's Conference at Hyderabad, touching the rights of women and their claims to equality with men appear elsewhere in this issue.

A vigorous plea for the adoption of the principle of the Sargent Scheme was made by Miss Lilamani Naidu when she moved a resolution endorsing the main principles of the national system of education as envisaged in the Sargent Scheme and demanding the immediate introduction of free, basic education on a country-wide scale.

The Conference adopted a resolution on health insurance agreeing with the principles of the Government scheme. The resolution demanded inclusion of provisions for full pay during the three months' maternity leave and extension of the scheme to workers of seasonal factories.

In consonance with the suggestions made by the president in her address, a charter for women with rights as citizens of a free India is to be prepared by the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference.

A resolution to this effect passed at the third day's session of the Conference charged the Standing Committee with the task of drafting a memorandum embodying their concrete demand in this direction to be placed before the National Government as soon as it is formed.

The Conference by another resolution demanded the institution of universal adult franchise and deplored the existing restrictions on the right to vote.

Lively debates followed the motion by Shrimati Kamaladevi supporting the Arab demand for the rescinding of the Balfour Declaration on Palestine. Lady Rama Rao and Madame El Said, an Egyptian delegate, spoke on the resolution which was adopted unanimously.

There was a spirited debate again on the resolution on civil liberties. The resolution, which was moved by Mrs. Rentka Ray and passed unanimously demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Defence of India Regulations, restoration of complete freedom of speech, press, association and movement, unconditional release of political prisoners and the detenus and the removal of bans on those released from prisons.

The Conference resolved that Indian women should be encouraged to qualify as midwives and nurses. Other resolutions dealt with rehabilitation and unemployment questions and urged the establishment of vocational centres for training unskilled destitutes and other women and industrial centres for employment.

Mrs. Kusum Sayani was unanimously elected General Secretary of the Conference for the next year.

SHRINES OF KASTURBA

His Highness the Aga Khan is rebuilding with white marble the mud shrines of the late Kasturba Gandhi and Mahadev Desai in the compound of the Aga Khan's Palace in Poona, where Mahatma Gandhi was detained.

The shrines will be surrounded by specially built walls. The Aga Khan has obtained Mahatma Gandhi's consent for this work.

Mahatma Gandhi has been requested to suggest inscriptions to be carved on the shrines. The letters "OM" and "Hey Ram" stand at present inscribed on the shrines of Mahadev Desai and Kasturba Gandhi.

The work of rebuilding has already started and it is expected that it will be completed very shortly.

Literary

MUSEUMS ASSOCIATION

Presiding over the second annual meeting of the *Museums Association of India* at the Museum Theatre, Madras, Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, retired Director-General of Archaeology, said that when the aim of museums in India, which were started either as repositories of antiquities or local products or even research institutions, was shifted to education, both elementary and secondary, the type of museum that would emerge would be different from that of any existing at present.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, inaugurating the meeting, said that we regarded "the Prakarams of the various temples in India, the palaces of great notabilities and the collections in the various religious foundations as essentially museums, if by museums are meant a collection of things whereby the human mind transmutes itself into things of beauty. People visit those places and derive inspiration and stimulus from those artistic treasures."

PROF. V. G. KALE

We regret to record the death at Poona on January 27, of Prof. V. G. Kale, well-known Indian economist and a former Member of the Council of State. He was 71 years of age.

Mr. Kale was a member of the Indian Tariff Board in 1923 and was connected with several committees of the Bombay Government. He was author of an early publication of our firm—"Indian Industrial and Economic Problems" which at the time, had a wide appeal.

GANDHIJI ON LEARNING ENGLISH

The tendency to learn English rather than one's own language was deprecated by Mr. Gandhi at a prayer meeting at Sodepur. "If we could stop this tendency we would be free from one of our slaveries", he said, adding that he could not express how this tendency by some people to talk and write in English damaged them and the country.

Personal

CONGRESS PARTY IN THE ASSEMBLY

The Congress Party in the Central Assembly has elected S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose as the Leader of the party.

The elections of the Leader and the Deputy Leader were unanimous. Mr. Asaf Ali proposed the name of S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose for the Leadership and S. J. Sarat Chandra Bose proposed the name of Mr. Asaf Ali for the Deputy Leadership of the party respectively. The following other office-bearers were also elected: Seth Govind Das, Treasurer; Prof. N. G. Ranga, Mr. N. V. Gadgil and Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, Secretaries.

Since then Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Ex-President of the Bombay Assembly, has been elected Speaker of the Central Assembly, and Sir M. Yamin Khan, Deputy President.

THE LATE MR. HAYAVADANA RAO

Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao whose death at Bangalore was reported the other day was aged 70 and had been ailing for some time.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao was a well-known journalist and was Editor of the *Mysore Economic Journal*. He was for some years editor of the *Madras Times* and later of the *Leader*, Allahabad, and had contributed special articles to various newspapers. He was Director and Secretary of the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Company for a long time. He was editing the *Mysore Gazeteer* and was connected with various commercial concerns in Mysore State.

Mr. Rao was a prolific writer to this *Review*, in its early days, and his interests were versatile, ranging from current politics to the tales and legends of ancient Hindustan.

SIR A. R. DALAL'S RESIGNATION

For personal reasons Sir Ardeshir Dalal has tendered his resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council which has been accepted by His Majesty the King. He will however continue to serve as Planning and Development Member until the return from Europe of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar who will take over that portfolio.

THE ALL INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

The medical swaraj for India with the entire elimination of the I. M. S. from the civil and administrative departments of the country was urged by Dr. Roctiram Amesur of Karachi in his Presidential address at the 22nd session of the All-India Medical Conference at Amritsar on December 22.

By it he also meant the recruitment of the nationals of the country and the recruitment of the members of the independent medical profession in future.

The abolition of the I. M. S. and I. M. D. and their replacement by the I. A. M. C. which should be a purely military service, was urged in a resolution passed by the Conference.

The conference also demanded the abolition of the reservation of civil posts for members of the military medical service, the reversion of existing members of military services to the I.A.M.C. and the stoppage of importing I.M.S. and I.M.D.

By another resolution the Government of India was asked to circulate the Bhole Committee's report on health survey and development for public opinion and to give effect to its recommendations after consulting the duly appointed representatives of the Indian Medical Association. The National Planning Committee also asked to circulate its report and consult the Indian Medical Association before giving effect to its recommendations.

The Conference requested the Central and Provincial Governments to bring into operation the Drugs Act of 1940 by immediately notifying the rules made thereunder, etc.

The conference also passed resolutions urging the provincial Governments to rigorously enforce the law regarding adulteration of foodstuffs; requesting the establishment of a regular rural medical service on sufficiently attractive terms; demanding recruitment to the teaching staff of the medical colleges on basis of qualifications and teaching experience; urging the appointment of wholtime teachers etc., etc.

INDIAN PHARMACEUTICAL ASSOCIATION

Sir J. C. Ghosh, Director of the Indian Institute of Science inaugurated the third annual meeting of the Indian Pharmaceutical Association at Bangalore on January 3.

Sir Shanta Swarup Bhatnagar, who was to have presided being absent, his presidential address was read out to the meeting by Dr. H. H. Nanji, of Bombay. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar pointed out the need for an All India Pharmacy Act governing the registration and licensing of pharmaceutical establishments. In the course of his address, he said:

"There will soon be in this country, five National Laboratories which will be able to cope with scientific research work on a large scale with respect to a great many industries.

The need for organising Co-operative Industrial Research Associations, particularly relating to the fine chemical industry, is under active consideration.

Industrialists complain that the measures to render expenditure on research by industry free from incometax was withdrawn by the Government, with the result that industry cannot finance research association laboratories from its own funds."

He hoped that the new Finance Member will initiate steps to overcome this handicap in his next budget.

POONA NATURE CURE CLINIC

"This Institute is now meant for the poor and the common people. The rich can get its service in their company. Though bodily I am in Bengal, today my mind is in Poona", —in these words Gandhiji sent his blessings to Dr. Dinshaw Mehta whose nature cure clinic was formally transferred on January 1, to the Public Trust of which Gandhiji is the Chief Trustee.

In celebration of this occasion prayers were held at the clinic after which Dr. Mehta explained the aims and objects of the new Trust.

The management of the clinic has now been entrusted to Mr. Mannalal Shah, who has been deputed from Sewagram.

BANK NOTE ORDINANCES

Following two surprise ordinances a third one empowering the Central Government to direct the Reserve Bank of India to inspect any banking company has been promulgated. The Ordinance also empowers the Government to take certain corrective action, where necessary, if after perusing the Reserve Bank's report of inspection they consider that the affairs of a banking company are conducted to the detriment of the interests of its depositors. The Government may prohibit the banking company from receiving fresh deposits or refuse its inclusion as a scheduled bank, or, if it has already been so included, direct its exclusion from the schedule.

The Central Government further issued a notification dated 26th January under Sub-section 10 of Section 6 of the High Denomination Bank-Note (Demonetisation) Ordinance under which certain authorities are authorised to extend in any particular case for sufficient reason the time limit imposed on the acceptance and exchange of high denomination notes.

Managers and officers in charge of branches of the Reserve Bank of India are allowed to exercise the power mentioned above upto and inclusive of February 9, 1946, while the Deputy Governor and Governor of the Reserve Bank of India may exercise the power to extend the time limit upto and inclusive of April 26, 1946, after which date, further extension in each individual case will be considered by the Central Government. Government treasuries and scheduled banks will cease after the close of business on January 26, 1946, to accept any applications for exchange of high denomination notes.

BANK OF ENGLAND'S ORDER

Just as high denomination notes of the value of Rs. 500 and above have ceased to be legal tender in India, so Bank of England five-pound sterling notes bearing a date prior to September, 2, 1944 will be called in on February, 28, next but the notes will remain a legal tender upto and including the date.

NEW SCHEMES TO PROVIDE WORK

In a recent broadcast Sir Arthur Griffin, Chief Commissioner of Railways, denied the allegation that the Railway Board had decided to retrench or discharge 250,000 temporary railwaymen. The Board, he added, had never held the view that discharges on anything approaching such a scale would even ultimately prove necessary. He said:

This figure of 250,000 represents the total of employees on the railways who are temporary and includes therefore, those holding permanent posts in a temporary capacity in view of the undertaking by the Government that 70 per cent. of permanent vacancies occurring up to the end of this month will be reserved for ex-Servicemen. The balance of 30 per cent. of employees, serving up to now in a temporary capacity, are being confirmed in accordance with a procedure which is equitable to all.

MR. GIRI ON RAILWAYMEN'S DEMAND

"I am sure the members of the Parliamentary Delegation have already understood the real spirit of the people in this country. If they have come here with the idea of drafting the Indo-British Treaty, they should do so on the basis of the "Quit India" principle. Let me tell them sincerely that if the Britishers quit India politically, Indo-British relations will be good for India as well as England. The longer a third party remains in India the more will be our differences. If we have belief in any one thing it is in this, that the British should quit India forthwith."

Thus observed Mr. V. V. Giri, former Labour Minister in the Congress Cabinet of Madras, speaking at a meeting of the M. and S. M. Railway Employees' Union at Madras last month.

Referring to the threat of retrenchment in the Railways and his recent discussions at Delhi, Mr. Giri said that the Chief Commissioner of Railways was very reasonable and hoped that the latter would keep up that spirit and give up the move for retrenchment.

A ROYAL COMPOSER

The Expert Committee of the Eighteenth Music Conference organised by the Music Academy, Madras, celebrated the 'Swathi Thirunal Day' at Mylapore recently, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar presided.

After prayer, Sangeetha Kalanidhi T. V. Subba Rao delivered a lecture on the life and greatness of Swathi Thirunal. He said that the Royal Composer's works were soul-stirring, and inspiring and above all were capable of providing solace and delight to all lovers of music. His compositions breathed the same religious fervour that characterised the songs of Tyagaraja.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar said that Maharaja Swathi Thirunal was not only an eminent composer but an administrator of great repute. His endeavours towards improving the Travancore Observatory were well-known. A brilliant statesman the Maharaja effected important reforms in in the Travancore State.

NEW RECORDING SYSTEM

Two important developments in gramophone—a new recording system and a new revolutionary design—have just been announced.

The combination of gramophone and records made under the new system is stated to produce living music of previously unattainable quality by means of which, for the first time, symphonies can be heard in the home with the same clarity, definition and realism as in a concert hall.

The new recording system is remarkable in that it has full frequency range. The usual type of recording system registers frequencies up to 6,000,7,000 cycles. The new system reaches out far beyond, registering faithfully the whole range of frequencies audible to the normal adult, bringing a realism to gramophone record hitherto unknown.

The new development, it is said, is almost comparable in importance to the change-over from the old acoustic to electric recording some 20 years or so ago.

THE VICEROY ON SPORT

Laying the corner-stone of the new stadium of the Maharashtra Cricket Club at Poona on January 10, His Excellency Lord Wavell said: "The first object of all sport must surely be to encourage the many to take part in the recreation, whatever their standard of ability, rather than to exhibit the skill of a few chosen players."

Wishing the Club success, the Viceroy added:

"Kipling roused the indignation of the British public many years ago by writing of 'the flannelled fools at the wicket and the muddled oafs at the goals.' The playing of games may not always require much brain power, though you will find that in any game the outstanding players are those who use their heads as well as their hands and feet.

"The sportsman is one who plays the game for the enjoyment of it, and not to show off his own proficiency; who plays for his side and not for himself; who never loses either his temper or his courage; who is modest in victory and generous in defeat.

"So long as sport promotes those ideals, so long as it keeps the body exercised and the mind refreshed, it cannot but be beneficial to the individual and to the nation.

"I will end by two short quotations on the spirit in which games should be played. The first was written on golf, which has become, with my advancing years, my principal game.

Golf is a contest calling for courage, skill, strategy, and self-control. It is a test of temper, a trial of honour, a revealer of character. It is a cure for care, an antidote to worry. It includes companionship with friends, and opportunities for courtesy, kindness and generosity to an opponent. It promotes not only physical health but moral force. That was written, as some of you might possibly have guessed, by a Scotsman, a golfer and a citizen of St. Andrews.

"The other is the pledge laid on members of a famous cricket club. It is short and simple:

Keep your promise, keep your wicket up. Honour, self-control, steadfastness, in fact, the three qualities which are as valuable for a good citizen as for a good cricketer.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Delivering the presidential address at the 33rd Session of the Indian Science Congress at Bangalore on January 2, Prof. M. Afzal Husain who was a member of the Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission dealt at length with the food problem of India and observed that "for our immediate needs there is a strong case for a fully-equipped National Institute of Food Technology" and added that "there is need for an Institute of Sociology to study rural problems." A fuller report of his address appears elsewhere in this issue.

The Sectional Committees of Mathematics, Anthropology and Archaeology, Chemistry, Botany and Human Welfare and Geology and Geography met the next day at the respective premises allotted to them.

There were discussions by the Section of Statistics in collaboration with the Indian Statistical Institute on "Inquiry by sample", by the Section of Chemistry on "Spectroscopy and its importance in chemical and biological studies," by the Section of Zoology and Entomology on "Fish scales as means of age determination in Indian Fish", by the Section of Medical and Veterinary Sciences on "Teaching of chemistry in relation to medicine", by the Section of Psychology and Educational Science on "Psychological conditions of peace", etc., etc.

MR. WADIA ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Addressing the 12th Meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India, at Bangalore on January 1, Mr. D. N. Wadia observed that for a country that has an enormous leeway to make up in fighting chronic malnutrition, insanitation, disease and food scarcity, the mental attitude about science, the most potent weapon that can fight these evils and work for the relief of Man's estate, needs to be changed.

Missionaries of science are needed for this task, both in the ranks of Government services and among the public-spirited citizens working for the social welfare of the masses. Scientific societies and academies in India have therefore an extra mission to perform of spreading the gospel of science in all the corners of India.

MOVIE MEN AGAINST MONOPOLY

"We have always voiced the view that private monopolies of any kind are detrimental to the interests of the community," said Mr. Anthony Asquith in his presidential address to the Association of Cine-Technicians in London recently.

"In the Film industry, which is such a powerful factor in forming public opinion, and which can be used for training, education and propaganda," he went on, "the dangers are particularly grave."

Mr. Asquith said it was with regret that they noted that there appeared to be little intention by the Government to implement the report of the Cinematograph Films Council into the control of the industry.

They still urged the Government to act. It was useless tinkering about with the industry by quota regulations and other palliative measures.

SHAW'S PLAY FILMED

The film, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, based on Bernard Shaw's play and made by the British film magnate, Mr. J. Arthur Rank, at a cost of one and a quarter million sterling, was recently exhibited in London.

Great care has been taken to achieve the proper atmosphere and back-ground to the picture, which deals with Caesar's invasion of Egypt, and some technicians and actors were transported to Egypt.

Gabriel Pascal directed and produced the film and Claude Rains and Vivien Leigh take the leading roles.

Another of Bernard Shaw's plays *St. Joan* is scheduled to be filmed.

FILMING OF ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

The President of the Central Legislative Assembly, it is learnt, has decided that the filming of the Assembly proceedings is not in accordance with past traditions and practices.

The Information and Broadcasting Department had desired to film the House on the occasion of the Viceroy's speech. The President, it is reported, inquired into the precedents and practices and passed orders disallowing filming.

Automobiles

PEOPLE'S CAR

Britain's first "people's car," to be known as "Kendall," and which is to be sold in Britain for £150 including tax and insurance, is being built with Indian capital.

It is being backed by an Indian industrialist from Bombay, Sheikh Ali Ahmed. His partner in the scheme is Mr. W. D. Kendall, Independent M. P. for Grantham.

Speaking to *Globe*, Sheikh Ali Ahmed said: "The Kendall car is being backed by about 90 per cent. Indian capital. I am aiming to produce Kendall cars in both Britain and India. I am building factories just outside Bombay and expect they will be in production in India within six months. I am producing two types, both saloons capable of carrying four large-sized people. Although the cars represent new departures in motor design, they are well tried and should be excellent for the Indian market."

NEW CAR MODELS AFTER THE WAR

The famous Nuffield organisation is ready to start large scale manufacture of new model cars.

Sir Miles Thomas, Vice-Chairman of the organisation, has stated that cars will be turned out at the rate of more than 3,000 per month.

New plastics and new improved metals such as highest-grade all alloy steels will be entirely new. Other designs will incorporate the latest advances in performance, longevity, smoothness, and silence of running.

BRITISH MOTOR CARS FOR INDIA

Over one million cars are already on order from British manufacturers of which 250,000 are scheduled for the overseas market, but it is believed scarcity of shipping may result in a proportion of the latter being switched on to the home market. However, it is learned authoritatively that the Board of Trade intend using large numbers of landing craft to ship cars to India.

Aviation

RACE HORSES BY AIR

The regular transport of racehorses by aircraft has brought a step nearer when the first of a large fleet of freight aircraft was tested recently. They are to be built by the Bristol Aeroplane Company, and have been designed to include facilities for the accommodation of racehorses in a new type of horse box, which is being made by a well-known firm of coach-builders.

The B.A.C. has had a number of enquiries from British and Irish racehorse breeders, who wish to fly blood-stock abroad.

Each aircraft will accommodate two horses, and entrance will be effected by a slight ramp running into the nose of the fuselage, which will have an opening of eight-feet square.

The Company has in mind the possibility of aircraft being chartered by leading racehorse trainers for the transport of horses between stables and courses in England.

INDIAN NATIONAL AIRWAYS

An increase of Rs. 6.96 lakhs in revenue to Rs. 30.87 lakhs is the outstanding feature of the accounts of Indian National Airways, Ltd. for the year ended 30th June, 1945. Net profits at Rs. 2.09 lakhs are about Rs. 33,000 higher than in the previous year. Depreciation gets Rs. 87,265 9-2 (Rs. 60,507 12-4). After maintaining a dividend of 6 per cent. on Preferred Ordinary shares, the directors have reduced the dividends on Ordinary shares from 5 per cent. to 3 per cent.

HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT FACTORY

Enquiries made at the Hindustan Aircraft Headquarters show that about 5,000 hands out of a total complement of 11,000 have been retrenched in the past two months. In view of the Royal Air Force not taking up the factory, as originally planned, further reductions are possible.

Industry

HEAVY INDUSTRIES

The suggestion that two new heavy industries should be started in every Province immediately, if the Government were really serious in the declaration that they wished "to promote the rapid industrialisation of the country," is made by Sir M. Visvesvaraya in a memorandum on the development of heavy industries in Provinces.

The more important of the heavy industries are; shipping and shipbuilding, steel, coal, automobile, aeroplane, internal combustion engines, machinery manufacture, manufacture of mill machinery, manufacture of electrical machinery, aluminium, and rayon.

For promoting heavy industries, provincial leaders and business men are being approached, says Sir M. Visvesvaraya. "Many such citizens seem willing, with reasonable co-operation from the Government, to assume responsibility for starting at least two new heavy industries in their respective Provinces by collective effort, as part of a general programme of industrialisation for the whole country."

LONG-TERM TARIFF POLICY

The need for industrialisation in order to secure balanced economy and stability of employment in India, was emphasised by Mr. G. L. Mehta, addressing the Commerce Graduates' Association, at the Indian Merchants' Chamber Hall, Bombay.

Mr. Mehta said that if the more industrialised countries of the world could insist on the principle of equal access to raw materials, the economically undeveloped countries had also a right of access to the capital goods of the world. Factors like priority, import control, exchange, including command over dollars and the prevailing high prices, Mr. Mehta added, determined the problem of obtaining capital goods.

While welcoming the appointment of a short-term Tariff Board, Mr. Mehta regretted that the Government had decided nothing about the long-term tariff policy.

Agriculture

AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

How to solve the problem of Indian rural poverty? This was the main issue discussed by Sir M. Nanavati in his presidential address at the VI Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics which met at Benares on December 26. The first essential, he said, was that the Government of India should take a broader view of their functions as in other countries.

Sir M. Nanavati stressed the importance of deliberate planning in respect of production and distribution of essential items of food and pleaded for a radical change in the basis and structure of rural economy as an indispensable condition for increasing productivity.

Preventing of sub-divisional fragmentation of holdings and their consideration as economic units, elimination of absentee landlords and intermediary interests and a progressive system of peasant proprietorship were some of the measures advocated by him. Village panchayats, he said, should be used as the basic units of corporate life for social and administrative purposes.

About 70 delegates including representatives of important universities participated in the Conference which was inaugurated by Mr. Noel Hall, Economic Adviser to the Government of Bengal.

Whatever else improvement in agriculture might mean, the term certainly connotes increase in the outturn per acre and in the per capita income of the cultivator,—

observed Mr. Sampurnanand, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming delegates to the conference. He added:

A number of factors will contribute to this end. Better seeds, more and better manure, the conservation of the available organic manure through local afforestation and other methods of supplying cheap fuel are very important. Laying out of grazing grounds, a scientific rotation of crops, provision of marketing facilities and cheap credit through co-operative societies, educational expansion and liquidation of adult illiteracy, dissemination of scientific knowledge through radio and other methods which combine recreations with information—all these are important and will require the best attention of the Government and its expert advisers.

MINIMUM WAGES BILL

A Bill to fix minimum wages for workers in industry, business, trade, commerce and agriculture, has been drafted by the Government of India's Labour Department, and circulated among various Trade Union organisations and employers' associations.

The Bill is to be introduced as a Departmental measure during the present session of the Central Assembly.

The Bill extends to the whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and the Santhal Parganas. The measure will come into force on such date as the Central Government may decide.

The Bill provides that a Provincial Government shall, within two years from the date on which the Act comes into force, fix a minimum wage payable to any worker employed in the various industries and in agriculture.

Different minimum wages may be fixed for adults, adolescents, women, and children. The Provincial Governments are also empowered to fix different minimum wages for different localities in a Province, and for different industries, business, trade, commerce, and agriculture, in the same or different localities of the same Province.

A minimum wage may be fixed either per hour, or for a day, or for any other greater unit of time, not exceeding a month. A day will mean 8 hours' work, and if a worker does work in excess of 8 hours on any day, he shall be entitled to additional payment.

INDIAN SEAMEN

Australian trade unions paid a tribute to Indian seamen on strike who made three months' heroic stand against Dutch imperialists. The men recently left Sydney by steamer *Mooltan* for India.

The Unions are informing the Indian Seamen's Union and other leading Indian authorities of the part the men played in the Indonesian dispute and are requesting them to ensure no victimisation.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

The 20th Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress was inaugurated at Trivandrum on December 19 by H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore, the Chancellor of the University.

The Vice-Chancellor, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar extended hearty welcome on behalf of the University and the Government of Travancore. He regretted that during the last six or seven centuries we had been immersed in the cobwebs of disputation over words and abstract ideas. It was the duty of learned bodies like the present Congress to take up the thread of our philosophy and to follow it up until we could again attain that spirit of research and originality, which was both the criterion and distinction of Indian philosophy.

Prof. M. M. Shariff of the Muslim University, Aligarh, in his Presidential address, observed that in about 600 years before the Christian era, philosophical thought took its birth in four different centres of civilisation in the world—China, Persia, India and Greece. But by the 10th century only two systems survived, the Indian and the Muslim.

He went on to describe how Muslims became the torch-bearers of civilization and learning.

Although the Muslims did not originate philosophical thought as they originated scientific enquiry some of their achievements in this connection were most remarkable and paved the way for European renaissance. This indeed was their chief claim to fame. The Muslims learnt Mathematics from Hindus. Philosophy from the Greeks, Astronomy and Mathematics from both, and after making remarkable developments, passed them on to Europe.

THE THEOSOPHICAL CONVENTION

"It doesn't matter how many off-shoots there are in the Society so long as each group gives the fundamental message of the Ancient Wisdom," said Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, President-designate at the conclusion of the 70th International Convention of the Theosophical Society, at Adyar on December 31.

Shrimati Rukmini Devi urged Theosophists to meditate on greatness and beauty and to live as comrades of humanity and friends of the poor and suffering.

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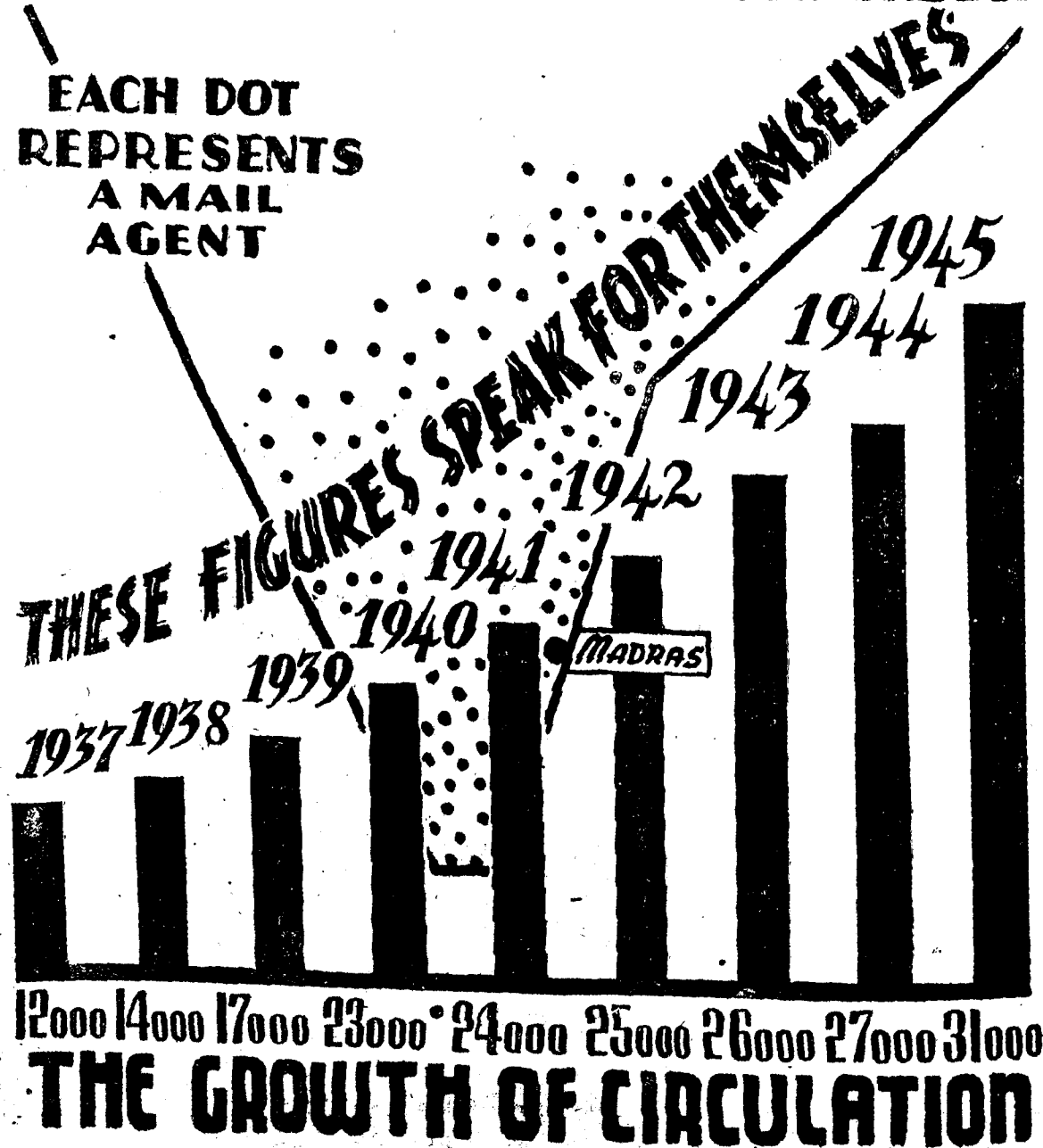
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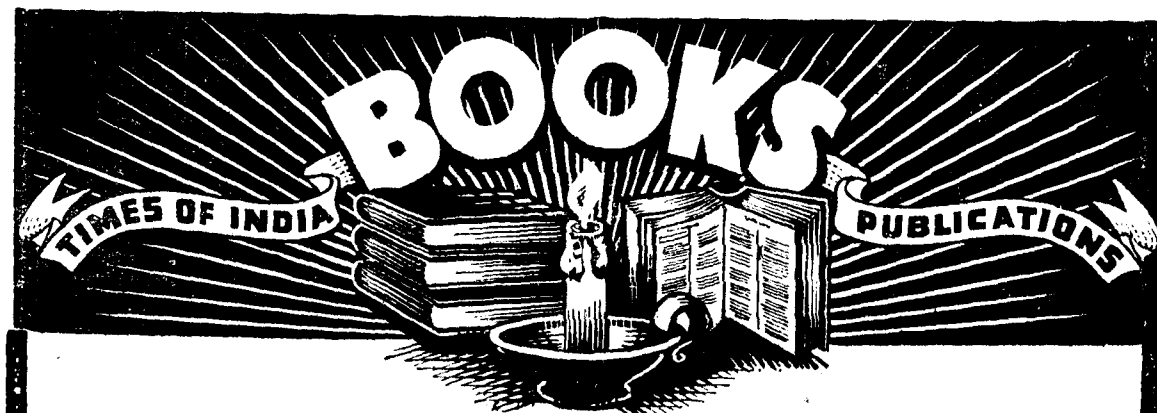


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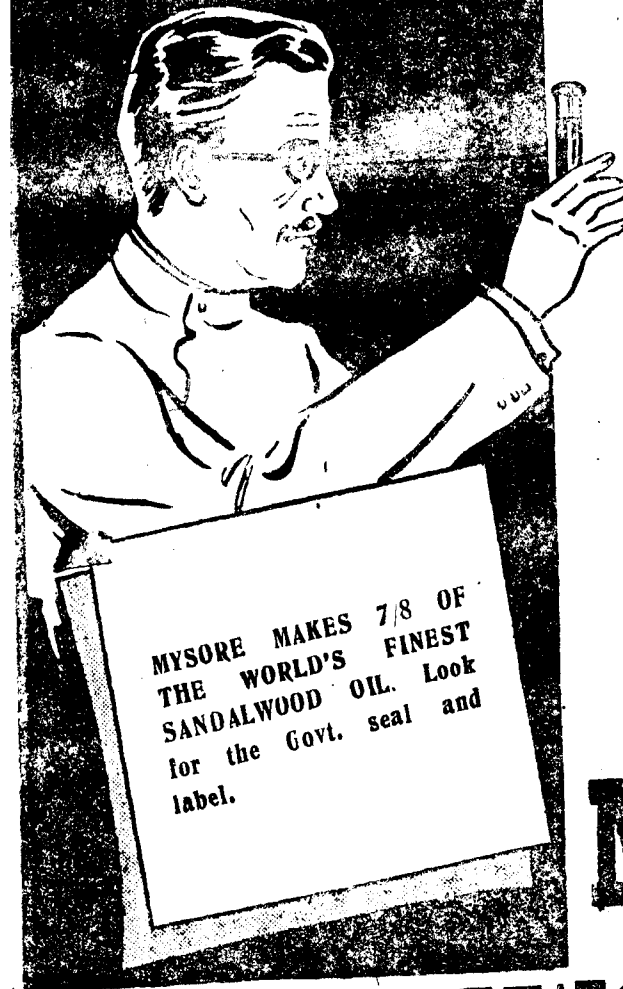
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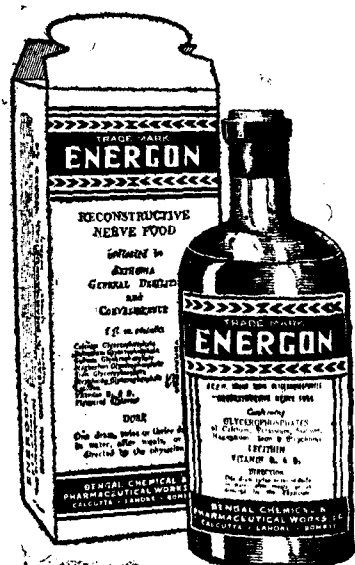
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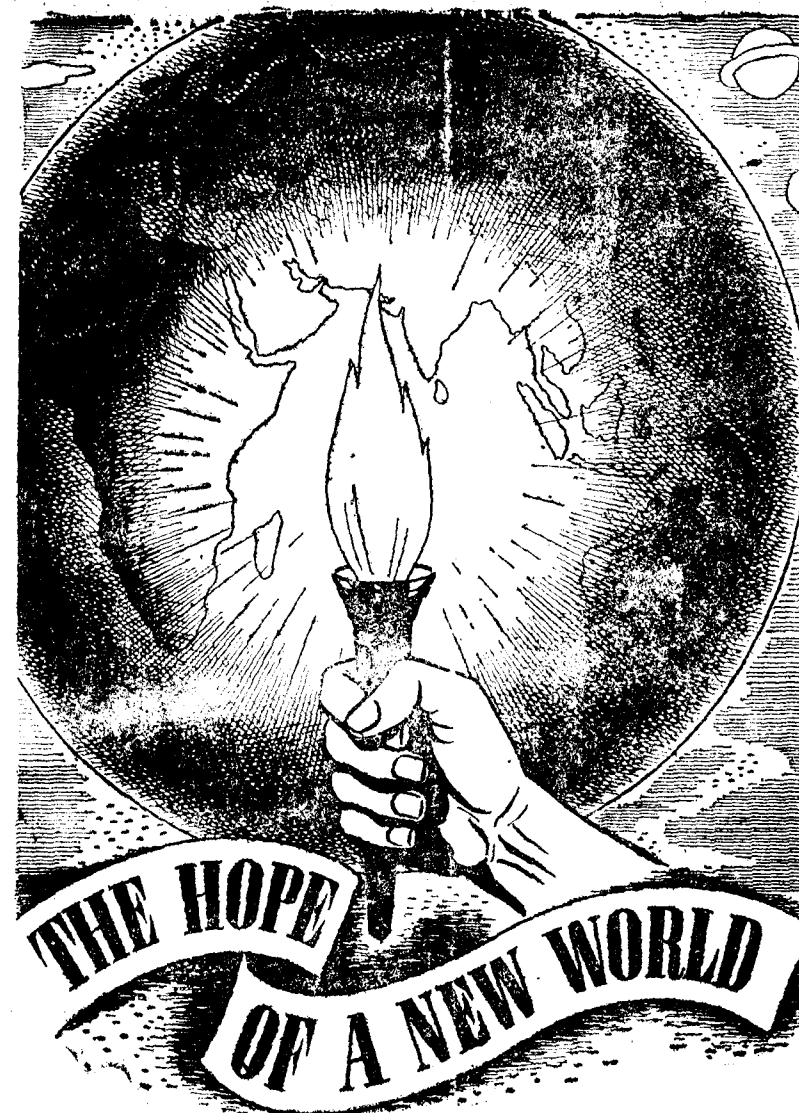
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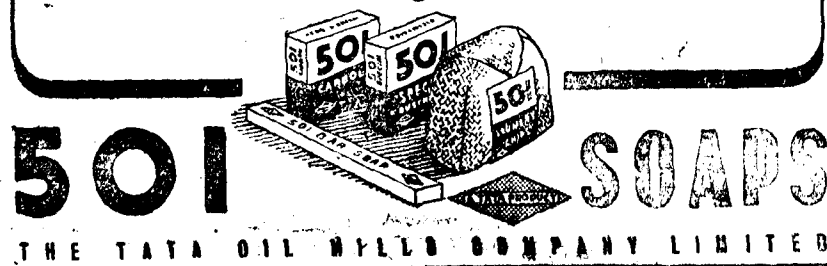
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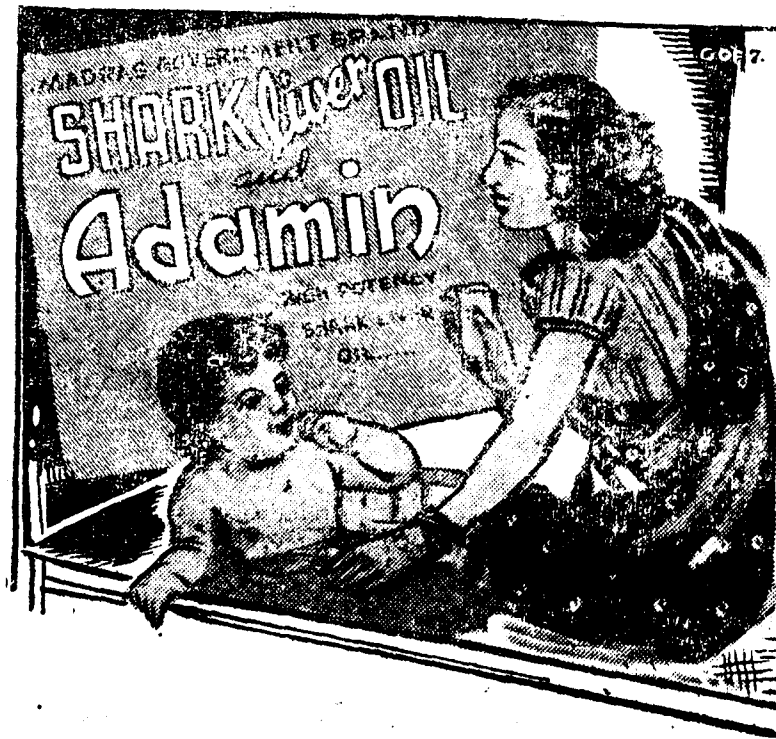
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