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THE INDIAN REVIEW

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48]

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[No. 4

THE OUT-POSTS OF INDIAN CULTURE

BY MR. SISIRKUMAR MITRA

"HEarken unto me, ye children of immortality, all ye who once dwelt in abodes divine, I have known the Supreme Person, the One whose light shines forth from beyond the darkness." The Rishi of the Upanishad voiced in this way the call from India's soul, the supreme call to humanity to come and share with it the vision of the One Absolute. Ever since, it has been the sole privilege of India to carry the torch of her unique ideals to distant lands, and inspire them to noble creative endeavours. Her matchless wisdom, her splendid art have left their indelible impress on the thought and culture of many great peoples of history. The story is indeed romantic of India's cultural adventure beyond her physical borders; and it cannot be told in a short article. Nevertheless a sketch may be attempted of interest general readers in the subject.

"India" says Sri Aurobindo, "represents the quintessence of the Asiatic way of thinking." In an objective sense, the inverse proposition is also equally true. The cultures of the nations that form the continent of Asia, owe in some cases their origin and in some their inspiration, to influences from India. Evidences of Indian influence are unmistakable in almost all of them. The culture of India was like a sky-high tower of light shedding its radiance over the surrounding countries far and near. It is amazing to find traces of Vedic culture in Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia where excavations have brought to light inscribed tablets recording a treaty concluded in the fourteenth century B.C. between two belli-

gerent tribes known as the Hittites and the Mittanis in terms of their respective customs which included, as the inscriptions say, the invocation of the Vedic Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nasatyas (the twin Asvins) for their blessings. From Tel-el-Amarna letters we know that between the years 1470 B.C. and 1400 B.C. there reigned in Mitanni four kings whose names were Aratana, Artasuma, Sutarna and Dashratta, the last named resembles the Sanskrit word Dasaratha. The other names also bear close resemblance to Sanskrit. These inscriptions show that Indian ideas penetrated the upper valley of the Euphrates in those early days. Before the rise of Islam, there lived in Arabia many Hindus, mostly Brahmins who settled there observing Hindu religious customs including the worship of Shiva as Makkesa from which the name Mecca is said to have been derived. The great astronomer Yavanacharya was born in one such Brahmin family. It was from these Brahmins that the Arabs learnt the truths of Mathematical science, such as Algebra, Decimal notation and Astronomical laws which were first established in India.

Buddhism was a great force in spreading Indian ideals, and achieved remarkable progress in helping to evolve what has been called Indonesian culture. The cultural and commercial relations that existed between India and Central Asia in the first century B.C. resulted in the building up of a regular Indian colony in that region. "Beneath the sands of the desert Gobi have been unearthed the ruins of cities which

were peopled by Indians about two thousands years ago. Documents written in Indian character and in Indian language, coins with Indian legends, figures of familiar Brahminical Gods like Ganesa and Kuvera, specimens of Indian sculpture and architecture, mostly Buddhist, memorials of Buddhism and thousand other things still tell the tale of India's adventures beyond the 'Roof of the World'. One of the manuscripts of about the second century A.D. found in that region gives the whole of the Dhammapada in Kharosti character prevalent in those days in North Western India and in Central Asia. Inscriptions on the walls of a ruined temple explored in Miran have been deciphered to denote the titles of various episodes from the Jatakas which also are described on the walls. There are also explored a number of palm-leaf manuscripts relating the dramas of Asvaghosa written in the script of the Kusana period. According to Dr. Sylvain Levi, the Cucha Kingdom in Chinese Turkistan was peopled by Aryans speaking an Aryan tongue. During the first few centuries of the Christian era, the religion and culture of Buddhism formed important elements of that civilization. The study of Sanskrit was also widely encouraged.

India's contact with China is an event of outstanding importance to the history of Asian culture. The exact date as to when this intercourse began, has not yet been ascertained; but that India came in touch with China in very early days is evident from the mention in the Manu Samhita that the Chinese were degenerated Kshatriyas, and in the Mahabharata, that these people from the north were allies of the King Bhagadatta of Assam, and fought against the Pandavas in the Kurukshetra war. These sources being merely literary, are not much reliable. But proofs are available of a continued course of India's communication with China from the third century B.C. It is believed that in 218 B.C. Asoka sent eighteen missionaries to China who were imprisoned at the order of the emperor but

released when they worked some miracles. But China's formal acceptance of Buddhism did not take place before the first century of the present era, when in 60 A.D. Emperor Han-Min-ti saw the vision of a golden titan with a halo on his head and flying about the palace court. The vision was explained as that of the Buddha of Tien-Chu (India). A pilgrim delegation was at once sent to India, but struggled enough when the delegation was in Khotan, it met Kasvapa Matanga and Gobharana who also were on the way to China carrying with them Buddhist classics and images. So the delegation turned back to their country along with the mission from India. This event initiated that historic movement of Sino-Indian cultural friendship which for more than seven hundred years was cemented by streams of missionaries, artists and scholars who in response to invitation from Chinese emperors left India and undertook the hazardous journey to propagate the message of the Tathagata in China. The emperors also sent scholars and religious aspirants to collect information and literature about Buddhism in India. The literature of China was enriched by the Buddhist classics whose originals are now lost in India but which are available in China in their Chinese version. About six thousand of these texts have so far been discovered in China. The Chinese art was stimulated to new expressions. The Indian Stupa was transformed into the Chinese Pagoda. The pictorial art specially when it depicted the life of the Buddha was distinctly Indian in its motif. In short, as professor Tan Yun-Shan puts it, all the learnings, thoughts, religious practices and social customs of India which were described in the Chinese translations of Indian works deeply influenced the thought and life of China. From China Korea received its initiations in Buddhism about the middle of the fourth century. In Silla, an ancient city of Korea, decorations in purely Indian style could be seen to-day on a temple erected by a king to commemorate an Indian priest who lived there.

Japan received the enlightenment of Buddhism not from India direct. In 538 A.D. Korea made the first official presentation of a gilt-statue of the Buddha, some beautiful banners and sacred texts to the Japanese Court as a token of her homage and friendship. The message that accompanied the gift runs as follows:—"Buddha Dharma, the most excellent of all laws, which brings immeasurable benefit to its believers, had been accepted in all lands lying between India and Korea." With the introduction of Buddhism, Japan felt the impulse of a new life of which a distinct orientation of her arts and letters was the immediate outcome. Later on, in the Gupta period of Indian history artists from India went direct to Japan and helped in the development of her arts in many ways. So deep was the influence of Buddhism in Japan that the emperor Shomu (of the eighth century) took pride in calling himself "the slave of the Buddhist Trinity" and erected the colossal Buddha at Nara, the largest cast-bronze statue in the world. The fresco paintings of the same period on the walls of a temple at Horiyuzi followed almost faithfully the convention of Ajanta. The ancient 'Bugaku' or dance-music of Japan has been characterised as a combination of Chinese and Indian styles. The most favourite Japanese musical instrument called the 'Biwa' is said to have been derived from the Indian Veena. Traces of influence in Japan of Hindu religious symbolism could be found in the artistic figures of Hindu gods Maheswara, Kali and Saraswati.

About the middle of the fifth century, the marriage of a Tibetan king with a Nepalese princess who brought her Hindu gods and sometime later, with a daughter of the Tang emperor who brought her Buddhist deities, heralded the dawn of Indian influence in Tibet where with the progress of religion, art rose in paintings and bronzes which kept to the traditions of Indian art.

In the third century B. C. Buddhism was carried to Ceylon by Mahendra, a younger

brother of Asoka. The famous Buddhist apostle Buddhaghosa, called the Sankaracharya of Buddhism, went to Ceylon about the middle of the fifth century and there edited some very authenticated Buddhist texts of the Hinayan school, and prepared interesting commentaries thereon which are held as unchallengeable authorities on the orthodox interpretation of the Buddhist Faith. Indian influence on the art of Ceylon is clearly discernible in the statues of Buddha in such centres of culture as Sigiriya, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, the last named has also a series of Hindu temples built on Chola style at the time of Chola occupation in the early part of the eleventh century. The frescoes at Sigiriya executed during the reign of Kasyapa I towards the close of the fifth century bear significant resemblance to those of Ajanta and Bagh.

Indian influence in Burma is likely to have begun in earlier times, some believe in the Maurya period, but the antiquities so far unearthed point to its existence only in the fifth century of the present era. Prome, Thaton and Taquang were well-known centres of Buddhist and Hindu cultures in Burma having Vaishnavic and Shaivite sculptures, Buddhist stupas and brick buildings in the traditional technique of Gupta art. Buddhism was the state religion and the life of the people was permeated by its culture.

In the first century A.D. an Indian Brahmin called Kaundinya went to Cambodia and by marrying a princess there became the master of the country. But the organised Hinduisation of the country is attributed to Srutavarman who ruled there in the fifth century. Bilingual inscriptions in South Indian (Pallava) script reveal a knowledge of the Vedas, Puranas and the Epics. The temple architecture of the sixth and seventh centuries was done in Gupta style. The Garbhagriha (inner shrine) of Bhaumora, and the Garuda caryatides in many temples of Cambodia are Indian in their style and technique. The Buddha figures of Romlock, Ta Keo, are in the

character like the rock-cut Buddhas of Ajanta and some Gupta types of Saranath. Mythology and cult remained Indian in all essentials. The scenes from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana are described in relief in the big Baphuon temple erected by Jayavarman in the latter part of the tenth century. Similiar scenes together with the gods and goddesses of the Puranas are abundantly depicted in bas-reliefs on that world-famous temple, Angkor Wat, the indescribable epic in stone, erected by the Hindu king of Cambodia early in the twelfth century. India had trade-relations with Siam during the early centuries of the present era when the first stream of Hindu culture flowed out to that country. Temples were built for the worship of gods like Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva etc. Ramayana events were illustrated on the walls of the Royal temples at Bangkok. The Hindu idea of the Mount Meru as the centre of the universe is still described in Siamese religious books and paintings. The Swing festival of the Hindus in the Spring season is still extant in Siam with slight local variation. The message of the Lord Buddha did not reach Siam earlier than the thirteenth century when the aggressive forces of Buddhism weakened the hold of Hinduism in Siam; the temples and sanctuaries of Brahminical culture began to be utilised for propagating the new faith.

A large number of inscriptions written in Sanskrit unfolds the history of Champa for a period of about 1200 years. Sanskrit culture was an important phase of ancient Champa's literary achievements. King Harivarman (9th century) was a great patron of letters. He introduced the study of Sanskrit literature which included Panini's grammar, the Horasastra (astronomy), the six systems of Hindu Philosophy, the Buddhist Philosophy, the Dharma Sastras, the Shaiva literature and the Kala Sastras. The great epics entered into the daily life of the people. A series of Hindu temples mostly Shaivite was constructed at different times all over the land. A bronze standing Buddha in the largest Buddhist shrine at

Dong-duong, the only Buddhist site Champa, is in style very near to that of Amravati and Anuradhapura.

Evidences are plenty of India's relation with the group of islands, known as the Malay Archipelago. The Indian immigrants there are still called Orang-Kling, a survival of the name Kalinga by which the inhabitants of Orissa were known. In the third century of the present era, the Kalingas and the Andhras of Orissa and Vengi had laid the foundation of Indian and Indianised states in these islands. Srivijaya, modern Sumatra, was a seat of Buddhist culture where as many as 1000 Bhikshus settled and formed a community for the study and practice of Buddhism. The fame of this culture-centre attracted scholars and teachers from all parts of India, of whom the most notable was Dipankara Atisa, the Director of the University of Vikramsila. Dipankar met there Acharya Chandra Kirti. He declared Srivijaya as the headquarters of Buddhism in the East. Dharmapala, of the University of Nalanda, is said to have passed his last days at Sumatra.

The small island of Java was often chosen as a resting place by the Hindu Vaishnavite traders from the east coast of India on their journeys to and from the Far East. Some of these merchants settled in Java about the middle of the second century. Frequent mention of Java in Indian literature such as the Ramayana, Arthashastra and in some Tamil texts prove the existence of a continuous intercourse between India and Java from very early times. South India played an important part in spreading Brahminical culture to Java. Javanese literature is mostly Brahminical. Even Buddhist poets composed on the episodes of the Hindu epics. It is in the reign of Erlangga in the early part of the eleventh century that the Mahabharata and the Ramayana were translated, though in earlier days Javanese adaptations of these epics under various names had been available for popular education. The art of Java is as monumental as it is well-defined. The technique used is essentially Indian.

Fergusson held that the builders of the temples of Java including the world-famous Boro-Budur migrated from western India.

The Indianising of Bali was started early in the eighth century of the present era. Traces of Indian influence in Bali need not be detailed since she maintains even to this day her allegiance to Indian ideals which permeate every phase of her life. How interesting is the sight in modern Bali of men and women gathering in beautifully decorated places to hear readings from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata! Sculptural representations and bas-reliefs of Hindu gods and goddesses in Bali are evidences of the highly advanced Indo-Balinese art. The efforts of Dutch scholars engaged in research at Bali are responsible for the collection of a large number of hand-written palm-leaf manuscripts of different dates dealing with many Hindu religious and mythological subjects.

Indian influence in Polynesia, a group of islands in Oceania, was unknown to Indian scholars till a few years ago the late Prof. P. Mitra of the Calcutta University took up the subject and in collaboration with some Polynesian scholars unravelled the story of the spread of Indian ideas over those distant lands. It is difficult to say exactly when this intercourse began. The islands were reached by man sometime during the early centuries of the present era. The physical appearance of the Polynesians is more like that of the Indo-Aryans than that of the peoples of the neighbouring islands. But their language has closer affinity to the language of the tribes like the Mundas, the Santhals of India. Many of the religious beliefs and social customs of the Polynesians are held to have been derived from India through Indonesia. Their use of conch-shell, nose flute and musical bore are likely to have gone from India. The Hula dance of Hawaii and the Shiva dance of Samoa are very much similar to some forms of folk dances of Bengal. Prof. Skinner says that many decorative designs of the Polynesians are traceable to India and

Cambodia. Some of the staple foodstuffs and domestic animals of Polynesia are, according to specialists on the subject, indigenous to India wherefrom they were carried to Polynesia. In the mythology of the Polynesians are found the idea of Brahmanda or cosmic egg of the Hindu Purana and the Gita's conception of the world as the branches of a tree of which the roots are in the Brahmanda. Craighill Handy summarises the Indian influence in Polynesia in the following words: "As examples of old Polynesian culture-traits derived from the Brahminical civilization, I may mention the craft traditions, rites for the first born, the ancestral cult with its use of genealogies and images; phallic symbolism and representative symbolic art, ritualistic conventions, priestly traditions and orders, *mana* and *Tapu*, walled temple with tower like shrines, . . . and finally the remarkable dualistic evolutionary cosmogony."

Thus in outline is the story of how in the past India built the outposts of her great cultural traditions in regions far beyond her geographical frontiers. But it was always in a spirit of service, never with any motive of self-imposition or conquest that she undertook these adventures. Service was the great ideal that India has always cherished above everything else. And the highest form of service, according to her, is what promotes inner illumination. The gift of knowledge is indeed the greatest gift. And this gift India has always generously bestowed on others. The conquest, goes an Asokan edict, lies in the conquest of men's hearts by the Law of the Dharma. Territorial expansion or subjugation of other countries to exploit them did not enter India's thoughts. Her colonies, if there was any, were not like those in the modern sense of the term. They were her spiritual children, reared up by the elevating traditions of her great culture. But there was a meaning in all her efforts in that direction. The Shakti that India has always been there preparing in a silent way for the greater work of the future, the work of fulfilling India's mission to humanity.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

BY MR. K. M. MUNSHI

POLITICAL thought in India has been considerably influenced by the West. I will deal with the influence under three heads:—(a) Nationalism, (b) Democracy and (c) Rule of Law.

Before British Rule was established firmly in 1857 Nationalism in the West had been growing up for two hundred years as a sentiment, as a collective bond and as the basis of sovereignty. Mazzini made of it a religious creed.

Before 1857 India had a peculiar nationalism of its own. India was conceptually a holy fatherland as *Aryavarta*, as *Bharatkhand*. The mythic Chakravarties and later the Moghul Emperors were the embodiment of its independent political existence. The *Varnashramadharma* was a universally accepted social synthesis, with which was associated the idea of *Dharma*, universal moral law. In the Great Revolt of 1857, misnamed the mutiny, Hindus and Muslims died shoulder to shoulder under Delhi's banner against the foreigners.

But under the contact with Western thought these sentiments were fused to produce modern Indian Nationalism. In its first stage under Bannerjee and Dadabhoi, it was moulded by the Mid-Victorian political thought; later Mazzini's religio-political nationalism captured the Indian mind; still later, the older sentiments of *Aryavarta* and *Bharatkhand* contributed the emotional aspect which found expression in India as the Motherland, the Maternal power dominating the intellect and seizing the heart. Sri Aurobindo was the great exponent of this Nationalism, the general content of which has persisted since, though its economic aspects have come to the foreground as a result of socialistic thought which has pervaded enlightened thought all over the country.

Gandhiji slowly became the embodiment of the third stage of Nationalism. And though to some extent he toned down the religious content of Nationalism, his dynamic religious outlook on life provided

the same fervent temper to the Nationalism for which he stood. But his greatest contribution to Nationalism was to discover an instrument of great power in *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha*, though basically Indian, in Gandhiji's hands came to be shaped under the influence of Tolstoy's doctrine "Resist not evil by force." Nationalism, under his influence, also underwent another change. Modern Nationalism as in Europe, came to be accepted by large masses of people in India as an urge to will themselves into an organic whole. Nationalism in India, therefore, is a curious blend of Indian and Western outlook.

The next head is Democracy. The contact with the West and the introduction of University Education in India brought the Indian mind in contact with two great factors. One was the message of the French Revolution: Equality, Liberty, Fraternity; the other was the great tradition of British democratic institutions.

India before 1857, as Europe before the Napoleonic wars, did not know democracy in practice. Sixty years ago people in India swore by equality, preached by Rousseau, the Rights of Man as taught by Tom Paine, and liberty as defined by John Stuart Mill, and their outlook shaped the slogans of political parties. When the partition of Bengal came the boycott of British goods was borrowed from Ireland and even the terrorist movement was a gift made by European secret societies to India.

The Swadeshi movement in India was largely influenced by the Gaelic League in Ireland. Mrs. Besant's Home-Rule League which definitely altered the content and tempo of Nationalism was influenced by the Irish Home-Rule Movement.

Democracy has for its basis the recognition of the human personality as an end in itself. Indians absorbed the idea in their own characteristic way. The old social habits did not emphasize the sanctity of the individual as against Society, but

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PROGRESS OF INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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the philosophical thought of the country emphasized the freedom of the soul and the right of each man to do what he thought right. Stimulated by the new democratic ideas their thought suddenly became a force in active life. And when Swami Vivekananda, and after him Gandhiji, laid emphasis on *Satya* and the supreme demand of every man's Truth upon his own allegiance, no one perceived that the freedom and universality of the soul had, under the influence of Western Democracy, undergone a complete transformation and emerged into a democratic doctrine of individual freedom. The old-time Panchayats were looked upon as ideal democracies and scholars went back to ancient *ganas* in order to find inspiration for modern democratic notions.

But more important than this was the tradition of British democratic institutions which educated Indians sought to imitate in this country. In those days British democracy was considered the last word in human wisdom and when Lord Ripon introduced representative civic institutions they were held as heralding the new freedom. British Parliament was looked upon as the Mother of Parliaments all the world over and the traditions of Parliament shaped the political thought of the country. When representatives of the people found a place in the new councils the procedure and tradition of the House of Commons were copied. Few people realize the enormous influence which the parliamentary system of Britain has exercised over this country.

For several years we are thinking in terms of adult suffrage and a Constituent Assembly. Now that the Constituent Assembly has come we are shaping our political destinies in terms of the Commonwealth Dominion and American Constitutions.

More than this, we have been deeply imbued with the doctrine of civil liberty which is the foundation of the rule of law and which we have somehow come to feel as a part of our political birthright.

During the Quit India Movement, for instance, public institutions, judges and lawyers throughout the country stood up for the liberties of the subject in a manner worthy of the highest British tradition.

There is no civil liberty in many parts of the world. Central European constitutions contained pages on fundamental rights but the people tore them off without the least compunction.

Civil liberty is the flowering of ideals of liberty and judicial independence which is the characteristic feature of the British political system. It may come as a surprise to many that had Sir Eliza Impey not taken upon himself to invest the first Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal with the powers of the King's Bench Division in England and used the prerogative writs of Habeas Corpus against Warren Hastings, we would have had no remedies to preserve our civil liberties, and we would have remained without one of the fundamental notions of democratic life.

It is surprising how Indians have developed their faith in democracy. All the world over democrats have lost religious faith in Democracy, they have become opportunists. They have no faith of their own to pit against the fiery faith of the Communist in his special brand of political doctrines. That is why Russia produces ardent devotees in all lands and the Anglo-America, in spite of its more progressive outlook, is not able to mobilise the conscience of the world.

India is the youngest democratic country in the world—remember that—and her faith in democracy is like a flaming sword of power. We have taken our political lessons from Britain; we have improved upon them. We want to carry to the tradition of Democracy; of an unregulated life within the course of time representative institutions developed in that of liberty and an independent ore, that the developing human personality is to be ultimate end of collective life.—*There was from Bombay.*

INDIA'S SCHOLAR-STATESMAN

MOULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

BY PROF. T. V. RAMANUJAM

THE more devoted you are to your religion, the more tolerant you are towards other religions. The more you love your language, the more you respect other people's love for their languages.

Imagine a great Urdu scholar like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose support of the cause of encouraging Indian language has always been full-hearted making a public statement about the need for keeping English in its present standard of efficiency in our schools and colleges.

There is nothing narrow or sectional or small about him. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is cast in a large, and noble mould. What can be more appropriate than that his servant should, in response to the united wish of the nation's chosen leaders, take up the portfolio of Education in the Government of India. You have only to look up him, to realize the nobility of his heart and the greatness of his mind.

Mahadeo Desai's biography* of the Maulana is one of those rare books which leave the reader not only more instructed but wiser.

Horace G. Alexander, who has written the preface to the book commends it to readers in England for them to discover how untrue is the usual picture presented to them—of ninety million Muslims confronted by two hundred million Hindus in a seemingly irreconcilable quarrel. Not that Mr. Desai minimizes the Hindu-Muslim conflict. But he shows how the Ex-President of the Congress, the Maulana, himself a devout and ardent Muslim has laboured years and is still labouringly unceasingly the breach.

that Maulana Saheb's ancestry is traced to the aristocracy of learning—his thought was the last Rakn-ul-Mudarassin (the Learning) appointed by a Moghul

ABUL KALAM AZAD—By Mahadeo Desai
Publishers: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd
Price Rs. 4-8-0.

Emperor. His father Muhammad Khairuddin was both a learned divine and sufi (mystic). Arabic was the Maulana's mother-tongue—his mother knew no other language. His father taught him urdu.

The Maulana was a Prodigy. He completed the 'Darse Nizami'—a full course in Arabic, Persian, philosophy, logic, arithmetic, geography and history in four years—a course that takes a very good student at least ten years. The young Maulana studied in Egypt from 1905—1907 at the Al Azhar University.

At the early age of 14 he made for himself a name among the Muslim intelligentsia by his sparkling journal 'Lisanus Sidq'. He also tried his hand quite successfully at poetry and enlivened many a 'Mushaira'—Poets gathering with his couplets.

The Maulana burst on the political horizon with the publication of 'Al Hital' (The Crescent) of which he was the youthful editor. The first issue acted like explosives in the Muslim world and compelled them to consider seriously a crusade against the forces of bigotry and darkness, against political reaction and narrow communalism. Such was the popularity of the 'Al Hital' that study circles were formed in the U.P. and scores of eager people assembled to hear the paper read out to them.

The British Government, on the plea that the 'Al Hital' had pro-German tendencies, ordered the forfeiture of the security on the paper and interned the editor till 1920.

The Maulana, with his vast learning, his matchless powers of eloquence and persuasion and his modern outlook, was a tower of strength to Gandhiji during the Non-co-operation movement in 1920.

Two decades have not staled the freshness of the statement issued by the Great Maulana when he was sentenced to be incarcerated. "The iniquities of courts of law constitute an endless list and history has not yet finished singing the elegy of

such miscarriages of justice. In that list we observe a holy personage like Jesus, who had to stand in his time before a foreign court and be convicted even as the worst of criminals. We see also in the same list Socrates who was sentenced to be poisoned for no other crime than that of being the most truthful person of his age. We meet also the name of the great Florentine martyr to truth, the inventor Galileo, who refused to believe his observations and researches merely because their avowal was a crime in the eyes of constituted authority...When I ponder on the great and significant history of the convicts' dock and find that the honour of standing in that place belongs to me to-day, my soul becomes steeped in thankfulness and praise of God."

On his release in 1923 from prison the Maulana found himself President of the Congress at the early age of 35.

The Maulana with eyes that flash intelligence and inspire awe represents in his life the best in Islamic Culture. He has a polish and refinement of manner that compels respect. His deep learning, insatiable appetite for knowledge coupled with his contemplative temperament, have made Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the most popular scholar-patriot of the Gandhian era.

No greater honour could have been conferred on the Maulana than the Presidentship of the Congress during the most critical six-year period of her history—an honour which befitted "the Prince among men."

Nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A. B.Com.

THE question of the Nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India has been in the forefront almost from the time that proposals for the setting up of the Reserve Bank were made. The London Committee on the Reserve Bank of India Bill suggested a shareholders' bank free from any political control. But Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas suggested the necessity of a State Bank because in his view "The qualification introduced by the Secretary of State...undermines the foundation of the agreement arrived at and if it is persisted it makes the consideration of the alternative of a bank an imperative necessity." The Central Banking Enquiry Committee were prevented by the ruling of their Chairman to recommend its constitution but they started on the assumption that its capital would be obtained by the state. Recently, however, the question of nationalising the Bank has come to the forefront. While discussing the budget for 1946-47 in the central legislature, the leader of the

Congress party criticised the Government for not having proposed the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank. In February 1947 a resolution was brought forward in the central legislature for nationalising the Bank. It was, however, withdrawn after an assurance from the Hon'ble Finance Member that Government would give its most careful and sympathetic consideration to the proposal and that it would not hesitate to take steps in that direction if it was convinced that nationalisation of the Reserve Bank would be in the interests of the country. While introducing the budget for 1947-48 the Hon'ble Finance Member has announced that he has come to the conclusion that the Reserve Bank should be nationalised and that in course of time legislation would be proposed in that connection. It appears, therefore, that the Reserve Bank is very shortly going to be nationalised. So far, of course, there was no responsible Government in the centre and a Reserve Bank free from political

influence in private hands was necessary. Now the position is different and many important schemes of economic development will be proposed, the implementation of which would require a close co-operation and collaboration between the Government and the Bank.

There are two objects with which any institution is taken up under government ownership and management: Firstly, that private ownership fails to secure the most efficient service for the community, and secondly, that profits should go to the state so that they may be utilised for the general good of the community. The opponents of nationalisation point out that these two objects had already been secured under the Reserve Bank of India Act. The Bank rendered service to the public as laid down under the Act and the Government has a free hand in its administration. The selection of Governor and Deputy Governors is subject to the approval of the Government and it has its own nominated Directors on the Board of the Bank. The shareholders receive only 4 per cent return on their capital and the rest of the profits go to the Treasury. It has been pointed out that in the first ten years of its existence the shareholders received an aggregate sum of Rs. 1.86 crores only; but the Government received Rs. 40.43 crores from the Bank. In that case why object to the complete nationalisation of the Bank? It is further pointed out by the opponents of nationalisation that in its present set up the Bank has established contact with the public, markets, and the banking world and that as a semi-public institution it is more efficient in its working than any of the Government departments. These characteristics will be lost if it is nationalised and the public will lose thereby. It is also pointed out that financiers and leading businessmen are associated with the Central Board of the Bank and their experience is useful for the country. It is suggested that these contacts should be very valuable when the Reserve Bank will be called upon to undertake greater

responsibilities in the general economic development of the country.

In answer to those arguments it may be pointed out that undoubtedly in the past Government had a free hand in the administration of the Bank. In fact that is one of the reasons why it should be nationalised. During the war in matters of vital policy such as those connected with the accumulation of sterling balances and the growth of inflation, the bank did not give sound advice being a shareholders' bank. It admitted the existence of inflation but suggested that the causes were such as were not amenable to the control of the Bank. It is true the Reserve Bank Act permits the issue of notes on the backing of sterling securities; but the evil consequences thereof should have been pointed out to the Government by the Reserve Bank. Consequently as a private shareholders' bank it did not secure such advantages in these respects as should have been expected of it.

It is suggested that there are weighty advantages of a shareholders' bank because it maintains contact with the business world and the money-market. In fact the conditions of the modern world are becoming intricate and such banks have their own departments to maintain contact with these conditions. Even businessmen as directors receive advice and guidance from their advisers who are specialists. There are various ways of getting this advice. There are Statistical and Research Departments and it should not be difficult to set up such departments when the Reserve Bank becomes nationalised.

There are other arguments for nationalisation. There appears to be an inevitable growth in the public character of central banks. In 1939 the Central Bank of Bolivia was nationalised and the Government became the sole stockholder. The Reichsbank of Germany, the Bank of Italy, etc., which were pure shareholders' banks were practically worked as state institutions during the war. Economic mobilisation in

these countries would not have been possible except for the complete identity in respect of policy between the Government and the Central Banks. The Bank of England has also been converted into a State Bank although dividends were limited and it was rendering service to the public as a private shareholders' bank. In Australia, the Commonwealth Bank was nationalised as early as 1924. Thus there is a tendency in other countries of the world for the Bank of issue to be nationalised, for this confers great advantages and secures identity of policy between the Government of the day and the Central financial institution of the country.

There is a tendency for the shares of the Reserve Bank of India to be centralised in the hands of a smaller and smaller number of shareholders. The total number of shareholders fell from 56,000 in all the registers in 1940 to 46,000 in 1945. The failures of the banks in certain fields were referred to as arguments for nationalising the banks in the central legislature. It had not carried out its obligation to recommend a permanent basis of the Indian monetary system. It had also not linked the indigenous bankers directly with it and it had failed to improve the machinery for dealing with agricultural finance. It had also not helped small banks in difficulties. It had also not served as a safeguard against the Government using it as a printing press for replenishing their finances during the war.

To give the devil his due, some of these arguments in favour of nationalisation are rather out of place. The Bank has not created a discount market in the country; but a recent publication of the League of Nations and Central Banking indicates that in other countries also the Bill discounting habit has gone down for various reasons. It is true the preamble of the Reserve Bank Act lays down that it would recommend a permanent basis of the Indian currency system when the world currency situation was clarified; but this condition has not so far been fulfilled. It was simply impossible for the Bank to have fulfilled

it in view of the war-time changes in the currency situation in the various countries of the world. It made proposals for linking the indigenous bankers and they were based on the recommendations of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee. The difference, however, between the Reserve Bank's view and that of the indigenous bankers was narrowed down to this that the Bank required to know as to how many indigenous bankers would join the scheme if proposals for a modified scheme were framed. The matter could be pursued further in this connexion; but the Reserve Bank is not entirely to be blamed. It did not help the small banks in difficulties because of the limitations of the Act and also because the small banks did not act up to its advice. A central bank cannot be expected to help each and every financial institution. It can only help those who accept its advice.

In the future, schemes of economic planning will have to be undertaken by the Government of the country. It would, therefore, be necessary that the central financial agency must be directly under the management of the Government to give effect to those important schemes. The Government will have complete assurance that its policy in the financial sphere would be executed by the central banking agency. The latter is expected to give a hearty support to such a policy. This is possible only if the Reserve Bank of India is nationalised.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

BESANT CENTENARY MEMORIAL

An appeal for funds to found a cultural Centre in Memory of the Late Dr. Annie Besant has been issued over the signatures of leading Indians representing different phases of public life in India. The object is to enlist active public help in raising a sum of thirty lakhs to finance a complete scheme of education in arts and crafts. It is a happy idea to link this form of Memorial with the Centenary Celebrations of one who did so much in her life time for the cultural advancement of Indians. We have no doubt that the appeal for so worthy an object will receive prompt and generous response from the public.—[ED. I.R.]

○ OCTOBER 1, 1947, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Annie Wood who became world-renowned as Annie Besant.

In the microscopic minority of men and women who achieve the eminence of being remembered a century after their birth, the name of Dr. Besant stands out with peculiar emphasis for a lifetime of 86 years spent mainly in the service of humanity through the perception, enunciation and following of fundamental principles of life.

As an individual, Dr. Besant's endowment of capacity and quality was esteemed as among the highest of her noted contemporaries. Her intellectual grasp and power of organisation co-operated with extraordinary efficiency, made her a leader of humanity in clear thought and beneficent activity for sixty years. Her power of impressing and swaying intelligent and critical audiences East and West, by a melodious voice, a mastery of subject and form, and a perfect command of speech, earned her the title of the foremost orator of her time.

While such personal gifts belong to the transiencies of life and may in the majority of instances pass into a vague, if pleasant, memory, their direction and intention may, if linked to the laws of human necessity and advancement, place the individual among the immortals of history. This has been especially so in the case of Dr. Annie Besant. In her early years, Darwin initiated the scientific comprehension of the law of evolution; Annie Besant lived it in word and deed. She saw humanity not merely as a product of its

animal past, but as an aspirant towards a future attainment as high above man as man is above the microbe.

This viewing of humanity "from the side of the angels" imparted an idealism to all her life. Nothing that was calculated to help humanity was outside her interest. Hence her extraordinary versatility. Yet her versatility was not shallow: there were depth of feeling and height of vision in everything to which she put her hand; for every movement that expedited the elevation of men and women and children, even the animal kingdom, called out her full sympathy and service. She was, therefore, a philanthropist in the broadest sense of that term; and the paradox of her philanthropy was that while her actual bestowal of gifts was substantial, her incalculable help to others was the philanthropy of encouraging them to attain the assurance and dignity and happiness of self-help.

Through this dynamic doctrine, Dr. Besant influenced, by way of individuals and groups, the early efforts of various movements that to-day are in the vanguard of progress and striving to overtake the upsurge from the lower strata of human nature that two wars and an unstable interval between them called out from the unregenerate sub-consciousness of the race. Her object, to put the matter in a phrase, was liberty, her attitude was sympathetic understanding her method was discipline—not imposed rules from without but conformity with the natural laws inherent in all worthy action.

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EDUCATION: ASIA'S CHIEF NEED

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Hence Annie Besant's fight for freedom of speech and political autonomy, her activities for the material and cultural betterment of the working classes, her championship of unfettered thought, her opposition to religious narrowness and exclusiveness, her orientation of education to the life and environment of the child and the adult, her realization that all effort would be denied its full fruition if it was not illumined by the vision of an attainable golden age and warmed and purified by the love of beauty in nature and art.

In this great gift to humanity, India shared with special richness. In her first years at Benares, Annie Besant laid the foundations of a truly national system of education in India, and anticipated the efforts in that direction now being made in official quarters. In 1914, she announced the demand of Home Rule for India, and in anticipation of political advance she gave her long experience of parliamentary and democratic procedure to promising young men, some of whom later attained prominence in the various stages of political reform now approaching its culmination in the complete freedom for which she laboured and suffered. She was one of the pioneers of the social and political

emancipation of Indian women, and was a member of the first deputation of women when the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were enquiring into the possibilities that led to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms instituted in 1921.

To a number of men and women, some of whom still remember Dr. Besant's great work and uplifting influence, it appears that the centenary of such a life should, apart from world-wide celebrations of various aspects of her activity, be commemorated in a manner fitting to her ideals and service to humanity and specially to India in which she spent so many epoch-making years. A statue stands to her memory in Madras; it gives a hint of her external personality in her later years; but something is needed in which her full vision of human advancement and happiness may be embodied. Such a living memorial may take the form of a Cultural Centre of a distinctive kind, free from external restrictions and pointing the way to the future education of the young and particularly to the cultivation of artistic skill and taste the influence of which on character and future individual and group conduct will help humanity towards the qualities and conditions of life that she in many ways visualised for it.

EDUCATION: ASIA'S CHIEF NEED

BY MR. K. G. SAIYIDAIN

A study of the comparative statistics of literacy in the different parts of the world brings out the depressing fact that barring Africa, Asia is the most backward continent from the point of view of literacy and mass education. . . . While exact figures are not available, it has been estimated that the over-all literacy ranges between 10 per cent. to 20 per cent.

(a) The only country in Asia which can claim a practically universal literacy is

Japan. But a recent survey indicates that the Japanese criterion of literacy is a knowledge of 400 words. Even then there can be no doubt that, from this point of view, the Japanese people are far and away the most advanced in Asia.

(b) In other countries the situation is really alarming as revealed by the following figures which give the percentage illiteracy in order to stress the magnitude of the problem:

India 85 per cent; China 80 per cent; Siam 52 per cent; Indonesia 95 per cent; Middle-East Countries—Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, etc., about 90 per cent.

Thus, in this great continent with all its cultural traditions and intellectual achievements, literacy is the exception and illiteracy the rule and the educationists have to tackle a problem which is staggering in its magnitude. But it has to be faced courageously and resolutely; there is no other way out of the impasse, unless we are willing to accept a position of permanent inferiority in the comity of nations.

It is for the delegates of different countries (attending the Asian Relations Conference) to give a correct and authoritative survey of what is being done in their respective lands.

Mass education is primarily a rural problem in India because more than 85 per cent. of the Indian population lives in villages and is dependent on "Agriculture and allied pursuits. This determines the nature and special problems of Primary as well as Adult Education. As free, universal and compulsory education has not so far been introduced, there is a high incidence of 'wastage' which has been computed at 80 per cent. i.e., for every 100 children who join class I only about 20 manage to reach Class IV and have thus the chance of acquiring bare literacy. The others fall by the roadside, as it were, and the time and money spent on them is practically wasted. Incidentally this wastage is not confined to India; it occurs in an almost equal measure in many other countries of Asia—notably in the south-eastern countries like Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Muslim countries of the Middle East. This cannot be eliminated till there is a much greater educational

consciousness and an effective system of compulsion is instituted.

There is a group of small islands in the Pacific—Samoa, Gilbert and Ellis, Hawaii and Guam—where, a hundred years ago, a majority of the population consisted of cannibals. During this short period, due largely to the work of missionaries, these islands have to-day a higher literacy percentage than any part of the world except the countries of Northern Europe and America, as shown by the following figures:

Samoa 96 per cent; Gilbert and Ellis 94 per cent; Hawaii 85 per cent; Guam 78 per cent.

The second instance is obviously that of Soviet Russia whose spectacular achievements in the field of education and culture are known well enough. With a clear understanding of the relationship between education and the wider problem of social revolution, education was given a high priority and a broader and deeper connotation. It was to be related directly to the life of the people and addressed to its improvement and literacy campaigns were, from the beginning, supplemented by civic and health education.

New alphabets were devised for about thirty dialects that had no alphabet so far. Books were prepared and printed and education given in local languages, against the advice of those who wanted to impose Russian on all such regions. This policy has resulted in reducing illiteracy very considerably—it varies now from 5 per cent. to 30 per cent. in different regions. In 1917, there were only 70 schools with a roll of 4,000 children and they were taught in Russian because there was no Kirghiz alphabet and consequently no books. In 1941, there were 2,140 schools with a roll of 3,28,000 children taught in the local languages.

THE ASSAM TRIBES

BY MR. P. GOSWAMI, M.A.,

Dept. of English, Cotton College, Gauhati.

In recent months the problem of the Indian tribes has attained some amount of importance. Assam politics are rather complicated because of linguistic, communal, and tribal considerations. The number of the tribals in 1931, out of a total population of 92,47,625, was 16,17,000 and according to a rough computation at least 30 per cent. of them could speak Assamese. The others spoke their own dialects—Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic which have been in the process of integration for some time.

The Assamese have considered the tribals as their own people, and the term "Assamese" has never limited its connotation to the plains people dwelling in the Assam Valley. Assam could be the most powerful of the eastern states of India because the administration had the imagination to recognise people, tribal and non-tribal, siding here as a composite whole. In spite of miscegenation through the centuries a fusion was indeed not possible in a place where groups could entrench themselves in the frontier regions and thus to some extent elude the centripetal influences of the Government. Nevertheless in no period in the history of Assam was there complete severance between the plains Assamese and the tribal and even the hills people.

The present Assamese culture is mainly Indian or Aryan, but if we try to exfoliate its different strata we shall discover that it has a Tibeto-Burman base. The Tibeto-Burman group—the Bodo group (Kachari, etc.) has perhaps still retained strongly marked imprints on Assamese life and thought. As a foreign scholar, G. M. Summers, observed recently in his review of Dr. B. K. Kakati's *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*, to quote Dr. Bhuyan again, 'The Aryan, the non-Aryan, and the Austro-Asiatic have freely contributed to the richness of the Assamese

vocabulary, which has been found adequate for the purpose of expounding abstract truths as well as for describing realistic scenes." In spite of facts, cases are not infrequent of persons who indulge in such terms as the Kachari or the Naga or the Mikir in an invidious attempt to distinguish between the Assamese properly so called and the tribal as such. In Assam to differentiate the population on caste and ethnic niceties will result in no practical solution. "The castes themselves overlap one another in their racial compositions."

If this is the background of the groups of people forming the Assamese nationality, why is that in recent times this tribal problem has come to cause so much worry to the leaders of the land? The answer will be found in the British policy of isolationism. The isolationist policy has been able to keep the tribes of the North West Frontier in complete detachment from their fellow people in India. This has resulted in the deterioration of their economic conditions to such an extent that they have been forced to take recourse to lawlessness. The conditions of the Assam tribes are probably better, but that they have changed for the worse cannot be denied. A state of half-education and conceived to separate him from the general mass, has landed the Naga or the Lushai nowhere. The evil effects of missionaryism have more than once been analysed by observers. So no use repeating them here.

In historical times there was constant give and take amongst all sections of the Assamese people. An Assamese King knew how to deal with a Kachari or a Naga. What Maharaja Rudra Singha (1696-1714) said in a boundary dispute between the Ahom administration (Upper Assam) and the territory of the Kacharis is illuminating. The King said, "If I erect wooden barriers they will become

dilapidated in the course of time, and earthen walls will crumble down. I have erected the rampart of a promise and it will last till eternity." The King could build upon a promise because he knew too well that the Kacharis were after all, his fellow people. It is time that we cultivated this outlook of feeling as

one with the different sections of the population. The mischievousness of the Communal Award, the egotism of the caste Hindu, and tampering of Census records (in 1941) have done us enough harm. We cannot thrive upon regrets for what has been in the past, let us therefore build upon the present and on the future.

MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION IN INDIA

BY MR. MAYARAM, B.Com.

INDIAN labour is proverbially low paid. In some industries such as Silk, Iron Ore, Mica-Mining, etc., the wages paid are so low as to be well below the subsistence level. About the silk industry it is said that a worker finds it more remunerative to work on the roads than to work in a Silk manufacturing concern. In other industries also though wages are not so low, they are hardly enough to enable the worker to live according to a reasonable standard of living.

The war of 1939-45 created some temporary employment but on the whole it had disastrous effects on the conditions of life and work of the workers. "The pre-war standard of living in India was one of the lowest in the world."¹ During the war in spite of bonuses and other allowances the workers were unable to maintain even the pre-war standard of living unimpaired.²

The extremely low wages adversely affect the health and vitality of the workers. Their standard of living falls far short of the one required for full efficiency and this becomes an important cause of the inefficiency of the Indian worker. The workers are not able to take good diets and resort is usually had to mal-nutrition. "Investigations in provinces like Bombay have shown that the diet of the average worker is less nutritious than that prescribed in the prison code for a

convict."³ This mal-nutrition combined with the fatigue that is caused to him on account of the hard work drives the worker to the hateful habit of drink. "There is some physiological connexion between craving for drink on the one hand and mal-nutrition due to poverty on the other."⁴ The low income of the worker is also responsible for forcing him into the clutches of the moneylender the roving Pathan. The high interest rate on these debts eats up a very large portion of the already meagre income of the worker.

It has been now a well-recognised fact that 'poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.' In the interest of prosperity and social justice, therefore, the wages of the worker must be sufficient to ensure him a reasonable standard of living. This had been recognised early in the Western countries and in every continental country minimum wage legislation has been enacted in one form or the other. In 1928 the International Labour Conference adopted a Convention for the creation and maintenance of a machinery whereby scales of wages can be fixed for the workers in certain trades where no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise and in which wages are exceptionally low. In India also a question was discussed by several committ

3. India speaking: Labour in India by B. Shiva R.
4. Indian Economics Vol. II by Jathar and F. page 102 (1941).

1. *The Eastern Economist* ; November 9, 1946.
2. Ibid.

and Commissions but nothing substantial could come out of those discussions. The Royal Commission on Labour in India examined the proposal and suggested that investigations into the possibility of establishing a minimum wage fixing machinery should be carried on. The Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee also discussed the question. They accepted the principle of a basic minimum wage and recommended the establishment of the Wage Fixation Boards on the model of the British Trade Boards.

There is no doubt that the need for minimum wage legislation in India is great. The extremely low level of wages, the lack of solidarity among the workers and the infancy of labour legislation all point to the same conclusion. The fixing of a minimum wage will be one of the most of important steps to improve the conditions of the workers in India and to remove their poverty which constitutes a threat to prosperity. There will be certain other advantages that will accrue. It will check the migratory character of the labourers. "Obviously, therefore, if the workers find that the work on the coal fields is more remunerative in character," there will be less inducement to migrate. India will thus be able to create a permanent urbanised industrial labour force which is absolutely essential for better and greater production. The rise in wages will be reflected in a rise of the standard of living of the workers and their efficiency is bound to increase. Labourers will get more facilities for cultural development. They can improve their health, can educate themselves and their children and lead a life worth living.

The Government of India has awakened to the necessity for fixing a minimum wage for the workers. A Bill* has been drafted and circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. The main provisions of the Bill are as follows:—

* The Bill was moved in the Central Assembly in its Budget Session in 1946, but was not taken up for consideration.

(1) The bill is to cover all the workers engaged in commerce, trade, industry and even agriculture ;

(2) The Provincial Governments have been allowed a period of two years from the date on which the Bill becomes an Act within which they should fix a minimum wage payable to any worker.

(3) Provincial governments are empowered to fix different minimum wages for different regions and industries keeping in view of course whether the worker is a child, an adolescent, an adult or a woman.

(4) The minimum wage fixed may be per hour, per day or per any other greater unit not exceeding one month.

(5) The Provincial Governments may or may not appoint *ad hoc* committees for the purpose of taking advice on the matter of fixing a minimum wage. If one is appointed, it should consist of representatives of employers and employees in equal proportion. If one is not appointed the Province concerned should draft a notification fixing the minimum wage for the definite purpose of inviting suggestions. Only when due consideration has been given to these suggestions should a government proceed to fix the minimum wage.

(6) The minimum wage fixed is subject to revision within a maximum period of 5 years.

(7) Only "Unskilled Occupations" are to be taken into account. To begin with, workers employed in dyeing and bleaching, coal and plantation industries shall be brought under the scheme.

(8) Where customary and necessary a Provincial Government may allow payment in kind. The ultimate aim, however, is to abolish it.

(9) Any employer found guilty of paying less than the fixed minimum wage shall be liable to imprisonment of either description for a period which may extend to 6 months.

Now what strikes one at the first sight is that in the Bill the standard definition of a minimum wage is not given. The work of fixing or determining

the minimum wage has been left to the provincial Governments. It would have been better if a definition had been given. This definition could be modified in the light of the peculiar conditions obtaining in a particular region or industry. It may be pointed out that in modern countries there are two broad considerations which enter into the determination of minimum wage rates. The first is that every normal worker shall be paid a wage which is adequate to 'promote health, efficiency and general well-being' and to enable him to maintain himself and his family with such standard of living as may be considered reasonable regard being had to the nature of his occupation. Provincial Governments will do well to keep these two things in view in fixing the minimum wage. In other words, they should ensure him a subsistence minimum plus a decency minimum plus a comfort minimum.

It may further be remarked that those industries which cannot pay even a minimum wage should not be allowed to continue. Such industries as these have no claim to exist any longer.

A word may also be said about the selection of industries with which a beginning is to be made. At present three industries namely dyeing and bleaching, coal and plantations are proposed to be dealt with. It would have been better if Mica mining had also been included. There is "lawlessness" at present in the Mica mining industry. "There is rank exploitation in the Mica industry and without even the redeeming feature of steady employment."¹ The wages especially of the splitters are perhaps the lowest in the world.² The need, therefore, for selecting the Mica industry with the above-named three industries is very great and at the same time just.

Then it should be noted that the committees for fixation advising the Provincial Governments on the fixation of minimum wage should not be *ad hoc*. The Convention adopted by the International

Labour Conference definitely suggests that the machinery for fixing a minimum wage must be maintained, that is to say, it should continue.³ Moreover, one of the provisions of the Bill is that the minimum wage fixed is subject to revision within a maximum period of 5 years. A committee which is permanent will be more fully in the know of things about a particular minimum wage than an *ad hoc* body. Further, the Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee suggested the creation of Wage Fixation Boards on the model of English Trade Boards which are a permanent body. It would, therefore, be good if in each Province a permanent body is maintained to investigate into the matter of fixing minimum wage. On the head of such Provincial or Local Wage Boards there should be a Central Advisory Board whose main function should be to co-ordinate and stimulate the work of the former bodies.

The infringement of the provisions of the Bill will be severely punished. Any employer found guilty of paying a wage less than that fixed by law shall be liable for imprisonment of either description for a period which may extend to 6 months. This is a rather harsh provision on the employers, for as the Editor of the *Commerce* points out "If an employer paid wages below a stipulated minimum, let us assume, unintentionally, the injury to the worker would only be the loss in earnings, a loss which could be fully and promptly compensated in terms of money, but in view of the provision in question even such unwitting offence is liable to lead to imprisonment."⁴ Provision should, therefore, be made to relieve such employers from liability.

In the end it may be pointed out that this is a commendable step and though strewn with obstacles and difficulties is yet full of great promises for the labourers and for the country as a whole.

3. Refer to Page 1, Para 4. January 26, 1946.

1. *Commerce* dated April 27, 1946.

2. Labour Investigation Committee Report.

THE ASIAN CONFERENCE

Introductory

THE Asian Relations Conference, which met at the historic old fort at Delhi on March 23, was in every respect a unique and epoch making gathering. Never before have the representatives of so many countries and nations of Asia met together under a common roof to discuss inter racial problems, with a view to hammer out policies and programmes for the common benefit of Asiatic peoples. Most countries in Asia have for long been dominated by European influence, politically and economically, and the attempt for the first time to come together and face the problems confronting them, free from tutelage and unhampered by alien influences, is in every way worthy of the resurgent spirit that is abroad. It is true that the delegations from each country were not exactly the spokesmen of their respective governments, nor could they tackle problems of controversial politics, but it was no small achievement to have got together on a common platform leaders of thought and culture from all over Asia and engaged them in the pursuit of common aims and ideals, in the interest of civilization and human society as a whole. The Conference was organized by the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, an unofficial and non-political body whose object is to promote the study of Indian and international affairs. Its members include distinguished men and women belonging to all communities and walks of life. The Conference was primarily designed to discuss economic social and cultural problems common to all Asian countries.

The decision to organize the Conference was taken by the Executive Committee of the Council at its meeting in May 1940. Prior to this decision, the proposal to organize such a Conference had been under active discussion between the Members of the Executive Committee and eminent leaders of thought in the country. Subsequent to the Executive Committee's resolution, considerable thought was given to the concrete details of the project.

On August 31, 1946, the Executive Committee met again and decided to form

an influential Organizing Committee consisting of distinguished men and women belonging to all communities and walks of life. The present strength of the Organizing Committee is 68.

A Working Committee was formed with Pandit Nehru as Chairman, and later with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, assisted by an influential team of members, of whom Dr. A. Appadorai was elected secretary.

The objects of the Conference were set forth as under:

to review the position of Asia in the Post-War world, exchange ideas on the problems that are common to all Asian countries and study ways and means of promoting closer contacts between them.

The following subjects were selected for discussion at the Conference:

- I. National movements for Freedom in Asia;
- II. Racial Problems with special reference to Racial Conflicts;
- III. Inter-Asian Migration and the Status and Treatment of Immigrants;
- IV. Transition from Colonial to National Economy;
- V. Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development in Asian Countries;
- VI. Labour Problems and Social Services in Asia;
- VIII. Cultural Problems with special reference to Education, Art and Architecture, Scientific Research and Literature in Asia;
- VIII. The status of Women and Women's Movements in Asia.

All countries of Asia were invited to participate in the discussions. These included the Central Asian Republics of Soviet Union, Japan, Korea, Outer Mongolia and all countries of South-East Asia and of the Middle East including Egypt. Invitations were accordingly issued generally to academic, cultural and other organizations having activities more or less similar to those of the Indian Council of World Affairs or otherwise interested in the problems to be discussed at the Conference. From every country 16 delegates selected by such organizations were invited.

Special invitations were also issued to many scholars and public men in different countries who are experts or are specially interested in the subjects on the Conference agenda.

The response from these countries and their academic bodies was so satisfactory that the organisers felt certain that the Conference would be a great success and indeed it proved to be.

Pandit Nehru's Inaugural Address

Two hundred and thirty delegates from more than thirty countries from the Red Sea to the Pacific and a vast concourse of 10,000 spectators and observers from far and near were listening with rapt attention to the inaugural address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the opening session of the Conference on March 23. The Pandit stressed that a united and peaceful Asia was a pre-requisite to world peace. 'The old imperialism is fading away—as the domination goes the walls that surrounded us fall down'.

Pandit Nehru, referring to the ideal of one world, said:

We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. We support the United Nations structure.

'We seek no narrow nationalism', Pandit Nehru declared and added 'Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development.'

Stating that the Conference would not discuss the internal politics of any country as it was rather beyond its scope, Pandit Nehru said:

I hope that out of this Conference, some permanent Asian institute for the study of common problems and to bring about closer relations, will emerge; also perhaps a school of Asian studies. Further that we might be able to organise interchange of visits and exchanges of students and professors so that we might know each other better.

Pandit Nehru then gave this assurance to Europe and America:

And may I say here that this Conference and the idea underlying it is in no way aggressive or against any other continent or country? Ever since news of this Conference went abroad some people in Europe and America have viewed it with doubt imagining that this was some kind of a Pan-Asian movement directed against Europe or America. We have no designs against anybody: ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world. For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and co-operate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others.

And then he made a moving reference to the great architects of Asian freedom:

We think to-day of the great architects of Asian freedom—Sun Yat-Son, Zaghul Pasha, the Ataturk Kemal Pasha and others, whose labours have borne fruit. We think also of that great figure whose labours and whose inspiration have brought India to the threshold of her independence—Mahatma Gandhi. We miss him at this Conference and I yet hope that he may visit us before our labours end. He is engrossed in the service of the common man in India, and even this Conference could not drag him away from it.

All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations, and India, in particular, is not free from conflict and trouble, said the Pandit in wounding up the speech:

Let us not be disheartened by this: this is inevitable in an age of mighty transition. There is a new vitality and powerful creative impulses in all the peoples of Asia. The masses are awake and they demand their heritage. Strong winds are blowing all over Asia. Let us not be afraid of them but rather welcome them for only with their help can we build the new Asia of our dreams.

Sir Shri Ram's Welcome Address

Welcoming the delegates, Sir Shri Ram, Chairman of the Reception Committee, pointed out that there was a wide field in which the countries of Asia could work together, wherein their interests, taken by and large, were coincident or at least complimentary.

Our needs are similar, even if not identical and the steps to be taken, by each of us would be largely similar. In respect of all these matters, we can, to our mutual benefit, pool our experiences, knowledge and, may be, some of our resources.

The Asian Conference was not being held, Sir Shri Ram said, under official auspices of the Governments of the countries concerned but on a wholly voluntary basis. But he hoped that such agreements or understandings as might be reached at the Conference, even if only informal and not legally binding on governments, would not command any less weight with the Governments and the peoples of the participating countries.

Sir Shri Ram hoped that the visiting delegates would stay on after the Conference and see the country, meet her savants and writers and artists and social and religious leaders and help her with advice and criticism.

Mrs. Naidu's Presidential Address

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in a stirring and impassioned address which thrilled the House, referred to the resurgence of Asia and said:

I bid you welcome to my mother's home. I bid you welcome so that once more you may remember your ancient greatness and that you and we together may dream a common dream.

Asia shall redeem the world. Asia shall not be a country of enemies. Asia shall not be a country of fellowship to the world and you and I, speaking different tongues, shall make a common charter for Asian peoples, for their freedom and the freedom of the world.

Calling upon the Conference to take a pledge of unity of Asia's people so that the world in ruin to-day might be redeemed from sorrow, unhappiness, misery, poverty, ignorance, disaster and death, Mrs. Naidu said:

What has Asia stood for? We read of so many things, cruel and barbarous—it depends who writes our histories (laughter)—but there is one thing that has always been true. One authentic feature that brings every nation of Asia together, and that is a common ideal of peace, not the peace of negation, not the peace of surrender, but the peace of a militant creative human spirit that rises to exaltation (Cheers).

After referring in warm terms to India's great cultural heritage and her ancient cultural ties with the countries of Asia, Mrs. Naidu said:

Mahatma Gandhi (cheers) had taught us that not through bitterness and anger, not through hatred and strife, but through compassion and love and forgiveness shall the world be redeemed. And this is not a new message. This is an old message of Asia. Today India has beckoned to her kindred of Asia to come and understand the new message of hope to the world.

Messages and Greetings

Messages from distinguished organisations and personalities from India and abroad were read out, including those from the Japanese Foreign Ministers, Sutan Shariar, Indonesian Premier, the Secretary of the Arab League, Azzam Pasha, the Feminist movement of Egypt and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Azzam Pasha said in the course of his message:

In the name of the Missions of Arabs, some independent and some still struggling for political independence and cultural freedom, I salute this first great Congress which demonstrates to the world the awakening of the peoples of Asia so long held powerless to exert their full moral and political influence in world affairs.

Dr. Tai Chi Tao, President of the Executive Yuan of China, in a message to Pandit Nehru, urged Asiatic countries to be "vigilant, exercise self-respect and regenerate themselves by self-reliance."

The Delegates' Speeches

Leaders of ten delegations speaking in languages ranging from Armenian to Chinese expressed their approval of the idea of the Asian Relations Conference and stated the desire of the peoples they represented to co-operate in the work of the conference and the achievement of its objects. The leaders of various delegations were called upon by Mrs. Naidu to speak in accordance with the alphabetical order of the countries they represented, and they made graceful replies:

Dr. Abdul Majid Khan, leader of the Afghan Delegation and Vice-Chancellor of the Kabul University, addressing the Conference, said an examination of the dominant facts of the last few years showed that "we have to live together if we are going to live at all."

Cultural relations between the Indian and the Afghan peoples dated from time immemorial, and the bonds of friendship that held them together were genuine and strong.

The Arab League observer, Mr. Thankiruddin, said the League had now begun to share in India's urge for freedom. "For," he added, "your freedom is necessary for our freedom."

The Leader of the Delegation from the Soviet Republic of Armenia said his people wished to co-operate to promote better understanding and closer collaboration among the peoples of Asia and of the world.

The Leader of the Azerbaijan Delegation said no people could be free without economic freedom. This was proved in the case of Azerbaijan, which until the Russian Revolution, was one of the most backward countries in the world. To-day his country was a flourishing industrial Republic with a large number of Universities and research institutions.

Mr. J. P. Dorji (Bhutan) conveyed to the people of Asia fraternal greetings of his country.

Mr. Kyawmyint (Burma) said India and Burma were near geographically, culturally, and inextricably bound up with each other. He read a message from U Aung San to the Conference.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (Ceylon) declared that

Asia might well hold the key to the new world situation that was developing, and might not only provide the battle-ground, but also prove to be the deciding factor in a future conflict. A supreme effort should be made to achieve unity and harmony in Asia.

Mr. Cheng Yin-Fun (China):

This Conference is a sort of bridge between Asia and the rest of the world. Our aim should not be confined to our own Asian frontiers. The world is our province.

Mr. Mostafa Momen (Egypt):

The eyes of the hundreds of millions of our peoples are focussed on Delhi. After years of foreign domination, under some form or other, liberty has dawned, and the world is destined to see another renaissance in Asia. Let us co-operate and defend our heritage. Our survival is in our unity.

Miss Karima Syed (Egypt) said India and Egypt were united by strong ties of national suffering and aspiration. They stood side by side in the struggle for liberty, independence and prosperity, and were entitled to claim the respect of the West.

It was time the people of Asia learned the value of unity. The people of Egypt were willing to stand hand in hand with the people of Asia in their fight against Imperialism.

Mr. Kuprazde (Georgian Soviet Republic):

The discussions at this Conference of the problems of national life and culture of the Asian peoples, the establishment of personal contact among representatives of the culture and science of Asiatic countries, and the maintenance of this contact in future will play a significant part in solving the problems which face Asia.

Dr. Abu Hanifa (Indonesia) said: "Our presence here is a symbol of the present stage of our national struggle."

He added that while the people of Indonesia were fully prepared to work for world peace only an independent Indonesia could contribute to its attainment.

Delhi, the heart of Asia, had played its part well, said Dr. Ghulam Hussain Sadighi (Iran). It was imperative in the modern age that all the Asiatic nations

should come together and be good friends for all time.

Sir Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana (Nepal) said the ties between Nepal and India had been in existence, in cordiality and friendship, throughout history. Those ties were indissoluble.

Prof. Samuel Bergmann (Palestine Jewish Delegation) said Europe had failed to teach them how to co-operate in mutual benevolence and reciprocal help. They could now learn co-operation between groups belonging to different races. The Jews had been everywhere a persecuted minority and, during the war, millions of their brethren had been ruthlessly murdered in gas chambers. He hoped that Palestine would not go the European way "of solving problems by dispossessing populations."

The Leader of the Tadjik Soviet Republican Delegation referred to the great strides which the Tadjik people made in all spheres of life, and said how Tadjik women, in common with other women in the Soviet Union, had ample opportunities for free creative labour in all walks of life.

The Leader of the Tibetan Delegation expressed joy at meeting representatives from all the other Asiatic countries and hoped that all the Asiatic countries would, in future, cultivate the spirit of brotherhood.

Mai Tai Chao (Viet-Nam) hoped that as a result of the Conference, peace and constructive freedom would be established among the peoples of Asia.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

I think all of us have felt during these two days that however far we might be separated from each other in point of distance or in other ways, there is an essential unity about this continent and about our endeavours.

He expressed the hope that out of the ideal of Asian unity would grow something even greater—"world peace based on freedom".

Sir Radhakrishnan's Speech

Sir Radhakrishnan said, given chance, the countries of Asia would make their contribution to the progress of the world in a marked manner. He had no doubt

their contributions would be different from those of the West. Asia would use science, for instance, not for destructive purposes but for the healing of nations, and for the creation of 'One World.'

Sir S. Radhakrishnan referred to the example set by Britain in deciding to quit India and urged the other Imperialist countries, like France and Holland, to follow in the wake of Britain.

I do hope that a liberated India will exert her greatest influence on behalf of the still-oppressed peoples of Asia, and that her influence in the councils of the world will be used for the purpose enabling them to achieve their freedom.

Art Exhibition

In the evening an art Exhibition in connection with the Conference was opened by Maulana Azad, Member for Education and Art, in the Interim government. About 800 exhibits from Asiatic countries, especially India, Iran, Afghanistan, Persia, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, China, and India were on view.

The Conference, thereafter started sitting round table groups: National Movements Group, Migration and Racial Problems Group, Economic and Social Services Group, Cultural Problems Group, and Women's Problems Group.

Sir C. V. Raman's Offer to Burma

Out of the five Round Table Groups three namely, 1. Racial Problems Group,

The Group to deal with the transition from the Colonial to National Economy, and 3. the Cultural Problems Group were formed on the 25th morning.

The first topic discussed in the Cultural Problems Group which elected the leader

the Siamese delegation as Chairman related to the ways and means of developing scientific co-operation between the different Asiatic countries. The representative of Burma, addressing the group, referred to the complete destruction of scientific apparatus and other equipment of the Rangoon University and appealed to India for help, as appeals to England have failed to elicit response. Sir C. V. Raman's prompt offer to go to Rangoon to prepare a scheme for the rehabilitation of scientific education in the university, without charging any remuneration, was deeply appreciated.

Report on Cultural Affairs

The Conference, meeting the next day, adopted the report of the Group on Cultural Affairs. The report referred to the need for the development of scientific research in Asia, and after paying tribute to Western achievements in the scientific field, warned the Conference against Asia being tied to the apron strings of Europe. The report urged the getting up of a Cultural and Scientific Asian organisation with a permanent secretariat. It was also suggested that a school of Asian studies be set up. The report emphasised the importance of removing illiteracy from Asian countries. Mr. Saiyidain's paper published in another page gives an idea of the vast scope in this direction. Another suggestion was the need for re-writing the history of Eastern Countries. It was generally agreed that English, as the most widely used language, may be continued while the study of Asian languages was also to be encouraged.

From Colonial to National Economy

The Round Table Group dealing with the question of transition from the Colonial to National Economy elected the Leader of the Ceylonese Delegation to the Inter-Asian Relations Conference as its Chairman and discussed the following three issues:

1. Whether an Asian Bloc in economic matters is desirable or not from the point of view of self-sufficiency; 2. the relative position of industry and agriculture in planning for the development of national economy; and 3. the institution of a Borrowers' Council in order to negotiate loans from abroad.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal and a representative from Burma participated in the discussions.

Racial Problems

The plenary session of the Conference, meeting on the 26th, adopted a four point report on racial problems and international migration.

The report suggested that there should be complete legal equality of all citizens, complete religious freedom of all citizens, no public social disqualification of any racial group and equality before law of

persons of foreign origin who have settled in the country.

An attempt was made by the delegate from the Soviet Republic of Georgia, supported by many others, to include in the report a specific recommendation to the Governments of the countries concerned to implement these principles through legislation. The Secretary of the Conference, however, pointed out that there was no provision made, when it was decided to summon the Conference, to pass any specific resolutions and recommendations.

More Delegations

At the plenary session on the 27th Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru welcomed the the newly-arrived Philippine, Mongolian and Viet Nam delegates. A member from each delegation replied and conveyed to the Conference his greetings and expressed his confidence in its success.

Japan and the Asian Conference

The delegates expressed the view that Japan also should be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Conference. Excepting the leader of the Philippine delegation, all the other leaders were of the opinion that as Japan was an Asian country, there was no sound reason why Japanese delegates should be excluded. Dr. Burhanuddin, leader of the Malayan delegation summed up the general attitude: "We should start this Conference with a clean slate. It is an Asian Conference and Japan is an Asian country." Mr. Mustafa Momen, leader of the Egyptian delegation, was very emphatic and pointed out that Japanese delegations had been allowed to go to America. He felt that the absence of the Japanese might later be used as an excuse for saying that the Asian Relations Conference had not been fully representative.

Conference Adopts Group Report

Group reports on the transition from Colonial to National Economy, on agricultural reconstruction, and industrial development were adopted at the plenary session of the Conference on March 28.

Justice Kyaw Myint, Leader of the Burmese Delegation, presided.

The report on industrial development says with reference to the use of foreign capital that "great care must be taken

in determining the conditions under which foreign capital is imported."

At the instance of Sardar K. M. Panikkar and Mr. Humayun Kabir (India), an amendment was incorporated to the report, stating: "Among such conditions should be considered the desirability of imposing limits on profits and insuring the maintenance of minimum living standards."

Gandhiji on "One World"

The penultimate meeting of the Conference on April 1 was marked by the presence of Gandhiji who had come to Delhi on the invitation of the new Viceroy. Gandhiji was given a great ovation. Addressing the delegates Gandhiji urged them to work for the realisation of "One World."

I would not like to live if it was not One World. I would certainly like to see that dream realised in my lifetime. If all of you representatives who have come here from different parts of Asia go away with one mind and with that fixed determination to carry your will through, there is no doubt that in your own generation you will succeed and see that dream realised.

Dr. Sutan Shafir, the Indonesian Prime Minister who has specially flown to Delhi from Batavia, for the Conference, also attended the plenary Session on the 1st morning.

"Our being here" he said speaking to the delegates, is due not only to our immediate interest in the business of the Conference but because we had been isolated so long.

He said that more important than all Conferences, were the personal contacts that one made. He hoped, in the remaining two days of the Conference, to meet as many people as he could.

Report on Women's Movements

The plenary session earlier adopted the group report on the status of women and women's movements in Asia. The report was read by Miss Lilamani Naidu, who was complimented by delegates for the clearest report during the session. The report states that the main objectives of the women's movements in Asia are service to the country through organised efforts to promote the educational, social, political and economic interests of its people and also to remove all inequalities, restrictions and disabilities imposed on women by virtue of religion, custom or law.

Closing Scenes

The Asian Relations Conference concluded its historic session in Delhi on Wednesday the 2nd April amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. The Conference decided to set up a permanent Asian Relations Organisation and elected a Provisional General Council with two



PANDIT NEHRU

representatives from each of the participating countries. Pandit Nehru was unanimously elected President of the Council.

Two leaders of Asia addressed the concluding session of the Conference, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Sharir, the Indonesian Premier. Gandhiji appealed to the delegates to do their utmost to spread the message of Love throughout the world. It was up to the East to conquer the West with this message, he said.

Gandhiji began with an explanation as to why he was addressing them in English instead of Gujarati or Hindustani, and warned the Foreign visitors that what they had seen in Delhi was not real India. The real India lived in the seven lakhs of villages. He recalled the story that a Frenchman told him in South Africa of how three French scientists set out in search of truth in Asia, and one of them came to India and discovered truth, not in Indian cities, but in a Bhangi colony. The concentration of Asian wisdom will be found in these humble Bhangis, said Gandhiji.

In a passing reference to the communal disorders, Gandhiji appealed to the visiting delegates "not to carry the memory of the carnage beyond the confines of India."

Dr. Sharir, the Indonesian Premier, and Pandit Nehru also spoke, after which Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who presided, wound up the proceedings.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her closing speech addressing the delegates as "my children, my brothers, my sisters, my daughters", said:

For centuries we have despised our own treasures and sought the imitations that came to us from outside. But to-day consciousness has returned to us, we are re-born. Arise, the long night is over, march forward to the dawn.

THE SAGE: A SONNET

BY MR. PURUSHOTTAMLAL

His face was calm, like to a vernal sky;
Cross-legg'd he sat upon the forest-floor;
His eyes were closed, as if to shut a door
On sorrows deep and this world's agony.
I slowly moved and thought that I should try
To wrest Life's meaning from this sage,

so poor
And yet so rich! "Tell me," I cried, "a sure
And gentle means to Life after I die. . ."

The sage turned from the leafy forest bed
He opened his eyes of peace and "Love"
he said.

"Tell me," again I cried, "what is the thread
That binds our life to Heaven? And in sooth
Whence flows the fiery life of age and
youth?"

He look'd up, smiled gently and whispered
"Truth."

A CALL TO THE PRINCES

BY POLITICUS

AT this crucial stage in the history of India the Princes have a great opportunity to play an effective part as the natural leaders of the people. And yet so far they do not seem to have risen to the height of the occasion. Their recent resolution to postpone participation in the Constituent Assembly is not a helpful move. Nor could the freedom allowed to individual States to go into the Assembly "at any time judged appropriate by the States concerned" take us far.

In a memorandum circulated by the Maharaja of Bikaner the point is made that if the Princes continue to adopt this attitude they cannot escape the charge that thereby they are helping a particular political party in British India. Such an impression or suspicion would be most unfortunate.

While we do not go so far as to attribute any motive to the States in question we must point out that it would be folly for the States not to take advantage of the time spirit and merely to drift along without a concerted move to march together to grasp that freedom that is awaiting us.

For as Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, observes in his statement on the resolution of the Chamber of Princes: "The decision will entail further delay when time is the essence of the liberation of India." The decision, Sir Brojendra adds: is inconsistent with the oft-repeated desire 'to render the fullest co-operation in framing an agreed constitution.' . . . Now is the time to co-operate when fundamental rights, minorities, tribal and excluded areas and such other essential matters are being discussed. Have the States nothing to contribute to these discussions? It is well recognised that no State will be bound to accept any constitution till the full picture is ready. Where is the risk, therefore in going into the Constituent Assembly?

There is therefore no point in holding aloof from the Consambly and waiting for something to turn up.

As His Highness the Maharajah of Patiala pointed out the other day the policy of 'wait and see' with regard to the participation of Indian Princes in the

Constituent Assembly would only deprive them of the benefits that might accrue from early participation in the body.

In the interest of the Indian States, as in the broader interests of the country, instead of sitting on the fence, we should make a real and active contribution to a peaceful transfer of power to Indian hands by taking part in the constitution making body and by offering helpful co-operation in evolving a suitable constitution for India. The Indian Princes can survive and also play an honourable role in shaping the future of India if they adapt themselves to the broader interests of the country and act as a cementing and constructive force.

The Princes will also be well advised to take note of the resurgent spirit of their people. Addressing the Marwari Federation at Bombay Mr. K. M. Munshi gave the timely warning

that if the States did not fall in line with the wishes of their subjects, they would be swept off. If even the British power is being swept off from the country in 15 months' time nothing can save the States.

In a reasoned appeal to the States Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri sounds a similar note. The growing intelligence and the awakening of the spirit of the people, he observes, are like

the *bhutas* or demons in old stories. They are restless and clamour to be employed or they threaten to turn and rend you. Carefully consider what would happen if all the intelligent spirits which now find employment outside were confined within the States and were seeking outlets for their demoniacal energy. With all the outlets the situation is bad enough. Close the outlets: it will not be long before they have to rule the false step.

Though couched in soft words the warning is clear enough. The near sighted see only the present, he says, and the future is not within their ken.

The States seem to me much too near-sighted. They do not see far ahead. Their lasting interests lie in a state of union with the rest of India. Their pursuit of the glamorous sovereignty is fraught with no good to them. The Indian Union may or may not suffer by a wrong choice of theirs at the present juncture, but they are bound to suffer by it in the not very long run.

Sardar Patel, characteristically enough, put it bluntly when he said: "The princes who wanted to divide India would themselves be divided and crumble down."

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The Fruits of Pakistan Campaign

THE immediate effect of the campaign has been writ in blood—in the orgy of violence and loot and murder—in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and now in the Punjab. Sensible men of the Party must recoil from the effects of an unbridled incitement to disunion and violence. The idea that all bearded men form a nation as distinguished from the clean shaven was originally a joke. But now persistent and senseless propaganda has created a Frankenstein which threatens to swallow the country. If Muslims are a nation and can't submit to Hindu majority, Hindus in Muslim dominated areas claim the same right to be free from Muslim rule. It is a queer situation that the League has brought about. How are they going to solve it? Already there is a strong move in Bengal for a division of Hindu and Muslim areas. In the Punjab the Sikhs will no more tolerate Muslim rule. And what of the States which have Muslim majorities with Hindu rulers and Hindu majorities with Muslim rulers? The whole thing becomes a ridiculous demand of which foreign observers could make nothing. This Pakistan cry is a double edged weapon. If the Hindus in Bengal and Punjab should have their way—and why shouldn't they?—then we shall have little bits of stray Pakistan spots all over the country—unconnected, feeble and helpless. Thus the League's demand has led to a *reductio ad absurdum*.

If the Muslims wanted a separate zone wherever they were in a majority, argues Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Hindus also had the right to demand separate zones where they were in a strong block numerically.

Even if the Pakistan envisaged by the Muslim League was ceded, it would contain about 45 per cent. Hindus in Bengal and a fairly large percentage in the Punjab. The Hindus in Pakistan would be in a better position to face the Muslims there than the Muslims in Hindustan who would be numerically much inferior to the Hindus.

Partition of Bengal

Forty years ago, the bureaucratic attempt to divide Bengal, was resisted by the United Bengali nation with one voice. Lord Curzon's ill-omened attempt remained a paper plan, and even Lord Morley who called it a settled fact had to recant; and the pressure of public opinion was so great that Government had to yield and the settled fact had to be unsettled. If strangely enough, we see now evidences of a desire for a division of Eastern from western Bengal, the causes must be profoundly disturbing. Evidently Muslim League has overshot its mark and to escape the greater danger of League domination and misrule the unhappy people are prepared to welcome the lesser evil of seeing their beloved Bengal cut in twain. This is surely not complimentary to the present authorities who have provoked so dire a challenge. This is more than what the Pakistanists bargained for, and no wonder the Premier of Bengal is aghast at the Frankenstein of the League's own creation.

And what of the Punjab?

From all accounts the Punjab killing has outpaced the tragedies of Noakhali and Bihar. League tactics to capture the Governments of the so-called Pakistan Provinces, are, if anything, making League rule obnoxious to all decent men. Pandit Nehru, Dewan Chamanlal, Sardar Baldev Singh and others who have toured the affected areas give gruesome accounts of tragic happenings. And when a League member of the Interim Government pleads for the installation of League rule over the Province the voices of Sikhs and Hindus rise in unmistakable protest; there shall be no communal rule anywhere in India if we can help it and certainly not in the Punjab.

Lala Bhimsen Sachar, Leader of the Punjab Congress Assembly, in a re-

to Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Health Member in the Interim Government, said:

The League has positively lost caste with the non-League elements in the Province and if my information is correct, even with some of its own members. Its empty assurances carry no weight.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, is even more emphatic.

Administration under Section 93 is not very desirable. But it is certainly better than a Muslim League Ministry. The restoration of the constitution in the Province demands a certain degree of character and responsibility, and the Muslim League has proved by its word and action that it possesses neither of these qualities.

Referring to the peace appeals of the Muslim League leaders, he described them as "double-faced" and said that either the leaders did not mean what they said or it was a camouflage meant only to deceive the minorities.

"The appeals," he said, "went unheeded by their own community showing that they were not at all serious about them."

The New Madras Ministry

All's well that ends well. We can only hope the election of a new leader and his assumption of office at the head of a new Congress Ministry in Madras will be the end of the unseemly wrangle in the politics of the Province. The Congress President who tried to reconcile differences among the Party members confessed his inability to make head or tail of Madras politics. The New Ministry contains some old and tried men who may be expected to weather all storms. But as we have seen, most of the troubles, and indeed the worst of them, are internal. (Mr. Prakasam, whatever his failure, stood four square against all opposition, inside and outside, and at his great age fought his way through with an energy and competence that many younger men might enjoy. But his Ministry lacked the team spirit and perhaps, with his rough and downright ways, he did not take them sufficiently into his confidence and retain their loyalty to the end. No doubt his textile policy and his prohibition moves were not exactly popular with all classes, but then they are in the Congress programme and he meant to carry them out to the letter.) There is a

feeling that, if only he had shown early enough the same spirit of accommodation that he showed towards the end, things would not have turned out so irrevocably for him. The lesson of that Ministry will, it is hoped, not be lost upon the new Government. That is the only way to ensure a stable Government in the Province and restore the reputation of the South for its sound judgment and wise lead in many matters.

National Chemical Laboratory

The foundation of the National Chemical Laboratory in Poona marks a new epoch in the history of the industrial development of the country. For, as Pandit Nehru said in his message, original work in Chemistry is the foundation of all national progress. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Member for Industries and Supplies, presiding over the function, therefore appealed to the Industrialists to lend their unstinted support to the Laboratory which he said, will harness knowledge and investigation in the field of Chemistry for the benefit of industry throughout India.

Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, in explaining the scheme, claimed that India was capable of first class scientific work and that this fact was well established by the many important contributions made by Indians in the theoretical field. But, he added:

The road from a scientific discovery or an invention, to its successful industrial applications is generally long and tedious, and it is this stage which the Indian Scientist seldom reaches. His published work is immediately made use of by countries better equipped to traverse the difficult route of application.

Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, who laid the foundation stone, truly described the Laboratory as the symbol of our future greatness as a nation. The most important function of the Laboratory would be to bridge the gulf between science and its application.

It would be a link between the institutes for study and research in pure science on the one hand and the national industries on the other. Its efforts would result in greater and better industrialists which, in its turn, would inevitably stimulate the advance of science all round.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

The Late Henry Ford

HENRY FORD, the car magnate, died at his home in Detroit, (United States) on April 8. He was 63.

His death marks the passing of a great captain of industry and a pioneer in mass production whose gospel of work and wages made a tremendous difference in the life of the United States. So vital and challenging a figure was Henry Ford that he became a legend in his own time.

Ford started life as a farmer's boy and became the founder-owner of the fabulous Ford Industrial Empire whose assets are valued at 750,000,000 dollars. His personal fortune was estimated at 200,000,000 dollars.

Ford was a man of vision. But it cannot be said that his vision of a world in which the interests of labour and capital can be harmonised, and prosperity ushered in by paying high wages and providing everyone with labour-saving devices have been realised. "Ford's pioneer work, however, has resulted in the world-wide use of motor transport and closed the gulf that had previously existed between the town and the countryside. The car and the tractor are here to stay and their influence is changing the face of the East."

British Plan for Germany

A plan for a central administration in Germany envisaging the ultimate formation of a Republican form of Government with a President, a two-Chamber Legislative Assembly, and a Supreme Court to safeguard the Constitution, was proposed to the Council of Foreign Ministers by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. E. Bevin.

One of the two Chambers, representing the nation as a whole, should be popularly elected. The other body, representing the German *Laender* (Provinces), should have veto power on Constitutional matters.

Monarchy for Spain

Gen. Francisco Franco announced on March 31, that a Bill would be sent to Parliament, proposing that Spain be a Catholic and social State established as a Kingdom, with himself as the head of the State. The draft law specifies that Gen. Franco reserves the right at any time to name a person who is to succeed him.

The draft also proposes the formation of a Council of the Kingdom, comprising some 12 persons, and a Council of Regency of three members of the Council of the Kingdom.

Thus there will be two Councils, the Council of the Kingdom, which will rule with Gen. Franco, and the Council of Regency, which will take the supreme power if the Head of the State dies or is incapacitated.

Don Juan, Pretender to the Spanish Throne, has since issued a manifesto to the Spanish people in which he described General Franco's monarchy plan as an "attempt to turn the dictatorship of an individual into rule for life."

Dutch-Indonesian Agreement

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, said in the House of Commons on March 24, that Government had learned with satisfaction of the signature of the Dutch and Indonesian Agreement of March 25. It was to be hoped, he added, that the Agreement would pave the way for a new era of peace and prosperity which would benefit not only Indonesia but the world in general.

Britain would extend to the Indonesian Republic *de facto* recognition similar to that given by the Netherlands, and British contact with the Republic would be maintained through a Consul General at Batavia.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



EASTERN LIGHT OR SANATAN CULTURE.

By H. H. Maharajadhiraj Sir Udaibhan Singhji of Dholpur. Thacker Spink & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

Sanatan Culture really means the Sanskrit culture of the Aryan race as it blossomed out in this land of sages and seers. It is about the fundamental characteristics of this culture that the Maharaja of Dholpur has given an 'exposition' in the book under notice. Coming from one of the princely order the views propounded about the baneful effects of the material civilisation that has caught us in its grips and the need for substantial adherence to our underlying ideals of religion and spirituality, are highly interesting. The subjects dealt with though varied such as Sachitanand (Eternal Bliss), transmigration, Sat Sangh (Company of the good) image worship, Upasana worship and Bhakthi (devotion to God) are shown to have a common connecting string viz., the need for living the higher life and the striving after the realisation of the potential divine within us. The *raison d'être* of the caste system is explained and its deterioration into rigid divisions of birth involving ideas of superiority and inferiority of whole groups or sections is deplored. The three major paths of spiritual advance commonly known as the Karma, Bhakthi and Jnana margas are discussed. The final conclusion is postulated that we must all have a staunch faith in an all guiding providence and that the soul of man which is the very essence of creation is immortal. This fundamental spirit must be recaptured if India is to regain her leadership in World's thought and her prosperity in material possessions. True love of God sublimates man and any service done by him is service to humanity.

EDUCATION, POLITICS AND WAR. By S. Radhakrishnan. Published by The International Book Service, Poona.

Sir. S. Radhakrishnan is a thinker, an educationist and an Indian. His reputation as a philosopher is international. His place in the University has given him an insight into the true function of education. Being an Indian, he longs for freedom. His Convocation and other addresses are collected in this volume. Being only addresses, they lack the cohesiveness of a well knit treatise. The way of presentation naturally admits of stress being laid on one or two fundamental ideas and they run through all the addresses. For instance, he wants India to be free, free here and now, and not in some future date or after the war. Truly does he voice the sentiments of India when he says "It is impossible for those who have not experienced foreign rule to realise how deadening it is to the soul of the country." If only to save herself from moral calumny and spiritual disaster, Britain must give India self Government. He says "self interest, international decency, and justice demand the establishment of self Government in India". Which Indian has not felt in the same strain? The cause of civilisation and of humanity alike demand that the rule of one nation over another must be blotted out even as slavery was blotted out from the face of the earth.

A WORD FOR LANDLORDISM. By Sanjib Chaudhuri. The City Library, Calcutta.

The brochure is against the abolition of 'Landlordism'. It is not an economic treatise. It is a series of isolated assertions and not a well reasoned criticism. It indulges in cheap gibes and quips at the Congress which is alleged to be partial to all vested interests except the landlords, and calls upon it to "adjust and assimilate" the neglected into the body-politic of India, instead of "killing" them.

APRIL 1947]

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PRINCES AND INDIA'S CONSTITUTION. By T. S. Rajagopala Iyengar. Krishna Kuteer, New Sayyail Rao Road, Santhepet, Mysore.

Mr. T. S. Rajagopala Iyengar's booklet is of topical interest. He discusses the problems that face the Indian Princes as a sequel to the Cabinet Delegation Plan and the summoning of the Constituent Assembly. After quoting from the Sastras to sustain his thesis that kingship in ancient India was not dictatorial, but broadbased upon public opinion and the logic of changing times, he agrees with the dicta of Lord Reading and the Butler Committee, that "sovereignty of the Crown is supreme" and "Paramountcy must be paramount." Sovereignty, owing to historical necessity and circumstances, must rest with the people, and the Indian Union would not inherit the Paramount Power from Britain, for the States, like the Provinces, would be equal federating units.

The author appeals to the Princes to grant responsible government and to enter the Indian Union through an Instrument of Accession or Treaty. He pleads for the small states forming contiguous groups, and concludes that the example of Baroda for sending representatives to the Constituent Assembly is worthy of emulation.

Mr. Iyengar could have concentrated upon the subject before him, instead of dilating upon the 'Tory game' or the 'White Man's Burden'.

1) THE SECRETS OF SADHANA, (2) SRI KRISHNA AND HIS GOSPEL: by Yogi Suddhananda Bharatiar; Published by Anbu Nileeyam, Ramachandrapuram, Pudukotah State. Price Re. 1 and Rs. 1-8.

Yogi Suddhananda Bharatiar has the gift of writing in simple English with direct force and practical application. In "The secrets of Sadhana," he explains the secrets of what he calls *Shuddha-Mukta-*

Samatva Yoga by the practice of which the ordinary human being can become a *Jivan Muktha*. Purity of food and body, of thought, word and act; concentration, meditation, chanting of hymns, worship, pilgrimage; charity, social service and Bramhacharya; devotion to a *guru*—thereby the *Sadhak* does his *Sadhana*. This is an admirable treatise for the spiritual aspirant.

In the second book, "Sri Krishna and his Gospel," the author deals with the Avatar of Sri Krishna, the embodiment of spiritual Force, the Eternal Dharma. "To make man conscious of the Divine within and without, and of the Divine will behind every act of the Universal Play." Srikrishna commands "leave off everything, holding fast to Me alone." The author gives the life story of Srikrishna from birth to ascension, explaining the significance of the *Rasa Lila* and the message of the *Bhagavad Gita*. The one act play "Tulasi" appended to the book illustrates the idea of God devotion as transcending all other values in life.

I VISIT YENAN. By Israel Epstein. Peoples' Publishing House, Bombay. Price R. 1-8.

We get an eye-witness's account of the Communist-led liberated areas in North West China from this remarkably readable and illuminating booklet by a Polish Jew who was Chungking correspondent of the *New York Times* in 1944. The dispatches are printed as they were sent by him to the paper with slight alterations and they reveal much insight and sympathy of the author in his interpretation of the politics and customs of the people of China, Communist-Kuomintang differences, and the saga of the Eighth Route Army giving us a clue to the new Democracy which is being forged in China. The second part of the book consists of wood-cuts from liberated China with a note on each giving a simple and clear picture of the way in which life in the Communist-led areas is organised, how the people live and fight, etc.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 1. Negotiating Committees of Consambly and Princes Chamber discuss terms of agreement over seats.
- March 2. Punjab Ministry resigns leaving the field clear to the League.
- March 3. Pandit Nehru's assurance to businessmen at Federation of Chambers in New Delhi.
- March 4. Gandhiji leaves for Bihar—Anti-League Ministry demonstration in Lahore.
- March 5. Governor takes over administration in the Punjab.
—Gandhiji arrives in Patna.
- March 6. Commons adopt Government motion on India by a large majority.
- March 7. Gandhiji appeals to Bihar Hindus to instil confidence in Muslims.
- March 8. U. S. Secretary urges Four Power pact.
—Mr. Bevin in Moscow.
- March 9. Congress Committee invites League to discuss ways and means for transfer of power.
- March 10. Mr. Kripalani in Madras.
—Ministers place resignations in his hands.
- March 11. Anti Pakistan day celebrated in Lahore.
- March 12. Truman warns Russia against aggression.
—Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bhavnagar decide to join Consambly.
- March 13. Churchill's 'no confidence' motion defeated in the Commons.
—Sardar Baldev Singh recounts Punjab horrors.
- March 14. Mr. Prakasam submits resignation: Governor postpones acceptance pending Budget session.
—Pandit Nehru in Lahore.
- March 15. Maha Sabha decides to demand separate homeland for Bengal Hindus.
- March 16. U. S. aid to Greece and Turkey.
—W. A. C. of India disbanded.
- March 17. Mr. V. G. Deshpande, Hindu Maha Sabha leader arrested in Lahore.
—Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy opposes partition move.
- March 18. Yalta secret pact released by Soviet Minister.
—Assembly Select Committee reports on New Taxation proposals.
- March 19. Punjab Governor promulgates new Act prescribing death penalty for riot offences in the disturbed areas.
- March 20. Mr. Prakasam, Madras Premier, appeals to Congress Party legislators to forget and forgive the past and sink differences.
- March 21. Mr. Prakasam loses Party leadership: Omandur Reddiar forms New Ministry.
- March 22. New Viceroy Viscount Mountbatten arrives in Delhi.
- March 23. Asian Relations Conference opens at Delhi.
—New Madras Ministry sworn in.
- March 24. New Viceroy's call to Indian leaders on assumption of office.
- March 25. In the Madras Assembly Mr. Prakasam explains causes for fall of his Ministry.
- March 26. Bihar Policemen go on strike.
- March 27. Madras Cabinet expansion; five more Ministers sworn in.
- March 28. Central Assembly passes Finance Bill without a division.
- March 29. Terrorist outrage in Palestine.
- March 30. Mr. Attlee announces recognition of Indonesian Republic.
- March 31. Mahatma Gandhi meets the Viceroy.
—Council of State approves Finance Bill without a division.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



PACIFISM AND POLITICS

In a thought provoking article in the *Aryan Path* Mr. John Middleton Murry makes out a strong case for the reorientation of pacifist thinking. Concluding his arguments he points out that the establishment of the Law of Justice is the preliminary to the establishment of the Law of Love. Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and into God that which is God's.

"The dissolution of the world is threatened not through its failure to live by love, but its failure to live by justice. Love, which is the fulfilment of the Law, cannot begin to be operative where the Law itself does not exist. They will therefore not merely acquiesce in, but actively support the use of violence when it is employed for the vindication of the Law which commends itself to the reason and conscience of mankind. And they will not shrink from being directly instrumental to the use of violence for this good end. They will say, in my opinion quite truly, that the war which they may conceivably be called to support to maintain the Law would not be 'war' at all. For all its horror it would be the beneficent. It would be the price paid, for the defeat of anarchy and the establishment of Justice: the war to end war of which in the past so many lying statesmen have spoken. It is the willingness to pay the price which matters, for, in so far as that willingness exists, the price may not have to be paid. They will say the time has come when pacifism must be prepared to lose its life to save it: for the life of pacifism lies in world peace. The pacifism that preserves its orthodoxy at the cost of world anarchy and a third World War has ceased to be a humane creed."

JUNE 1948

The agitation in the Punjab and other Provinces should surprise nobody. Modernization, with its crucial changes in political, economic and social life, says the *New Review*, is a painful process.

The phenomenon is not peculiar to India, even if she has her particular problems. The republics of Central and South America as well as several countries of continental Europe are not yet free from the puerperal fever which attends the birth of a democratic self-government. As the masses grow conscious of their rights and powers, clashes of interests are bound to arise and adjustments are difficult. It is only when the people are tamed back into slavery as in Soviet Russia that they show a stupefied contentment.

Agitation indeed will not cease, and may even develop, says the writer. In his statement in the Commons Mr. Attlee made clear only a few points. And the basic points can be briefly summed up:

Lord Wavell who felt at sea will be relieved by Admiral Mountbatten. The British rule will cease not later than June 1948. The Princes are to receive back whatever is implied in the Paramount powers of Britain. The powers of the Central Indian Government will be handed over to the then authorities at the Centre, in the Provinces or in certain 'areas.' The rest is left unmentioned: Interim Government, Constituent Assembly and its Sections, minorities, etc. These are problems left to the sagacity and goodwill of the Indian parties. The Labour Cabinet has given up all desire of intervening: the Admiral will just wind up the Indian Command of imperial operations.

The reactions to the statement are varied:

The Conservatives are in a tearing rage, the I.C.S. are packing, and Olive Street hopes for business as usual. The Indian parties feel sobered down with the task of facing their heavy responsibilities by themselves. The Muslim League appears silently acquiescent, the Congress grimly happy, the minorities are in suspense. India's well-wishers pray for her harder than ever.

CULTURAL BROTHERHOOD

Commenting on the Asiatic Art and Cultural Conference, *Prabuddha Bharata* points out that culturally Asia is one entity. Whether China, or Japan, India or Burma, Indonesia or the Middle East, Asiatic culture stands for a definite aim, that of transcending the spheres of body and mind, as against the Western ideal of external happiness. "This inherent unity, cut asunder by the medieval political plannings, is again being realized, and thanks to the Asiatic Art and Culture Conference, the various nations are again being brought into closer contact, a contract which has found its fulfilment in the recent Asian Relations Conference at Delhi. Opening the earlier Conference, Sri Rajagopalachari rightly remarked that Asia which has the oldest and grandest culture, holds a unique place in the cultural hegemony of the world at large;

Asia is one by its culture, by its art. But what is true is often not seen. Hence it is that we fail to see the importance of art and culture. We fail to see the unity of Asiatic culture. But many eminent men have now begun to see unity where it exists and to develop unity where it has been somewhat impaired. Attempts have been made recently by them to bring about unity of culture in Asia and thereby bring it about in the world.

Asia has a part to play in the world's culture, being the oldest civilization on the face of the earth. Europe's culture is very beautiful, its civilization is very attractive but I do not know whether there is more wisdom in Asiatic culture or in European culture. I think there are men in Europe who are doubting the beauty of their own culture.

Every nation has its own characteristics. The life of one nation is predominated by politics, another social improvement,

yet another economic progress. But in India the ideal has always been religion. "More broadly, Europe stands for external civilization, while Asia always puts more importance in the development of inner culture and perfection of character. Though for the last few decades European civilization has made many an inroad into Asiatic thoughts, and disturbed and sometimes stunted its inner growth, still this tremendous spiritual upsurge, which is the very life of Asia, cannot be destroyed; for it is the resultant of thousands of years of perseverance and practice. Though sometimes we are doubtful whether other things are more important than our culture, still we know in our heart of hearts that everything is evanescent, impermanent, fleeting, and only the inner culture will stand by us when all others fail."

THE MISSION OF ART

Who is an artist?

The artist is he who has crossed whatever bridge separates the future from the present, writes Mr. Geoffrey Hodson in the January number of *The Theosophist*. His mission, therefore, is to reveal that which is the source of his power and faculty, the consciousness of a higher realm than that in which humanity normally abides. "By this revealing, he elevates human consciousness, leads the mind across the bridge. That craving for loveliness and unity which leads undeveloped man into undesirable paths is the very activity within him which, rightly directed, leads him by desirable paths to pure Beauty and everlasting union therewith."

POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE GERMANS

Interest in constructive political activity in Germany, says Mr. Moses Moskowitz in the *Political Science Quarterly* is limited by the fact that the final responsibility for fundamental policies has rested with the military government. The consciousness of this fact was largely responsible for the failure of the political parties, any real political ideas, indeed any real political faith or belief which holds promise for the future. In the last analysis, the writer concludes "all political activity in Germany to date has been largely in the nature of the political education of the people. But the processes of education are necessarily slow and their effects cumulative. There is no proven method of how best to bring democracy to a people that was not born into it. In the light of experience, however the program of our military government for the political education of the Germans has proved as sound as any in the four zones into which Germany is divided. By restoring the ballot at a comparatively early stage in the occupation, military government gave the Germans an incentive to participate actively in the establishment of democratic institutions and to regard them as their own. The ultimate success or failure of their political education depends upon the Germans themselves. The responsibility of military government will end the moment it creates the necessary conditions of its success."

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME
Symposium. No. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS

A true work of art evokes wonder, at both the artist's skill and that fragment of ever-existent beauty which it reveals. "Wonderment opens the doors of the mind, passing through which discoveries are made. Wonderment is of many kinds concerning many things. Each opens a door leading to a discovery appropriate to its nature. Wonderment at Beauty, and therefore Truth—those inseparable companions, heavenly twins—opens doors passing through which the human mind discovers more glorious beauty and profounder truths. *The artist and the work of art must therefore evoke wonder.*"

The soul of modern man, says the writer, is sunk deep in self-indulgence. The lower overshadows the higher in him so that he knows it not. The longing for beauty and the craving for union, innate in every human soul, are sources of debasement because wrongly directed. Sublimation of the creative instinct from the temporary to the eternal and from the momentary to the continuous expression, is the pressing need.

"A philosopher's stone must be provided for modern man. A well-versed alchemist must train him in its use. The philosopher's stone is Beauty, and the artist is the alchemist by whose aid the transmutation of desire to will, of selfishness to selflessness, of the impure to purity, may be achieved. Works of art which exalt, which instruct, inspire and render pure human consciousness are of incalculable value to the human race. Each, when at last produced, becomes and lives as a spiritualising power, a centre of spiritual radiance uplifting all who can respond."

SOLUTION OUTSIDE STATE PAPER

Pandit Nehru must weigh the advantages of keeping the Constituent Assembly tied to the Cabinet Mission's scheme and trying to build another Constitution on different lines, says the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* in a leading article discussing the possible courses in India.

"As in all federations, it will be found that the light of reason, honesty and moderation will be found at the Centre; stupidity, fanaticism and corruption persist obstinately at the lower level. Group Governments would not have the prestige or the powers necessary to contend with these ogres.

"It must therefore be a serious question for Pandit Nehru whether he should keep the Constituent Assembly tied to the Cabinet Mission's scheme in the hope of appeasing the Muslim League and avoiding difficulties with the British Parliament, or try and build a Constitution for India on different lines, having more regard to the crying need for efficiency and economic use of the available quantum of political experience, and to the wishes of the other important minorities, such as the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes. Possibly a powerful section of Muslims might prefer a full half-share in a strong Centre to the pale shadow of Pakistan offered by the group system. These are questions which may or may not be considered by the Congress High Command.

"It seems important that we should understand the situation and not be too easily surprised or shocked if the decisions of the Constituent Assembly do not closely follow the Cabinet Delegation's compromise scheme.

"Again let us not rule out of account the possibility of a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem on lines very different from Pakistan."

The paper concludes: "The situation in India is difficult, but not comparable in difficulties to the Palestine trouble. There is no question of importing a new force on the element. It is only a matter of inducing the two communities, who have lived side by side on tolerably friendly terms under various Governments for half a dozen centuries to make a new division or allocation of political power. And that in the modern world, is rapidly reducing the strength and importance of barriers which separate the two communities. There is nothing here beyond the reach of statesmanship. Let India's statesmen try again."

WOMAN OF THE WORLD

One of the most vivid and eloquent pen portraits ever published of Indian Women appears in the pages of the *United Nations World* from the pen of Pearl Buck. It is a moving and intimate story of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit who so successfully duelled with Marshal Smuts on the question of the oppression of Indians in South Africa.

"Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit personifies to-day a new India grounded in ancient civilisation and educated in the culture of the west," writes Miss Buck in this new International Journal produced in co-operation with the United Nations' organisation officials.

"She speaks fearlessly upon great moral issues, the chief among them the right of all peoples to independence. Her profound concern with public health and education for the peoples will lead her to consider as worthy of her responsibilities and her life is destined to become more significant and as the sister of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru she is distinguished. But she has won supreme distinction in her own right to-day because of her firm declaration for the freedom of dependent peoples, India stands as the leader of Asia and of the world on this important issue."

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S PLEA

H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad opening the 9th Industrial Exhibition at Hyderabad on March 15 said that tranquillity and prosperity in a country were inter-connected with the economic conditions, the improvement of which included the development of industries, agriculture and education.

Industrial progress could be made only when the rights of both capitalists and labourers were safeguarded. Referring to the Godavari and Thungabhadra Hydro-electric Projects, the Nizam expressed the hope that, with the operation of the post-war development schemes, the State would be able to make progress in every sphere of activity. The Commerce and Industries Department of the State, he added, was able to render help to manufacturers in making a start both in heavy and light industries and their efforts had borne fruit.

"I am happy to find that the instructions given by me in previous years in connexion with the Government of Industries had been followed" said the Nizam. "The fact that industrial journals are being published is proof of the progress made in the fields of commerce and industries."

In addition, the Nizam added, to pushing forward schemes of developing mill industries a large amount for the development of handloom industries had been sanctioned.

HYDERABAD HIGH COURT

Mr. A. Srinivasachari, 44 year old leading lawyer of the Hyderabad Bar, has been appointed a Judge of the Hyderabad High Court. Mr. Srinivasachari took charge of his office on the 26th March.

Mr. Srinivasachari is the youngest lawyer ever to be raised to the Bench.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, another lawyer, is also been appointed a Judge of the Hyderabad High Court.

Mysore

MYSORE STATE CONGRESS

A resolution demanding that Mysore should make an unequivocal declaration that she would take immediate steps to send her representatives to the Constituent Assembly and insist that representatives from Mysore should all be elected persons, was passed by the Working Committee of the Mysore State Congress at its meeting held in Bangalore on March 8 and 9 under the presidency of Mr. K. Chengalroya Reddi. The Committee expressed in this connection the apprehension that there was a disposition on the part of some Princes not to join the Constituent Assembly on some pretext or other.

The Working Committee in a resolution on Mr. Attlee's latest statement stated that the impending disappearance of Paramountcy made the immediate establishment of responsible government in the States imperative to ensure good government.

Any transitional arrangement that Mysore may make with the Crown without the consent of the people would have to be repudiated if it was harmful to the interests of the people.

The Committee stated that constitutional reforms in the State should be entrusted to a Constituent Assembly elected by representatives of the people, the procedure adopted by the Dewan being "archaic and undemocratic."

Rewa

RECONSTITUTED COUNCIL FOR REWA

The Maharaja of Rewa has announced that his State will participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly. He has also announced a reconstitution of the State Council with a view to strengthening it and making it more representative in character.

Baroda**BARODA AND THE CONSAMBLY**

Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, whose nomination was supported by all sections of the Dhara Sabha (Baroda Legislative Assembly) was unanimously elected to the Constituent Assembly along with the two other candidates, Darbar Gopaldas Desai and Mr. Kanaiyala Majumdar. Of the six candidates who filed their nominations, three had withdrawn in favour of the Dewan.

Sir Brojendra, addressing the Assembly immediately after the elections, said he would "work for an undivided India with a strong Centre."

The Dewan added: "I believe that thus only can India play her full part in the comity of nations. A progressive and prosperous India will mean a progressive and prosperous Baroda."

"We have to consider what contribution we can make to the framing of a constitution for the Indian Union. The Constituent Assembly is not concerned with our State constitution. I shall, therefore, say nothing about our own constitutional changes. Baroda has decided to join the Union. It is not going to set up as an independent State."

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Co-operative movement in Baroda State has received great fillip as a result of the policy of rehabilitation and reconstruction of dormant and weak societies. In all 191 co-operative societies have been reconstructed and the number of societies has increased to 1487 with a total membership of 1.25 lakhs.

Two important features of the development of the movement in urban areas is (1) extension of the movement to supply of consumer goods and (2) organisation of societies among factory workers.

Travancore**TRAVANCORE REFORM SCHEME**

Following discussion with about 150 individuals and representative organisations in the State, from Mar. 15, covering the entire subject-matter of the proposed Constitutional reforms, certain modifications in the scheme, as proposed have been tentatively agreed to by the Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, to meet the demand for an effective control by the representatives of the people in the Administration of the State.

Among these is a provisional agreement for reservation of seats in the joint electorates for Muslims and Latin Catholics.

The question whether any or all groups of backward communities, who total about 16,00,000 shall have representation in the Lower House or whether they can be adequately represented in the Upper House will be left to be decided by the Franchise Committee to be constituted as soon as the Constitution is promulgated.

After consideration of various clauses of the proposed scheme, the Dewan has agreed to substantial concessions which show that it is the intention of the Government that the Legislature shall have a vital and controlling interest in Executive Administration.

SIR C. P. ON TRAVANCORE'S STATUS

Important announcements regarding the future of Travancore were made by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Dewan, in the course of discussions with prominent public men of the State on the proposed Constitutional reforms.

The Dewan emphasised that just as in the year 1795 Travancore was an independent kingdom dealing with the British Government, entering into a treaty with them, so in June 1948 she would be an independent kingdom entitled to deal either with the outside world or any Government in that world.

Cochin**DEVELOPMENT OF COCHIN**

Dewan Bahadur C. P. Karunakara Menon, the new Dewan of Cochin, who assumed charge of his office on March 15, in an interview to the Associated Press of India said: "My selection as His Highness's Dewan at this most critical juncture in the history of the State and of the country is a matter of great pride to me. It is a great opportunity, but it is also a great responsibility: and all I can say at the moment is that I shall strive to the best of my ability to prove myself worthy of the opportunity and to discharge the responsibility."

He added: "It seems to me that one particular aspect of the many sided problem stands out so clearly that no one with his wits about him can help noticing it. I refer to the need for promoting the material and economic condition of the common people; the need for assuring them, shall I say, freedom from want, freedom from disease as far as is humanly possible, and a decent place to live in—the need, in brief to raise their standard of living. But, clearly, you cannot have a higher standard of living without the production of more food, the improvement of irrigation and transport facilities and industrialisation. To this programme, therefore, I must devote my first attention and give the highest priority."

Central India States**CONFEDERATION OF STATES**

The Conference of Ruling Chiefs and Representatives of more than 50 States of Kathiawar, Rajputana and Central India, has approved *in toto* the Constitution Act for the scheme of Confederation of these States.

The Conference effected slight modifications in the original draft of the Act before adopting it, in the light of the discussions with individual States representatives. But there was no change in the fundamentals of the Act, a spokesman of the Conference said in an interview.

Dewas**NEW CONSTITUTION FOR DEWAS**

The Maharaja of Dewas (Junior) announced a constitution for the State on March 5.

Following are the principal features of the new constitution:

(1) A Legislative Council (Lok Sabha) with 33 members elected on adult franchise under an elected President is to function by first June next; (2) It has full powers of legislation and discussion and also power to sanction budget; (3) The Executive Council will include two or more members chosen from a panel elected by the Lok Sabha who will hold office so long as they enjoy the confidence of the Lok Sabha; (4) The constitution provides for a review after three years or earlier for further association of the people in the Government; (5) It also guarantees the fundamental rights of the subjects of the State.

General**STATES AND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.**

Four Indian States have decided to take part in the Constituent Assembly, following the settlement reached between the States and the Constituent Assembly Negotiating Committees, it has been officially announced by the respective Governments. They are Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bhavnagar.

Since then some other states have also decided to participate.

Cochin State would participate in the Constituent Assembly for purposes of bringing about an Indian Union, declared Mr. Govinda Menon, Minister for Food and Education, at a Press Conference.

Mr. Govinda Menon had recently been to Delhi as a delegate from the Constitution Advisory Committee of the Cochin State.

Patiala State has also decided to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

THE INDIAN STRUGGLE

A vivid account of the struggle of Indians in South Africa for the assertion of their rights was the theme of a lecture by Drs. Dadoo and Naicker, South African Indian Congress leaders at Karachi on their arrival in India on March 17.

Dr. Dadoo said that it was better to face death than live on one's knees. Indian settlers in South Africa would rather die fighting than consent to live a life of humiliation.

Dr. Dadoo added that Indians in this country should take a lesson from their brethren in South Africa who were united in their struggle against racial arrogance.

After outlining the demands of non-White people for a charter of rights, Dr. Dadoo said that General Smuts whose career was coming to a close, was looking for support from discredited Fascist circles and dollar Imperialists, who were attempting to have sway over the entire world. The policy of racial discrimination pursued in South Africa was a danger to world peace and is, therefore, a test case before the U. N. O.

NEHRU ON GOVT'S ATTITUDE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Member for External Affairs, told the Central Assembly on March 14, that the Government of India were always prepared to make every effort for a settlement with the South African Government, but that Government had not yet taken an initiative.

He said that the Government had done everything in their power to find a solution in accordance with the resolution passed by the U. N. Assembly. Much that was unpleasant to India had happened in South Africa since the adoption of that resolution. Still they had remained silent. The Government of India did not wish to create difficulties in the way of a proper solution; at the same time, India could not accept any position of inferiority or segregation for her nationals.

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the resolution had cast joint responsibility on South Africa and India to find a solution, but it was for South Africa to take the initiative. India had waited more than five months now, but the South African Government had taken no initiative. So far as India was concerned they were prepared to consider the question with the South African Government and make every effort at a settlement subject to the fundamentals laid down in the resolution.

Burma

INDIANS IN BURMA

Referring to the question of Indians in Burma, Pandit Nehru said that undoubtedly the qualifications laid down for voting for the Burma Constituent Assembly were unfortunate. "As soon as we heard about it," he said, "we protested. May I also mention one other factor? In such matters when we deal with Ceylon or Burma, we have given up the habit of protesting to the Governor or to the British Government. We do not run to the Colonial Office to protest against the Burmese or the Ceylonese Government. If we protest, we protest to the Burmese or the Ceylonese Government direct and we do not want others to arbitrate.

"So we carried this matter formally and informally to the Burma Government, to its Chief Ministers and other Ministers and we discussed it at length. They felt that an injustice had been done in London when this statement was made but they consulted their law officers and they said that it would be impossible for them to make any radical or effective changes in this matter but gave an assurance that they will not govern the franchise for Indians in the new constitution which will be considered fully."

Pandit Nehru said that the attitude of the Burma Government was extremely friendly and co-operative in this and other matters. The matter would be handled by our Representative in Burma, Dr. Rauf.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

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THE STATUS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

That the Indian Interim Government would not have the same powers as a Dominion Government since the constitutional position was different but that it would be treated with the same full consultation and consideration as a Dominion and given the greatest possible freedom in the day-to-day administration was the reply given by Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Lord Cranborne in the Lords.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence refused to play into the hands of the Leader of the Opposition who demanded an assurance that no commitment would be made regarding the future of India without previously consulting Parliament and merely said "no final commitment can have final force until it receives the sanction of Parliament."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied: As was pointed out in the recent White Paper, inevitably as the process of authority proceeds, it will be progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935.

INDIAN ARMY'S FUTURE

The Committee of the Cabinet, it is held, understood, has been set up to scrutinise Dr. Suture defence expenditure and help a Co-Government in deciding the strength of India's post-war army.

Bengal Committee consists of H. E. the voluntary (Chairman), Sardar Baldev Singh this yeChairman), Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, be forr Patel, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, district Jagjiwan Ram, Dr. John Matthal, in sup, Abdur Rab Nishtar, and the ander-in-Chief.

MR. J. J. SINGH ON ATTLEE'S STATEMENT

After condemning the Punjab outrages Mr. J. J. Singh, in a press interview observes: 'I am afraid Clause 10 of Prime Minister Attlee's statement of Feb. 20 has been misunderstood. An indecent haste has been shown to capture the Punjab Ministry, because it is assumed that according to Mr. Attlee's statement, power will be transferred to provincial Governments existing at the time.

'Suppose the British were to draw up a document in which they transfer certain powers to the then existing Ministry of the Punjab. Suppose again that after the British have departed, the powers assumed by Punjab are considered by the rest of India to be detrimental to the interests of the country as a whole.

'Suppose further that the rest of India makes demands of the Punjab for necessary changes, but Punjab wants to stick to the terms of transfer given by the British. Are the British going to come back from England to implement the terms of transfer of power to the Punjab? Of course not. The dynamics of Attlee's statement are that the British will leave India by or before June, 1948, that after that date the British will not be in India to implement by moral or physical force their desires, their decisions or the terms of the transfer of power.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

Guarantee of property rights, abolition of untouchability in all shapes and forms, equality before law, liberty of speech, association and correspondence, adult franchise, secrecy of elections and the right to change Government, are some of the salient features of a tentative report understood to have been drafted by the Fundamental Rights Committee of the Constituent Assembly, which held a number of sittings recently. This Committee of which the Congress President, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, is the Chairman, is a Sub-Committee of the Advisory Committee on Minorities.

Utterances of the Day

LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S APPEAL

Lord Louis Mountbatten, the new Viceroy, was sworn in at the Viceroy's House in New Delhi on March 23.

After the ceremony, in a short speech, Lord Mountbatten stressed the need for reaching a solution within the next few months to enable transfer of power to be made by June 1948. He promised his readiness to help those who worked towards this end. He said: "Although I believe it is not usual for a speech to be made at the swearing in ceremony, I should like to say a few words to you and to India."

This is not a normal Viceroyalty on which I am embarking. His Majesty's Government are resolved to transfer power by June, 1948; and since new constitutional arrangements must be made, and many complicated questions of administration resolved—all of which will take time to put into effect—this means that a solution must be reached within the next few months.

I believe that every political leader in India feels, as I do, the urgency of the task before us. I hope soon to be in close consultation with them; and I will give them all the help I can.

In the meanwhile, every one of us must do what he can to avoid any word or action which might lead to further bitterness or add to the toll of innocent victims. I know how very many there are who are determined to work to that end, and I shall do everything I can to support them.

I have many Indian friends. Some were made when I was out here 25 years ago—it was here in Delhi that my wife and I became engaged. In the three years that I was with the South-East Asia Command, I made many more among the Indian fighting forces with whom I am so proud to have been associated.

It will be no easy matter to succeed Lord Wavell, who has done so much to take India along the path to Self-Government. I have always had a great admiration for him, and I shall devote myself to finishing the work which he began.

I am under no illusion about the difficulty of my task. I shall need the greatest goodwill of the greatest possible number, and I am asking India to-day for that goodwill.

SARDAR PATEL ON THE SITUATION

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, speaking at Ahmadabad on March 3, replied to the speech made by Mr. Jinnah, at Bombay calling for a "truce" on the basis of Pakistan. The Sardar characterised the theory of Pakistan as a "huge joke" and "a child's play." Pakistan, he said, could be attained only on the basis of justice, and not by force of arms or the sword.

He added: "There are impartial agencies or tribunals who can decide the question. The Congress is ready to sign the truce if the question of Pakistan is referred to an impartial tribunal. This implies that there should be no killing. Political problems are not solved by fight or resort to arms."

"The Congress has made its decision," declared Sardar Patel,

when it invited the representatives of the League to meet the Congress representatives and come to an understanding. Congress will not submit to any injustice. Truce has no meaning if the Congress is called upon to submit to any dictation by the League.

Sardar Patel referred to the recent controversies among the Rulers of Indian States and the latest declaration of an independent status for Travancore by the Dewan of that State. Travancore, he said, constituted the feet of India. "What will be the fate of the feet dismembered from the body, namely, the Indian body politic?" asked Sardar Patel.

"My humble advice to the Princes is," Sardar Patel added, "they cannot remain isolated. They cannot remain outside the Congress. It would be suicidal on the part of the Princes to exploit the Hindu-Muslim divide in India. If any member of the Princes desires to establish paramountcy, they cannot establish that paramountcy as long as the British are relinquishing it."

The events taking place in this country, Sardar said, raise a doubt if we could retain our freedom and remain a free people. There was a will in the country, there was a struggle for capturing power and the distrust of the British had been replaced by distrust and standing among ourselves. Indians were extremely discredited throughout the world, while the other of the British had been heightened by the declaration to quit.

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Political

NEED FOR STRONG UNION CENTRE

Sheikh Abdul Majid, Leader of the Progressive Muslim Jamait, while welcoming the Congress decision to invite Muslim League representatives for a joint conference expresses the opposition of his party to any plan to partition of provinces, and urges the need for a strong Union Centre with Hindus and Muslims as equal partners under joint electorate.

Sheikh Abdul Majid says that the proposal of the Progressive Muslim Jamait for a Round Table Conference has been accepted by the Congress Working Committee, which has invited representatives of the Muslim League to meet representatives of the Congress to consider the situation arising out of the British Premier's latest declaration. This offer does afford an equitable basis for an amicable understanding.

He adds: "Our party does not believe in any partition, whether of Provinces, unless it be for linguistic purposes or of India, on any basis. A united India will unite Asia and the whole world, and a divided India, apart from dividing the Indian Provinces and Indian Muslims into several parts will divide Asia and the world into mutually antagonistic political and economic units."

"Hindus and Muslims should work under a system of joint electorates as equal partners in a strong and common Indian Centre."

A NEW BENGAL MOVE

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference held at Tarakeswar on April 5 authorised Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee to constitute a Council of Action for the establishment of a separate homeland for the Hindus of Bengal. It also decided that 1000,000 volunteers should be enrolled by June 30 this year, and that local committees should be formed in each village, union and district to carry on an incessant campaign in support of the move.

Outlining the plan of action for the establishment of such a province, the Conference said that a Committee of Experts should be appointed to delimit its boundaries. The Constituent Assembly should be asked to appoint a Boundary Commission to settle the frontiers and frame a constitution which would include the new province as an integral part of the Union of India. The new province must be constituted before the British Government transferred power, and arrangement should be made for setting up a Provisional Government which would take over power from the British Government. Immediately the area of the new province was settled, Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly representing this area should be called upon to demand as representatives of the electorate that this territory should be constituted into a new province. If necessary, they should come out of the Legislative Assembly and form a separate legislative body.

CONGRESS AND AKALI LEADERS' DECISION

"In no circumstance are we willing to give the slightest assurance or support to the Muslim League in the formation of a Ministry as we are opposed to Pakistan in any shape or form" says a statement issued by the Congress and Akali leaders of the Punjab.

The statement adds: "It is a most extraordinary event that an administration supported by a nationalist coalition, which is still in a majority should be dissolved and attempts should be made to set up an administration of a purely communal character which by itself does not command a majority."

MRS. PANDIT'S ADDRESS TO LUCKNOW CONVOCATION

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Minister of Health, United Provinces, delivering the Convocation address of Lucknow University on March 16, defined the role of Indian youth "at a time when suspicion and hatred have captured the minds of such a section of our people and are tearing the soul of India asunder."

Mrs. Pandit said that the tradition of India had been one of service in the larger interest. Our slogan had always been the individual for the family, the family for the community, the community for the State, and the State for the world.

Addressing a special word to the girls who were taking their degrees. Mrs. Pandit reminded them of the importance of women in the shape of things to come, for until women play their part in the work of the nation they could not hope to realise their ideals.

Addressing the Graduates, the Minister said, "you and your generation hold the future in your hands. To-morrow is yours and you must design the pattern of your national and international life."

HARIJAN SCHOLARSHIPS

(The Government of Madras have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 32,000 for the award of 100 more residential scholarships for Harijan students and students coming under the category of eligible communities studying in the various professional and Arts colleges in the Presidency and whose applications were rejected for want of funds in the beginning. The scholarship amounts will be paid to the students for the year 1946-47 also though the official year has now ended.)

BIKANER'S GIFT FOR INDIAN STUDENTS OVERSEAS

The Maharaja of Bikaner has donated Rs. 4 lakhs to the Benares Hindu University for creating an endowment for awarding 13 scholarships to students belonging to Indian communities settled in different parts of the world, says the Director of Publicity, Bikaner State.

The scholarships will be known as H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner Greater India scholarships. Out of the 13 scholarships eight will be spread over in as many countries as possible, keeping in view the size of Indian population there, whereas one of the remaining five will be reserved for a student from Bali, the other four being awarded to students from Cambodia, Laos, Siam and Indonesia.

EXPANSION OF COLLEGES

Presiding over the "College Day" of Vivekananda College, Mylapore, Mr. Justice V. Govindarajachari said that it was the elementary duty of the State to see that no student who was eligible and sought University education, was turned away for lack of accommodation.

He paid a tribute to the progress made by the Vivekananda College.

Prof. D. S. Sarma, presenting the annual report, said that the College was a part of the Sri Ramakrishna Mutt and its policy was guided by the religious and educational ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission. He pleaded for substantial funds to make the institution a full-blown Honours college.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, told the University Council at its meeting held on March 30, that he found it difficult to continue as Vice-Chancellor in view of his other commitments and would therefore resign. A special meeting of the University Court will be held in July for the election of a Vice-Chancellor.

P. C. JUDGMENT ON MADRAS APPEAL

The appeal by the well-known film stars of South India, Thyagaraja Bhagavathar and N. S. Krishnan, who were sentenced to transportation for life on charges of conspiracy and abetment to murder of a journalist named Lakshmikantham, was allowed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London on March 27.

Lakshmikantham was stated to have been tipped off a rickshaw in a Madras street on November 8, 1944, and stabbed.

With six other accused, the appellants were tried by Jury before the High Court at Madras and their appeals to that High Court in its appellate jurisdiction were dismissed.

Sir John Beaumont, who gave the Committee's judgment, said that as the High Court at Madras did not apply its mind to the question whether the verdict of the Jury, finding the appellants guilty, was right or wrong, but considered only whether it was reasonable, Their Lordships allowed the appeal, and the appeal of the appellants against their conviction on May 3, 1945 by the trial Judge to the High Court would be remitted to that Court would be disposed of according to law.

C. P. PROHIBITION ACT

The C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly passed into law a Bill to amend the C. P. and Berar Prohibition Act.

Any person found in a state of drunkenness will now be punishable under the Prohibition Act. While nearly half of the Province is dry since October last, it was found from experience that addicts from dry areas went to the wet areas, had drinks there and then returned to the dry areas. Hence the present amendment to prevent such acts which defeat the objects of Prohibition.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

At the Madras High Court Mr. Justice Yahya Ali delivering judgment in a criminal appeal deprecated the practice of awarding sentences of solitary confinement.

His lordship observed, "although the imposition of sentence of solitary confinement is legal and although in medieval times under the influence of ecclesiastical thought, it was considered that confinement in a cell was a means of promoting reflection and penitence it has come to be realised that this kind of treatment leads to a morbid state of mind and not infrequently to mental derangement, and as a form of torture it fails in its effect."

The appeal was referred by one Muniswamy against his conviction and sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment including one month's solitary confinement. His Lordships cancelled the one month's sentence of solitary confinement.

MADRAS TEMPLE ENTRY BILL

(The Madras Temple Entry Authorisation Bill 1947 was passed into Law in the Madras Legislative Assembly on April 1)

"It will be a crime and a sin to refuse to people of eminence like Mr. J. Sivasubramanian Pillai, Mr. V. I. Muniswamy Pillai and Swami Sahajananda entry into the holy shrines of the Hindus. I deem it a great fortune—for a Brahmin like me—to be able to do 'Prayaschitta' for the sins perpetrated by my ancestors by piloting this Bill of far-reaching importance."

So observed (Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister in charge of Food and Labour, who introduced on April 1 in the Madras Legislative Assembly, the Bill to authorise entry into Hindu temples in the Province of Madras and the offer of worship therein by certain classes of Hindus, who by custom or usage are excluded from such entry and worship.)

Insurance

LIFE INSURANCE IN INDIA

The annual general meeting of the Indian Life Insurance Offices' Association was held on March 17 at Madras, Mr. K. C. Desai presiding. Thirty representatives from member companies all over India attended the meeting.

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Desai said that the progress of insurance business was much retarded by political conditions in the country. Life Insurance business in India compared to that in other advanced countries was not up to the mark. Only 2.6 per cent. of the families in India claimed protection from life insurance. This backwardness was due, he believed, to the lack of development in agricultural, commercial, and industrial fields.

Mr. Desai observed that it will be a retrograde step if insurance was to be administered as a provincial subject in the free India of the future as such a course would destroy the economic unity of the provinces and would create obstruction in the smooth flow of business from province to province. He therefore hoped that insurance and banking would be made Central subjects. There were enough insurance companies in India to supply the requirements of the country. The only thing required was that these companies should consolidate themselves.

Referring to investments in housing schemes, the President suggested that the Government of India should not only permit but also induce life offices in India to make such investments as it would help to relieve the shortage of housing and provide a sound channel of investment of policyholders' funds. Mr. Desai said that Government should announce at an early date their policy regarding nationalisation of insurance so that if the state planned to nationalise only a particular type of insurance private enterprise could consider the fields not tackled by the State.

INSURANCE OF CATTLE AND CROP

Inaugurating the South India Insurance Association at the Indian Mutual Buildings, Madras, Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja said that insurance companies should pay greater attention to the insurance of cattle and crop. There was a large gathering of representatives of insurance companies in the city.

After tea, Mr. N. V. Nayudu, who presided, said that a few weeks ago representatives of 27 Indian Insurance Companies met and formed the South India Insurance Association. It had now 37 member companies on its rolls. The Association was expected to give lectures to equip those engaged in insurance work with the necessary technical knowledge, and to provide a forum for the discussion of important subjects such as taxation, investigation of insurance funds, etc. In due course they also expect to start a research organisation. He hoped their experience in running insurance companies would be of value in devising, and administering, social service schemes.

Mr. Kumaraswami Raja said insurance was a very important line of work for the good of the people. Social insurance had developed in many countries. Urging insurance companies to take up insurance of cattle and crops on a large scale, he said that it was still an unexplored field. Even in social insurance India was very backward. It was necessary to have insurance schemes for small wage-earners, making the scheme compulsory.

Trade and Finance

C. R. ON TEXTILE POLICY

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Member for Industries and Supplies said in the Central Assembly on March 10, in reply to Mr. Ahmed Jaffer that Government had seen a record of decisions reached at a meeting between the members of the Indian Textile Delegation and the Textile Machinery Makers Ltd. for the manufacture of spindles in India. The decisions provided that while 74 per cent. of the shares and the controlling interest would be held by Indians, English manufacturers would have a 26 per cent. financial interest in the Company and would be represented on its Board up to a fourth of the total strength. The Company was expected to manufacture 40,000 spindles per month.

It was stated that the company, Textile Machinery Makers Ltd., would have shares of Rs. 39 lakhs, which would consist of Rs. 13 lakhs worth of shares to be subscribed for in cash and fully paid-up shares of Rs. 26 lakhs free of payment in return for good will, patent rights, technical assistance and benefits of all past and future research. The Government of India had only helped by arranging passages, exchange facilities etc. No help had been given in money or materials.

IMPORT CONTROL

Replying to the debate on the Bill, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Commerce Member, said that he agreed with the principle that normally import control should not be imposed to protect industries. Government would be reluctant to adopt this method but they must have authority to act as they considered fit under different circumstances. Import control would not be allowed to affect the efficiency of Indian Industries and if it was felt that tools and other things of sufficiently high quality were not being manufactured in this country, they would be imported from other countries.

CHANGES IN TAXATION PROPOSALS

The Finance Member, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, announced in the Central Assembly that after careful consideration Government were prepared to accept amendments to the Business Profits Tax to the following effect:

With regard to abatement as provided for in the Bill, instead of six and five per cent. a uniform figure of six per cent. would be acceptable, and with regard to the rate of tax, instead of 25 per cent. a rate of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. would be acceptable to Government.

As regards the Capital Gains Tax Government would be willing to accept an amendment to exclude personal effects from capital gains.

Both the Assembly and the Council approved the amended Finance Bill without opposition.

BURMA'S FINANCIAL TALKS WITH INDIA

Possibilities of repaying India's Rs. 25 crores accumulations in Burma through trade channels were discussed by the Burmese delegation, continuing their talks with Secretaries of the Finance Department, Government of India, last month.

While an immediate liquidation of these balances against Burma's Sterling assets in London is possible, a settlement through the export of goods was believed to have been considered.

The Burmese delegation is understood to have stated that Burma's pre-war exports was twice its imports, a position which it would regain during the next three or four years.

WOMEN IN HINDU LAW

The Hindu Law Committee, set up to evolve a uniform code of Hindu Law applicable to all Hindus, have submitted to the Government a draft containing the following among other provisions:

The Hindu woman's present limited estate is to be converted into an absolute estate. The Committee do not accept the argument that Hindu women, any more than others, are incapable of managing property and that they are likely to be duped by designing male relatives.

Monogamy is to be introduced as a rule of law. Divorce is to be permitted under certain specified conditions, such as desertion for a minimum period of five years incurably unsound mind and cruelty.

In an intestate succession to the father's property the daughter should have half the share of a son. The cases of the married and the unmarried daughter are considered separately. The daughter is to get double the share of the son in the mother's property as a make-weight for the half-share in the father's property.

The right of succession by birth and the principle of survivorship are to be abolished and the "Dayabhaga" substituted for the "Mitakshara" throughout the country. This and other recommendations relating to succession to property are not to apply to agricultural property.

"Most of the provisions in the Code" the Committee say, "are of a permissive or enabling nature, and impose no sort of compulsion or obligation whatever on the orthodox. Their only effect is to give a growing body of Hindus, men and women the liberty to live the lives which they wish to lead, without in any way affecting or infringing the similar liberty of those who prefer to adhere to the old ways."

The Committee's report is not unanimous. Dr. Dwarkanath Mitter one of the members, has recorded a dissenting minute, which opposes the codification of the Hindu Law as well as the changes proposed.

SAFEGUARDS FOR WOMEN

Three women members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly—Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta, Mrs. Ashalata Sen and Miss Bina Das—have addressed a joint letter to Raj Rumari Amrit Kaur, the only woman member to the Fundamental Rights Subcommittee of the Constituent Assembly, drawing the attention of the Committee to the lot of the "much oppressed women" of Bengal.

The letter, *inter alia* states: "Owing to adverse circumstances, unhealthy social customs, unjust laws and their low status in the family, the women of Bengal have become both mentally and physically too weak and helpless, more helpless than any of their sisters in other provinces. These are the reasons why Bengali women have so often been victims of all sorts of oppression. During the last riot in the provinces, it was women who suffered most. We are deeply ashamed as women that we could not protect ourselves. But at the same time we feel aggrieved at the inhuman callousness displayed by society and the State at the most heinous crimes frequently perpetrated against women."

The signatories to the letter wish to draw the attention of the makers of new India "to the stark evil prevailing in Bengal" and add, "it is high time now that steps should be taken to stop the evil at all cost and the most effective steps must be to declare that the person of a woman is sacred and inviolable. Therefore, outrages against women will make the criminal liable to the severest punishment of law and this should be one of the fundamental rights of India's womanhood."

UNPARLIAMENTARY WORDS

The Speaker, Mr. J. Sivashanmugam Pillai informed the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly that he had collected about 400 words, which he considered "unparliamentary." Copies of the list containing these words would be supplied to the members. The list would also contain information as to the circumstances under which the words therein would be "parliamentary" or "unparliamentary".

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Talking of the freedom of the press, they are debating in the Commons whether there should be a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the British Press. To which the London *Daily Express* retorts: "When Parliament has done discussing the freedom of the press, the press can begin discussing the freedom of Parliament."

The Commission has since been appointed and the personnel announced.

REUTERS AS WORLD NEWS AGENCY

At an extraordinary general meeting of Reuters Limited, final steps were taken to convert Reuters into a world news agency under the ownership and control of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand.

The Australian Associated Press and the New Zealand Press Association have also become parties to the Reuter Trust: and the necessary amendments in the Reuter Trust deed have been approved by the Lord Chief Justice of England.

THE PHILOSOPHER AND THEOLOGIAN

The philosopher had a controversy with a theologian and the theologian brought up this time-honoured taunt, whatever it is—'You philosophers are like blind men in dark rooms looking for black cats that aren't there and the philosopher replied, 'Ah, yes, but you would have found it.'—Dr. C. E. M. Joad in a BBC discussion "Is he any use?—the Philosopher."

SARDAR AJIT SINGH'S RETURN TO INDIA

After thirty-nine years of exile, the sixty-six year-old veteran Indian revolutionary leader, Sardar Ajit Singh, returned to India last month. Released from the detention camp in Germany on December 18 last on the recommendation of the Indian Interim Government, Mr. Ajit Singh came by air.

Mr. Ajit Singh told Pressmen that he proposed to apply himself to the task of communal unity. "Disunity in India, brother fighting the brother is a matter of great shame and every Indian abroad is taunted by other nationals about it."

WAVELL IN LONDON

Field Marshal Lord Wavell, the retiring Viceroy of India, landed at the Northolt airport near London on March 25 from India.

Interviewed at the airport by Reuter, Lord Wavell said: "If I have been of any service to India in the last five years I shall be very proud, because I owe India a great deal."

"I have handed over the final task of reaching complete self-government to my successor, and I shall naturally continue to watch with great interest and sympathy the progress of India."

SIR ROBERT HUTCHINGS

Sir Robert Hutchings, Secretary, Food Department, is leading the Indian delegation to the World Wheat Conference arranged by the International Wheat Council, now meeting in London. Sir Datar Singh is a member of the delegation, and Messrs. J. Vesugar, B.C.A., Cook and Aziz Ahmed and Dr. M. Junaid, Advisers.

MR. G. L. MEHTA

Mr. G. L. Mehta has been nominated by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to represent the Federation at the forthcoming meeting of the preparatory committee of the international conference on trade and employment to be held at Geneva from April 10.

MEDICAL DEGREES

A decision to establish reciprocity regarding recognition of medical and university degrees with America, and European and Asiatic countries, since India was establishing diplomatic relations with these countries, was taken at a meeting of the Medical Council of India which met in New Delhi recently under the presidency of Dr. A. S. Erulkar.

The Council authorised Dr. B. C. Roy to visit foreign countries shortly and explore the possibility and basis for establishing reciprocity and submit his report to the President.

The Council elected Dr. Viswanathan to serve as a member on the Committee appointed by the Central Government.

In his speech, the President said that the Council had appointed a sub-committee for the purpose of laying down minimum requirements which had to be fulfilled by the institutions which were being upgraded into colleges and the newly-established colleges.

NEW COLLEGE OF INDIAN MEDICINE

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the opening of a College of Indian Medicine in Madras and a Research Department of Indian Medicine. Fresh admission to the present School of Indian Medicine will be stopped from July, and arrangements will be made for students, who have been admitted to the School to prosecute their studies. After they complete the course, the School will be abolished.

The proposed College will consist of three sections, Ayurvedic, Siddha and Unani. Fifty students will be admitted each year to the College for all three sections. Teaching appointments may be filled on an honorary basis if suitable and qualified candidates are available for this purpose. The Research Department will consist of three branches, *viz.*, literacy, clinical and chemical.

ADULTERATION OF FOOD STUFFS

Inaugurating a food and nutritious diet exhibition in New Delhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said: "Adulteration has been reduced to a fine art and there is hardly anything which cannot be and is not adulterated. Even whole grain does not escape adulteration.

"I have heard of rice being adulterated with coarse sand or fine stone-chips which on account of their colour and size, cannot be detected until they cause a most unpleasant sensation in your teeth when they refuse to be crushed along with the soft cooked rice.

"It is not surprising that flour is easily adulterated with the powder of various stuffs. But what is surprising is that whole-grain wheat can also be adulterated with other grains which can be concealed in a mass of wheat, but do not possess any of its food contents. Adulteration of milk, ghee and oil is notorious."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said: "Curious and paradoxical as it may appear, it is a fact that while on the one hand, there is shortage of food in the country the effect of which is felt all over, particularly among the poorer sections of the community, there is on the other hand a tremendous wastage of food in various ways which can be prevented. The food that we have, can go a great way in improving the health and well-being of the people if it can be utilised to the best advantage".

VITAMIN 'A'

A method of raising the effectiveness of vitamin A about eight-fold by mixing it with water has been reported to the American Chemical Society.

'A' is one of the oil-soluble vitamins, which means that it occurs in the nature of oily solutions. It has been given by physicians in the oil form. Mixing the vitamin in water instead of oil was reported by several Doctors, at New York.

DEFENCE SAVINGS IN POST OFFICES

The Government of India have decided that Post Office Defence Savings Bank accounts will be closed from April 1, 1947. In accordance with the provisions of Rule 18 (2) of the Post Office Defence Savings Bank Rules, interest on those accounts will cease to accrue after March 31, 1947, says a Press Note.

The depositors of such accounts should present their pass-books for entry of interest together with applications for closure of accounts as early as possible at post offices at which the account stands.

CIRCULATION OF CURRENCY NOTES

The Finance Member, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, said in reply to Mr. Manu Subedar that the Government did not consider any forced contraction of the notes in circulation a practicable or desirable step, since the volume of notes in circulation must depend on various factors like public requirements, velocity of circulation liquidity preference of the general public for the time being, etc. Actually, there had been no expansion of currency since June 1946. It was true that the major portion of the sterling balances was held at present in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India.

T. N. & Q. BANK IN LIQUIDATION

Mr. R. Sankara Narayana Aiyar, District Judge passed orders on March 15 declaring a dividend of one anna per rupee to the creditors of the Travancore National and Quilon Bank in Liquidation. This is the 15th anna dividend sanctioned by the court per rupee. For declaring a dividend of one anna per rupee a sum of Rs. 14 lakhs is required.

GOVERNMENT ORDER ON ARYAN BANK

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 5 (A) of the Banking Companies (Inspection) Ordinance, 1946, the Government of India have issued an order prohibiting the Aryan Bank Ltd., from receiving fresh deposits with effect from Monday the 13th January, 1947.

RAILWAYS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

The High-Power Enquiry and Economy Committee set up by the Railway Board starts functioning under the chairmanship of Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.L.A., Central. Mr. Inder Singh Puri, Additional Financial Commissioner of Railways, has almost completed his all-India tour in connection with the collection of preliminary data.

It is understood that the Railway Board is now considering the desirability of sending Mr. Puri to the United Kingdom and the United States of America for a rapid survey of the workings of foreign railway systems.

It is further learnt that Government have decided to appoint an American scientist as a member of the High-Power Committee to act as technical expert. He is expected to arrive here by the end of this month.

NEW MODEL RAILWAY COACHES

Larger-scale manufacture of "all metal" Railway coaches on the model of the experimental prototype coach built last year, will shortly be taken in hand.

The management of the Factory is being constituted according to the recommendations of the United Kingdom Aircraft Mission. Necessary technical personnel are also being recruited from the U. K. in order to strengthen the staff.

MR. MAYNARD

Mr. R. de K. Maynard, General Manager of the M. and S.M. Railway is proceeding on leave prior to retirement after 33 years' service. Mr. W. G. W. Reid, lately Director, Mechanical Engineering, Railway Board, New Delhi, has been appointed to succeed Mr. Maynard. Mr. Maynard has been appointed as the Government of India's representative on the Permanent Commission of the International Railway Congress Association and will attend the various sessions of the Congress in Switzerland and elsewhere in that capacity.

AZAD OPENS ARTS EXHIBITION

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Member for Education and Art, Interim Government, opened the inter-Asian Art, Exhibition on March 24. Maulana Azad said: "Yesterday we heard the delegates of various Asiatic countries: today we have before us the works of art from those countries. These, too, are expressions of the sentiments of those nations, because after all art is the best medium to express the individuality and personality of a people."

Referring to the Inter-Asian Conference Maulana Azad said that sometimes events of great significance happened but their proximity prevented the people from assessing their importance correctly. As he sat through the opening session of the Conference he was trying to visualise the true significance of that unique assembly of Asiatic nations. He had felt that history had turned a new page and a different story was going to be related now.

About 300 exhibits from Asiatic countries, especially Iran, Afghanistan, Persia, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, China and India were exhibited.

NEED TO FOSTER NATIONAL ART

The prize distribution function in connection with the Art Exhibition under the auspices of the All-India Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition was held at Madras under the presidency of Srimati Vidyavathi Devi, Maharani of Vizianagaram.

A report was read by Mr. V.K.N. Chary, Convener. The report stated that in all 299 exhibits were received from 42 persons consisting of two sculptors 11 professional painters, 22 amateurs and students, four children and three art-collectors. It also emphasised the need for having a permanent Art Gallery attached to the Congress House where outstanding pieces of National Art could be received all through the year and these could form part of the annual conference and exhibition.

INDIAN TEAM FOR AUSTRALIA

The Board of Control for Cricket has announced the Indian team to tour Australia next winter. The following seventeen players have been chosen:

V. M. Merchant (Captain), L. Amarnath (Vice-Captain), Mushtaq Ali, V. Mankad, V. S. Hazare, R. S. Modi, C. S. Nayudu, Gul Mohamed, S. W. Sohoni, Amir Elahi, J. K. Irani, P. Sen, K. M. Rangnekar, G. Kishenchand, D. G. Phadkar, Fazal Mahmud and H. R. Adhikari.

WHY ENGLAND LOST IN AUSTRALIA

There is considerable similarity between the English tour of Australia and the Indian tour of Britain at least as far as the English failures are concerned, writes Vernon Morgan, Reuter's Sports Editor.

The Indian visit to this country was no doubt socially and financially a success; but they failed on the cricket field because they lacked that aggressive spirit possessed by the Australians. Substitute the Englishmen for the Indians and the same facts equally apply. The Englishmen in Australia, just as the Indians in England last summer, treated their tour as a series of games, not as a series of battles.

FOOTBALL TEAM FOR WORLD OLYMPIAD?

The Honorary Secretary of the All-India Football Federation has issued a circular to all Provincial Associations seeking their opinion on the proposal for the participation of the Indian Football team in the World Olympiad to be held in London in 1948.

RANJI TROPHY CRICKET

Baroda won the West Zone finals of the Ranji Trophy Tournament by virtue of its first innings lead of 78 runs against Bombay.

Baroda in their second innings were all out for 249. Bombay made 119 runs for the loss of only Ibrahim at close of play

FUNCTION OF SCIENTISTS

Addressing the students of the Indian Institute of Science, at Bangalore, Acharya Kripalani urged the scientists to help in decentralisation of industries by evolving small machines which villagers both men and women could employ at home using electric power for manufacture of goods which were at present being produced only in factories centralised in cities. He deplored that all scientific knowledge had to-day achieved nothing but sheer destruction. All discoveries and inventions so far made had failed to bring peace or happiness to people. On the other hand, they had only served to foment the worst passions. Scientific discoveries perfected instruments of destruction and scientists placed these weapons in the hands of politicians not distinguished for their morality.

SCIENTIFIC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

The Scientific Consultative Committee was enlarged and reconstituted in December 1946 to co-ordinate scientific research in the country and advise the Government of India on policy relating to research. The Minister for Industries and Supplies in the Central Government is the Chairman and the Director of Scientific and Industrial Research is the Vice-Chairman of the Committee. Its 17 members include seven eminent Indian scientists and heads of Central Government Departments such as the Geological Survey of India, the Forest Research Institute, Observatories, the Indian Medical Service, etc.

DR. HAFIZ'S RETURN AFTER 42 YEARS

Dr. Abdul Hafiz Akmut, the famous Indian Scientist, has returned to India after 42 years of exile.

The ban on his entry into India was recently lifted by the Central Government.

Dr. Hafiz, who is now 63, left India in 1913 and spent his years in Germany, Turkey and Afghanistan.

PATEL'S DOCUMENTARY FILM ON NETAJI

Produced by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, "Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose," a 8,000 feet film was screened at Delhi on March 5, for a pre-view, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and some members of the Central Assembly were present. Beginning from the Haripura Congress, the film is a cavalcade of the events in the life of Subhas Bose; the stormy Tripura Congress, his disappearance from India, stay in Berlin, his arrival in Singapore, where he was received at the pier by Col. Bhonsle, Rash Bihari Bose and a big gathering of Indians, the I.N.A. parades, his visit to Shanghai, Tokyo, Andamans and the action in Imphal. Many of the shots were obtained from South East Asia and edited in India. Most of the production work was done by Mr. Nathalal Parekh, a close associate of Subhas Chandra Bose in India.

Sardar Patel has applied for the necessary licence for the exhibition of this documentary film.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY AND FILM INDUSTRY

The recommendation that the British Government should enter the film industry is made in a report to the Parliamentary Labour Party, by the film sub-committee of one of the many groups into which the Party is divided to study specialised subjects. Recommendations from these sub-committees are not binding on the Government but reflect the general trend of thought within the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Specific recommendations made therein included the compulsory purchase of 500 cinemas to be run on a commercial basis in competition with privately-owned cinemas, the setting up of a film-renting organisation and the acquisition of studios to let to independent producers.

It is stated unofficially that one of the reasons for putting forward the plan is the hope that it would promote a steady flow of films with cultural and educational as well as entertainment value.

NATIONALISATION OF MOTOR TRANSPORT

The Bombay Assembly has passed a Bill seeking to nationalise motor transport services in the Province.

The Bill, which is in the nature of an amendment to the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939, in its application to Bombay Province, seeks to grant the Provincial Government, their local agents and also municipalities the power to restrict the time-limit or to terminate the permits of commercial bodies to operate motor transport with compensation.

The Bill enables the Provincial Government, or a Municipality or Local Body authorised by the Provincial Government to operate transport services for hire and to eliminate private operators completely.

FORD TO PRODUCE LOW-PRICED VEHICLES

Redi Bailton, British-born Engineer and Designer predicted that the car of the future will be safer because it will have four wheels "knee action" and independent suspension of both front and rear. Redi who specialises in racing cars said that independent suspension has already become necessary in racing cars because of its improved roadholding characteristics, "Cars with such suspension do not jump about or weave side to side at high rates of speed. They behave better and much safer under hard braking".

Vice President Davis of Ford Motor Company said that his firm would like to manufacture new low-priced automobiles.

REMOVAL OF CONTROL

It is now considered practically certain that the control of the sale of motor cars will be removed in Madras Province.

The control over the price of motor cars will, however, be retained for some time.

It may be recalled that the Minister for Motor Transport in the Prakasam cabinet Mr. R. Raghava Menon, replying to questions in the Legislative Assembly stated that the question of decontrol in respect of sale of motor cars was under active consideration of the Government.

INDIAN-MADE AIRCRAFT

A supplementary grant of Rs. 20,00,000 for 1946-47 in respect of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Bangalore, which is expected to produce the first Indian-made aircraft in November this year, was approved by the Standing Finance Committee at its recent meeting.

The firm is jointly owned by the Central Government and the Government of Mysore.

During the current year, the firm has undertaken the assembly of 100 Tiger Moth aircraft for the Air Headquarters and of 20 for the Defence Department. In addition, the manufacture of 30 Prentice Trainer Percival aircraft for the Defence Department has also been taken up.

According to the present programme, the first assembled percival aircraft will be ready in November 1947. Arrangements have been made in this connection for training six members of the staff at the Percival Factory in the U. K. and for the deputation of two representatives of the Percival Factory to the Hindustan Aircraft for one year.

Work during 1946-47 comprised mainly conversion and overhauling of aircraft, engines and accessories. So far about 80 aircraft and an equal number of engines have been completed and the present output is about 8 to 10 aircraft and 25 engines per month. Besides converting military aeroplanes, the firm is undertaking repair and overhaul of other types of aircraft and engines for Airline Operators.

PRIORITY FOR INTERNAL AIR TRAVEL

On the recommendations of the Air Priorities Board India, the Government of India have decided to lift priority control from all internal air services with effect from April 1, 1947 says a Press note. Effective from this date Government officials, members of the armed forces and others travelling on Government duty who were hitherto entitled to priority facilities, will have to book air passages through normal commercial channels.

STATE STEEL FACTORIES

The Government of India were contemplating the opening of State Steel Production factories in consultation with the Provinces, said Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Member for Industries and Supplies, replying to a question by Mr. Seth Govind Das in the Central Assembly.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, told Mr. Manu Subedar that a quota of 250,000 tons of steel would be allotted to the Provincial Governments during the current year to meet the requirements of the public for agricultural implements, house-building, and small consumers.

This quantity was being made available at the expense of certain development schemes, and, although the demand was presumably greater, this was the maximum that the Government could hope to provide at this stage.

The Government were fully aware of large house-building activities in and around industrial centres where property prices were high. Endeavours were being made to increase the availability by imports on Government account, and import licences were now being issued freely in favour of genuine consumers—including house-builders.

SHIPBUILDING IN INDIA

Negotiations are taking place "on a very friendly basis" between Indian shipbuilding firms and the world-famous firm of British shipbuilders, Messrs. John Brown and Company of Clydebank, writes Ronald Bedford, *Reuter's* correspondent.

"While details have yet to be finalised, I understand from a well-informed source, that Messrs. John Brown—builders of *Queen Elizabeth* and *Queen Mary*—will act in a consultative capacity in the construction in Indian ship-yards by Indian firms of large cargo and passenger liners. These vessels will be of tonnages upto 20,000 and when constructed will provide India with a brand new passenger and merchant fleet.

ORGANISING RURAL PEOPLE

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, inaugurating the second annual Conference of the Federation of Rural Peoples' Organisations at Delhi said that rural people had to gain strength and they must be organised. The organisation was working in the right direction. He deplored the present tendency of concentration of people in towns and hoped that this organisation would be essentially a village organisation and not try to make the entire country a city. In a town every man was dependent and in the village he was more self-reliant. The stoppage of water works or electricity or railway strikes did not affect him as they did the city dweller. He hoped that the organisation would work in a way that led to decentralisation.

Mr. N. G. Ranga, in his presidential address said that Indian agriculture was not as efficient as it ought to be. He pleaded for raising the efficiency of the peasant. If agriculture was to be made sufficiently paying to the new generation of educated and trained peasants it must be made as well paying as manufacture and commerce and the most effective way was to eliminate the present unequal terms of trade. He appealed to the Government to stabilise agricultural prices.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON RICE SUPPLIES

An International Conference of rice experts will be held in South India in the middle of next May, cables Mr. Shelvankar from New York. The exact venue of the Conference is not yet decided, but the relative merits of Madras City and Bangalore are under consideration.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the F.A.O. Preparatory Commission, the Conference (study group) will discuss measures for improved production, distribution, and utilisation of rice. The Indian proposal for an International Rice Board for South-East Asia will also come up for consideration. The Conference will be composed, among others, of representatives from the United Kingdom, United States, France, and Netherlands.

TATA'S NEW WAGE SYSTEM

Details of a new wage structure involving an additional expenditure of approximately one crore of rupees per annum, to be brought into force on April 1, 1947, for the 40,000 employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company have been announced. An important feature of this wage system is that all employees are put on graded rates of basic wages.

It is claimed that this is the first instance in the history of industry that the principle of graded rates of pay has been accepted for industrial workers.

A new performance bonus based on *per capita* production is super-imposed on the graded basic rates of pay. This bonus will vary from 10 per cent (minimum) to more than 100 per cent of the basic wages, according to the *per capita* performance. To measure the *per capita* performance from month to month for the purpose of the bonus, employees are divided into more than 800 groups. At the end of each month, the *per capita* performance of each group is measured and the percentage of performance bonus payable is determined. At the average performance this bonus is expected to be about 50 per cent in the case of production personnel and 40 per cent in the case of maintenance personnel.

GOVERNMENT'S LABOUR POLICY

"One of the major objectives of Government's labour policy will be to secure to the workers the highest practicable standard of living." Making this declaration in the Central Assembly on March 11 when replying to a cut motion, the Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram, Labour Member, said, "I have made it clear on more than one occasion that no industry which cannot afford to pay a living wage to its worker has a right to survive. And I can assure the House and assure the working classes that so long as I am here I shall work with that objective in view."

PROF. BARKER ON SANSKRIT LEARNING

A tribute to the achievements of India and Greece in the spheres of culture and civilisation was paid by Prof. Sir Earnest Barker, well-known British philosopher, at a meeting in Cambridge. He suggested that Sanskrit should be learnt by British students as a great classical language, along with Latin and Greek and appealed for greater cultural understanding between the people of India and Britain.

NEW DEFENCE OF INDIA COMMITTEE

It is proposed to constitute a "Defence of India Committee" with Lord Mountbatten as Chairman and Sardar Baldev Singh as Vice-Chairman.

This Committee would deal with the defence problems apart from the Interim Cabinet and will have the Commander-in-Chief as one of its members. Under the new dispensation the Commander-in-Chief is no more a member of the Government of India but to enable his expert advice being available to the Cabinet this informal Committee is set up.

HINDU CIVILISATION IN JAVA

A 1,100-year-old document from the Hindu civilisation in Java has been unearthed not far from the famous Hindu temple of Prambanan, Central Java, says the Indonesian Antara news agency.

Written in Sanskrit about 856 A.D., Indonesian experts believe, the document might be useful in the compilation of a more detailed Indonesian national history.

NEWSPRINT CONTROL RELAXED

The Central Government have decided to relax the control over newsprint with effect from April 1, 1947, on representation made by the Newspaper Advisory Committee. The newspapers will be free to build up new circulation though the ceiling price of newspapers will be fixed according to the number of pages published.

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME

A SYMPOSIUM BY

RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI	DR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI	RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
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MR. JUSTICE M. C. CHAGLA	MR. DILIP KUMAR ROY	SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

The writers, who are all well-known figures in contemporary life, have given their experiences in their own characteristic way. They have done it with a freedom and candour that cannot fail to impress readers whether young or old. Some have confined themselves to books that have influenced their "mind" as distinguished from those that have influenced their "character" and "moral being." Some have dealt with literature that proved a turning point in their life and thought. Some have extended the scope of literature to the authors of books and the influence of their personality on their life and conduct. While some have pointed to the literature that made a difference in their outlook and life, others have freely browsed over the whole field of literature that has claimed their interest and appreciation. Altogether the approach to this subject by the distinguished writers who have joined the symposium is as varied as it is interesting. The publishers have no doubt that coming generations will be benefited by the knowledge of what has gone to the making of their fathers.

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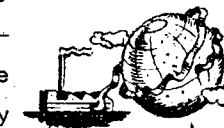
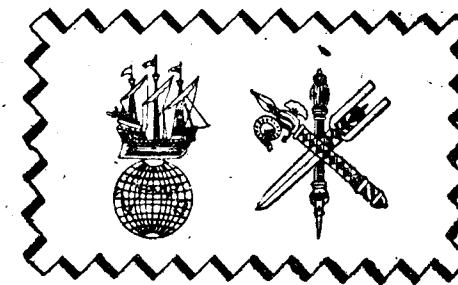
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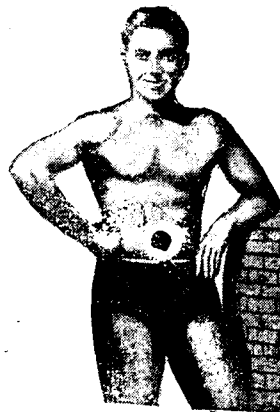
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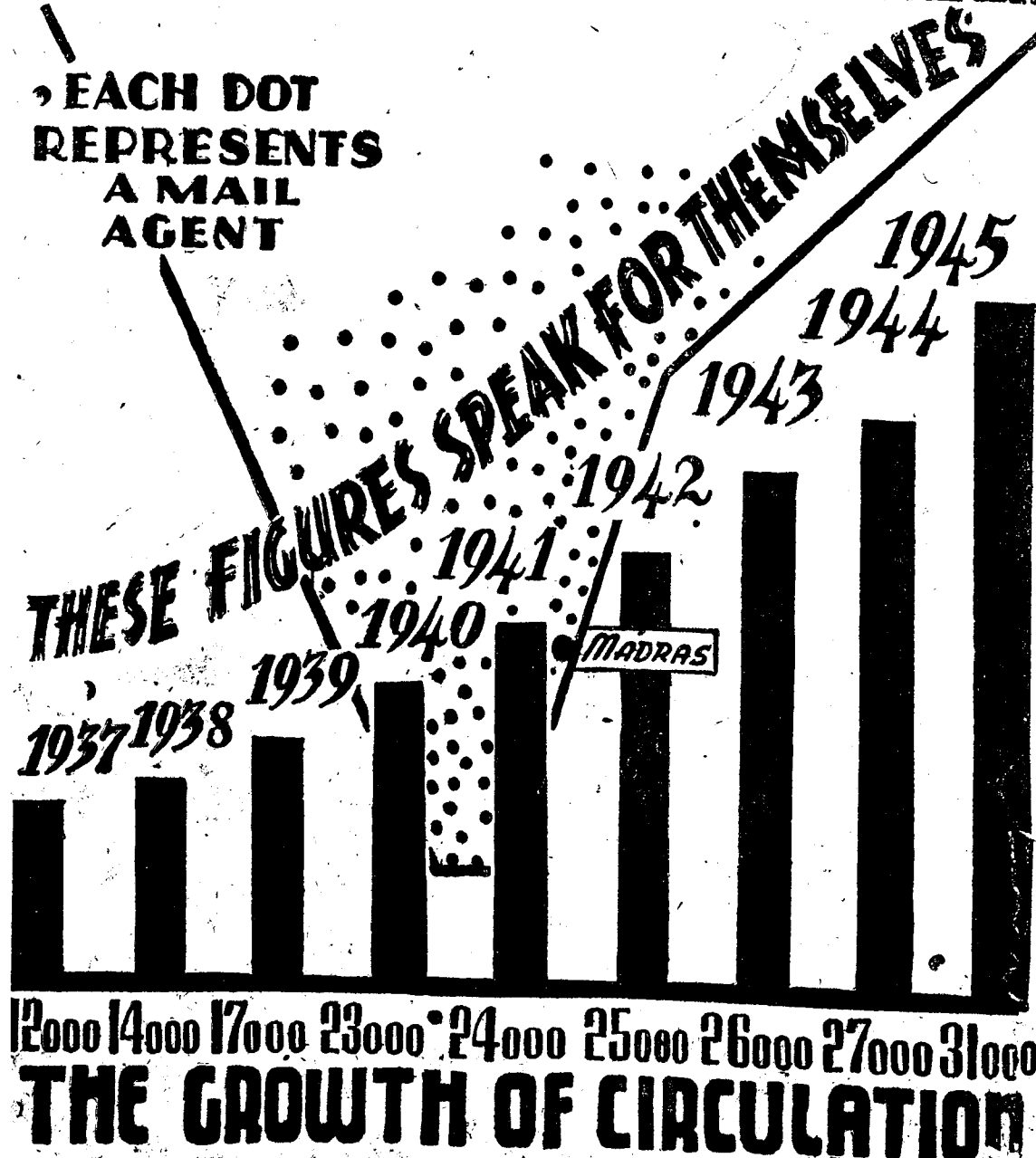
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The dock which is 355 feet long, 172 feet wide and 75 feet high is a self-contained unit with a power plant, pumping machinery, a ship repair workshop and quarters for the crew.

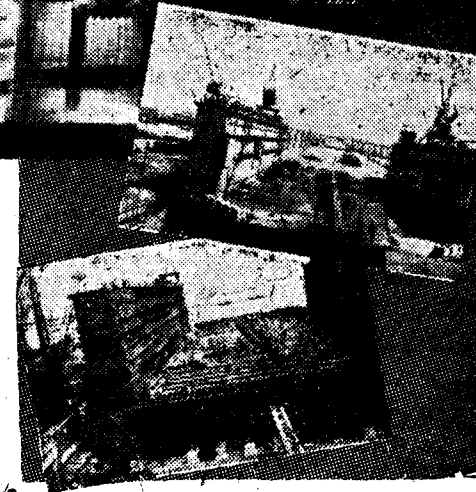
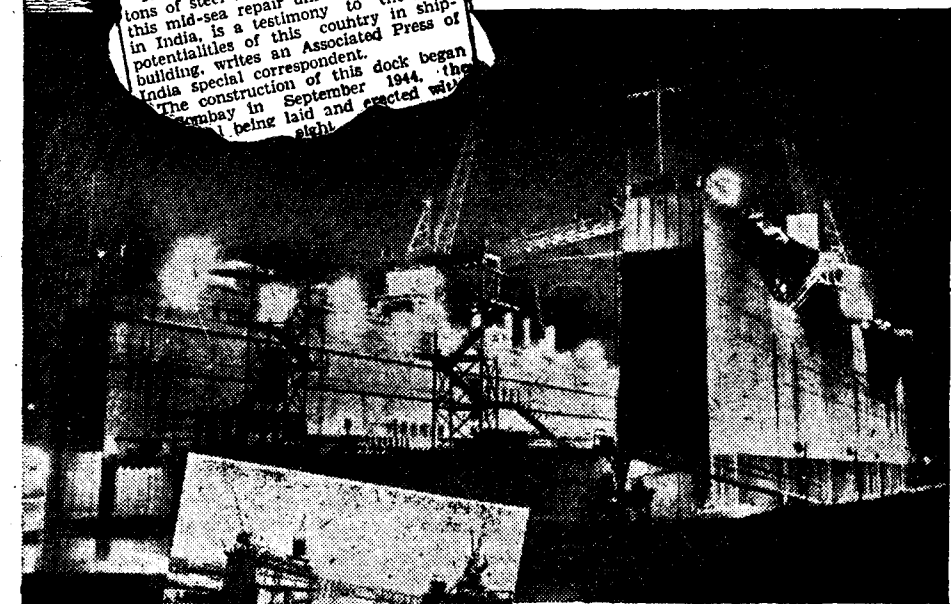
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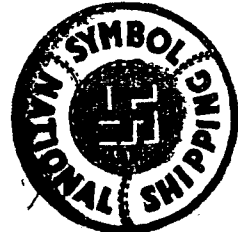
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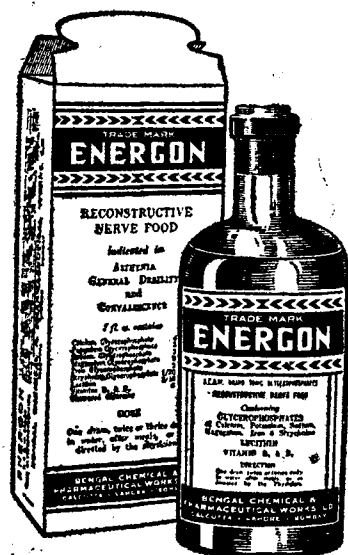
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Chidambaram	Paramakkudi	Tiruvavur
Chittur (Cochin)	Parvatipuram	Trichinopoly
Conjeevaram	Pudukottah	Vedaranyam
Cuddalore N. T.	Ramnad	Vellore
Cuddalore O. T.	Salur	Villupuram
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The advertisement features a large, dark, oval-shaped graphic at the top containing the word "LIPTON'S" in white, serif capital letters. Below this, the word "means" is written in a cursive script. Further down, the words "Good" and "Tea" are written in a large, bold, cursive script. To the left of this text is a detailed illustration of a rectangular box of Lipton's Tea. The box is white with a black border and features the Lipton's logo, which includes a man in a hat and a dog. The text on the box includes "LIPTON'S", "FINEST DUST TEA", and "PACKED BY LIPTON'S". The box is shown at an angle, giving it a three-dimensional appearance. The entire advertisement is set against a white background with a large, dark, curved line that sweeps around the bottom and right side of the text and box.



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THE INDIAN REVIEW

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

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48.]

MAY 1947

[No. 5.]

THE THREE AGES OF THE MACHINE

BY REV. DR. J. F. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D.

READERS of Mr. Lewis Mumford's book *Technics and Civilization*, will have been impressed by the brilliance of his analysis of the machine-age, and by the pertinence of it to our present industrial and political problems. What Mr. Mumford says is important; for 'knowledge is power', in sociology as elsewhere; and, while the way of the 'muddler through' may be better than that of the doctrinaires, it is a poor second to the control that comes from understanding. And, if Mr. Mumford has understood the contemporary scene aright, it unfortunately follows that most politicians have not.

Mr. Mumford (following and expanding the work of Patrick Geddes) divides the machine-age into three periods—the 'eotechnic', the 'palaeotechnic' and the 'neotechnic'.

What he says about the eotechnic age, though brilliant, is naturally for the most part of historical rather than of practical interest. He analyses the history of invention in mediaeval and Renaissance times—the seven centuries before the Industrial Revolution—and shows how, contrary to popular superstition, those periods were full of scientific and industrial invention, and only narrowly missed that little extra which would have set the progress of the

machine fairly in motion. The regulation of time by the clock, the scientific measurement of space, capitalism and the bourgeois virtues, the mechanisation of human habits, the concentration on physical science, the development of mining, of military mass techniques of machine-power (wind and water), of glass (with its manifold social and scientific applications), of the concept of natural law—all these diverse matters were worked out in the eotechnic period, and provided the essential basis for the reign of the machine. But in this period, though the machine and its presuppositions were developed, they could not be said to be dominant.

The palaeotechnic period stretches from the Industrial Revolution till about the First World War, with a partial continuance into the present. Its 'cock-crow of triumph' was the first World Fair at the Crystal Palace in 1851. It is the age which harnessed science to economic ends, and made the machine central in human life. This it did in a way which seemed necessary and inevitable at the time, but is now known to have been only one of the possible ways, and far from the complete or best way. Its way may perhaps best be criticised as being limited, bulky and wasteful.

It was limited, because it harnessed actually very little of the potential forces of science—only supra-atomic chemistry, coal-and-iron engineering, and the fringes of electronic forces. In particular, biology and the human sciences were left practically out of account.

It was bulky, because the types of power predominant—coal and steam—and the materials predominant—iron and simple steel—encouraged mass, and with it mass groupings of population.

Partly as a result of these features, it was wasteful. To take a set of very divergent examples; stream pollution wasted both amenities and by-products, smoke pollution wasted lives, doctors and power, all together; Arkwright's factory system is now known to have been inefficient even by its own standards and for its own chosen purposes; and the general result of the whole development was a state of class-war and international war which is, to put it at its lowest, the last word in waste.

The neotechnic age, into which we are now making a transition, may be said to have begun with the new turn in science about 1870; though its first signs may be seen in the improved water-turbine of 1832—at which date, incidentally, the chief glory of eotechnic mechanics, the sailing-vessel, still held its own on its merits. The neotechnic age is marked by a general humanising and lightening and thrift. In it, biology (both directly, and by its effect on engineering, as in researches on flight and on 'cold light') and the social sciences can take at least as big a share in human development as chemistry and physics.

Lighter, neater sources of power are used—petrol, electricity, ultimately atomic energy, solar energy and the like. Pinches of the 'rare earths' in alloys cut down steel masses by two-thirds; aeroplane design absolutely demands a new emphasis on shape and weight-cutting in one class of engineers, and thereby will indirectly encourage them in all. (By contrast, the streamlined locomotive was invented in 1874, but was then dismissed as of no importance). It is fine instruments and very delicate measurements that are behind the new synthetic compounds which are revolutionising industry. Bacteria, vitamins, the electric power used in radio—many such things vital in modern life are quantitatively in the realm of the small. Preventive and curative medicine now outclass in importance the old stress on the 'major operation'. Population is no longer a factor beyond control. Many industrial and biological developments make unsightly waste like that of sewerage, smoke, slag-heaps, heavy transportation from concentrated industrial centres no longer necessary. The new manufacturing methods no longer need large manufacturing areas or locally concentrated industries. Automatism, intelligently applied, makes unnecessary that unhappy and unlovely palaeotechnic by-product—the unskilled proletariat. In many such ways, the social tendencies of the palaeotechnic techniques are arrested or reversed, and a planned economy becomes possible for the State, and enriched leisure for every individual.

The differences between the three ages may be illustrated by the development in them of a very common object the pen. The

eotechnic pen was a goose-quill—hand-made, intimately associated with agriculture, cheap, crude, individual. The palaeotechnic pen has as its main part the steel nib—cheap, more durable, metal, mass-produced, standardised, constantly diminishing, if only by a little, the world's mineral resources. The neotechnic pen is the fountain-pen—automatic, lasting, made of the newest synthetic products and alloys.

The neotechnic age, when fully arrived, will have so corrected the social errors of the palaeotechnic period as to be, in fact, a long and satisfactory stage of stable human organisation. Only—it has not yet fully arrived. It even may not fully arrive at all; the possibilities are real and great, but they are contingent upon human resolve and human effort; there is no automatic Utopia round the corner.

Meanwhile, our present stage of society is a transitional one; and as such it is, in Spengler's phrase, a 'pseudomorph'. This is a metaphor from geology, which knows of some complex crystalline rocks from which one class of softer crystals gets leached out, and then replaced by another substance deposited by the water; but this new substance has perforce to take, not its own natural shape, but the shape of the crystals which it has replaced. Thus, for example in our transitional stage, much electric power, (a neotechnic device whose direct and natural use would be in the running of neotechnic decentralised industries which would not have any transport problem for their workers) actually get used to run a spirit type of transport in the attempt to overcome the worst difficulties of a now unnecessarily urban palaeotechnic industrial system. In countless other ways neotechnic inventions, full of new possibilities in their own right, are now used only as ambulances for palaeotechnic casualties.

Such is Mr. Mumford's general theory. I would like to point out the particular application of it for India. It is simply, but importantly, this. *India can be neotechnic tomorrow and she need never be palaeotechnic.*

The neotechnic age must certainly come for India. With her problems of poverty and ever-increasing population, there is—short of universal sainthood—only one solution for her woes—the social application of science.

But a palaeotechnic age is a time of misery and frustration. Except for the fortunate and not in all ways very commendable few who can scramble to the top, it is an age of inhuman competition, sweated and dull labour, crowded towns, heavy ugliness, divided lives. At one time, though, it seemed as if the only way of advance was through it, now we know that this is not so.

Happy India, if she can so use her contacts with the West as to get to neotechnic blessings without going, like the West, through palaeotechnic distortions and miseries. India is ready and anxious for a new industrial advance. Cannot this be planned on neotechnic lines?

For example, on neotechnic principles, the present bitter khadi *versus* mill-cloth controversy is out of date on both sides. Khadi is eotechnic; mills are palaeotechnic; the neotechnic lies in village units with electric power. The basic life of India need never be destroyed, as one type of industrialism seemed at one time to threaten; what is good in the Indian life-pattern can be taken over naturally into a neotechnic pattern; what is defective and uneconomic in it can be cured by mild neotechnic medicines, without the crude palaeotechnic surgery against which Gandhiji so rightly protests. And Pundit Nehru's recent utterances on electricity seem to indicate that he will implement this type of development.

THE CENTRAL BUDGET

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

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CENTRAL BUDGET

FOR the first time in the financial history of India, the Central budget for 1947-48 has the unique distinction of having been presented by an Indian Finance Member. Though a proper appraisal of the finances of India requires a consideration of not only the Central but also the several Provincial budgets, the importance of the Central budget for the economic development and general welfare of the country needs to be properly appreciated. In spite of the great stress laid on provincial autonomy and decentralisation, the Central budget is still the most powerful single factor in shaping the economic destinies of the people. For instance even though the so-called nation-building departments are a provincial concern, the Provinces still depend on the Centre for the financial means to discharge their responsibilities in this regard. By means of indirect taxation over a wide range of necessities and comforts the Central Government still determines the cost of living in the country at large. By means of direct taxation and by control over transport especially railways, it is the centre that can determine and give fillip to industry and trade and the various concrete schemes of economic betterment. In fact, under present conditions neither the political constitution nor the system of public finance nor the economic configuration in the country has changed sufficiently to make each Provincial Government the arbiter of the economic destinies of the people committed to its care.

OBJECTIVES OF THE BUDGET

These facts did not serve in the past to induce the Finance Members of the Government of India to accept any special obligations to improve the lot of the common man. Now with a national Government in the centre and the acceptance of definite objectives of national planning, it is but natural that the first

budget of the Interim Government should lay down the correct objectives and frame a fiscal policy suited to the implementation of those objectives. The first Indian Finance Member has enunciated in clear terms the doctrine of social justice as the guiding principle of the Central budget. In the words of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Indian Finance Member:

It will be my particular endeavour to reduce, to the maximum extent possible, the glaring disparities that exist to-day between the income and standards of life of the wealthy classes and the vast multitude of poverty-stricken masses, and to contribute to the best of my ability to the improvement of the lot of the common man. India is a land of glaring contrasts and disparities, we have here on the one hand a class of multi-millionaires rolling in wealth and holding the economy of the country in their grip by exploiting for their own benefit the labour of the poorer classes, and on the other hand the vast multitudes who eke out a miserable existence precariously near the starvation line. The conditions created by the last war served to accentuate these disparities; the rich became richer and the poor poorer. This meant the concentration of wealth in fewer hands and, inevitably, the use of that wealth for the purpose of tightening the stranglehold of Big Money over the economic life of the country as a whole by the acquisition of businesses, companies and public utilities and the press. A set of conditions in which the few are able to wield such vast power over the many can hardly be regarded as anything but a negation of the principles of social justice.

It may therefore be useful to stress the need for a new orientation of our budget policy and the attitude which the average citizen of India should adopt towards our fiscal problems. For over a century the finances of our country have been carried on with an exaggerated faith in indirect taxation. From the early days of British rule in India, Indian public finance rested on customs and salt revenue. Incometax contributed little to the total revenues till very recently and there was no attempt to raise the level of incometax in a substantial manner, as it would hit industrialists and businessmen and the British Officials who were supposed to be the main victims of any increase in the rates of incometax. So when the need arose for additional revenue, in the late

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twenties, it was to the customs revenue and excise that the Government turned. The incometax was raised to a substantial level only when the rich classes were growing richer during the war period.

The need for additional revenue inspite of the close of the war will by no means be less in the post-war period particularly in view of the outlay of public money on a large scale on planning and as much as Rs. 1,000 crores in the first five years of post-war planning. It may therefore be conceded that the attempt to find new sources of revenue or develop the existing ones should never be relaxed and it has to be recognised that the old policy of making goods pay all the taxes can no longer be persisted in, and it is to men that we must turn. Income-tax and Corporation tax and other large incomes, and not merely sugar, tobacco and salt that must yield additional revenue.

The first feature of our budget in the shift in emphasis from indirect to direct taxation. The self-rule of the Indian people or *swaraj*, if it is to fulfil its cherished ends must be based on sound financial resources. This does not mean that high taxation is a necessary condition of the successful working of self-government. Taxes will have to be levied in future according to people's capacity to pay. But it is well to note that though high taxation is not a condition of self-government, neither can low taxation be necessarily expected as its result. The true test of the sound financial administration of self-governing India does not consist in raising less revenue or retrenching more expenditure than at present, but in raising revenue wisely and spending it productively. Nothing is more naive than the view entertained by some people in our country that under a national regime, the government to this country will be less expensive or that the taxes levied will be lower. Economy can and must be effected, of course, in several directions, but the cost of administration as a whole under the new political order will not be markedly off.

A second important feature of the budget is the acceptance of planned development as the established official policy. Though it is difficult to envisage the future political complexion of India, there is no doubt that the objectives set forth in the budget are common to all parts of India and emphasise the need for closer co-operation between the Centre and the Provinces from the standpoint of India's true economic development. For instance the provision of loan and grants to the Provinces amounting to Rs. 70 crores signifying a common source of revenue for the whole country with all the rights and obligations which each part has to every other, such as a common currency a common central banking institution and machinery of credit.

It is against such background that the budget proposals seem formulated. How far has the first national budget sought to reduce the burdens of the poor and increase the contributions of the rich to the public exchequer? In spite of the increases in direct taxation since the war, it is well to remember that indirect taxation comprising taxes that bear more or less heavily on the masses accounts for a large part of the total revenues of the Central Government. It is no doubt true that an equitable system of taxation in a poor and popular country like India cannot dispense with indirect taxes but the future trend seem to lie more in the direction of direct rather than indirect taxation, though the scope for direct taxes is much less limited in India than is the case in the wealthy European countries.

TAX REVENUE

The tax revenue in the budget for 1947-48 may be summed up as follows. The abolition of salt tax; the minimum exemption limit for incometax has been raised from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500 but no change in the rate of incometax; a 16% per cent. tax on business profits exceeding one lakh, the corporation tax is raised from one anna to two annas; the export duty

on tea is increased from 2 annas to four annas a lb; a graduated tax on capital gains; and the lowering of the exemption limit to super-tax.

The abolition of the salt tax is hailed as a gesture of recognition of the welfare of the masses, though, leaving sentimental considerations, from an objective point of view, its incidence is very slight (a *per capita* relief of about 3 annas 3 pies a year), and as such the sacrifice of a good slice of revenue from an old tax like salt tax at the present juncture is a step of doubtful wisdom. Nevertheless the abolition of the salt tax is generally approved throughout the country. As regards the raising of the minimum of incometax to Rs. 2,500, the lowering the minimum for supertax, raising the tax on business profits and export duty on tea, the expenditure of Rs. 17 crores on the subsidisation of imported foodstuffs within the country, the Finance Member has justified to some extent his claim to improve the lot of the common man. The attempt to cover 70 per cent. of the budget deficit without adding to the burdens of the poor ought to be commended in principle. The real point however is that the real long-term interest of the common man lies in the prospect of maximum possible employment and from this point of view some of the tax measures of the current budget have come in for criticism as they are said to be prejudicial to increased production which means more employment. It must be recognized that, in a sense, unlike western countries, in India the problems of production are much more important than those of distribution and while social justice necessarily implies more of direct taxes, their effects on the system of production call for careful examination especially in view of the fact that the improvement of the condition of the masses depends far more on the increase of productive and capital equipment, and any change in our tax system which is likely to retard private enterprise is in the long run uneconomical. The

business profits tax, the tax on capital gains and the revision of the present scales of supertax are regarded as a three-pronged offensive against the productive sector of India's economy. The conflicting considerations that arise in this context need to be emphasized as, in the stress that is now laid to improve the lot of the masses, by better distribution, we are apt to forget that it should be done more by stimulating production. As it was neatly pointed out by Mr. Gadgil in the Legislative Assembly debate on the Budget, with reference to the new business taxes, the mere dividing of an apple into six parts did not create a new apple and the raising of a few more crores by taxation of trade and commerce will not by itself promote the expansionist Indian economy which alone can promote the interests of the common man.

As regards the business profits, the effects of new taxation on various classes and types of companies are important. Its incidence is likely to be unequal and make it impossible for any business to have an yield higher than 3 or 3½ per cent. on the shares and therefore to affect the activities of the share market whose healthy functioning is necessary for new issues for industrial projects. But the Finance Member has argued that the business profits tax is very much more simple and very much fairer in its incidence than the Excess Profits Tax levied during the war. As regards the tax on capital gains, it seems to be necessary in the conditions which have obtained since the war.

On the whole the direct taxation plans of the Central budget, though quite welcome from the standpoint of a more progressive taxation, must be judged by their ultimate impact on the national economy as it is today.

BUDGET AND THE STOCK MARKET

The immediate effect of the announcement of the Budget proposals was confusion in the stock markets but the market

will however recover with the modifications made in the budget. The tax concessions announced *viz.*, an exemption of 6 per cent. on capital and reserves, and a reduction of Business Profits Tax to 16 ⅔ per cent. give a measure of relief to the companies. The total incidence of the Business Profits Tax and incometax and Corporation Tax vary from 7½ to 8½ annas in the rupee according to the capital and reserves of the companies. The prospects are better weighted in favour of our local textiles which have in the past 7 years built up substantial reserve position. It is a pointer that after the budget proposals were made known, and before the modifications were announced, the Coimbatore Cotton Mills have come out with a dividend of 25 per cent. as against 10 per cent. paid last year. The balance sheets of other companies must be equally satisfactory, though the dividends are likely to vary according to the capital and reserve position of the respective companies.

EXPENDITURE PROPOSALS

The old idea that it is a cardinal principle of public finance that expenditure and income of the Government should balance is now exploded and public finance is now regarded as an integral part of the total social economy. Governmental finances are now regarded as part of the total outlay of the community both private and public, for it is more the total expenditure than its component parts that determines the general level of the economy. Looked at from this point of view, the expenditure proposals of the budget do not seem to be very

impressive. Perhaps the most important aspect of public expenditure is that relating to reconstruction planning. Some idea of the bottlenecks in planning may be had from the fact that the capital grants to Provinces which were estimated at Rs. 35 crores in 1946-47 have had to be reduced to Rs. 25 crores. The estimates of Rs. 45 crores in the budget for 1947-48 will have little meaning unless a co-ordinated allocation of raw material resources can be made for the purposes of the various plans. The whole expansionist set-up of the budget proposals of Sir Archibald Rowland has now been reversed. The expectations that were raised in last year's budget have now been damped and the break in the continuity of policy makes the Government an unreliable factor in investment activities.

BUDGET AT A GLANCE

(1947-48). Estimates.	(In crores of Rupees)
Revenue ..	279.42
Expenditure :	
Defence ..	188.71
Civil Estimates ..	139.17
Total ..	327.88
Deficit at the existing level of taxation ..	48.46
Deficit after the abolition of salt tax ..	56.71
Yield from fresh taxation ..	39.75
Net deficit ..	16.96
(1946-47)	
	ESTIMATES. REVISED.
Revenue ..	206.53 336.19
Expenditure ..	356.35 381.47
Deficit ..	49.82 45.28

PRESS EMERGENCY POWERS ACT

BY MR. RAM KESHAV RANADE, LL.M.

Joint District Judge, Sangli

ALTHOUGH the military struggle against Nazi-Fascist aggression has been victoriously concluded, the people in many parts of the world—in the victorious as well as the defeated lands—are still denied those basic rights which are the essence of freedom and the warp and woof of the democratic way of life. The dynamic motive of a truly democratic society is to foster and enhance the worth and dignity of the Press. It cannot be gainsaid that the provisions of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act are highly penal and that in these days of democracy and freedom of expression that Act deserves to be abrogated. In the newly published International Bill of Rights it is said that Freedom of expression is vital to the preservation of the basic liberties and the enhancement of the spiritual and material progress of the human race, and that this right must be inviolate for those who oppose no less than for those who support, a ruling party or a regime at any specific moment. A study of the International Bill of Rights and the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act will lead to the irresistible conclusion that dignity of the Indian Press must be enhanced and that penal restrictions on the press like the Press Emergency Powers Act must be removed.

THE INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS

The preamble of the Bill says:—

"Although first responsibility for the maintenance of human rights and freedom rests with the local community of the nation, we now live in an interdependent world in which these basic rights and freedom can be effectively guaranteed and expounded only on the international scale. We must not only make nations safe for freedom, but we must also make freedom safe for the individuals who constitute the various nations."

Regarding basic human rights it is said that freedom of expression and association

is vital to the preservation of the basic liberties and the enhancement of the spiritual and material progress of the human race that this right must be inviolate for those who oppose, no less than for those who support, a ruling party or a regime at any specific moment; that there must be freedom of opinion and expression and full access to the opinions of others; and that there must be freedom from censorship of books, press, radio and art, having due regard to the requirements of morals and decency.

In the same Bill it is said that in a truly democratic society, certain rights are sacred and inalienable and should not be abrogated by decree or law, that such rights must be recognized as the rights of all men, and that they transcend even the strongest strategic frontiers and boundaries fixed by states. Freedom of the Press is one of such rights and except the restrictions of morals and decency there should be no restrictions on it. The Press Emergency Powers Act, however, negatives this freedom.

THE PRESS EMERGENCY POWERS ACT

In 1930 the Governor-General promulgated an ordinance (X of 1930) to provide for the better control of the press and of unauthorized news sheets and news papers. It was then stated that it was the policy of many newspapers consistently to encourage the civil disobedience movement and that a section of the press was giving direct or indirect incitement to violent and revolutionary crime. It was then designed that the ordinance should last for a very short time. It is, however, striking to note that the ordinance was afterwards transformed into the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act (XXIII of 1931).

It is provided by the Act that keepers of printing presses making a declaration for the first time will be required to deposit security to the extent of Rs. 1,000 unless the Magistrate sees fit to dispense

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PRESS EMERGENCY POWERS ACT

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with it. If any printing press, already in operation, is used for printing objectionable matter, the keeper may be required by the local Government to deposit security to the extent of Rs. 3,000. The security given in respect of any press may be forfeited in whole or in part, if the press is used for the printing of some objectionable matter. The declaration already made in regard to the press becomes automatically cancelled ten days after the forfeiture, and thereafter, if the keeper makes a fresh declaration, he may be required to furnish enhanced security which may extend to 10 thousand rupees. If the printing press is again used for the printing of objectionable matter, the enhanced security, the printing press and all documents containing the objectionable matter may be forfeited by order of the local government. There are similar provisions which require security from publishers of newspapers. It is further provided that when a second order for forfeiture is passed against the publisher of a newspaper, no further declaration can be made in respect of the newspaper without the permission of the local Government. The act provided severe penalties for keeping or using a printing press and for publishing a newspaper when security has been required but not deposited.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

No democratic nation can be built on the foundation of the aforesaid Act which gives wide arbitrary powers to a ruling party to punish newspapers of different

political views. It is one of the fundamental principles of Law that no person, paper, or party should be punished without proper judicial trial. The Press Emergency Powers Act, however, negatives this principle.

There are some who defend the aforesaid Act by saying that it is conducive to democratic dictatorship, while there are others who defend it by saying that it is conducive to dictatorial democracy. It is, however, to be remembered that democracy is the antithesis of dictatorship. Democracy and dictatorship are incompatible. Democracy is conducive to peaceful relations, while dictatorship breeds war. There can be no such thing as democratic dictatorship. Nor is there such a thing as dictatorial democracy. Democracy is representative; dictatorship is repressive.

CONCLUSION

Mankind's paramount need is the preservation and expansion of human rights through the strengthening of democracy everywhere. Humanity has reached a stage of development in which the efforts and struggles of all peoples against Freedom of expression must be co-ordinated if democracy is to be assured. Democracy may vary in particulars in one country from another, but there can be no democracy without freedom of expression. It is said that India is now on the threshold of freedom. Is it not then necessary that the Press Emergency Powers Act, which denies freedom should be put an end to? The sooner it is done, the better.

WOMEN IN IRAN

By PRINCESS SAFIYEH FIROUZ

[The Asian Conference at Delhi brought delegations from various countries of Asia together on a common platform for the first time in India. It gave them an opportunity to express themselves freely and frankly on many problems affecting their respective countries through papers and memoranda presented to the Conference and through statements in the press and broadcast talks. In the following pages Princess Safiyeh Firouz gives a picture of Modern Iran with special reference to the position of women and the changes that are taking place in Iranian Society to-day. ED. I.R.]

IRAN is a country with a historical continuity and traditions, over three thousand years old, which is equalled by very few of the modern nations. It is a country which has often been invaded and conquered but never subdued as it has retained a remarkable capacity for assimilating and taming its conquerors.

Iran is well-known for her poetry, arts and culture, and has contributed more than her share to human civilization. It is a beautiful country of vast spaces, high and rugged mountains, rich and lush meadowlands as well as immense wastes and deserts. In the spring the slopes and valleys are covered with miles of scarlet poppies, which grow over the rooftops and walls of the adobe houses with iris, wild tulip and banks of larkspur and yellow and rosy hollyhocks, making a magnificent sight against the background of the gray-blue and purple and green of the mountains.

Covering an area of 623 thousand square miles and extending over six hundred to a thousand miles from north to south and from east to west, it is natural to expect a diversity of climates. Thus, the provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea have a moist and mild climate, with a moderate range of temperature between summer and winter, while on the central plateau, where most of the impor-

tant towns are situated, the temperature varies from 10 to 20 degrees of frost in winter to 90 to 100 degrees in summer. On the other hand, the strip of land bordering the Persian Gulf in the South is extremely hot and dry in summer. This explains the impression which many people have (specially those who have been stationed in these regions only) that Iran is a very hot country.

For long ages the Government was a benevolent despotism and many ancient monarchs made history as patrons of art, culture, science, etc., but following the Revolution of 1906 this absolute monarchy was replaced by the present form of Government, a constitutional or parliamentary regime composed of 136 members elected by the people. Executive power is in the hands of the Prime Minister who is appointed by the Shah (which means King in our language) in consultation with Parliament and responsible to Parliament. The Prime Minister presides over his Cabinet which consists of twelve ministers, the most recent of whom is the Minister of Labour, a post created only last year.

The language of Iran is Persian or as we call it "Farsi". This word is from the Province of Fars in the south. Persian was originally one of the Iranian dialects but later on it developed its present

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literary form and became the standard language for the whole country. The other Iranian dialects have, in the course of time, either gone out of use or are limited to very small areas, mainly amongst the nomadic tribes.

Persian is one of the Indo-European group of languages and is akin to Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. Modern Persian has a large admixture of Arabic words as well.

The religion of Islam has been adopted by the majority of Iranian for the last 14 centuries but the Iranian people as well as their rulers have always been tolerant and broadminded and there is no discrimination because of religion. The Jews, Armenians, Zoroastrians and various other sects (which number less than 100 thousand) are treated equally and the three former have also their representatives in Parliament.

We have no minority problems either as we all enjoy equal rights (with the exception of women who cannot vote or be elected to Parliament). In spite of that women have always played a large part in our history. Two thousand years ago Iran was at the peak of her glory, equalled by few nations in those days, and no nation could have risen to such heights if the women of the country did not play their own part in a befitting manner. I should like to emphasize here that the greatness of Iran in cultural and political fields in those days, and even a little before that, was, to a great extent, due to her women who enjoyed equal rights with men in those days. Fully aware of their sacred duties as mothers, they inspired in their children a passion for moral virtues. They inculcated in

them a creed of rightful thinking and rightful action, they participated in the political and military affairs of the state and in a great many instances, excelled men in these. We have the case of Goorooyeh, sister of Bahram Choobineh, a famous General of Khosroe Parviz, who was herself a warrior of no mean renown and had fought successfully against the enemy and eventually commanded the Royal Guards of 12,000 men. Khosroe Parviz had two daughters, Azarmy and Puran, who ruled successively after him and the latter during her reign concluded a treaty with Rome.

Through the centuries we have numerous instances of what women have been able to accomplish in spite of being veiled and segregated from men. The great change in women, however, only took place in the 20th century. The granting of the constitution brought a sweeping change in the mental outlook of the entire nation. There was a cry for progress and women were deeply moved by the rapid advance in all walks of life. The advent of progress gripped their minds, with the consciousness of their own rights and they made frantic endeavours to rise to the level of men in general. The intellectual class of men stood up in support of women's claims for they were convinced essentially mean the collective welfare of society.

A great chapter was opened in the history of the women's movements when in 1936 by Royal Decree of His Majesty Reza Shah the veil was abolished once and for all. This was the dawn of a new era for our women.

Today our women equal their menfolk in most aspects of national life and social equality has afforded them a wonderful opportunity to express their genius to the fullest extent. The number of girls' schools has increased and girls attend universities and even go abroad for higher studies. There are lawyers, doctors, archaeologists, University professors and pilots, to mention a few of the new careers open to women. We have, of course, always had women

editors, poets, painters, miniature workers and a great many other professions. Although the modern Iranian women have focussed all their attention on the strictly practical problems of life, yet they have not given up their inherent passion for poetry and the fine arts, and the Persian carpets, which are so famous all over the world for their designs and exquisite finish, are mainly woven by our tribal women.

KHADI VERSUS TEXTILE MILLS

By MR. A. V. KRISHNAMURTHY, M.A.

INDIA is a country of villages and more than 70 per cent. of the people live in rural parts. Therefore any plan designed to promote the prosperity of the country should start with village reconstruction as its basis. To-day the conditions in villages are deplorable. Being unable to maintain even a hand to mouth existence with the meagre agricultural income, the villager is forced to borrow money, which he is fully aware, that he will not be able to repay. The debts are accumulated by heaps and bounds. The villager struggles hard to get out of debt; but he succumbs to it, leaving behind a heavy debt to his heirs. In short the villager is born in debt, lives in debt, and at last dies in debt. How are we to extricate him from the clutches of rural indebtedness?

Through legislative measures aiming at reduction of interest and scaling down of debts the villagers may be saved from inherited debts. But if they are to be prevented from incurring further debts,

steps should be taken to provide them with lucrative subsidiary occupations.

As agriculture is a seasonal occupation, the farmers have no work for about four months in the year. If they are provided with some remunerative occupations, their financial position will improve. Among the cottage industries hand spinning is best suited to the villagers for various reasons. It is easy to pick up hand spinning. Little energy is required to carry on the occupation. Anyone, young or old, male or female, can spin for hours together without any strain. The implements that are required for hand spinning are very simple and their cost is negligible. Interruptions while carrying on the occupation will not cause any loss. Hand spinning can be resorted to whenever time permits, stopped in the middle, if a more urgent work has to be attended to; and resumed when leisure is again available.

In a practical programme of rural reconstruction Khadi can play an important part as a subsidiary occupation yielding

a supplementary income to the peasants who live a precarious existence on poor agricultural income. Promotion of hand spinning as a subsidiary occupation of the villagers should be encouraged. But a scheme like that of the Madras Khadi Programme, which in order to give an impetus to the production of Khadi, wants to put a ban on expansion of textile mills is a suicidal one. The ambition to clothe all the people with Khadi, however good ideally it may be, will remain but a dream. It is foolish to think that Khadi will displace mill cloth.

In spite of propagation of Khadi for the past twenty-five years, to-day not even ten per cent. of the people wear Khadi; and there are only a few who spin themselves the yarn required for their cloth. Among women not even one in a thousand wear Khadi. To what does this due to?

The reasons are not far to seek. Khadi is very costly, and it does not last long. It is coarse. Women who use twelve to eighteen cubits of sarees feel irksome to wear Khadi, as it is very heavy. Finer counts of Khadi are rare. Even if they are available the cost is so prohibitive that even middle class people cannot afford to purchase. Varieties are not available in Khadi. Young men and women, who are fond of beautiful designs and attractive colours, do not naturally favour Khadi.

Most of the people who wear Khadi regularly have taken to it more on account of sentimentalism than on account of economic motive. Khadi has long been associated with the struggle for freedom

and the boycott of foreign goods. Khadi is recognised as a symbol of truth and non-violence. According to Gandhiji hand spinning is the visible out-ward expression of the inner feeling for humanity.

As long as people long for cheaper cloth of finer qualities in various attractive designs and colours, mill cloth will continue to exist; and it is futile to attempt to replace it by Khadi. But this does not mean that Khadi will have no place in the Indian economy. As India is a vast country there is wide scope for the development of Khadi side by side with the mill cloth. A properly balanced development of Khadi and mill cloth is quite possible.

The annual requirement of cloth is fixed at 30 yards per head. To clothe the four hundred million Indian people 12,000 million yards of cloth is required. But the present production of cloth in India is only one-third of the requirements. Further there is unlimited scope for the export trade in cloth to the countries like Japan, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Australia, and Ceylon. Therefore, even if the production of mill cloth is expanded by ten times the existing level, there is yet considerable demand for cloth.

The prosperity of the handloom industry is closely connected with the production of mill yarn. For example, the five lakhs of hand-loom weavers in the Madras Presidency have got work only for ten days in a month. If they have to get work throughout the month the production of yarn in Madras will have to be trebled.

As the handloom weavers require yarn of finer quality and strength, hand-spun yarn, which is uneven and lack tensile strength is not suitable for hand-loom weaving.

To step over the cloth famine in India, production of mill yarn and mill cloth will have to be maximised by introducing additional shifts in the existing mills and by starting new ones. The hand-looms will have to be employed to the full capacity; and production of Khadi should be stimulated by creating a wider demand

for its consumption through the following methods:—

1. Enlarging the scope for the use of Khadder in Government departments, local bodies, and for specific purposes such as for upholstery, hospital requirements, and organised labour employed by the Government in their workshops and for army requirements.

2. By insisting in the mill cloth rations that, for every yard of millcloth purchased, half or one third of that quantity of Khadder should also be purchased.

THE SCOURGE OF THE LAND

BY MR. PRAKASH C. SAXENA

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THE problem of soil erosion has of late been assuming gigantic proportions in the economic life of the country. Vast areas of fertile land now lie barren and wasted while large floods have been caused by eroded soils flowing down the river beds in the provinces. With each day that passes the problem grows more and more intense and decisive steps and effective action must immediately be taken in order to check the menace.

The most serious spread of this menace is to be found in the United Provinces where vast areas of once fertile lands lie barren in the form of ravines cut out of tracts of the mud of the Jumna. The most seriously affected districts are those of Muttra and Etawah. A Commission that studied the problem in this province in 1937 estimated that the province has lost over eight million acres of land. The

fertility of the soil, the number of wells and the water obtainable from them are all steadily decreasing.

The waters of the Chambal and other rivers have caused even more havoc in the Central Provinces, Gwalior and the whole of central India generally. A lot of their soil has been carried away into the Bay of Bengal to be lost for ever.

Rajputana, Sind, the Deccan are all losing valuable land due to this while Bengal, Assam, Madras and Mysore State suffered from this menace till steps were taken recently to counteract it. In short the whole of India is deeply concerned about ways and means to do the same.

Soil erosion really means the loss of cultivable and fertile land. The most fertile portion of the soil is contained in the upper two inches' layer. The action of rain-water, rivers and strong winds all

tend to remove this away. Examples of wind erosion may be found in Muttra, Etawah and Campbellpur districts as well as in other parts of the country. Further, it is this upper layer which is the highest absorbent for moisture. When this is removed the soil cannot soak as much water as would be desirable and the fertility naturally suffers.

The loss of humidity in its turn causes irrigation difficulties and because there is less water soaked into the earth the number of wells is decreased and they have to be made deeper and deeper as the stock of water goes down. Examples of this may be seen in Agra, Muttra and Etawah districts. According to statistics available the number of wells in Agra district was 63,000 in 1875 and only 47,000 in 1931. In Muttra the number was 35,000 in the former year (1875) and only 21,000 in the second. In Etah the problem was still more serious for while there had been as many as 40,000 wells in 1875 there were only 10,000 left in 1931! Which means that three out of every four wells have gone dry! The remaining have had to be made deeper and deeper so as to get to the surface of the water below. In some cases the depth has been even upto 105 feet!

Then again the soil removed from one area may settle the sand on other textile land which means that this latter area is also rendered barren. Examples are Hoshiarpur in the Punjab where in the course of 80 years the area covered up in this way had increased from 75 square miles to 1,000 square miles. In Rajputana where big cities like Jaipur and Jodhpur stand in grave danger

of being completely engulfed amidst sand within the next forty or fifty years or so.

The soil carried away by rivers may in its turn do grave damage by settling down on the river beds and raising the level of the water. Vast floods were caused in Bihar and Bengal by the soil of Punjab and the United Provinces being carried down by the Ganges.

The causes of soil erosion are various. The most important is the policy of deforestation carried out by the Government till lately. Forests protect the land by providing a covering from rain-water. Grasses impede the flow of water and retain it. The roots of plants hold the moisture and soil firmly entangled. The cutting down of jungles indiscriminately for railways has been one of the first causes for deforestation. Denudation of trees for fuel and feeding of animals has been another mistake.

Cattle grazing has been freely allowed on hills and plains. In Muttra, Etawah and Agra the cattle grazed freely in eroded ravines and whatever was left after their feeding was carried away in the grooves of their hooves.

Said F. L. Brayne, one of the best friends of the Indian cultivator, 'The destiny of India lies in the hooves and teeth of cattle, sheep and goats.'

The Central Provinces, Punjab, United Provinces, Madras and Bombay contain among themselves full ninety per cent. of India's forestry. Free grazing of cattle was allowed and people cut down trees for use as timber and fuel, and the leaves and green foliage of trees for feeding cattle without any care in the long-term consequences.

The land policy of the Government, till the recent passing of Land Tenure Acts, was also largely responsible for loss of soil fertility. When a cultivator had no feeling of security of tenure he naturally tried to get as much out of the land as possible without putting anything into it. Fertilisers and manure were used as sparingly as possible and the cultivator usually tried to strip the soil bare of whatever it possessed—a policy which might be well enough for the immediate present but disastrous for the country's future.

The poverty of the cultivator, too, resulted in his being unable to enrich the land with fertilisers.

In hills and on plains where the ground is sloping care should be taken to plough the soil, not along the slope as is usually done, but across it. By this means there will be left no gullies in the soil to allow the flowing water of irrigation or rainfall to carry away any part of the soil.

Therefore in order to check the spreading of erosion a policy of afforestation should speedily be adopted on a large scale. This will also have the double

benefit of providing the farmer with a large supply of fuel. The Jumna ravine lands could easily be used for this purpose.

The technique of cultivation should also be changed. The methods of ploughing should be bettered. Conduit ploughing should be taken up. This method was followed with great success in the tea-estates of Assam.

Fields should be bunded, as in the Bijapur district of Bombay.

Already the work has been taken up by the Government in the dry farming schemes in the districts of Hagari, Sholapur, Bijapur, Raichur and Tohtak. Bombay Province has taken the lead by following these principles as well as others, such as applying farmyard manure at five cartloads per acre every year and sowing at a moderate seed rate with wider drills and stirring the surface soil by bullock-hoes worked between the hoes. Yet much more remains to be done in other parts of the country and the public everywhere especially the farmers must co-operate with the Government in order that the menace of soil erosion may be efficiently checked.

WRITING ON INDIA

BY MISS MURIEL WASI, M.A., (Oxon).

FEW subjects would seem to cry so urgently and so insistently for photographic portrayal as the sub-continent of India with its conglomeration of peoples and traditions. The drama of its social complexity and conflict should have that led us with the stuff of masterpiece, in 1931 rising there is little of the first lost over-written either by Indian or foreigner,

upon the many-sidedness of Indian life. Such work as has been produced falls broadly into two categories—fiction on the Indo-British social clash (it used to be known as the Anglo-Indian Novel, a term to be avoided for its ambiguity), and fiction on rural India aimed at its humble urban life, that portrays the strivings of its people to keep a wind

to adjust themselves to a bewildering machine-age.

In the first of these two categories, only one book has so far been written that ranks with the classics. We refer to E. M. Forster's "A Passage to India," that read and re-read some twenty years after it was written, still poses a problem that though it has changed superficially in the intervening years, is still there and still cries out for an answer. It will be remembered that neither Fielding nor Aziz found that answer, though each in accordance with his temperament and surroundings, sought to do so. The "Passage" ended upon a query, half-sad, half-whimsical, but a query so positive that writers of both races should have been inspired to pick up the threads of psychological and emotional enquiry, and to stimulate less a final answer to the Forster puzzle than sustained reflection upon it. Yet nothing has appeared that might in quality or stature be regarded as a sequel to the conflicts of Aziz, Fielding, Heaslop and Adela. Others have attempted to portray aspects of the same large question, but none with the fastidiousness or fidelity that it deserves. We have had the "Rains Came" from Bromfield, a consistently readable book with characters that grip and a situation of immense dramatic possibility. Moreover, the author showed that sympathy with his material that is the first essential in writing of this kind. Yet the "Rains Came" remained a good bad-book, just too popular and too slick for truth and high seriousness. Then, came Christine Weston's "Indigo," which approached the problem for a locally unique angle

in so far as it dealt with the French Catholic landed interest and the business side of the Indo-European conflict, aspects not specifically touched upon by Forster. There were those who proclaimed Miss Weston's novel as a second Passage and credited the author with the perception and deftness of analysis that make the Indo-Anglian masterpiece. But competent in its characterisation and skilful in its contrivings as Indigo undoubtedly was, it was still second-rate largely because it lacked the spiritual sympathy with Indian ways of thought and life that confers understanding and vision. This was even truer of Philip Woodruff's "Call the next Witness" in its way a brilliant piece of brittle writing, openly and scornfully partisan, a dignified thriller manufactured to show up what is unhappily elusive and false in Indian character.

All these books were written by Europeans (within which term we include Americans) possibly the more natural storytellers of social conflict in India between the western and the eastern outlook upon life. But we have at least one attempt on the part of an Indian to describe the clash and its impact upon the Indian labouring classes. This is Mulk Raj Anand's forceful "Two Leaves and a Bud," an enthralling study of a tea-plantation in Assam where mediaeval standards still exist among the workers, and among the ruling caste of planters a complacency more shattering than anything portrayed by Forster in his "Passage." There are obvious points of contact between Anand's novel and Forster's. In both, the intellectual caught between two worlds, feeling with one—the

alien world—and belonging by blood, caste and custom to the other, provides a focus of interest. Then, there is the English girl in "Two Leaves," not fair-minded and strangely honest as is Forster's Adela Quested, but so deeply in love with the plantation's doctor and so responsive to his sensitiveness that she comes temporarily and by accident to share his scepticism or the glory and pride of Empire. Anand tries to be "just" to the ruling caste he so obviously dislikes and despises, and in that attitude betrays both his partisanship and his inability to write the Indo-Anglian masterpiece. For this horror, and hatred and pulsating contempt for the uncivilised ruling caste will never do. An author, be he Indian or British, must contrive to rise above his condition as conqueror or conquered. To yield to the ever-present temptation to embody one's abstract loves and hatreds in enduring personality and type, however moving these may be as victims of social conflict, is degrading in an author and immediately defeats his effort at masterpiece.

Fortunately we have had more success with that other "genre" of writing on India—portraits of rural India adjusting itself to physical and economic change. There is the grand epic quality about much of this writing that partakes of its subject—the Indian village be it in the Punjab or Bengal, that remains identical with itself amidst its unceasing changes through the centuries. Character undergoes little transformation and tradition is so deeply ingrained that emotional drama must needs proceed from without, not, as in the first category of writing from within

a man. There are at least three in this kind that are deserving of study and of sequel. The best in our opinion in its inevitable grace and elegance, its epic dignity and unpretentious devotion to the ways of the humble is Humayun Kabir's "Men and Rivers." Partaking of the countryside in which Nazu Mia and Asgar Mia plough their land, kill their whales, catch their fish, find and love their women, fight their feuds and their famines, this novel is nevertheless of such wide emotional appeal, that with appropriate local adaptations, it might have been a portrait of the peasantry in any part of the world. Here as elsewhere in the eternal life of the peasant, land, the river and woman are the pivots of drama. Here as elsewhere, all conflict is resolved by natural events and the soul-stirrings of men depend directly upon the caprices of Nature. There is the same courage, the same sense of fatality, the same compactness and the same deep dividing passions that have inspired tillers of the soil the world over since the beginning of time.

The second noteworthy novel of rural Indian life is Mulk Raj Anand's "The Big Heart" that describes a day in the life of the coppersmiths of Amritsar, seeking by painful adjustment to survive in the machine age. Much of this as of Anand's other creative work is sullied by passionate propaganda, but the value of "The Big Heart" as literature does not lie in its incident or its tragic climax, moving as these clearly are, but in its atmosphere, hot, pulsating, Indian of the Indian, reeking in idiom and feeling of the dirty, dusty, poverty-stricken semi-industrial Punjab. The

native robustness of character and its overwhelming melancholy, the great wall of superstition, disease and ignorance that the hero, Hamlet-wise, is called upon to set right, the slow inevitableness of failure, and the imposing grandeur of human character in defeat—these are factors that make "The Big Heart" significant even to those who may refuse to recognise it as literature.

Finally, we have Jainendra Kumar's "The Resignation," which a recent translation by S. F. Bolt and S. H. Vatsyayana brings within the reach of the English-

speaking world,—a great work in a peculiarly Indian setting. This is something that only an Indian steeped in Indian tradition could have attempted to portray. Only an Indian, in our opinion, can truly understand and value it. It is the story of Mrinal who makes an unhappy marriage, and then passes through a series of harrowing experiences that might have broken weaker spirits, but which, in some curious way, exalts her above her fellows and purifies a spirit that we recognise immediately as mystic in the best Indian tradition of mysticism.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

BY PROF. T. I. OMMEN, M.A., B.L.

THE U. N. O. is regarded as the lineal descendant of the League of Nations which was founded in 1920 after the First World War and ceased to exist a few months ago. The U. N. O., however, is considered an improvement on the older organization, from the practical point of view, because, whereas the League depended for its sanction on the moral sense of member nations which may not always become active where their selfish interests are concerned, the U. N. O., is based on more realistic sanctions, *viz.*, on an effective army drawn from the different member nations.

ORIGIN

The U. N. O. was founded on the 26th of June, 1945, at San Francisco in the U. S. A., and as the opening sentence of its Charter points out, its principal aims are mainly to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith

in fundamental human rights, to promote social progress, to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another. The original charter consists of nineteen chapters and 111 articles. It started with a membership of 50 states from all the five continents, including U. K., U. S. A., U. S. S. R., France, China and India and subsequently there were five additions, *viz.*, Poland, Sweden, Iceland, Afghanistan and Siam. Prominent among nations not so far admitted to membership are the former Axis Powers, Germany, Italy and Japan, their satellites Bulgaria, Rumania, and others like Spain and Eire.

CONSTITUTION

The functions of the U. N. O. are carried on with a number of organisations of which the important are:—

1. The General Assembly with 51 members, which is the deliberative body of the U. N. O., with a Chairman and several Vice-Chairmen.

2. The Security Council with 11 members, (of which five *viz.* U. K., U. S. A., U. S. S. R., France and China are permanent members and six others are elected by the other 50 members), which is the executive body of the U. N., and which has powers, almost independent of the Assembly.

3. The Economic and Social Council with 18 members, in charge of some important departments.

4. The Trusteeship Council in charge of the non-self-governing territories.

5. The Court of International Justice, with 15 Judges to decide disputes among member nations.

6. The Secretariat with its obvious function and lastly

7. The military Staff Committee in order to organise the military forces of the U. N. O.

Amongst the subsidiary organs are:

(a) the U. N. R. R. A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.)

(b) The U. N. F. A. O., (The United Nations Food and Agricultural organisation.)

(c) The U. M. E. S. C. O., (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation).

(d) The I. L. O., (The International Labour Organisation).

(e) The I. H. O., (The International Health Organisation) and,

(f) the disarmament Commission.

The Atomic Energy Commission, the Human Rights Commission and other Economic and social commissions which are being set up from time to time.

HEADQUARTERS

Its interim home is now Sperry Building at Lake Success, Long Island, New York State; but its permanent home is to be constructed at Manbatten island, near East river in the New York State, for which a handsome donation of eight and a half

million dollars was recently given by the American millionaire, John Rockefeller Jr. Normally, the work of the U. N. O. is carried on by a Secretary-General (now M. Trygve Lie) helped by a large staff of assistant secretaries and other officers numbering about 2,3000 belonging to the 55 nations, whose expenses are met out of funds contributed by the member nations. The total expenditure of the U. N. O. in 1947 is estimated at 8.3 crores of Rupees of which 3.95 per cent. or a sum of about Rs. 36 lakhs is to be paid by India.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The U. N. O., during these last twenty-one months, has already added to its credit a number of achievements, in smoothing over some international disputes, solving some phases of the international food problems, organising an international Monetary Fund and creating world public opinion in favour of reduction of national armaments. A number of international disputes like the Egyptian problem, the Palestine question and others have been referred to it for disposal. Amongst the vital questions discussed at the U. N. O., with which India was concerned, was that of the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa, in which India was able to enlist the sympathy and support of the majority of the nations and get a resolution passed in her favour. The prominent Indians who have so been associated with the work of the U. N. O., and its organs are Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chairman of the Economic and Social Council, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, leader of the last Indian delegation,

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the "Unesco," Sir Maharaj Singh, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Mr. K. G. Saiyidain.

CRITICISM

The chief criticism levelled against the U. N. O., is the relatively excessive influence exercised by the Big Powers in the counsels of the U. N. O., and the provision in the Charter that any one of the Big Five may, by its power of veto, nullify in some cases the resolution of the U. N. O. Another criticism is that the Military Staff Committee has not even begun to organise the armed forces of the U. N. O., and the Atomic Energy Committee has not yet begun to function. Another possible criticism is that whereas four European languages *viz.*, English, French, Russian and Spanish are officially recognised by the U. N. O., at least for the original Charter, only one Asiatic language *viz.*, Chinese and not even one Indian language, is recognised officially. Another disquieting feature has been that even such a warm supporter like F. M. Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, felt inclined to question its decisions, when the interests of the South African Government were adversely affected thereby. But these are not irremediable defects; and given mutual good will, toleration, and understanding, they can be got over in course of time.

IMPORTANCE

From this brief survey, it will be more or less clear that the U. N. O. is really one of the most important and epoch-making institutions in the history of the world—one with which the highest and noblest aspirations of civilisation are associated, in fact the future hope of mankind, its anchor of possible safety in an uneasy tempestuous world. Whatever

the temporary differences between Russia and U. S. A., or U. K. might be, all are now thoroughly convinced that a Third World War would mean the destruction not only of civilisation, but of mankind, as we know it. It has been calculated that the total casualties of the First World War in dead, wounded and otherwise put out of action or captured were about 37 millions, those in the Second, about 59 millions; and it may reasonably be estimated that a Third World War would mean the destruction of humanity itself, or at least the better half of it.

FUTURE

Amongst the many suggestions put forward by eminent writers and thinkers in recent times, there has been one of noteworthy significance which had already to some extent attracted attention from many statesmen and philosophers in the past, *viz.*, the abolition of separate sovereignties of the world and the creation of a World State, which may be regarded, in one sense, as a logical development of the idea underlying the U. N. O. It may be argued in support of this, that if China and India comprising one-fourth and one-fifth of the human race respectively can be under single governments, it is not impossible to conceive of a united Government for a population four or five times that number. Moreover, living as we do in this atomic age, with the air forces of the world so highly developed, the old traditional, national and territorial boundaries have entirely lost their meaning as means of defence and safety. Again in recent decades, we have often come to think of many of our problems in terms of the world—world war, world peace, world commerce, world currency, world bank, world monetary fund, world food problem, world communications and so on; and if there has been a possibility of united action in so many departments of life, what prevents us from bringing all these together and co-ordinating them under one organisation?

NETAJI BOSE*

BY MR. M. S. SRINIVASAN

STUDENTS of historical documents are indebted to Sopan, Joint Editor of the 'Janmabhoomi' group of newspapers, for bringing out the valuable and massive biography of Subhas. The book runs to 558 pp. and contains incisive narratives and astonishing details about the elemental grandeur and deeds of its hero. It is divided into five parts. Part I sketches the life of Subhas before he left India incognito as 'Ziauddin'. Parts II, III and IV narrate the outbreak of World War II, the Indian Independence Movement in the Greater East Asia, his military and diplomatic moves on the chess-board of Europe and Asia and the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and of the Azad Hind Fauj and allied organisations. They are the kernel of the book, and the author has achieved an almost impossible feat in collecting materials from various and inaccessible sources and piecing them together as one whole. He claims that they contain "a considerable amount of hitherto unpublished material" and adds that he was "fortunate in being able to commandeer the services of Shree Amrithlal Seth, one Sikh Sardar who prefers to remain anonymous, four I. N. A. officers and some members of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, all of whom gave me much help in collecting and collating the material which I have produced." Part V deals with the epic of the I. N. A. trial at the Red Fort.

Subhas' early life was in main influenced by the lofty and revolutionary religious teachings of Swami Vivekananda. If he had not chosen to be a politician, he

would have been a mystic. He was a born fighter and adventurer, and the love of freedom of the motherland was so deeply implanted in his breast and was such a passionate faith with him that he found Gandhiji moderate, watchful and hesitant. As President of the Congress in 1939, he, with uncanny insight and commendable foresight, predicted the outbreak of the World War II and was for resuming the struggle for Swaraj. When the Mahatma differed from his programme and saw "no atmosphere of non-violent mass action" he broke from the Congress which culminated his violation of convention for the last few months, and he started the 'Forward Block'. In December 1940, after release from prison for the eleventh time, he escaped to Europe, or took the 'plunge' as he called it, with the purpose of seeking military aid from outside as a supplement to the struggle within India. At Dresden he formed the I. N. A. in 1942, and was with filial piety addressed by the men of his Sacred Band as 'Netaji'.

It was in East Asia, which he reached in 1943, that he won fresh laurels. The ship of the Indian Independence Movement which that doyen of revolutionaries, Rash Behari Bose, and other Indian leaders so fondly built in the previous year had floundered, owing to internal jealousy and dissensions, and the treachery of Japan. The Netaji salvaged and rebuilt it. Within a few months of his arrival, he established at Syonan (as

* NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By Sopan. Azad Bhandar, Bombay.

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Singapore was renamed) allied organisations like the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind, which was to be later transplanted in the Indian soil, the Azad Hind Fauj, the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, the Azad Hind Dal, the Children's Army and the Azad Hind Bank, Radio and Newspaper. Sopan smothers the book with documentary evidence for their genesis and growth. Subhas' speeches are themselves monuments of planned enterprise and a tribute to his original creative genius. He compressed within less than a year the work of many life-times. The tragic comedy scene in this eastern drama was his taming of the shrew of the prejudices and niggardliness of the rich. He was no stooge of Japan, as he more than once demonstrated, and he showed that the "loan" of military aid of a foreign power could be compatible with the national honour of India.

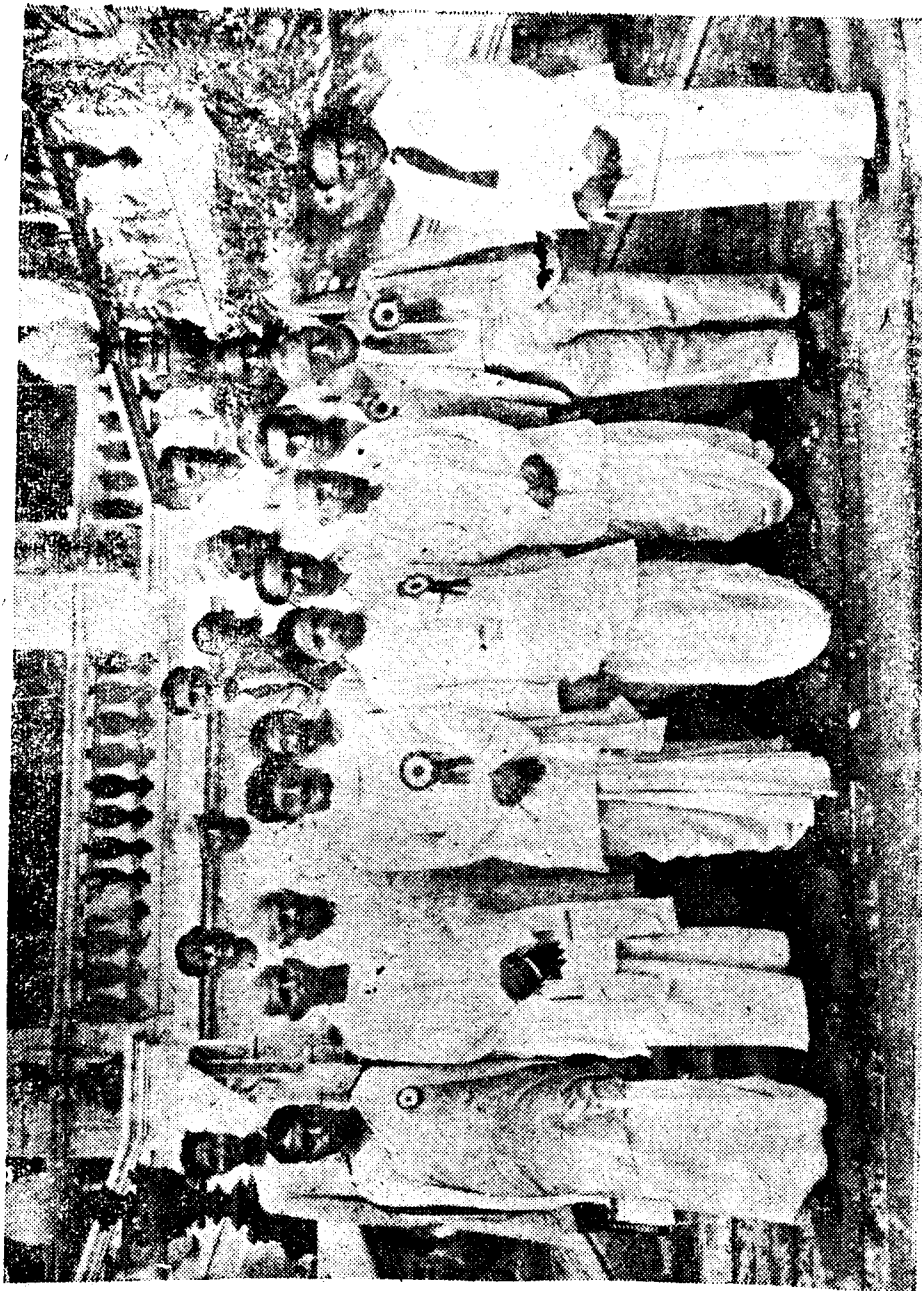
Fate conspired against Subhas' last dream. On 22nd October 1943 at 12-55 A. M. he declared war upon Britain and America. By March 1944, the I. N. A. stemmed the tide of the British army and captured Marai, Kohima and other villages, which with the Nicobar and Andaman islands and the Burma estate of Zia-wadi, handed over by Japan to the Supreme Head of the Provisional Government, formed the nucleus of a Free India. This was the end of the beginning, and the beginning of the end. Treachery in the ranks of our ill-equipped men, an unkind winter, the lukewarmness of Japan and her surrender to the Allies completed the ruin of the great warriors whose bones bleached the terrain of north-

eastern India. The knight-errants who could not 'do' courted the death in which they found eternal victory.

The twenty-six photos and martial song which enliven Sopan's book must galvanize every Indian and reveal to him the truth that the martyrs who, by precept and example, solved our communal and political problems and believed in "Unity Faith and Sacrifice" and "India—one and Indivisible" have not died in vain. Let us hope (like the author) that the Netaji is yet alive. May his last message that "the darkest hour always precedes the dawn and India shall be free—and before long", fulfil itself!

The book is more than a biography. It is a source-book for the growth and partial fulfilment of the Indian Independence Movement in Europe and in Asia, and the apocalypse of Indians who crusaded to witness the glory of a Free Motherland. The author has included in it the records of the proceedings of all conferences, speeches, letters, broadcasts, conversations, resolutions, blue-prints etc. He is not lost in the maze of documentary narratives, but is able to sustain the interest of the delineation of the character and estimate of the services of the principal hero. The style is flaccid and turbid, and varies from the journalese and conversational to simulated raciness. Nevertheless, no future historian of India's struggle against an alien rule can afford to miss quoting him. No Indian reader will fail to be inspired and purified by a study of the book and to lay it down with the words of the poet:—

And when thy sons to fetters are consign'd—
To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom,
Their country conquers with their martyrdom,
And Freedom's fame finds wings on every wind.



THE ALL-INDIA NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE, MADRAS

Left to right: Mr. S. V. Swamy (*Free Press*), Mr. Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar, (Premier of Madras), Mr. T. K. Ghosh (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*), Mr. Devadas Gandhi (President of the Conference), Mr. K. Srinivasan (*The Hindu*), Mr. A. A. Hayles (*The Mail*), and Mr. Manian Natesan (*The Indian Review*).

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

THE third preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly met at Delhi on Monday the 28th April. The first two sessions were marked by a sense of hesitancy in view of the uncertain attitude of the Muslim League and the Princes' Chamber. There was a more determined mood at this session as in view of the League's intransigence, the Assembly was trying to reconcile itself to go ahead, without the League, if necessary. There was also a growing sense of strength and hopefulness as a number of States had decided to join the Assembly. Representatives of eight States took their seats for the first time.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in his opening address, emphasised that the work of the Assembly must be completed in as short a time as possible, and a constitution got ready well in advance of the deadline for British withdrawal in June 1948, "We must formalise the constitution by the end of October," he said and added:

Whether for one undivided India or for parts of India we shall see to it that the constitution we frame gives satisfaction to all coming under its jurisdiction. No constitution will be forced on unwilling parts. The Assembly will have to draw up a constitution which takes note not only of the division of India but of some provinces.

Several speakers from the Indian States, led by Sir B. L. Mitter, pledged their full support to the task of drawing up a constitution for a free India. Sir B. L. Mitter said:

We, the States, are an integral part of India, and we shall share freedom with British India. We, therefore, want to share the responsibility of framing the constitution.

The Assembly, on the motion of Pandit Nehru recorded the report of the Negotiating Committee. Pandit Nehru made it clear that the scheme was essentially voluntary and there was absolutely no reason for apprehension on the part of the Princes "as we do not want to come in the way

of the monarchical form of Government at all."

The report of the Union Powers Committee was submitted by Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar who suggested that detailed consideration of the report should be postponed in view of the political situation.

The next day the Assembly adopted the clause abolishing untouchability in any form and imposition of any disability on that account to be an offence.

The House decided to ask the President to set up a small committee of legal experts to go further into the question of definition of citizenship.

Discussion of clauses of the report on Fundamental Rights was continued the next day. The House agreed to refer back to the Advisory Committee the clause relating to conversion from one religion to another. Another recommendation adopted was that no title shall be conferred by the Union.

While moving that the report of the order of the Business Committee be "recorded" Mr. K. M. Munshi said the House might not take into account the whole of India in the framing of the constitution, as the partition of the Punjab and Bengal will be an accomplished fact in a few weeks.

On May 1, the Assembly passed the clause relating to religious freedom without division. There was considerable discussion over the clause regarding conversion from one religion to another and it was referred to the Advisory Committee for further scrutiny.

The Assembly adjourned on May 2, after disposing of a number of clauses on the Fundamental Rights Committee's report. Before adjourning the House Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, announced that he was going to get the Constitution as it took shape, translated into the national language. This was approved by the House.

EDITORS IN CONFERENCE

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THE sixth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference met (for the second time) in Madras on April 18. The Banqueting Hall where the Conference took place presented a scene of great liveliness and animation during the period of the session which was attended by delegates and reporters representing important newspapers in the country, from far and near. Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Editor of the *Patrika* the retiring President, was there with Sir Francis Low of the *Times of India* (Bombay), Ian Stephens of the *Statesman* (Calcutta). Mr. Brelvi of the *Bombay Chronicle*, journalists from Karnataka and U. P. and C. P. besides editors of local newspapers. Mr. A. A. Hayles, Editor of the *Mail*, who welcomed the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee, referred to the many problems affecting "our profession and our duties as Editors that have emerged during the past twelve months" and spoke of the high purpose of the Conference.

This is to preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism, and to safeguard the rights of the Press in general, and in particular the freedom of publication of news and comment. The freedom was never in greater danger than at present, when the ever pressing fear of communal and sectional strife causes Governments in India, and many outside India, to seek to censor news, or to impose a blackout of certain classes of news.

And he went on to observe that the prudent and the wise

will, of course, continue to refrain from inflammatory presentation of the facts, and from provocative comment thereon. Those who refuse to exercise such self-restraint are unworthy members of the profession and unfit to be members of this Conference. For, we here recognise that with freedom goes responsibility, and act accordingly.

Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Managing Editor of the *Hindusthan Times*, who was elected to preside over the session, delivered a thoughtful and comprehensive address, touching different aspects of the Press in India and its functions. He appealed to the Press to observe restraint in the publication of news, especially in dealing with

communal rioting and pointed to the special responsibilities of the Press at a time of transition like the present when the Government is passing into the hands of our own people. Nor did he forget to put in a word for raising the standard of remuneration for the working journalist.

The Press in India is now adjusting itself to a complete transformation of scene. We have played a part in its achievement.

The Press of thirty or forty years ago contributed more to the great consummation we seem to be about to witness than the newspapers of later years. Let us pay that tribute ungrudgingly to our illustrious predecessors.

He went on to say,

I shall not disagree with the view that the Press must keep its powder dry to defend itself against encroachments on its rights, which may, in due course, develop even from the side of the Popular Government;

and added:

We are jealous of our freedom and we shall soon wish to claim a charter from the Government of independent India after it has come into being next year.

The Subjects Committee discussed the agenda for the session and adopted resolutions which were later placed before the open session and approved. Messages from Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel, the Home Member, were read. The Prime Minister and other members of the Madras Cabinet, were present at the Tea and Entertainments specially got up for the occasion.

A new Standing Committee for the year was appointed. The Conference concluded after adopting a number of resolutions. One of them was to appoint a Committee, to draft a memorandum to be submitted to the Press Laws Committee and to give oral evidence on behalf of the Conference, if called upon to do so.

The Conference welcomed the joint appeal for communal peace and harmony issued by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and called upon all newspapers in the country to work for the establishment of cordial relations between communities.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Britain's Dilemma in India

IT was the boast of Britain—and a legitimate thing to be proud of—that having found a country divided against itself the British government brought all the scattered units under one rule and worked for a united India. British administration, whatever else its other defects, imposed a common citizenship and inspired a common aim. That has been its chief glory.

But having encouraged dissension, consciously or unconsciously, Britain is now faced with a multitude of claimants—every one of them demanding sovereign, independent status. It is a queer consummation of 150 years of British effort!

What then is the remedy? You cannot hand over power to a multitude of mutually repellant units and sow the seeds of Civil War. The only straight course, as it is also the only honourable and democratic course, is to hand over charge, to the legally constituted majority party.

It will be up to them to make common cause with the minorities and inspire confidence in their intentions. So long as the minorities are led to believe that they could ultimately count on the third party's support there could possibly be no hope of agreement. The parties must be made to face realities. That is the point in Mr. Gandhi's daring, and what might even be thought, irresponsible call to Britain to withdraw irrespective of consequences. But the Government have already forged an instrument in the Constituent Assembly which has given sufficient proof of wisdom and moderation in its dealings. It is up to it to hammer out a constitution acceptable to all, if minorities are not encouraged to stand aloof.

As Mr. Fenner Brockway has truly put it:

It should be made indisputably clear that the Constituent Assembly, membership of which is open to all sections of the people, is fully empowered to decide the future form of India's Government for all the provinces (present or revised) and States whose people accept this

authority; that neither the Cabinet Mission original proposals nor the Viceroy's veto will be used to set limits to that power; and that if succeeds in drafting an agreed constitution before June, 1948, that constitution shall immediately become the basis of the new Government (Governments) of India which will be invested with full powers now held by the British Government.

That, certainly, is a fair way for peaceful transfer. Any drifting or vacillation even at this late hour will only prolong the agony of suspense and provoke endless conflicts and interminable trouble defeating the purpose of H. M. G.'s declaration.

Lord Pethick Lawrence

"It is a deep disappointment to me that I find myself unable to remain in office until the transference of power to India and Burma has been completed, said Lord Pethick Lawrence in his farewell message to the people of India and Burma on the eve of his retirement. The regret is shared widely by the people of India who have watched with keen interest and appreciation his great and lasting service to this country. Indeed, long before Labour came to power Pethick-Lawrence had fought the Indian battle, both in an out of Parliament, with a sympathy and understanding seldom displayed by those in authority. And then when opportunity came he tackled the problem with courage and intrepidity that evoked genuine response from this country. By for him, the nation's rapidly waning faith in Britain's *bonafides* could not have survived the storm and stress of recent times. At 75 he took the trouble of coming to this country to put through a scheme for the freedom of India which for all its novelty and complexity, had the double aim of satisfying Indian demands and fulfilling Britain's pledges. Who can forget the infinite patience and forbearance, the unfailing tact and courtesy with which he laboured to bring the varying parties to a common platform? The R. T. C. might not have been

a success but the aged Secretary of State did his part to perfection and pursued his policy with a steadfastness, which paved the way to Mr. Attlee's historic statement marking a dead line for Britain's withdrawal from India. Hats off to the aged champion of India's freedom. May he live to see the fulfilment of his historic mission.

The New Secretary for India

It is a great comfort that the retiring Secretary of State is handing over charge to one whose record holds out promise of competence for the great task entrusted to him. For Lord Listowel, who is to be the last holder of that office, gives further assurance of his own that he would do his bit in the spirit of his predecessor to help India assume full control of her affairs within the brief interval fixed for the complete transference of power. His message to India is brief but significant. "It is my privilege now" he says "to help bridge the short interval before complete self-government is reached."

The Late Bishop Whitehead

Twenty-five years ago there was no more venerated figure among the Europeans of Madras than the Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry Whitehead, Bishop of Madras whose death in England at the great age of 94 has been reported. The good Bishop and Mrs. Whitehead were very popular among all classes of Indians. Their keen interest in education and social work, their sympathy with and understanding of the life and problems of South Indians won them the affection and regard of leading men and women of the Province. Out of the 40 years spent in India they passed no less than 22 in South India where they made many lasting friendships not only among their own flock but among persons of other persuasions. Time has taken its toll of many of their old friends in India, but there are still some—among whom the Editor of this *Review* is one—

who still cherish the memory of the fine old Samaritan and his accomplished wife who spent so many years among us in cheerful service.

The good Bishop with the late Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, shared the distinction of having courageously and outspokenly espoused the cause of our suffering countrymen in South Africa. We recall the memorable words in which he hailed Mr. Gandhi as "the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the crucified saviour than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ."

These are memorable words coming from the lips of a great Christian divine, which made a profound impression at the time.

Assam, Sind and the Frontier

Evidently Muslim Leaguers have overdone their part in their hurry to instal League governments in the Provinces, following Mr. Attlee's statement that power may possibly be transferred to more than one authority if there is no Central Union acceptable to all. This had lured them to desperate efforts which are recoiling on their heads.

League tactics are proving all things to all Provinces, says a keen observer in *Mysindia*. In Sind "it is rehearsing after Malvolio how to play the part of a sovereign state. In the North West Frontier and the Punjab, it is experimenting with direct action and the organised support of war-retained soldiers who are said to be possessed of lethal weapons as well. In the country of the Pathans it is attempting bogus Satyagraha. While in Assam, it is employing *agents provocateurs*. The aim underlying such varied patterns is simple and single—to seize power by foul means rather than fair, and present the world with faits accomplis. But as the victims are everywhere awake there can be no walk-over or cheap success."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Britain's Surplus Budget

A Prospective surplus of £248 million for the year 1947-48 was announced by Dr. High Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he presented the Budget in the House of Commons on April 15.

The revenue and expenditure estimates, and new taxation, and relief proposals are summed up as:

Revenue	£3,429 million
Expenditure	£3,181 million
Surplus	£248 million

The revenue for 1946-47 was £3,341 million and the expenditure £3,910 million, leaving a deficit of £569 million.

Increase, by 50 per cent. on customs duty of tobacco, increasing the price of 20 cigarettes from 2 sh. 4d. to 3 sh. 4d., and pipe tobacco from 2sh. 9d per ounce to 3sh. 11d.

Stamp duties on stocks and shares, and transfers of real estate to be doubled.

10 per cent. increase in stamp duty on bonus issues passed by the Capital issues Committee.

Increase to 12½ per cent. (from 5 per cent.) of Profits Tax on distributed profits.

Earned income relief raised from one-sixth to one-fifth, with maximum increased from £150 to £250. Children's allowance from £50 to £60. This means that 10 people will be relieved of all income payments.

Excise duty on artificial silk to be repealed from May 1.

Duty of one penny per gallon on home-produced fuel and gas oils to be repealed.

The proposed tax reductions are estimated to cost £84 millions and the new taxes are expected to yield £106 million.

Gandhiji's Advice to Palestine Arabs

The Arab League's bulletin quotes Mahatma Gandhi as saying that the Arabs would maintain their great tradition of generosity by voluntarily providing a refuge for the Jews, but that they should struggle until death if the Jews tried to force their way into Palestine through Anglo-American strength.

"The Arabs are a great people with a great history and therefore if they provide refuge for the Jews without the mediation of any nation, it will be in their tradition of generosity."

India at the U. N. O. Session

India speaking through Mr. Asaf Ali appealed for Jewish participation in the United Nations Special General Assembly's consideration of the Palestine problem. Immediately the Steering Committee resumed discussion of the Agenda, the Indian Delegate, Mr. Asaf Ali, said:

Today and yesterday we have been playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Where are the people whose actual rights we have to consider? Where are the representatives of the Jewish people, who are so interested in this problem? We find neither of them here. We have received certain communications from the latter but unfortunately they seem to conflict with one another.

Racial Prejudice in S. Africa

The British Prime Minister's sister, Miss Mary Attlee, who has been a welfare worker among the coloured people in Cape Province, South Africa, for over 20 years, told a meeting of the Royal Empire Society:

I have tried to look at life in Cape Province with the ears and eyes of the coloured people. More and more I have gathered how awful it is to be a coloured person. I want to ask you to think how long will these people be loyal and patient as they are at the present time. Day by day, I am astonished by their extreme loyalty to the white people and their extraordinary patience. Their children are badly educated—coloured schools need to be trebled. Day by day the irritation of the coloured people is growing.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



S GROUPING OF INDIA COMPULSORY
By Jag Parvash. Indian Printing Works,
Karachi Road, Lahore.

In an admirably simple and forceful style Jag Parvash brings out the viewpoints of the three parties, Congress, League and the British, engaged in arriving at a settlement. How the statement of May 16 and the subsequent utterances of the Delegation disapprove of compulsory grouping of provinces is ingeniously vindicated by a side by side analysis of the statements of the Leaders of three parties. Citing relevant words and phrases of great political significance from the speeches and letters of Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Pethick Lawrence, the author makes it manifestly clear that the Delegation never want any of the provinces to be compelled to form groups but empower them to keep out, if the "sections" do not countenance it, or even if they themselves are against it. In short, the members of the Delegation have laid great emphasis on the recommendatory character of the clause pertaining to grouping of provinces which is now the crucial problem at which the Congress and the Muslim League are at maximum disagreement. "Is Grouping of Provinces Compulsory?" is so convincing and impressive that the only possible reply after a study of it is "not at all."

A FREE RADIO FOR A FREE PEOPLE. By H. D. Sethna. Published by the Public Relations Department of the House of Fazalbhoy, 16 New Queen's Rd, Bombay.

This attractively got up brochure appeals fervently for a thorough revolution of ideas regarding the ideals and functions of broadcasting in India which is at present a Government monopoly. It states lucidly how Indian broadcasting can be made to gain a fresh life and vigour.

RARE AND RECENT WRITING—Published by an Editorial Board consisting of Dr. P. V. Pathy, Marcella Hardy and Jag Mohan. Kilpauk, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

Under a fascinating paper cover, the editors have gathered together a variety fare for readers. The topics vary from agriculture and farming to child psychology and orchestral music and aboriginal tribes. Tricky verses from Challapathi Rao, Muriel Wasi, Raja Ratna and Vasoo offer a delightful variety. The volume also includes some literary skits.

Mr. A. Chakravathi, the retired professor, writes on Jainism under the caption "A Glimpse of Ancient India." That the writings are recent every one will admit but that they are rare in the sense meant by the editors is yet to be demonstrated. We look forward with interest to succeeding volumes.

THE PAINTED PATH AND OTHER STORIES. By "Henman", published by Kitabgarh, Rajkote; Price Rs. 2.

This is an admirable collection of four short stories—The Painted path, Sarasa, the Dumbgirl and the Hold up originally published in certain Journals. Guru Mahadev deserts the world on suspecting his wife's fidelity but learns that donning yellow robes does not make one an ascetic. He returns to the work a day world and realises his wife's chastity and devotion and gets reconciled to her. Sophisticated Sarasa makes love to Venu and—succeeds. The beautiful girl who was kidnapped but saved herself by pretending to be dumb, a dumb Kokila. Ariaton's hold up by three Amazons and Vimala and Trivikram of the Police Service are happily united in matrimony. The author tells the stories charmingly.

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SOCIAL REVOLUTION: By Jagadguru Sri Brahmanandagiriswami, Brahmaidya Publications. Tenali, S. India. Price Re. 1.

We get an account of the growth of the spirit of revolt against the Aryan and Brahmin priest craft from the days of the Buddha down to the present day in this book which is an English translation of the original manuscript, in Telugu. The translator, Mr. A. Gopalakrishnamurthi has done it exceedingly well. From the style and manner of the argument, one is led to conclude that the book as a whole is a compact and well written work. Part ii, which contains the author's suggestions for an international Federation with details of administration will be read with interest.

UPANISHAD VIHAR: Published by S. Visvanathan, Central Art Press, Madras.

The Upanishad Vihar has just completed the first year of its life. It has been founded by Swami Rajeswaranandji, near Kailasagiri, (Panasallu Post, Chittoor District) two miles from the Kalahasti Town. It is a picturesque retreat for spiritual Sadhana. Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan contributes a foreword and the booklet contains several inspiring extracts from the speeches and writings of the Swami. It is to be hoped that the vihar will attract many Sadhaks to visit it and benefit by its work and teachings.

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA'S PREMIER RULING PRINCE. A Rapid Sketch of the Man and his Work. By Theo. La Touche, Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

AGRARIAN REFORMS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. (The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics) Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

PRIORITIES IN PLANNING (FOOD, EDUCATION, HOUSING.) By K. T. Shah, The National Planning Committee, Vora & Co., Publishers, Bombay.

SELECTED POEMS. By P. R. Kaikini, Popular Book Depot., Bombay.

RAMAKRISHNA: THE MAN AND THE POWER. By Swami Gnaneshwarananda, Advaita Ashram, Almora.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA ON INDIA AND HER PROBLEMS. Compiled by Swami Nirvedananda, Advaita Ashram, Almora.

SALUTE THE MAHATMA. By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Gandhi Era Publications, Wood's Road, Madras 2.

MESSAGE OF THE VEDAS. By Sir Gokul Chand Narang. New Book Society, Lahore.

TRANSFORMATION OF SIKHISM FROM SPIRITUALISM TO MILITARISM. By Sir Gokul Chand Narang. Foreword by Sir Jogendra Singh, New Book Society, Lahore.

TO THE ISLES OF SPICE WITH FRANK CLUME. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

THE MAHATMA AND THE WORLD. By Krishnalal Shridharani, Thacker & Co., Bombay.

CITIZEN OR OUTCAST? INDO CEYLON PROBLEMS AND MY VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM. By H. M. Desai, with Foreword by Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Introduction by Shri M. S. Aney, Indian Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon, Colombo.

THE RIG VEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE HISTORIC INDUS. By Swami Sankarananda, Foreword by B. N. Datta. Abhedananda Academy of Culture, Calcutta.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- April 1. Gandhiji addresses Asian Conference.
- Gen. Franco announces new Constitution for Spain.
- April 2. Don Juan opposes Franco's move.
- Asian Conference concludes.
- April 3. Sardar Patel, speaking at Ahmedabad, replies to Mr. Jinnah's "Truce" offer on the basis of Pakistan.
- April 4. Mr. Henry F. Grady is appointed U. S. Ambassador to India.
- April 5. Gandhiji asks Hindus not to harbour ill will to Muslim fanatics.
- April 6. Fundamental Rights Committee presents draft report to Consambly.
- April 7. Increasing lawlessness in Noakhali. Gandhiji urges Bengal Premier to take prompt action.
- Mr. K. M. Munshi unveils Vithalbhai Patel's statue at Nadiad.
- April 8. Death of Henry Ford, the motor magnate.
- Maharajah of Patiala appeals to brother Princes to join Consambly.
- April 9. De Gaulle starts new campaign.
- April 10. Congress President meets Viceroy.
- Dr. Khan Saheb urges Pathans to keep off party politics.
- April 11. Leaguers inaugurate civil disobedience in Assam.
- April 12. Dr. Rajendra Prasad reviews food situation at Press Conference, Bombay.
- April 13. Gandhiji leaves for Patna.
- Pandit Nehru's call at the Jallianwallah Bagh day meeting at Delhi.
- April 14. At the Manufacturers' Conference at Delhi Nehru pleads for rapid industrialisation.
- April 15. Viceroy confers with Governors of Provinces.
- April 16. Dr. Dalton presents surplus Budget.
- Joint appeal by Gandhi and Jinnah for cessation of violence.
- April 17. Lord Pethick Lawrence resigns Secretaryship of India, Lord Listowel appointed in his place.
- Great explosion in Texas resulting in 3000 dead.
- April 18. All India Newspaper Editors' Conference meets in Madras, Mr. Devadas Gandhi presiding.
- April 19. State People's Conference meets at Gwalior.
- Amnesty for Frontier politicals.
- April 20. Sardar Patel addresses probationers.
- Madras Legislators accept spindles quota.
- April 21. Labour policy defined by Jagjivan Ram at 8th Labour Conference at Delhi.
- April 22. Madras Assembly votes for Linguistic provinces.
- April 23. One day hartal in Calcutta in protest against Police excesses.
- April 24. Spindles quota for Madras accepted.
- Walk out in Bengal Assembly.
- April 25. Sardar Patel's call to Princes. Maritime Committee's recommendations published.
- April 26. Cochin Maharajah opens Kerala Convention at Trichur.
- April 27. Bengal Premier opposes Partition of Bengal.
- April 28. Third session of the Constituent Assembly opens, representatives of 8 States participating.
- Viceroy in Peshawar.
- April 29. Consambly decides to abolish untouchability in any form.
- Mysore Dewan. concedes Responsible Government to the State.
- April 30. British Government's decision on compensation to Services announced in White Paper.
- Dr. Rajen Babu on Pakistan issue.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN NEW INDIA

Christianity in India is said to be the cultural invasion by the West backed by political superiority and industrial efficiency of Western civilization, writes Dr. S. D. Malaiperuman in the *Asiatic Digest*.

The heritage of the Indian Christian is a combination of the social and cultural background of India with that of Western Christianity and theology. Indian Christians are drawn from all castes, creeds and communities at various stages of development, and the cultural background is therefore hybrid. Being heterogeneous they represent India in miniature more than any other community. This is their strength as well as their weakness. They have inherited the divisions of caste, and in South India, even to-day, many Indian Christians still cling to their old caste traditions and seldom inter-marry. Add to this the schism of the Western Church imported to India with all the sectarian and denominational differences that has introduced further source of division.

Politically they have been rather conservative and in the past kept aloof from the national struggle for freedom. They were cautious and calculating and have not sacrificed much as a community for the political development of the country.

Their attitude is due to a false assumption that politics corrupt and Christians should keep away from them. This was the view held by many missionaries whose leadership the converts followed. Fear of participation in national politics, as Dr. Eddy Asirvatham (an Indian Christian leader) points out, became an obsession with some Christians, who felt that such participation might lead to a clash with the British Government in India. They were led to believe by missionaries and their subordinates that the British Empire was Christian, and considered themselves allies of a Christian Government. Christian missions and their adherents fought shy of national questions till very recently.

Foremost among the leaders of the community in the past was Kalicharan Banerjee, Registrar of Calcutta University, an honoured member of the National Congress, who narrowly missed the coveted honour of being its President. He founded

the Christ Sang and "sent the clarion call summoning the faithful to rally around nationalism which at that time symbolised all that was best in India."

The wave of nationalism that has swept over India has had a powerful influence on the educated classes of Indian Christians, and in the last two decades their outlook has changed considerably. The ferment of nationalism is acting powerfully to bring internal changes in the community. The desire for political equality, national solidarity and economic betterment has come to stay with the rising generation, and they are determined to create a new India.

The creation of electorate on the basis of religion and community, continues the writer, is one of the tragedies of Indian history and a cause of the tension between the two major communities. The best brains of the Indian Christians have always opposed a separate electorate. The late Mr. K. T. Paul and the late Dr. S. K. Datta (who were successively delegates to the Round Table Conference) urged their people to throw in their lot with the Indian nation and get rid of isolationism. This attitude has been reiterated time and again by other leaders and at the councils and conferences of Christian bodies.

This policy is gradually becoming acceptable to the community as a whole. They have set the welfare of the nation as a whole above the interests of their particular community. Alone among the various religious groups of India the Indian Christians see no justification for their separate identity as a community and the wisdom of retaining it. This, I should say, is our greatest contribution and our best stand. The community is solidly behind the national movement for a united and free India.

In the demand for independence, Indian Christians are one with the rest of their countrymen.

THE RESURGENCE OF ASIA

Commenting on the Asian Relations Conference, Swami Ranganathananda observes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* that if the rise of Japan has been a wonder to the modern world so has been its sudden collapse. The surrender of Japan to the American forces under General Macarthur in August 1945 has created a vacuum in the East; a great imperial and military power has disappeared from Asia.

"The destruction of Germany, Italy, and Japan has been not only the destruction of three powerful militant totalitarian states but also of the ideology and practice of imperialism and power politics. So far as Asia is concerned, the long-draw-out and bitterly fought-out Second World War has been more creative than destructive or rather, creatively destructive. It has destroyed man and his hard-earned wealth over vast areas of Asia; but it has also destroyed the mood of complacency and the spirit of slavery over vast stretches of Asia—a mood and a spirit which are the foundations of all political, economic and cultural imperialism. It has also liberated vast creative energies all over Asia expressing themselves in a restlessness of spirit and a dynamic passion for the political, economic and cultural regeneration of the entire East. This is the arresting phenomenon of the Eastern ferment to-day. National liberation movements in various countries of Asia received fresh access of vigour from the surrender of Japan; they are struggling furiously since then against a re-imposition of the old order. This amazing struggle of Asian subject peoples has proved the death-knell of all European

imperialisms in Asia; the war destroyed Japanese imperialism in Asia: the post-war struggle of these subject nations bids fair to completely liquidate all forms of European imperialisms as well. Europe marched and, in so marching, marched over the prostrate body of Asia for nearly three centuries. Today Asia is awake and is on the march."

Will she march against Europe as Europe marched against and over her, asks the writer, or will she march side by side with Europe and America toward the distant but dimly visible goal of human unity, harmony, and fellowship?

"NEW HYDERABAD"

"New Hyderabad" is the suggestive title of a new fortnightly issued under the editorship of Mr. Iswara Dutt, Public Relations Officer. Readers are assured that it will not be a mere bulletin, drab and cold; nor a mere newspaper with sensational headlines. We are promised a healthy mixture of chronicle and comment bearing on the larger life in the Dominions of His Exalted Highness. Mr. Dutt is a seasoned journalist and we can look forward to an entertaining screed which combines the objectivity of the bulletin with the liveliness of a newspaper.

Though issued under official auspices, and meant to give an exposition of official schemes and interpret the mind of the Government, it will also present on its canvas the wider outlook of the people and their spokesmen, and the larger currents of life and their exponents,

DANGERS OF PARTITION

The Indian case for partition is being established—as the case for partition in Ireland was sought to be established—by pogroms, observes Premier Eamon de Valera's newspaper *Irish Press* in a recent article.

It is a tragedy that the Indians have allowed themselves to be goaded into what we in Ireland were so careful to avoid. For pogroms have led to reprisals and as the vast area of rioting and violence spreads the darker becomes the future of India. In this country it will always be one of our finest memories that there was never persecution of the minority wherever the nationalists were in the majority. Despite the provocation offered by savage and incessant attacks extending over two years on the minority in Belfast, the religious minority in the 26 Counties went unharmed and indeed became the object of special concern and protection.

But the Indian pogroms are having one strange—and it may be fatal—outcome. They have caused the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Muslim provinces to demand 'Pakistan' for their own communities.

Like Bengal, the Punjab falls into two areas of division, the Muslims being concentrated in the west of the province and the Sikhs and Hindus in the east, though on the whole the Muslims greatly outnumber the others.

Having suffered the burning of their homes and the slaying of their co-religionists, the Sikhs and the Hindus now refuse to accept a Muslim Ministry and are demanding to be partitioned off. 'The object,' said the *Manchester Guardian* the other day, 'is to reduce the Muslim majority to such small dimensions that the idea of Pakistan could no longer appear workable or attractive to the most ardent Muslim.'

We would urge all sections of the Indian people, continues the *Irish Press*, not to play with fire.

The sections in this country most opposed to partition played with fire and were very badly burned. In 1921 it was a complete puzzle to many Irishmen how certain leaders of the strongest national feeling could not bring themselves to support a settlement which clearly involved acceptance or at least submission to partition.

It transpired that during the Irish negotiations in London no less a person than the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, pledged himself to the leading plenipotentiaries that only a boundary drawn in

strict accord with the wishes of the inhabitants would be allowed.

It was thus indicated that the two nationalist Counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh and the parliamentary divisions of South Down, South Armagh and Derry City would be permitted to join with the rest of Ireland.

It was therefore argued that the partitioned area would be too small to maintain a separate existence and that Ireland would be automatically reunited. But when the matter came to the test in 1925 the British Premier and his colleagues took up the exactly opposite stand and announced that they had never intended that there should be anything more than minor rectifications of the existing boundary and that in fact some extra territory might have to be added to the partitioned area.

Ireland's resistance to this base deception, says the journal, was weakened by the fact that some of her leaders had accepted a settlement.

In India likewise it may now seem clever to partition the very provinces seeking partition, but if the Irish example counts for anything it shows that it is a dangerous course to follow.

ON MEMORANDA

Notes and memos of interviews are the biographer's bullion and the historian's quarry, observes Mr. K. Rama Rao in *Free India*. Cut them out and most of your biographies are dull and lack the touch of authenticity. "While presently they lubricate the wheels of business, they preserve for the future impressions of the moments that fleet but build up history. Lytton Strachy tells us that Prince Albert, Victoria's husband, was a good writer of memos and while he successfully taught his daughter (the Queen who became ill-fated Kaiser Wilhelm's mother) to write, he did not succeed with his son, later Edward the Seventh, who as a youth spent his time in gallivanting and lived to make peace a preparation for war. Churchill, like Gladstone before him, is fond of reducing to writing whatsoever he has got to say on important occasions. Churchill records that Asquith, great orator though he was, could not dictate an office note, but always wrote one. Morley chose the India Secretaryship for writing some classic political despatches of solid wisdom."

FISHERY AS BASIC CRAFT

Fishery as a basic craft in coastal schools is suggested by Sri Manjrekar, a teacher, in the course of an article in the *Harijan*. But he expressed a doubt whether catching fish would be consistent with Gandhiji's doctrine of *ahimsa*.

Answering this point, K. K. writes in *Harijan*:

"*Ahimsa*, doubtless, does mean reverence for all life and a votary of *ahimsa* would set no limit to this spirit of reverence for and oneness with life in all its forms. But we cannot grow beyond ourselves in a trice. Mankind, as a whole, had not accepted vegetarianism as a code of conduct. Millions would have to starve if they have to eschew fish or flesh from their diet.

The doctrine of non-violence, as it is placed before the world today, seeks to eschew all violence in human relations. Anger, hatred, greed, heartless exploitation that leads ultimately to strife, bitterness and war have got to be controlled and subjugated. Mankind will have made the greatest stride in its history if we succeed in eschewing violence in relations between man and man. Once this is achieved, it is an easy step—kindness to animals and reverence for all sentient life. Let us not try to run before we can walk. The spirit of non-violence, once established, is sure to grow. It is wrong to suppose that people who eat fish or flesh are wedded to violence."

SLUMS AND PRISONS

That the welfare of all the children is a State responsibility, like education, is the view expressed by Miss Catherine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, U. S. A. Commenting on this, *Aryan Path* rightly points out that the primary responsibility, of course, rests on the home, but in connection with the child's environment the State has a duty which it evades partly at its own cost.

Recent statistics compiled in the U. S. A. and released by that country's Information Service would prove beyond a doubt, if further proof were needed, the direct ratio obtaining between bad housing conditions and juvenile delinquency as well as adult crime. On the basis of a recent survey, the American Association of Planning Officials concluded that rehabilitation of all slum areas would cost the public less in the long run than maintaining prisons for slum-bred criminal.

"It cost the public, for example, in 1945 nearly 150,000 dollars to maintain prison and reformatory inmates from the City of Milwaukee's worst ward, against just 3,523 dollars in prison and reformatory costs for offenders from the same city's best developed residential district. Thus, even on the lowest level of self-interest, the need for decent housing is made plain—a lesson which, unfortunately, India is far indeed from having learned."

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME: A Symposium, Re. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

SIR MIRZA'S APPEAL

"In Hyderabad there has been peace and amity born of common allegiance to the Nizam's person and the throne", said Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister, addressing a Mahabir Jayanti meeting, (anniversary of Mahavira, the Jain religious leader) held under the auspices of the Bharat Jain Mahamandal.

It is the desire of the Nizam to see all sections of his people treated with equal consideration and it is the aim of his Government to pursue a policy best calculated to fulfil that desire so that no individual or community may feel any grievance or suffer from a sense of inequality or wrong.

HYDERABAD DEFENCE RULES

The Hyderabad Defence Rules will be in force until a new set of rules to meet the situation in the State has been framed, it was stated on behalf of Government in the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly.

The Government reply added that although war had ended economic conditions had not returned to normal and the Government required powers to meet any situation caused by the activities of subversive elements or from the food position in the State.

Udaipur

SIR T. V. ACHARYA FOR CONSAMBLY

It was announced that Sir T. V. Acharya had resigned his Dewanship owing to differences with the Maharana on the question of participating in the Consambly.

The Maharana of Udaipur has reconsidered his attitude and has decided to join the Constituent Assembly. The Dewan, Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, has therefore, withdrawn the resignation of his office.

Mysore

MYSORE DEWAN'S ASSURANCE

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, returned to Bangalore on April 14 after about two months' absence in America, in connection with the meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, of which he is the Chairman.

Asked about the constitutional programmes for Mysore, he said he had no idea of delaying the reforms.

"I am surprised that anyone in Mysore should have thought that I was dilly-dallying with the Commission entrusted to me by H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore in connexion with the constitutional reforms in the State, or that I was playing for time. On the contrary, it is my intention to get into touch with the leaders of various political parties in the State.

"I understand that the memoranda invited from public bodies and organisations in the State have all been received. I shall lose no time in investigating this question and carrying out the duty so graciously imposed on me by His Highness."

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR MYSORE

The demand of the Mysore State Congress for the establishment of responsible Government in the State has been conceded by the Dewan Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar in the course of a statement issued on April 29 shortly after his talks with State Congress representatives. In view of this development, it is expected that the Mysore Congress, will call off the *satyagraha* in the State, scheduled to start on May 1.

Baroda**SARDAR PATEL ON BARODA'S
EXAMPLE**

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Home Member, Government of India, addressing a meeting at Baroda on April 15 appealed to the Indian Princes to follow the example of the Ruler of Baroda and join the Constituent Assembly forthwith.

Sardar Patel congratulated Baroda for the lead it had given to other States, and said it was time that the Rulers and the ruled understood their respective positions.

Sardar Patel regretted that some Indian Princes should and still be talking of direct relations with the Paramount Power and of Treaties with the Emperor.

He added that there were some Princes who were still considering the question of joining the Constituent Assembly. He appealed to them all to join hands with those who were shaping the future of India.

The Indian Princes need not be afraid of the Congress, for, it never wanted to destroy their dynasties or the rule.

Besides all Praja Mandals in the various States could not take up the administration of the States even if power was handed over to them immediately. He asked the Indian Princes and the people of the States to join hands to ameliorate the lot of the suffering masses.

The Indian Princes had a great future in a free India. They could do great service to this country as ambassadors in other countries and by joining India's Armed Forces.

Sardar Patel said he had come to Baroda at the invitation of the Dewan. He asked the Baroda Praja Mandal to co-operate with the States authorities.

Travancore**MAHARAJA'S PROCLAMATION**

The Travancore Constitution Act embodying the reformed Constitution for the State has just been promulgated by a Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja.

The preamble states that it is the intention of His Highness fully to associate duly elected representatives of the people with legislation and administration and to vest in them the requisite rights, privileges and obligations.

The Act, which is called the Travancore Constitution Act, 1122, will come into force on such date as the Government might, by notification in the Gazette, appoint. The Act contains 69 Sections and is divided into four parts dealing respectively with the Legislature, Executive, Judiciary and Supplemental Provisions.

The Act lays down that there shall be two Chambers of the Legislature, namely the Sri Chitra State Council and the Sri Mulam Assembly. The Council shall be composed of members elected on a functional and facultative basis from amongst the members of institutions, professions, trades, labour and other organisation and occupations. The Assembly shall be composed of members elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The minimum age prescribed for membership of either House is 25. The President and Deputy President of the Council and the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly shall be elected.

The life of the Legislature is fixed for four years, provided that either Chamber may be sooner dissolved by the Government or the period may be extended for a period not exceeding one year.

Cochin**COCHIN MAHARAJA'S PLEA**

The Aikya Kerala Convention was held at Trichur on Saturday the 26th April. H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin, who inaugurated the session, had a few words of advice to offer to the Rulers of Indian States on this occasion.

Answering the question whether the Indian States had any contribution to make to the polity of India, on the eve of her attaining independence, H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin declared that the present traditional system of administration—"a mixed tradition of subservience and autocracy" as he called it—must go and that the Princes must assume willingly the role of constitutional rulers. As dispassionate and impartial heads of States, they had a useful function to perform in the country's future.

Bikaner**BIKANER AND THE CONSAMBLY**

Replying to Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's statement of April 21, the Maharaja of Bikaner says that Bikaner and also the other States which have decided to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly decided to do so certainly not due to any pressure from anyone, much less the Congress. He says these States decided to join the Constituent Assembly because they considered it to be in their own best interests as well as in the greater interests of India.

"Apart from this we were prompted entirely by motives of patriotism towards our mother country to do all we could to assist her at this critical moment when far reaching decisions have to be promptly taken affecting both British India and the States."

General**STATES PEOPLES' CONFERENCE**

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who addressed the annual session of the All-India States Peoples' Conference at Gwalior on April 18, declared that any Indian State which did not come into the Constituent Assembly now would be treated as a hostile State by the country. Such a State, he added, would have to bear the consequences of being so treated.

Our aim at the moment is to liberate whatever part of India we can and we shall then deal with the question of getting independence for the rest. India's march towards freedom would brook no more obstruction.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, working President, addressing the Conference in the absence of the President-elect, Shaikh Abdullah (who is in prison in Kashmir), said the need of the hour was the forthright declaration of immediate responsible Government in the larger States, with a time-limit for the fulfilment of the declaration.

He suggested that a time-limit be set for the Princes to join the Constituent Assembly following the precedent set by the British Government in their statement of February 20, for "it is the time-limit that gets things on the move."

The plenary session of the Conference, after a three-hour debate, decided to accept the agreement arrived at between the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the Princes' Chamber Negotiating Committee, regarding the method of election of States' representatives to the Constituent Assembly. The resolution recommending to Prajamandals in various States to co-operate in the election of States' representatives was passed by an overwhelming majority.

A resolution expressing disapproval of the fact that adequate steps had not been taken so far to establish democratic Governments in Indian States was also passed.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

MR. PATHER'S PLEA FOR R.T.C.

An appeal to the Governments of India and South Africa to convene a Round Table Conference for bringing about a settlement of the Indian problem in South Africa and restore cordial relations between these two countries was made by Mr. S. A. Pather in an interview to the A.P.I. in Madras on April 21 prior to his departure for Calcutta *en route* to Durban.

Mr. Pather said: "Now that India has won her case in the U. N., she, as a victor nation, should take the initiative and approach the South African Government for holding such a conference." The present policy of 'no compromise,' he felt, was not going to be a sound one and would ultimately lead to disaster.

"We have in South Africa," Mr. Pather added, "a liberal-minded European in General Smuts and it is always essential for maintaining his goodwill. General Smuts should not be judged by his speeches before the U. N., but by his real nature and disposition."

SOUTH AFRICA TO REPORT TO U.N.A.

South Africa will report back to the General Assembly of the United Nations in September on her domestic Indian question. This was announced in London by the Union High Commissioner, Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls.

Mr. Nicholls said there was no desire in South Africa to flout the decisions of the United Nations. "On the contrary, the South African policy is based upon fullest support of the Charter which South Africans fought to secure," he added.

British Columbia

INDIANS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The following messages have been exchanged between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-President of the Interim Government and Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. Louis St. Laurent, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa: Pandit Nehru to Mr. St. Laurent; "I would like to convey to the Prime Minister of Canada, to the Premier, British Columbia and to yourself my appreciation and thanks for the action taken by the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia in passing the Bill for the enfranchisement of Indians. I hope this is a forerunner of increasingly friendly relations between Canada and India."

Mr. St. Laurent to Pandit Nehru:

"I greatly appreciate your kind telegram regarding enfranchisement of Indians in British Columbia which has resulted from action by the Legislative Assembly of that province. I join with you in the hope that friendship between India and Canada will be strengthened by this action."

Ceylon

INDIAN LABOURERS IN CEYLON

Mr. V. V. Giri, addressing the sixth annual session of the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union at Colombo, emphasised the need for Indian estate workers organising themselves on a sound basis, namely on strict trade union lines.

Congratulating the Union on its development on trade union lines, Mr. Giri asked the workers to contribute liberally and pay one rupee yearly instead of the present half rupee. This would enable them to have their own technical and propaganda staff.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD ON PAKISTAN

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, in an interview at Delhi on April 29, declared that if there was to be a division of India, then it should be as complete and thorough as possible, including the division of the Punjab and Bengal, so that there might not be left any room for contention or conflict. "If that requires division of the defence forces, that should also be brought about and the sooner the better," he said.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said: "Neither the Congress nor the Hindus nor the Sikhs ever wanted a division of India. It is the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah who have been insisting on it. By the resolution of the League passed at its Lahore session, which is still their resolution demanding the division of India into Muslim and non-Muslim zones, they have demanded that 'geographically contiguous units should be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituted units shall be autonomous and sovereign'. In terms of their own resolution, they cannot demand any areas to be included in the Muslim Zone which are not contiguous and in which Muslims are not numerically in a majority. If the areas of the Punjab and Bengal, where Muslims are not in a majority, demand a fulfilment of the League's resolution, how does it lie in the mouth of Mr. Jinnah to accuse them and abuse them? He cannot have it both ways. Either he wants division or he does not. If division is insisted on by him, he

evidently it is, then it can only be on a basis which suits both and not him alone.

"Mr. Jinnah speaks of the administrative, economic and political life of the provinces being disrupted by their division. He forgets that he is responsible for disrupting these and many more valuable ties which have been forged in the course of centuries, by seeking to divide India. If exchange of population has to take place, its magnitude will be reduced immensely if the provinces are divided, and the distance to be travelled by the exchanged population of these provinces will also be considerably cut down.

FUTURE OF ALL INDIA SERVICES

The British Government accept the obligation to see that members of the Secretary of State's Services are duly compensated for the termination of their careers consequent on the transfer of power. This announcement was made in both Houses of Parliament on 30th April.

In order to avoid the loss of experienced officers the Government of India are prepared to give to those members of the Secretary of State's Services who continue to serve under them on the same terms as to scales of pay, leave, pension rights and safeguards in matters of discipline as hitherto. The Provincial Governments are being asked to give a similar assurance to officers continuing to serve in their provinces.

A White Paper published in London and New Delhi gives the scales of compensation admissible to members of the Secretary of State's Services and also to British personnel in the fighting services.

Indian members of the Services, except in certain specified cases, will not be eligible for compensation.

Utterances of the Day

ATTLEE ON INDIA'S RIGHT TO FREEDOM

Replying to Mr. Winston Churchill's recent speech to the Primrose League, Prime Minister Clement Attlee said at St. Andrews (Scotland) that Mr. Churchill seemed to imagine that in India, Britain could go back 50 years. Mr. Attlee who was speaking at the Scottish Trade Union Council stated: "Mr. Churchill started off with a wail about scattering and squandering of the Empire. He talked about India being shamelessly cast away. This is the kind of language he has been using for years about India."

"He ignores the great movement for self-government which has been spreading throughout Asia for decades. He abandons the democratic principle for which he fought in the war. It is significant that when I announced in the House of Commons that Indians had the right to choose the future of their country, whether to stay in the British Commonwealth or go out, there was not a single speech from the Opposition and Mr. Churchill was away."

"I do not know of any responsible person of recent experience in India who believes that you can put the clock back. Nor do I believe that in the British Commonwealth or in the United States, there is any support for the obsolete imperialism that Mr. Churchill seems to support. The fact is that on this subject Mr. Churchill never thinks. He only gives way to his emotions."

(In his speech Mr. Churchill stated: "Our country is being driven into ruin and our Empire is being scattered and squandered." Mr. Churchill referred to the Crown of India as being "shamelessly cast away.")

MR. A. V. ALEXANDER'S ADVICE TO INDIAN PARTIES

Mr. A. V. Alexander, the British Minister of Defence, told guests at a luncheon in London on April 22, for the promotion of Indo-British friendship that "when the end of British rule comes in India, it is essential not only for Britain, but for India and the future of world relationships that we should have all the friendships possible continuing between us."

"I hope that in spite of the present difficulties", he added, "we are able to say truly that the great majority of the Indian people recognise that all parties in Britain have the great desire, first, for the complete freedom of India as soon as possible and, secondly, for the permanent establishment of friendship between us."

"I trust also," Mr. Alexander continued, "that the contending parties in India to-day, knowing that we here desire the friendship of them all, will be able, in setting about the planning of the new Constitution, to adopt the same friendship between themselves. I believe they will get all the help possible from the new Viceroy."

C. R.'s. ADVICE TO SOCIAL WORKERS

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Member for Industries and Supplies, Government of India, addressing the Graduates of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at their Seventh Annual Convocation at Bombay on April 26 envisaged the continuation of controls in the world as a permanent measure.

Advising the social workers to "cultivate the habit of trusting even bad people" Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "Economists talk of the price spiral and the inflation spiral. I am talking of the distrust spiral. Distrust breeds distrust and the spiral goes on. Like the Economist, I say, 'let us firmly stop this distrust spiral at some point and let us begin by trusting somebody.'"

Political

GANDHI—JINNAH DECLARATION

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah have denounced violence in a joint appeal issued on April 15 on the Viceroy's initiative.

"On His Excellency the Viceroy's initiative and at his specific request, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah signed the following declaration and authorised its publication:

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims."

"We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all the communities in India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also avoid both in speech and writing, any incitement to such acts."

NATIONALISATION OF ARMED FORCES

In the Council of State replying to the debate on the Finance Bill, the Defence Member, Sardar Baldev Singh, referred to the forthcoming transfer of power to India and said, "when power is transferred, it is our desire that every officer in the Indian Army, Air Force or Navy should be an Indian, not an outsider."

The Defence Member added that steps were being adopted to take over Defence with the transfer of power to the country. The Commander-in-Chief and his advisers were already working on a plan for this purpose.

SARDAR PATEL'S STATEMENTS

Two statements have been issued by Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel, Home Member in the Interim Government, one appealing to the Princes and their people to take their due and honourable share in the shaping of India's destiny by joining the Constituent Assembly and the other declaring that the Frontier Ministry will not submit to rowdyism and goondaism.

Paying a tribute to the statement of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, Sardar Patel appealed to the Princes to "reflect dispassionately on his judicious words and to follow his lead."

In regard to the Frontier Province which the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten and Lady Mountbatten were visiting, Sardar Patel refuted suggestions of the imminent resignation of the Ministry or that there was a fresh election round the corner.

THE BENGAL LEGISLATORS' MEMORANDUM

Eleven representatives from Bengal to the Central Legislature in a memorandum submitted to the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten ask for the constitution of a "separate autonomous province in west and north Bengal within the Indian Union".

They also request the Viceroy to instal immediately, as an interim and transitional arrangement, two regional administrations with separate Ministries under a common Governor for the two parts of the existing Province of Bengal as an immediate step to prevent more "bloodshed and chaos" in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal.

PLACE OF ENGLISH IN NEW INDIA

The third All-India English Teachers' Conference opened at Allahabad on March 10, under the presidentship of Dr. Mahmood Hasan, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

Dr. Amarnath Jha, opening the Conference, referred to the critical time in the history of the country.

He said he was of the opinion that English should now be studied for the love of it. The centre of emphasis must now shift from the study of English language to the study of English literature.

He was sure that English literature produced in India will take its place with the best in the world.

Dr. Hasan said: "The time has come when we have to consider the situation very carefully and decide what our attitude is going to be towards English in the new India. Even the most ardent believer in importance of Indian languages and the most enthusiastic supporter of a lingua franca for India other than English cannot expect or hope that English will go out of India with the departure of the British.

"A short time ago Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that English would continue to occupy a very important place in India. No one need be sorry about this."

He pointed out that for international communications, a study of English was absolutely necessary.

SHIVAJI EDUCATIONAL TRUST

The Nizam of Hyderabad has sanctioned a donation of rupees two lakhs for the Shri Shivaji Educational Society, Amraoti, which is running a college of its own.

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS TO INDIANS

Mr. Asim Kumar Datta of Bengal, and Mr. Lovraj Kumar of the U. P. were elected by the Rhodes Trustees to the first two Rhodes scholarships ever allotted to India. Two more of these scholarships are to be awarded. The scholarships tenable at Oxford, for two, or in certain circumstances, three years, are of the annual value of £400 with, subject to certain conditions, a supplementary allowance of £100 per annum.

SEPARATE UNIVERSITY FOR HINDUS

Sind Hindus are campaigning to start a university of their own as a protest against some of the clauses in the new Sind University Bill pending before the Provincial Assembly, says a Karachi report.

To this the Leaguers have retorted by bringing amendment to the effect that all colleges will have to seek compulsory affiliation with the Sind University else their degrees will not be held valid for the purposes of education, etc.

This has created a storm in Hindu educational circles.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR E. AFRICAN STUDENTS

In response to a request from African leaders addressed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Government of India have decided to award five scholarships this year to African students from East Africa for studies in India, says a press note.

The scholarships will be of the value of Rs. 200 per month and will be tenable for a period, which will ordinarily enable the selected students to acquire the necessary degrees or diplomas.

BILL TO AMEND BAR COUNCILS ACT

The Law Member, Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, introduced in the Assembly a Bill further to amend the Legal Practitioners Act, 1879 and the Indian Bar Councils Act, 1926. The Bill precludes disciplinary action against legal practitioners on the basis of an offence not involving moral turpitude and provides for the review of existing orders of dismissal, removal from practice and suspension which are found to have been based on a conviction for an offence not involving moral turpitude.

The statement of objects and reasons of the Bill says that the question of amending the Legal Practitioners Act and the Indian Bar Councils Act so as to preclude disciplinary action against a legal practitioner on the basis of a conviction for what is commonly called a political offence has been much agitated and a private Bill on the subject has been introduced in the Assembly. Government have considered the question and have reached the conclusion that the criterion for deciding whether a conviction should attach liability to disciplinary proceedings should be whether the offence for which the legal practitioner has been convicted involved moral turpitude and hence this Bill.

THE PASSING OF MADRAS JUDGES

We regret to record the death of Dewan Bahadur C. N. Kuppuswami Aiyar, retired Judge of the Madras High Court, on April 9 at Coimbatore, at the age of 60. He retired from the Madras High Court Bench early in March.

Another regrettable death is that of Mr. V. Panduranga Rao, former Madras Judge who passed away at the age of 66 at Bangalore on April 30.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY FROM EXECUTIVE

The report on the separation of the judiciary from the executive deserves to be implemented without delay, writes Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri. "The idea of carrying it further than it goes is not wise. We have taken account of the existing situation in the country in taking it no farther. After some experience of the change, modification may be thought of the Government who have found it necessary to pass stringent restriction of even civil liberties should not think of taking it farther just now. In my short note I have referred to the needs of the present disorderly times.

Among the actions of the new ministry, reversing the action of the old, which I approve, this is not one. It will be unwise to postpone it and it will be unwise to make any radical alterations in it just now."

SIKHS' APPEAL TO PRIVY COUNCIL

An appeal to the Privy Council to settle the claim of the Sikhs that "the British should hand over the Punjab to the Sikhs" since they originally got the province from them, is proposed to be filed by Sikh leaders, says the *Khalsa* of Lahore.

Recently, leaders of various Sikh parties met 'in camera' in Lahore and decided to move the Privy Council to settle their claim.

The Sikhs had been prompted to take up this course in view of His Majesty's Government's recent statement, announcing their decision to "quit by June 1948."

Legal advice is being sought in this connection.

INSURANCE AND THE CRISIS

Insurance is so closely woven in the fabric of business life that few major developments happen without involving the insurance companies, writes *Capital*. Mercifully for them, however, they have not been called upon to bear the catastrophe which overtook British industry this winter. The power cuts which brought a large part of the National life to a standstill were due immediately, to the extraordinarily long spell of severe weather. The weather often figures, of course, in insurance policies, but the cuts themselves were not an act of God but a decision of man. The resulting stoppage of machinery, therefore could not be the subject of claims. The guaranteed week has raised some problems, for there are insurances against weather presenting the workers from reaching their jobs: but in this case, too, it seems, a claim could not be upheld. This was a national calamity, and industrial companies have themselves to bear the losses due to stoppage, which are estimated to be heavy.

The main effect on underwriting is through the general contraction of business. In many branches premium income is directly related to the gross turnover of trade, and this has, of course, contracted seriously during the winter. Shipping has been held up, and many cargoes—most obviously coal—which would in normal circumstances have been moving have had to be withheld. In this connection, however, the important White Paper on the economic situation has to be noted, for it postulates a very big increase in exports in the second half of this year; which increase—if it materialises—should entail considerable activity in the marine underwriting market.

INSURANCE ASSOCIATION

The 19th annual general meeting of the Indian Life Assurance Office Association was held at the United India Buildings, Madras, on March 17. Delegates from all over India attended.

Mr. K. C. Desai delivering his presidential address said: "We expect the outlook of the (present Interim) Government and its successors hereafter to be substantially different from that of the previous Governments and the solution of the problems facing our great Institution of Insurance is sure to receive their best attention."

Continuing Mr. Desai said though Life Insurance progressed much during last war we have yet a long way to go. This backwardness can only be attributed to the lack of development in the commercial, industrial, agricultural and other spheres, the lack of education, and above all the poverty of India.

With the formation of National Government at the Centre and with the popular ministries in the Provinces and with the various schemes for post-war agricultural, industrial and economic development of the country envisaged by those Governments, I look forward to continued progress of Life Insurance. Particular attention must be given to sickness, unemployment and other types of insurance. Post-war sub-committee of the Insurance Advisory Committee in their report have indicated launching of certain schemes such as Cattle Insurance, Crop Insurance, etc., Adequate statistical investigations must be carried out to make these successful.

GOVT. OF INDIA'S TRADE POLICY

The Government of India were urged to formulate a trade policy at the annual session of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation on April 16, at Delhi.

The Conference passed a resolution criticising the Government's import and export controls policy in their present form and administration as it "hampered the growth of industries and are not conducive to the industrialisation of the country."

The Conference urged the Government to formulate a comprehensive trade policy on the following lines: firstly that import trade controls should be such as to facilitate easy acquisition of machinery, plant and raw materials needed by industry; secondly, ensure adequate supplies of raw materials to industries within the country and acquisition of those currencies which will be needed most by India for financing the import of her essential requirements; thirdly, removal or lowering import duties, over machinery, machine tools and raw materials; fourthly, provide facilities for Indian manufacturers.

THE NEW TAXATION PROPOSALS

Lord Mountbatten presided over the first meeting of the Cabinet which was called to confirm the agreement informally reached between some of the Ministers of the Government regarding modifications made in the two taxation Bills relating to business profits and capital gains. The Cabinet approved, of the agreement, as a compromise solution of the crisis that threatened the business interests. For there could be no mistaking the alarm and the

nerve fraying anxiety that expressed themselves in the temporary closure of the share market. The well reasoned minutes of dissent seem to have had the desired effect and there was no difficulty in getting the amended Bills passed through both Houses.

According to the agreement on the two taxation Bills, the Business Profits Tax will be levied at 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. for one year only after allowing abatement of six per cent. on capital and reserves minus investments. The Capital Gains Tax Bill has been accepted as amended by the Select Committee provided the whole issue is fully investigated later, and mean-while personal effects are excluded from capital gains.

FINANCES OF THE INDIAN UNION

The Union Powers Committee's report, which was signed on April 17, it is learned, conforms strictly to the provisions of the State Paper, but has made certain recommendations for the exercise of concurrent authority, subject of the consent of the units concerned. It has recommended that some items relating to trade and commerce should be voluntarily made over to the Union by the units in the interests of uniformity and co-ordination.

On the question of raising finances for Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Communications the Committee has decided to include direct taxation, but here again it had to compromise in so far as the States are concerned.

It is believed the Committee has recommended that, for a specified period, special arrangements should be entered into with the States whereby they would be granted exemption.

PANDIT NEHRU'S APPEAL TO WOMEN OF INDIA

An appeal to the women of India to "march proudly forward with the heads raised high" was made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Gwalior on April 19.

Replying to an address of welcome presented by the Central India Nationalist Women's Conference, Pandit Nehru said the traditional description of women as "Abala" (weak) would not hold good. It was degrading to be described as weak. Life had no place for the weak. The women of India should cast away their weakness and rise in full stature.

Urging the members that as mothers they were guardians of India's future generations, Pandit Nehru said India could build a body of strong, capable and noble citizens only if Indian mothers instilled these qualities on their children.

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Presiding over the Annual Day celebrations of the Savithri Vidyasala Hindu Girls' Hindu School, Trichinopoly, Mr. V. L. Ethiraj, Public Prosecutor, Madras appealed to the girls to educate themselves properly and prove that women were as efficient as men. He added that women should take greater interest in law where they had not yet proved their excellence.

Miss Lalitha Chari, Headmistress, presenting an address to Mr. Ethiraj, referred to his munificence in the cause of women's education and expressed her gratefulness for his great interest in the cause.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN FUTURE INDIA

Lady Mountbatten addressing the annual general meeting of the Delhi-Simla Y. M. C. A., said: "I and my husband have come to work with the Indian people and to transfer power into their own hands, and we see men and women competent to guide their affairs."

Lady Mountbatten referred to the good work that the Y. W. C. A. was doing to women the world over and recalled the spirit in which it looked after thousands of internees recovered from Japanese camps during the closing period of the war in South-East Asia.

Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, M.L.A. (Central) referred to the increasing role that women would have to play in the future of India and said that hitherto they had been fighting for freedom for their country. But to-day they were on the eve of its achievement. Women would have to think of their responsibilities in the new India. It was not enough if they did a little social work: while it was necessary, many more things were required to be done. "It is for us women to show that we can take up responsibilities and also carry them out."

WOMEN FOR PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The Government of Madras have ordered that women medical graduates are eligible to apply for the appointment as First Class Health Officers in the Madras Public Health Service as women are not disqualified under the existing rules.

JOURNALISTS IN CONFERENCE

"The freedom and value of the Press is closely bound up with the freedom of the working journalist and his finding an honourable place in society" said Mr. N. Raghunatha Aiyar, Assistant Editor of "The Hindu" and President of the Southern India Journalists' Federation, delivering his Presidential address to the annual Conference of the Federation which met at Government House, Madras on April 26. The President made a rapid survey of the recent developments in the country as affecting the Press in its relations with the Government and the people and set forth the conditions essential both in internal organisation and freedom from severe restrictions from outside, for the growth of a free Press in India.

Inaugurating the Conference, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Minister for Food, Government of Madras, said that more than what they wrote, the spirit the journalists put into their writings was important as it would create an impression in the minds of their readers and shape their action.

Mr. T. S. Chockalingam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said that though the problem of existence so far as the journalists of this Province were concerned, had been solved to some extent, they had not yet been able to organise a Press Club. He hoped that Dr. Rajan would enable them to solve this problem by persuading the Government to give a helping hand.

PRECENSORSHIP OF NEWS IN BENGAL

The Bengal Assembly rejected the Congress Party's adjournment motion to discuss the situation arising out of the Bengal Government's order imposing pre-censorship on all news and comments criticising the activities of the police force in Bengal.

During a two-hours debate on the motion a demand was made from the Opposition benches for the disbandment of a section of the armed police of the Calcutta police force.

MR. J. P. NARAIN

In Jai Prakash Narain, who spent the most formative years of his life in the United States, India has found her newest and most dynamic leader, the most potent ingredient in the nation's ferment, says *Magazine Digest*.

"The recent decision of India's Constitutional Assembly to demand republican status was a triumph for Narain. The voice belonged to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Congress Party leader, but observers see the influence behind the uncompromising objective as that of Narain. Nehru, it is believed, would have settled for Dominion Status.

The fact that non-Hindu elements in the Assembly—Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Anglo Indians, and even a handful of Moslems—voted unanimously with the Congress Party also reveals the extent of Narain's influence. He is the only major Indian leader who can cut across party lines.

But his rise to fame has been so meteoric that he is scarcely known outside India. Nine-tenths of his story is still buried in the secret files of British officialdom and in the records of various Indian jails."

MR. ASAF ALI IN AMERICA

Mr. Asaf Ali, the Indian Ambassador to the United States, told a reporter of the New York paper, P. M. "I have come for a serious job." He continued: "I have to bring your people and my people together. My job is to bring about mutual co-operation to see that trade develops between your country and my country. Those who have the right to be concerned about the trouble in India are people who are going to invest money. And I am prepared to answer them that their money is safe.—Yes."

MR. WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Mr. William Phillips, retired U. S. diplomat, was elected President of the India Institute—newly formed division of Asiatic Institute.

ATOMIC ENERGY TO FIGHT DISEASE

With the aim of using atomic energy as a weapon against disease a team of British scientists has started work on the biggest project yet attempted in the history of medical research, says a *Sunday Chronicle* reporter.

The scientists believe that atomic radiation, if it can be localised and pinpointed to attack malignant cells in the human tissue, will be a more efficient agent in the fight against cancer than radium and X-rays.

But their research will not be confined to the fight against cancer. They believe that by introducing artificially-produced radio-active 'tracers' in the human body they may revolutionise the whole system of diagnosis.

So far the apparatus to be used has not reached the blue-print stage but the first attempt will probably be on the lines of the tube such as is used in X-ray treatment.

Atomic energy for the experiments will be in the form of minute units of radio-active carbon, called Carbon 14.

LEPROSY CURE: MADRAS COMMITTEE

The Government of Madras have constituted an Ad Hoc Committee consisting of eight members for a period of one year in the first instance to examine and report on the present position and the further steps to be taken in the matter of the treatment and prevention of leprosy in this Province in the light of the post-war reconstruction schemes and the Bhore Committee's recommendations. So far two sittings of the Committee have been held.

DR. CHERIAN FOR MEDICAL COUNCIL

Dr. P. V. Cheria, Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras, has been nominated as a Member of the Medical Council of India with effect from March 19.

REQUIREMENTS FOR VANASPATI

A notification of the Food Department, prohibiting the manufacture, stock or sale of any vegetable oil product, which does not conform to certain requirements was republished in the *Bombay Government Gazette* of April 10.

These requirements are: (1) that the vegetable oil product shall not contain any harmful colouring, flavouring or any other matter deleterious to health. (2) It shall not have moisture exceeding 0.25 per cent. (3) The melting-point estimated by the capillary slip method shall be from 31 degrees centigrade to 37 degrees centigrade, both inclusive with tolerance of two degrees centigrade on either side. (4) The Butyro Refractometer reading at 40 degrees centigrade shall not be less than 48.0 (5) It shall not have unsaponifiable matter exceeding 1/5 per cent. (6) It shall not have free fatty acids (calculated as oleic acid) exceeding 0.25 per cent. (7) Diacetyl, if present shall not be in excess of six parts per million. (8) The product on melting shall be clear in appearance and its taste shall be free from staleness or rancidity and (9) on and after March 1, it shall contain refined or refined hydrogenated sesame (11) oil not less than 5 per cent. by weight so that when the vegetable oil product is mixed with refined groundnut oil in the proportion of 20: 30, the red colour produced by the Baudouin test shall not be lighter than 2.0 units in a 1 c. m. cell of Lovibond scale.

NUTRITION CENTRE IN INDIA

Sir S. Radhakrishnan successfully intervened at a meeting of the Executive Board of the "Unesco" in restoring to its programme a direction to "Unesco" Secretariat, to set up a Nutrition Research Centre in India.

This recommendation was originally made by the general conference at its last meeting, but the project had to be dropped on account of reduction of the budget for 1947. This has now been restored.

RESERVE BANK ACT

The Rupee has become an independent currency. It has been delinked from Sterling. This has been made possible by the amending of the Reserve Bank of India Act, sections 40 and 41, by a Bill which was passed by the Central Assembly.

The amended Sections will be replaced by new sections, designed to link the Rupee to the currencies of those countries who are members of the International Monetary Funds.

The Reserve Bank of India section 40 and 41 say:

"The Bank shall sell, to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its offices in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency, Sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not below one shilling and five pence and forty-nine sixths of a penny for a rupee; provided that no person be entitled to demand to buy an amount of Sterling less than ten thousand pounds."

"The Bank shall buy from any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon, Sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not higher than one shilling and six pence and three sixteenths of a penny for a rupee; provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to sell an amount of Sterling less than ten thousand pounds: provided further that no person shall be entitled to receive payment unless the Bank is satisfied that payment of the Sterling in London has been made."

INTRODUCTION OF NICKEL COINS

The Finance Member, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in the Central Assembly said in reply to Mr. Manu Subedar that approximately 12,300 tons of nickel—would be required to replace the existing quaternary rupee coins by nickel coins.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW RAILWAY LINES

The Standing Finance Committee for Railways met on April 15, under the chairmanship of Dr. John Matthai, Member for Transport and Railways, and approved of the following proposals:

(1) To commence the construction of a line from Barwadih to Sarnadih (40 miles) estimated to cost about Rs. 171 lakhs, as part of the C. project—Barwadih-Chirimiri (158 miles)—which, when completed, will facilitate the distribution of movement of coal from the Bihar fields to the west of India; (2) purchase of 150 heavy-goods B. G. locomotives and 33 heavy-goods M. G. locomotives from North America. (3) placing of orders for 36 spare boilers from North America, to speed up the periodical overhaul of the B. G. and M. G. locomotives already obtained from North America for war-time traffic; (4) placing of orders for 650 B. G. tank wagons and 330 M. G. tank wagons.

THE RAILWAY EARNINGS

The total approximate gross earnings of all budget lines for the year 1946-47 amount to Rs. 202.11 crores which is 17.8 crores less than the approximate gross earnings and 25.34 crores less than the actual gross earnings for the previous year. The total approximate ordinary working expenses including suspense but excluding appropriation to and from the depreciation reserve fund of budget lines upto the end of January 1947 amount to Rs. 113.91 crores which is 12.15 crores more than the corresponding period of the previous year.

OVER-HEAD RAILWAY FOR CALCUTTA

It is understood that the Calcutta Terminal Facilities Committee, appointed by the Government of India, are considering the advisability of constructing a seven-mile overhead railway line from the Nimtollah Ghat, connecting Howrah and Sealdah stations to Eden Garden with a midway station at Fairlie Place, close to the Dalhousie Square.

PT. NEHRU'S GIFT TO TARA CHAUDHRI

Miss Tara Chaudhri, the well known dancer, who was recently invited by the Reception Committee of the Asian Conference to give an exhibition of Indian classical dancing gave a demonstration of her art at the Regal Theatre, New Delhi, on the 27th March before a packed house consisting of all the foreign delegates and other distinguished visitors to the Conference. Mr. J. B. Kripalani, the Congress President, was also present on the occasion.

Tara Chaudhri, says *The Tribune*, kept the audience spell-bound with her superb artistry and exquisite dancing and won great admiration for her wonderful art from the audience.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who especially came after the Cabinet meeting, to attend Tara Chaudhri's performance was, we are told, disappointed to find that her show was over. Panditji met Tara Chaudhri in her green room and while congratulating her heartily on her great performance expressed his regret at having missed her dance. Pandit Nehru then invited Tara Chaudhri to dine with him at his residence where she gave a small display of her art for the benefit of Pandit Nehru and the Philippines delegates who were also present on the occasion. In appreciation of her dance Pandit Nehru presented Tara Chaudhri with a copy of his new book "The Discovery of India."

On the 28th morning, Tara Chaudhri flew to Madras from Delhi in response to a special invitation from the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald and his wife, Lady Nye, to give a demonstration of her dance at the Government House, Madras, on the evening of the 29th March.

PAINTINGS BY ARMY PERSONNEL

An exhibition of paintings and sculpture by members of the armed forces, organized under the auspices of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, was opened last month in New Delhi by Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief in India.

P. D. DATTA

Cambridge University Cricket selectors reckon they have a rich find in the Indian freshman, P. D. Datta, formerly of the Calcutta University, a left-hand bowler who spins and flights the ball well.

Datta made an impression during the University's first trial match by taking four wickets for 25 runs and making 81 not out. Most of Datta's runs were made behind the wicket, his timing and deflections to fine leg bringing him the majority of 12 hits to the boundary.

Datta, who played for Bengal in 1944-45 and 1955-46 will be a strong candidate for a place in the Cambridge team against Oxford at Lords in July.

NEED FOR AN ASIAN TENNIS FEDERATION

The need for the formation of an Asian Lawn Tennis Federation consisting of all the National Lawn Tennis Associations of Asia is stressed by the Yuvaraja of Pithapuram, a former President of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association, in a letter addressed by him to Pandit Nehru.

Many points concerning international tennis, he says in the letter, are being decided by the International Federation based on the likes and dislikes of two or three Western Powers and the voice of India and Asia is hardly heard. A united tennis front, he adds, will not only assert the wisdom of Asia but will also be an asset to the International Federation.

CYCLE RACING IN POONA

The Fifty Mile Open Cycle Race held in Poona on April 13 by Poona Wheelers saw A. Menezes ride past the winning post in two hours and forty-seven minutes to win the race and beat J. Abreo only by a minute. Of the seven who faced the starter only five completed the course.

The Twenty-five Mile Handicap Race went to J. Irani who with a handicap of a plus half a minute romped home in one hour eighteen minutes and fifty-eight seconds.

SCIENTIFIC MAN-POWER COMMITTEE

The Government of India have appointed a Scientific Man-power Committee to assess the nation's requirements for different grades of scientific and technical personnel during the next ten years and to recommend the steps to be taken during the next five years to meet these requirements.

The personnel of the Committee is as follows: Chairman: Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan; Members—Mr. Afzal Hussain, Dr. Homi Bhabha, Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Dr. K. A. Hamied, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Col. K. H. James, Rai Bahadur A. N. Khosla, Sir K. S. Krishnan, Mr. G. L. Mehta, Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, Dr. M. D. Qureshi, Dr. Birbal Sahni, Wing-Commander H. Singh, Dr. D. N. Wadia and Dr. S. R. Sen Gupta (Secretary).

The Committee is to report within six months.

MORE LIGHT ON THE ATOM BOMB

The Atomic Bomb Commission said recently that some half-formed children are being born among survivors of atom bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, but that evidence is not conclusive that the bomb's lethal rays produce freaks.

The Commission, composed of two civilian scientists, two army and two navy medical officers, studied the bombed populations.

It reported: Men died in greater numbers than women from atomic bomb radiations. Human sterility is definitely among the injurious after-effects to which survivors are "vulnerable." Cancer may or may not result from burns inflicted by the lash heat of the bombs.

The report quoted Professor Masao Suzuki of the Tokyo Imperial Medical University head of a special Commission on atomic bomb injuries, as saying: "We already have clear evidence that the human sexual cells are affected by the atomic bomb injuries. There is the possibility of malformation of the descendants."

MASS EDUCATION THRO' SPORT FILMS

New weapons to fight disease in Bombay and combat ignorance of a sane, hygienic life will be provided for the Health Department of the City Municipality with the intended purchase of 12 Information Films from the Government of India at a cost of Rs. 1,150, says a report from Bombay.

These brand new shorts originally filmed for the Information Films of India will deal with the various aspects of the battle against tuberculosis, alcohol, insanitary urban living, etc.

Cultural instruction for children, it was stated, will also be provided by some of the films.

BHAGAVATAR AND KRISHNAN

Messrs. M. K. Thyagaraja Bhagavathar and N. S. Krishnan, the two well-known film actors of South India, who had preferred appeals against their conviction and sentence of transportation for life on charges of conspiracy and abetment of murder of C. N. Lakshmikantham, were acquitted on April by Happell and Shaha-buddin, JJ., at the Madras High Court. Their Lordships allowed the appeal and ordered that the Appellants be set at liberty forthwith, on the ground that their conviction could not be sustained on the uncorroborated testimony of the approver, Jayanandam.

DEWAN SARDHARILAL

An active member of the Northern India Film Producer's Association Mr. Dewan Sardharilal a leading lawyer of the north, now becomes producer of Pancholi Art Pictures' next picture which is to be directed by Ishan Ghosh.

BAN ON DRINKING SCENES IN FILMS

The Government of Bombay have decided to eliminate scenes showing drinking or the use of any kind of liquor from cinematograph films as a part of their prohibition policy which came into force from April 1 this year.

ELECTRIC MOTOR INDUSTRY

The Indian Tariff Board which met in Bombay on April 14 took up the case for protection or assistance to the electric motors manufacturing industry, the case being limited to 30 H. P.

Considering the various aspects of the industry, such as the quality of the Indian motors, availability of raw materials and questions of costs and comparison with landed costs of imported motors, the Board was of the opinion that so far as cost was concerned there appeared to be no case for protection to the Indian industry.

MOTOR ROAD FROM KABUL TO TORKHAM

Preliminary survey for the construction of a road between Kabul and Torkham (Indo-Afghan border) has been started. The Afghan Government, it is learnt, wants to convert the present stony track between Kabul and the Indian border into a motor road as early as possible.

CONTROLLED CARS

The Government have fixed the maximum retail price of the controlled motor cars of the makes and types described below: Hillman Minx Saloon—Rs. 7,100; Hillman Minx Coupe—Rs. 8,345; Sunbeam Talbot Sports Tourer—Rs. 10,325; Humber Hawk Saloon—Rs. 12,590 and Humber Pullman Limousine—Rs. 25,210.

"PEOPLE'S CAR"

The Maharaja Jamasheb of Nawanagar, whose offer for the physical assets of Grantham Productions Limited—Makers of "People's Car"—has been accepted in principle, has completed his inspection of plant and stocks at Grantham, with Mr. Denis Kendall, Independent British Member of Parliament and Managing Director of the Company.

MOTOR SPIRIT PRICE

With effect from April 2, 1947, the Government of India have authorised an increase of 0.1-0 per gallon in the price of motor spirit, that is to say, from Re. 1.7-6 to Re. 1.8-6 per gallon ex-main port pump. This increase is due to a rise in replacement costs.

MAKING INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL EASY

France proposed an international travel pass when the travel conference of Government experts from 30 countries discussed ideas for simplifying world travel.

The British delegation replied that the French plan should be carefully studied to see whether it would really mean an improvement, or whether it would mean additional documents for travellers to carry.

The proposals before the conference included a unified passport system, abolition of visas, and the simplification of frontier inspections, health certificates and custom formalities.

HYDERABAD-BANGALORE AIR MAIL SERVICE

The Postmaster-General of Madras announces that arrangements have been made to convey mails by air by the Deccan Airways Hyderabad-Bangalore air service with effect from April 22, 1947. The service is operating on two days in the week i.e. on Tuesdays and Thursdays from Hyderabad (Deccan) to Bangalore and on Wednesdays and Fridays from Hyderabad (Deccan). Particulars of latest hours of posting and the hours at which air mails will be delivered may be ascertained on enquiry at the local post offices.

U. S. AIR AGREEMENT WITH INDIA

Air rights agreements involving disposal of surplus U. S. property overseas have been concluded with 15 countries, including India. As a result of the agreements, U. S. airlines will be able to fly almost all routes which they are authorised to operate.

Facilities at Fenny in the Noakhali district of Bengal and in Assam were involved in the agreements concluded.

CHEAP AIR TRAVEL

Lord Nathan, Minister of Civil Aviation, told the Colonial Civil Aviation Conference which opened in London that he wanted to see the cost of air travel so reduced that it would come within the means of the ordinary man and woman. He did not think the day of the flying boat was over and it was by no means dropped from their planning.

CLOTH SHORTAGE

"Mill owners should look ahead and made adequate arrangements to ensure the continuity of production and employment," said Seth Shantilal Mangaldas, President. Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, addressing the annual general meeting of the Association at Ahmedabad on April 5.

The acute cloth shortage that prevails in India as well as in foreign countries. Seth Shantilal said, was due to considerable maldistribution and corruption in the process of distribution. The defective scheme of distribution was also responsible for the accumulation of stock with the merchants.

"I therefore, feel that while a price control on cloth is necessary in order to prevent the prices from soaring too high, the Government would be well advised to decontrol trade in cloth," Seth Shantilal said. "It is quite possible that this might lead, for a short while, to some hoarding, but the Government could take effective measures against hoarding, and ultimately, it is bound to solve this difficult problem."

ACCEPTANCE OF SPINDLES QUOTA

The Government of Madras have decided not to surrender the spindles allotted to Madras under the post-war Spinning Mills Expansion Scheme.

The decision was taken by the Madras Cabinet at its meeting on April 21 presided over by H. E. the Governor and was in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Congress Legislature Party the previous day.

The Government, it is understood, have also decided not to interfere with the spindles allotment for replacements in the existing Spinning Mills in the Province.

COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

The Government of India have decided to continue the existing constitution for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, in view of the unanimous opinion of the members representing industry and science on that body.

BENGAL ZAMIN SYSTEM

The Bengal Estate Acquisition and Tenancy Bill which seeks to substitute the Raiyatwari system for the Zamindari system of land tenure in Bengal, has been published. The Bill is a Government measure. It seeks to bring the actual cultivator into direct relation with the Government by acquiring the interests of all classes of rent receivers as well as all similar interests on payment of compensation on the basis of net profit. It also proposes that all surplus cultivable lands held by proprietors, tenure holders and raiyats in excess of certain prescribed standard lands should be acquired with a view to their distribution among petty cultivators and landless labourers to provide them with economic holdings.

There will be only one class of tenant under the Bill, namely, raiyats, with full rights of occupancy.

CENTRAL COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE

The Central Government have leased the Anand Parbat Estate near Karol Bagh to locate a Central College of Agriculture in Delhi with a view to providing facilities for training in scientific agriculture upto the B. Sc. Degree standard to students from Indian States, Centrally Administered Areas and those provinces which do not have agricultural colleges. The Central College will open in July 1947 and will be affiliated to the Delhi University.

AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

It is understood that the Agricultural Income-tax Bill will not be introduced during the ensuing session of the Madras Legislative Assembly, as the idea is to make it part and parcel of a general land reform legislation.

The principle and incidence of such taxation will be conditioned by the nature of the reform that may be finally approved by the Legislature Congress Party. But larger idea of levying a land-tax based upon income will not be lost sight of under any circumstances.

MEASURE TO PROTECT DOCK LABOUR

The Convention adopted by the International Labour Organisation for the protection of workers loading and unloading ships against accidents has been ratified by the Government of India and the Indian Dock Labourers Act will in consequence come into force on February 10, 1948. Draft regulations proposed for implementing the latter have already been circulated.

The Convention, thirty-second among the I. L. O. Conventions, was adopted first in 1929 and revised in 1932. In 1934 the Indian Central Legislature enacted the Indian Dock Labourers Act strictly on lines suggested by the Convention, ratification of which by India being dependent on such an Act being brought into actual force. Actual enforcement of the Act was however held up due to certain constitutional changes in 1935 and later, owing to the intervention of the war.

The measure now about to be enforced is to cover only dock labour engaged in loading and unloading ships. This limitation is due to the strict requirements of the I. L. O. Convention, but enlarged powers for the protection of dock labour such as powers for preventing accidents, enforcing minimum welfare measures etc., will be secured under the new Factories Act, to be introduced in the next session of the Legislative Assembly, which includes dock labour within its purview.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE ORGANISATION

The utility of the Central Government's Employment Exchange Organisation was recognised by the Provincial and States Labour Ministers who recently met in Conference in New Delhi. Consensus of opinion in the Conference was in favour of making it a permanent Organisation subject to such modifications as might be required to suit provincial and peace-time requirements.

The Conference supported the proposal to set up a Central Institute for training 200 Instructors.

General

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WORLD POSTAL CONGRESS

A World Postal Congress has been convened by the International Postal Union and will be held in Paris on May 6, 1947, says a Press Note. The Congress will revise the convention of the International Postal Union and enter into relationship with the U.N. The Congress will also consider several important proposals calculated to affect improvement in the international postal and air mail services. This Congress of which India is a member, usually meets every five years.

MR. GRADY, U. S. AMBASSADOR FOR INDIA

Mr. Henry F. Grady, American Ambassador to India, recently said: 'I am proud that the President has selected me as the first American Ambassador to India.' He added, 'In this year when India will be working out and perfecting the mechanism on which her political autonomy will be based, she will have the full sympathy and moral support of the American people.' 'The President has keen interest in India's national aspirations and a deep faith in her ability to build a great future.'

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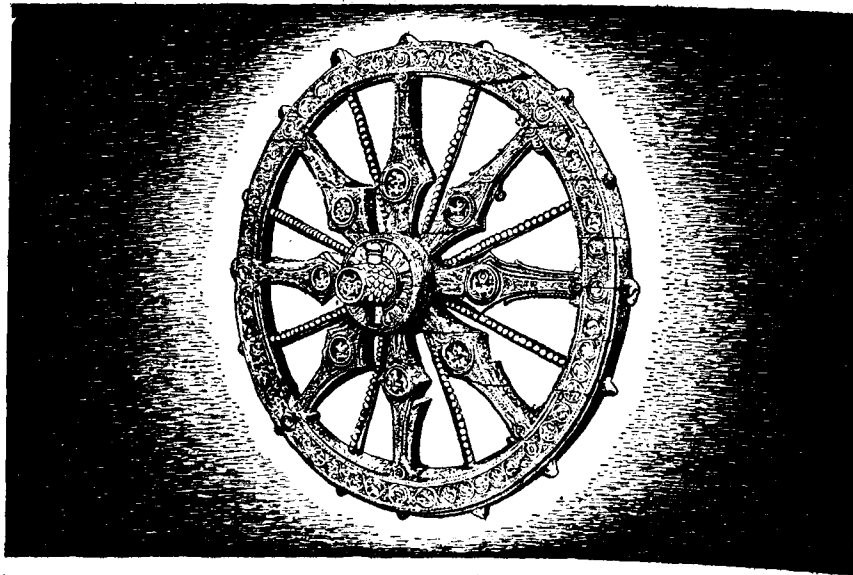
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Check runaway prices
DON'T SPEND NEEDLESSLY

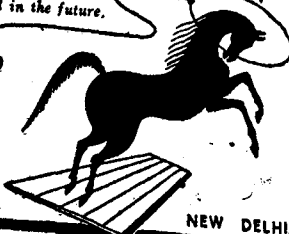
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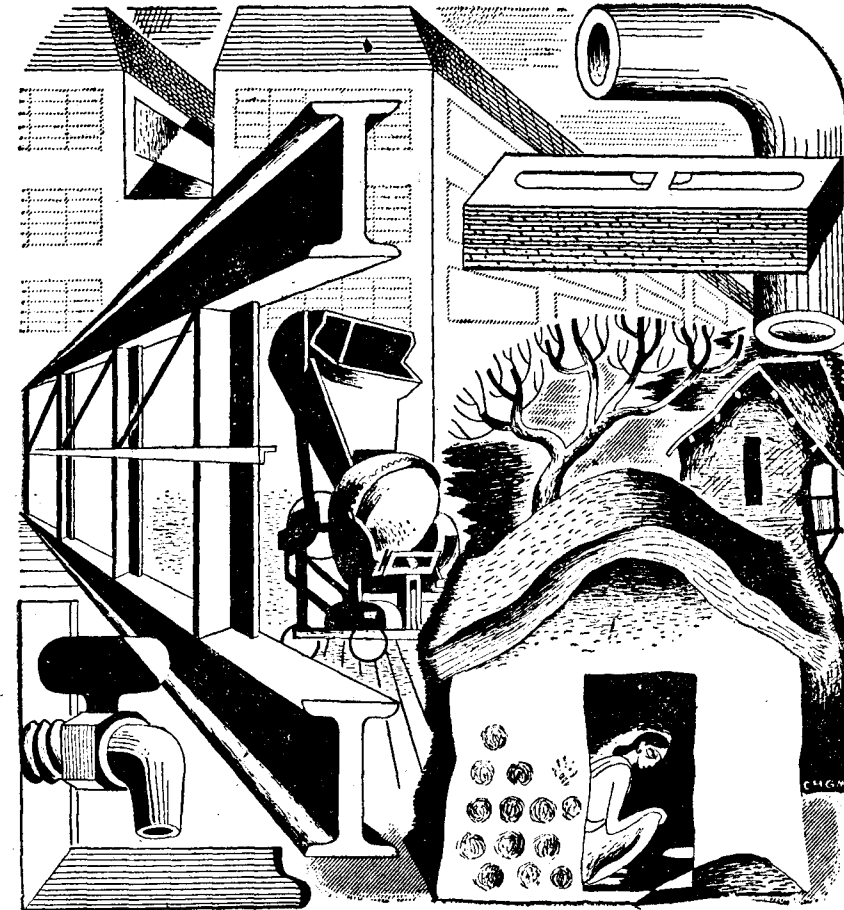
Similarly it is upto us to make of our surplus money a good friend instead of a deadly foe. Spent recklessly or invested unwisely it increases prices still more and causes untold suffering and hardship. Money saved, on the other hand, remains a valuable asset—wisely invested it can help build India and this will mean prosperity for you and for the nation.

Goods continue to be in short supply and prices are high. Buy only what you must and help bring prices down. Invest your money wisely in Insurance, Co-operative Societies, Savings Bank Accounts, Post Office Savings Bank Accounts, National Savings Certificates and Government Loans.

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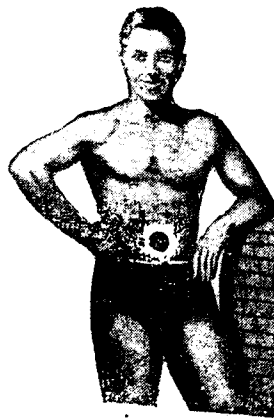
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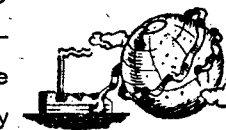
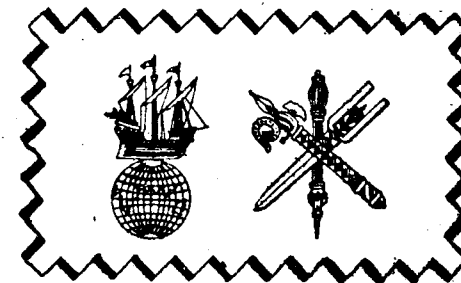
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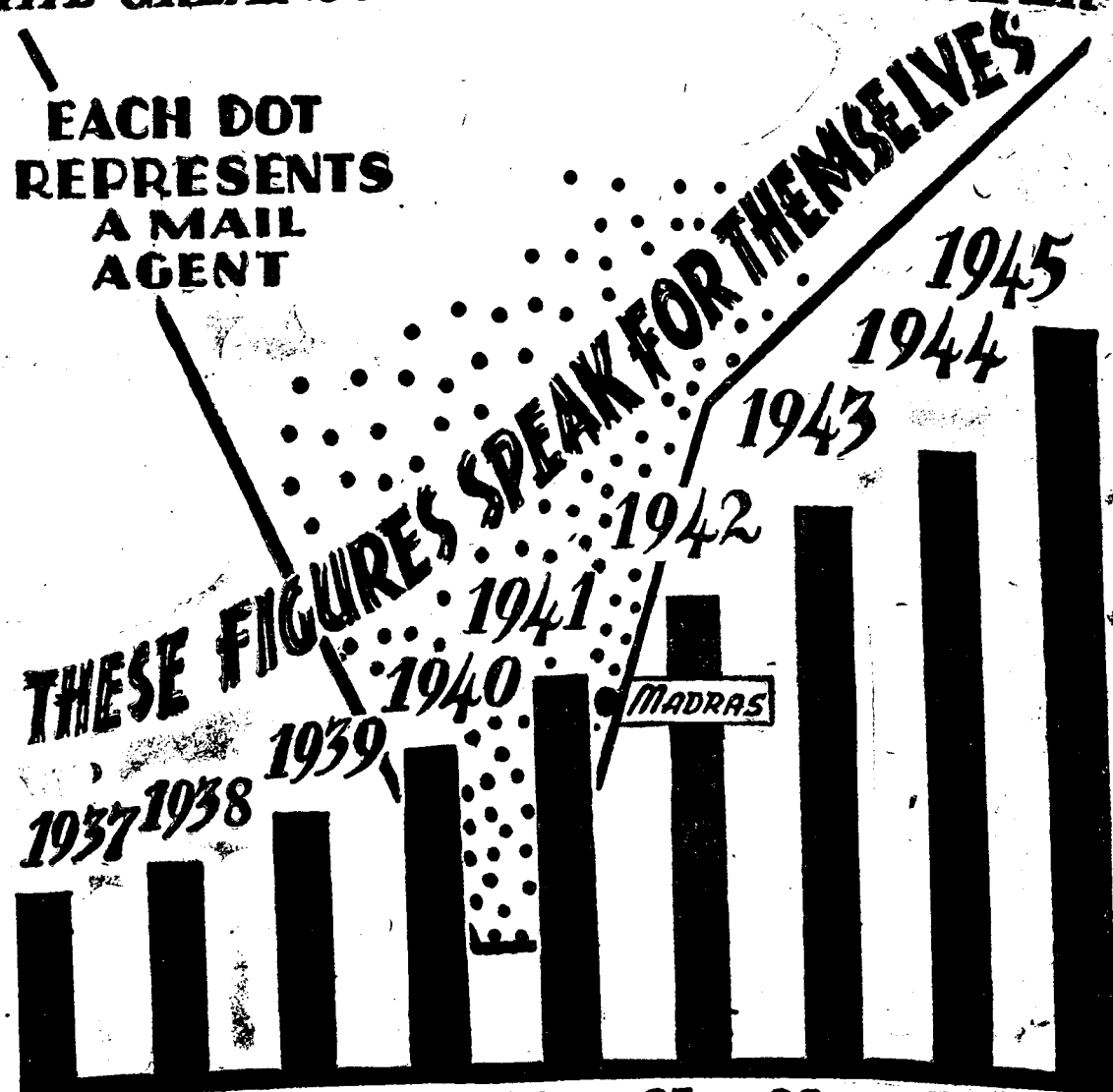
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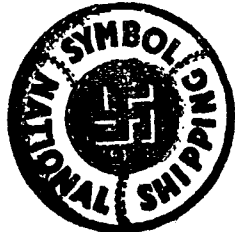


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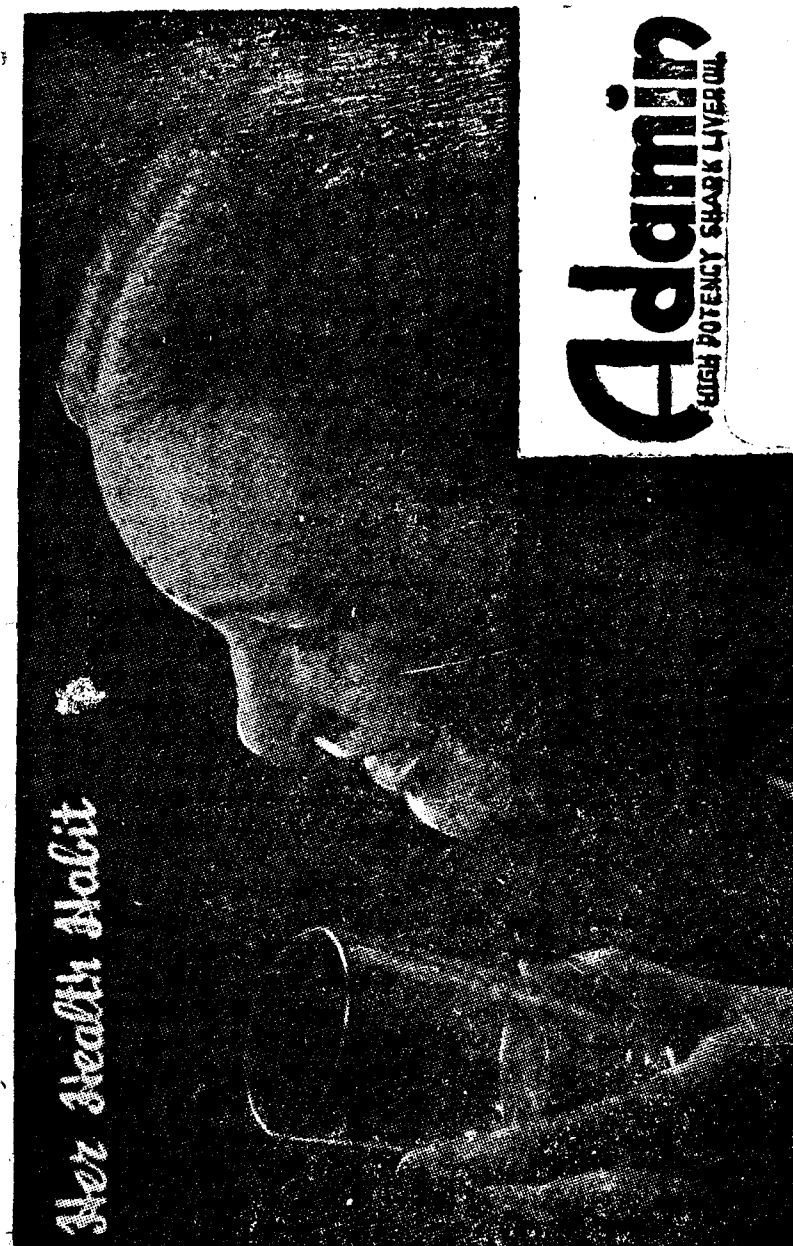
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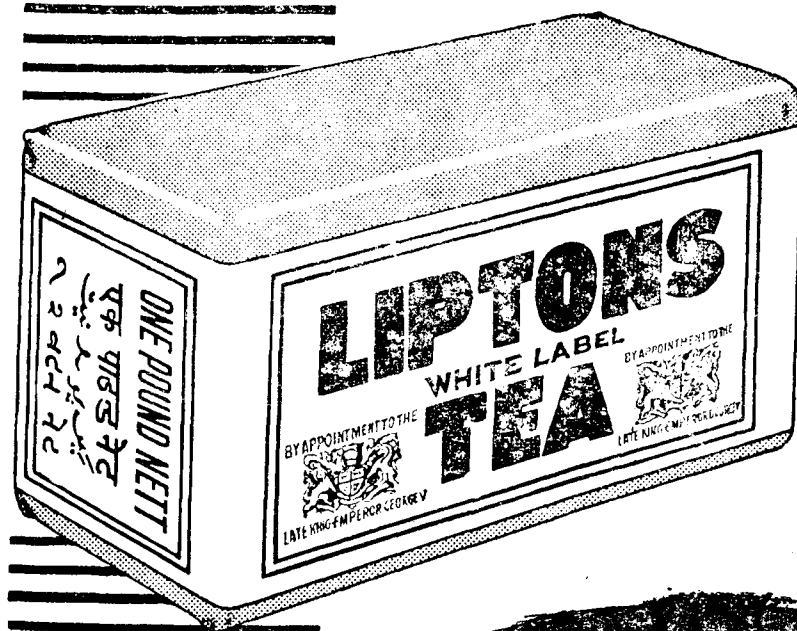
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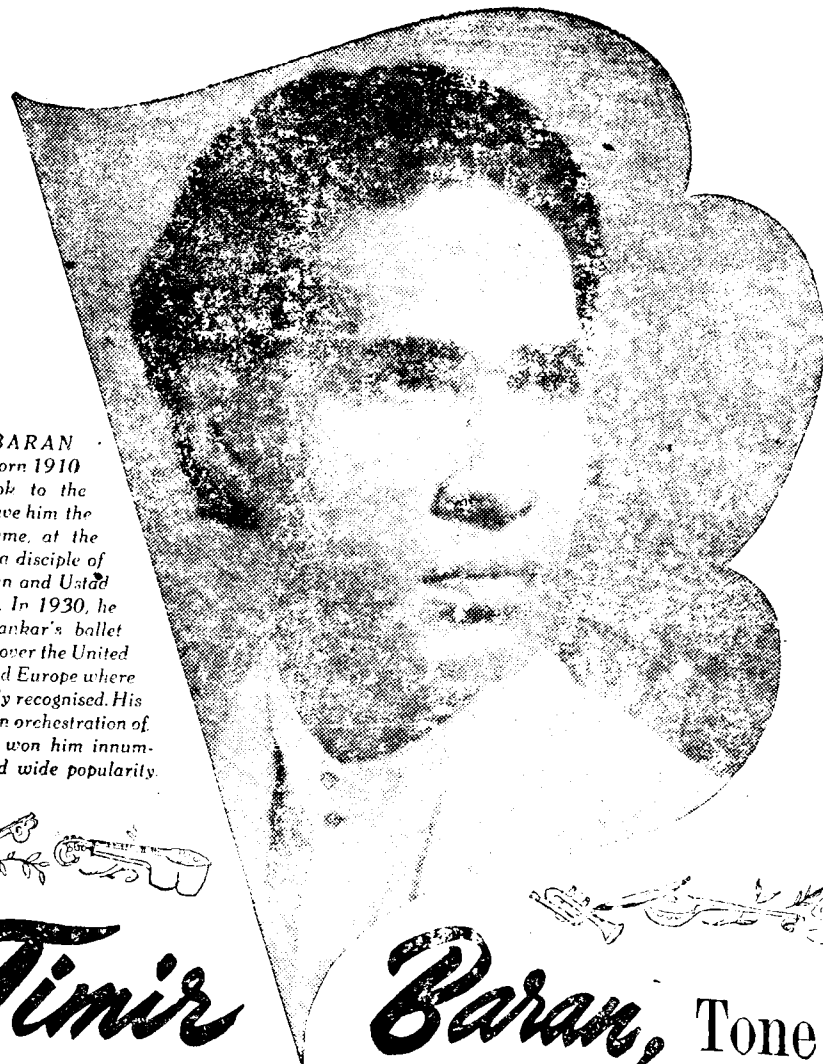
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★ **TIMIR BARAN** Bhattacharya, born 1910 in Calcutta, took to the 'Sarod' which gave him the first taste of fame, at the age of 18. He is a disciple of Ustad Amir Khan and Ustad Allauddin Khan. In 1930, he joined Uday Shankar's ballet and travelled all over the United States, Britain and Europe where his talent was fully recognised. His pioneering work in orchestration of Indian music has won him innumerable laurels and wide popularity.

Timir

Baran, Tone Poet.

TIMIR BARAN, the renowned musician who has introduced counterpoint into Indian music and has revolutionized the Indian orchestra, says :

'In the creative contemplation of music, I greatly value the

aid of tea. It often stirs a note and a rhythm in my fantasy which, lipping on the instruments, culminate in a grand orchestral harmony.'

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TECHNOLOGICAL EDUCATION

BY SIR JNAN CHANDRA GHOSH, Kt., D.Sc., F.N.I.

THERE is no better solvent for mental inertia, which keeps people in a rut, than a well-organised system of scientific and technical education. Science is something more than the mere discovery of facts and of principles correlating them. It is a method, a confidence, a faith. It is a method of controlled observations and experiments recorded with absolute honesty. It is a confidence that truth can be discovered. It is a faith that truth is worth discovering. Confronted by a problem, what does a man of science do? He begins by sorting out the pertinent facts; he discards the irrelevant critically. With infinite patience, he describes the known facts, classifies them, and if possible, discovers correlation in the process. He then constructs a guiding hypothesis, testing its accuracy by designing new experiments, always ready to discard or modify such hypothesis in the light of new facts. It is the essence of the whole process that he should suspend judgment when facts are being gathered, continually re-examine his views and always maintain dispassionate intellectual honesty. Surely such a mental discipline, which always enjoins dispassionate honesty has some meaning in the confused mass which are facing us in India to-day.

They say that truth is the first casualty in a war. It has been proved to be so in this communal struggle. Science teaches that it is a crime to declare a moratorium on intellectual honesty even in times of great upheaval. Its method teaches patience; it stands for detachment and suspended judgment. In a world swayed by emotions and passions, it shows us what weighing of evidence means. It should be a guarantee against wholesale misleading by false propaganda. The contribution which this aspect of science can make to solution of human problems is too often overlooked. The tragedy of India to-day is that men of power have not developed that dispassionate objective outlook which is the inseparable attribute of the scientifically trained mind.

If scientific education is needed to bring us out of the net of religious fanaticism which is being woven round us even to-day, it is still more necessary to remove the economic ills from which the common man in India is suffering so terribly. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru pleaded the other day in London for co-operation from us for the big tasks ahead, which involve not only the achievement of independence but also those economic changes which

would raise the standard of living of the masses. The resources upon which we depend for our schemes of economic and social betterment will have to be developed with the maximum vision, intelligence and enterprise. Hence fully trained technical men hold the key position in all schemes of resource development. The Russian planners understood that lack of technicians would be a bottle neck which would impede their progress, and planned the training of technical personnel on a gigantic scale. I shall give one instance with which I am personally familiar. In the early twenties, Prof. Joffe started the Physico-Technical Institute in Leningrad with only three members of staff. He was asked by Lenin to collect promising students from all parts of Russia who would be fed and trained at the expense of the state. There was no limitation of funds; but the Institute must expand its activities at a geometrical rate of progression. By 1928, the Institute had grown to immense size with 2,000 teachers, students and workers. It is the men and women from such institutes that have chiefly been the brains and executives of the successive five year plans which were put in operation in 1928. I had occasion to visit the scientific and technical institutions of Great Britain last summer; and I was impressed by the strenuous attempts that were being made there to develop technological manpower and resources to the limit of capacity. The United Kingdom has at its disposal to-day a force of 55,000 qualified scientists and technologists. It is estimated that the demand for these men will increase to 80,000 by 1955. Hence the Universities

and technical colleges were being pressed by Government to undertake at Government expense an expansion of the order of 80 per cent. within the first post war decade. We found that the professors there were busy in planning extensions of their laboratories to be fitted with the most up-to-date equipment and apparatus. They were not worried about funds—the Labour Government would see to that—but they were rather worried about competent young collaborators coming forward in sufficient numbers to help them in their work.

In countries which have come out of this war with their political system fairly intact, it is universally felt that no expenditure of public funds can be too high, which aims at training men of science and technology in sufficient number for successful execution of the post war plans of reconstruction.

Students of to-day flock in large numbers to technological institutions and they are often the cream of the youth of the land. It was not so in our student days. For centuries, education meant only the acquisition of the mental outlook of the scholar. It did not include the capacity to make a living. Technical science has languished in India because of clever man's contempt for manual work. In the western countries dignity of work became an article of faith in the nineteenth century, when upper classes had to engage in manual work as a necessary basis of technical and scientific knowledge. Early in the twentieth century when education became universal, skill in work became an integral part of educational aims and purposes. Training took a high place by the side of learning.

practical and social purposes of education were considered as important as the ideal and individual. The student of to-day should be the worker, even more than the citizen of tomorrow. And in a well-planned economic system, his place in office or factory must be ready there for him, earmarked well in advance of the completion of his studies. One would wish, our political leaders, who always quarrel about loaves and fishes of office, understood this fundamental implication of planned development. If we push through such development with the greatest determination, if we all put our shoulders to the wheel, we shall find that in the initial stages of our progress, there will be more jobs than competent men to take up such jobs. The question of reserving a job for a Muslim or a non-Muslim will not arise; the cry will be, how to get the men for the jobs. But the danger is that this fair Province of Bengal may become an Insanity Fair due to the unrestricted play of communal passions and prejudices, and then,—goodbye to all schemes of resource development. I am always an optimist and I do believe that the people of Bengal have enough intelligence and commonsense to avert that calamity. But the possibility of such a danger points to a moral—that our educational system must, above every thing else, provide for training in citizenship, must inculcate in the minds of young folk what constitutes civilization as against savagery.

I cannot too strongly recommend for inclusion in the curriculum of College courses those branches of humanism which will make the technologist a

better citizen and a better administrator. We hope that under the dynamic leadership of a National Government, human nature in India itself would enter upon a new phase of development. The pathetic placid contentment of a helpless and ignorant people resigned to the vagaries of Fate will be replaced by a vigorous and willing co-operative effort which will make for human betterment and increase in human happiness. The technician in India will have to realise that his mechanical efficiency will be of little avail in developing a satisfying life for the worker, if the industrial world which employs his skill is governed with little wisdom. He should be imbued from early years with principles of social justice, so that the happiness of men working with him becomes as weighty a consideration as the efficiency of the organisation which he is handling. He should remember that willing work in a congenial atmosphere elevates the status of man; and that unwilling work extracted from a man tied to a machine is a form of slave driving. His education should open a window in his mind through which he can see visions of what science allied to morality can do for the human race.

Whatever plans are made, and however admirable they look on paper, success will depend on the willing co-operation and team work of staff and students. It is well known that the salaries of the staff are not sufficient in these days to meet the bare needs of the plainest living. They have often no option left but to squander their precious hours of leisure, which meant far self-improvement in various

killing pursuits, just to eke out a supplementary income. Their case should receive the first consideration of the authorities when financial condition improves. But whatever happens, the teaching profession will not be able to offer to its votaries the emoluments which are within the easy grasp of less talented men in other walks of life. Here the contemplation that they are primarily the agency that are training the youth of the land to a clearer perception of their duties and obligations will give them solace. Their reward will be the gratitude

of the next generation who have imbibed more from their unselfish and dignified lives than they dared to give. They will be comforted by the thought that the young men they have trained up have developed the ability and courage to live a fuller life. This is vicarious pleasure, but in the history of human endeavour, this source of joy has been the strength behind all movements for the uplift of humanity; and our land has been blessed with this kind of idealism perhaps more than any other country.

The Prospects Before the Indian States

BY MR. A. K. JANA

THE Resolution of objectives of Pandit Nehru reads: "all power and authority of the sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of Government are derived from the people." This sentence besides being applicable to the British Indian provinces was applicable to the Indian States. It referred tacitly to the aspect of sovereignty, as the constitutive principle of any independent State, and hence also of the Indian republic which we expect. This statement caused the Indian princes a shock because it openly called into jeopardy their status, both socially and constitutionally. Let us examine the position a bit closely and see how far the Resolution is in consonance with constitutional hypotheses and, *inter se*, how far the stand taken by the Princes is valid in the context of historical evidence and the socio-economic future of India.

Historically, the Indian States have been brought into existence and consolidation

on the sufferance of the British. As such the entire relation is based on a variety of historical facts ranging from understandings and sanads to virtual treaties. I deliberately use the word 'virtual' here because a treaty in the correct sense of the term presupposes the existence of two parties of equal, or very nearly equal, status between whom such a treaty is concluded. This has not been the case with the Indian States and we speak of the 'treaties' in connexion with them merely on grounds, I think, of courtesy. The Princes, however, take the stand that these are "treaties" in the constitutional sense so much so that their arguments supporting their regime go to show as if there is a virtual sanctity around their relations with the paramount power and this claim they try to set up as valid with a great array of impressive evidence called from authorities, both constitutional and not. When, however, their stand is examined in the context of

constitutional provisions and socio-economic set up of the country a penumbra of suspicion imperceptibly goes round it. Because, in all essence, a reconsideration of the promises on which the claim of the States to endure is based seems only or of theoretical importance leading us nowhere. If it be admitted that sovereignty is the constitutive principle of the State, as a concept of political science, both spiritually and morally, then, it becomes *prima facie* patent that the Indian States lack this constitutive principle. They constitute themselves not on moral rights but, what I have said above, on sufferance. To argue on a corollary: as sovereignty is the constitutive principle of the State, it is also the main feature of the cohesive principle of the State. This is to put a round about psychological point in straightforward language. Sovereignty is the spiritual basis of the State and flowing from its indivisibility, presupposed is the fact of a broad understanding on the constitutive principle of the social organ amongst the different sections of the mass. This is why sovereignty and social cohesion are interrelated aspects of the self-same problem. Of course, the latter is the fundament but its existence and significance are dragged into serious peril when that cohesion lacks within the social fabric. This is the lesson, I think, history has forced upon mankind through its bitter experience with the totalitarianism of a Hitler or Mussolini. Externally, they presented a solid front but they never realised that the sovereignty which they were trumpeting outside was being eaten into the very bones of its being by a disintegration and social ferment within.

The ferment may come to a serious head in a Roehm or a Matteotti, at times, but it is always there. The absence of such a cohesion means that the entire scheme of values of the society concerned is thrown into the melting-pot which means that even in extreme cases, the organisational authority of the state is called into jeopardy. The recent history of Kashmir under the Kak regime, I think, lends concrete proof to my argument here. Rottenness finds a convenient facade to hide behind in reaction and suppression, and very unfortunately for the British Raj it is in the majority of such cases involved in such reaction and its bolstering up; of course, always to the detriment of the mass whose capacity to endure such a collusive action is, in cases, spent. This may be seen in a degree in the Bazelgette tragedy of the Eastern states. The States have always been, for the British in India, as Rushbrook Williams calls them, "friendly fortresses in debatable territory." This is because, I think, of two reasons. The first is that the states are a source of financial and military aid to the Empire. The second, and the more important, is that the British have always found the states convenient grounds for bolstering up reaction and intimidation of the mass in the states, and hence a substantial portion of the Indian mass, to servile obedience through the agency of the Political Department of the Government functioning through the state prince who is thus held the scapegoat before the bar of public opinion. Thus the external aspect of the states government has always been the function of imperial necessity. Mr. Brailsford

has succinctly put the whole thing very concisely when he writes: "What Canning saw so clearly in 1860 the India Office does not forget today. While it holds these 'friendly fortresses', India can never achieve her independence. (Subject India p. 67).

Now that we have a Constituent Assembly which is to frame a constitution for India, the Princes have become apprehensive of their position *vis-a-vis* the constitutional issue that is to emerge out of the deliberations of that Assembly. Their apprehensions are in time since they clearly perceive the inevitability of British withdrawal and their necessity for coming to an understanding with the progressive elements of the Indian mass. But coming to an understanding means for the States huge reshuffles in their internal structure. They are steeped in ideas which belong properly to the feudal age, and to come in line with progress will mean for the Princes a renunciation of all the privileges and inconsistencies characteristic of that age. For the Princes this is a great sacrifice because it will, at the root of it, mean an axe at the very roots of economic privileges. They have carried the distortion of political democracy to such an extent where the mass has detected also the supreme necessity of an economic democracy. A single concession in the economic sphere means the emphatic demand for a series of concessions which a Prince is sheerly unable to give, granted his psychological foundations without the invalidation of the main premises on which his claim to authority, nay divine authority, is based. The greater the suppression the

greater the ferment. The demand not only for a free society but a just society is, I think, more pronounced and more insistent in the States than in the British Indian provinces. This, again, is the main reason, I think, for the serious cleavage within the Princely realm itself which has gone off its head at the threats and challenges from such organisations as the State's People's Conference and Praja Mandals etc.

The Princes, again, start their arguments for such an understanding from hypotheses which, *apriori* are invalid. They argue it to be an understanding on the one and only fundamental principle to them, the principle of their sovereignty *vis-a-vis* the Indian Union. To do this, I think, is to put a cart without any wheels before a horse which never was, or is, there. They confuse sovereignty with paramountcy, two antitheticals politically. They endeavour to assert a right they never have had. To add to the difficulties of the problem has come the recent rift between the Princes themselves.

By the nature of their regime it is a political presupposition that the Princes should provide a solid front to the forces of progress. The recent differences of opinion, however, between the States themselves forebodes, I think, great changes in the psychological make-up of that regime and the position of the Princes is rendered all the more complex with the statement of Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons of February 20, 1947. Mr. Attlee said in regard to the Indian States that "the British Government did not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under

the paramountcy to any Government of British India." (Hindusthan Standard, February 22). In his speech before the Commons on February 5, approving of the statement of 20th February, Sir Stafford Cripps said: "As we have repeatedly stated, there is no intention of handing on our rights and obligations under paramountcy to anyone else. When we transfer power in British India, these rights and obligations will lapse. . . . We have envisaged in the statement that some States might wish in these final stages of paramountcy to adjust or modify their position *vis-a-vis* the Paramount Power," and that the British are willing to consider any such modifications provided that such modifications do not hamper the relationship of the States to the rest of India. Well, the intentions are, I think, patent to the slightest scrutiny. They wish to retain the princely domains still as the "friendly fortresses" in an India which becomes more "debatable" than formerly. The princely domains will constitute not the Rajas than of the princely dreams but British than from where much could be done in the field of diplomacy and strategy. These outposts of the Empire must be retained, besides for diplomacy and strategy, as the vantage points of British dumping. For the Britisher, the statement of February 20 has not ended, say, it does not intend itself to end it the wild-goose chase! They are the assets of the Empire in liquidation.

The position, however, for the Princes is clear. They face clear-cut alternatives. Either they choose to fall in line with the forces of progress and make the

democratic process dynamic within their domains or they fall a prey to the machinations of an imperialist demon from whose clutches it may take a century for them to get out. Of course, for both they have to pay the price. The first alternative means for them an immediate renunciation of privilege in favour of progress. The latter alternative is perhaps immediately more bright. It will mean an extension of the lease to life of privilege and re-action. The democratic dynamic, however, means the reversal of such re-action at the cost of changes on a far bigger scale and at a heavier in cost. The mass of the State, living as it does by the progressive masses of the Indian Union, is sure to detect the filth of it all, and, ere long is bound to try to turn the scales in its own favour. This will challenge the very princely regime to a jeopardy which may mean the total termination of that feudal order. Chaos will reign internally while this will mean, for the States, a moral bankruptcy outside. Moreover, the economic argument is also there. Not coming into the Union will be tantamount to suspicion for the intentions of that Union and, in such an impasse, it may not be surprising that the Union isolates the States both diplomatically and economically. Trincomalee may be made a naval base for maritime Britain but Britain can never serve as the hinterland to Vizagapatam or Cochin. You cannot alter geography. The Princes have to choose either a small change, to-day or a total change to-morrow. It is primarily they who stand to gain or loose, and, as in all business, a small loss, to-day may be the necessary precondition of a big gain to-morrow. It requires foresight and it is contingent upon the boldness of imagination with which the Princes are ready to face reality.

CASTE IN INDIA

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

THERE is already a vast and varied literature on Caste in India but Prof. Hutton's new book* is a welcome addition to it. His aim has been to produce a single book of moderate size to which students could be sent for a satisfactory outline of the subject, and he has achieved his purpose with remarkable success. As Commissioner for the Census of India, 1931, the last complete and scientific census India has had, Mr. Hutton had ample opportunity for an intimate study of Indian sociology, and his Report was a striking contribution from which two important sections, one on the position of exterior castes, and the other on the relation between Hinduism and Primitive Religions in India figure as two appendices to the present treatise. The body of the book is divided into three parts. Part I, the background gives an instructive survey of the languages and peoples of the different parts of India and the diversity of their customs with a view to impress on the reader the magnitude and complexity of the social problem in India as it has developed through the ages. Part II describes succinctly the different aspects of caste—its structure, its strictures, its sanctions and its functions. The last part is taken up with the study of the problem of origin and the most important theories of origin, traditional and modern, are passed in review and critically assessed before the author's own conclusions are stated.

Naturally it may not be expected that readers will give their full assent to all the points made by the author over the vast

terrain so ably covered by him: but no one can fail to recognise that Prof. Hutton has made a fresh and unbiassed approach to a very complex and controversial issue, and has sought to place it in a proper light. He has been at pains more to understand than to criticise. He is not impressed by the attempts to show that caste is by no means peculiar to India, but occurs everywhere in the world in some form or other. He has sought to demonstrate that while particular features of the institution may be traced here and there outside India nowhere do they occur together with the persistence and vitality which mark the features of Indian caste. On the other hand caste is no imposition of cunning priestcraft or of administrative convenience, but an organic social institution, the product of Indian conditions, in which people of different degrees and types of culture were compelled to live side by side with one another. To its evolution all have contributed—pre-Dravidians, Dravidians, as well as Aryans. Primitive taboos and Vedic ritualism, race features and colour sense religious difference and professional diversity have all had their part to play in building up this ubiquitous institution which unites the people in a common allegiance to a separatist principle. Indian society is a federation of sub-societies rendered possible only by this institution. Islam and Christianity have not escaped its influence. It has filled a very useful role socially and economically. Attempts to attack it directly are likely to provoke resistance and discord though reform by indirect approach has better chance of success.

Prof. Hutton is no whole-hearted admirer of Indian sociology as, for instance, S. George Birdwood was: his discriminative appraisal of the institution is sure to receive attention from all who wish to understand Indian society in some of its fundamental aspects.

NON-VIOLENCE IN HINDU ETHICS

BY MR. P. J. CHAUDHURY, M.A., M.Sc.

JUST as it is wrong to infer from Noakhali and Punjab incidents that Islam recommends violence against other communities, so it is false to infer from submissiveness shown by the Hindus at several places that Hinduism teaches man how to die suffering injustice and humiliation. Islam recommends violence against those who threaten and injure her but she commands the Muslims to be at peace with non-aggressive followers of other religions. Hinduism holds non-violence to be a great virtue but never makes it an absolute self-subsistent principle valid in itself. For Hinduism does not believe in abstractions, it believes in concrete life to be lived at several planes of existence, physical, mental and spiritual, and it holds that principles are for life, not *vice versa*. (*Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha* are the fourfold ideals of Hinduism. Jainism taught us abstractions such as non-violence and abstinence *for their own sakes*, it was more or less idea-ridden and taught an anti-vitalistic creed. Abstractions or mere ideas are always false, when they are hypostatized and worshipped as idols there is no hope for the preservation of the community. And it is a cruel revenge that abstractions take on their worshippers, for the latter are submerged, and with them their idols too which are proved false by the test of life. This is what happened more or less to the Jainas and the Buddhists of ancient India. To save them and their ideals we require a world populated only by such tender-hearted people as the Buddhists and Jainas themselves. But these communities will

not convert others, they will rather tolerate all kinds of creeds including those that believe in violence (such as the creed of modern Europe, Russia and Japan). To preserve these men of delicate sensibilities is a great problem, they should be treated like grapes that are covered by soft cotton padding and kept in wooden boxes. But who will do that? The world and the law of life are against them. Hinduism should be distinguished from such an abstractionist and one-sided creed. Hinduism is more realistic and tough-minded. Ramayana teaches us how Rama did not hesitate to engage himself in a destructive war for preserving that delicate human value, woman's honour. It was not out of a passion for violence or sadistic impulses that Rama, a God, went to fight, but it was out of rational and religious promptings of his higher self. It is not a sentimental Rama that is depicted in Ramayana, rather it is a master of sentiments and a disinterested performer of one's duties in his various capacities, a king, a husband, a brother, a son, etc. Gita teaches us not to be led away by any kind of passion of the heart, pity or hatred. Krishna commands Arjuna neither to be moved by sentiments and evade 'just war' (*dharma yuddha*) nor to be engaged in a war out of any infatuation for violence. One should be rational and disinterested, this is true courage; a soldier drunk with a passion to kill is not really brave, he is bound by his lower passions, a sadist and a slave. A truly courageous man is a free man, who neither fears to die or kill nor loves them. He does

* CASTE IN INDIA. By J. H. Hutton. Cambridge University Press, 1946. Price 18sh. net

everything for duty's sake—and knows that this life is best utilised that way. And one's duty is to preserve the human values, those that go to preserve humanity, physically, mentally and spiritually. (Spirituality without a physical basis is a non-entity and a non-sense). Hinduism teaches us by means of a thousand myths and parables (*e.g.*, those of *Mahabharata*) that man must fight for his honour, religion and life. In this respect it is no less militant and so no less valuable as a creed. The realism and strength of Islam appeals to us. These are very fine features of Islam, no doubt (besides another, her

unity and brotherhood). But Hinduism can also teach us how to rise to every occasion for protecting our right to live and believe. If Hinduism were only a cult of the abstractionist self-abnegators, it would have been long before extinct and we would have to go to museums (and not to living man) to learn about it. It has survived the onslaught of thousands of marauding hosts. It has absorbed some of them and held at bay some others. It is a great religion rich with all kinds of tradition and trait, full of glamour of the past and not without aspirations for the future.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

BY MR. T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, C.I.E.

CONFUSED counsel comes from all over the country. From across the seas comes no assured or assuring news. Three are the fatal Sisters in Mythology. These perhaps work in harmony. Three also are those that preside over India's fate. These work amidst almost irreconcilable conflict.

One insists on a tragic solution for all our ills. Another has tried and is trying all it can to avert it. And the third supplies at the best a bungling solution. The League leader is past praying to or praying for. He pursues with steady, unrelenting zeal and perseverance the evil which he has embraced as his good and to which he clings the more tightly the more he is sought to be persuaded out of it. The Congress is apparently tired of the struggle and desires to see the end of its labours somehow. Gandhiji alone, by a sort of

intuition which often sees things clearly pursues the good of Indian unity with single-minded devotion. One wonders whether Britain feels interested or uninterested in the right solution of the Indian question. On one side one hears that Britain quits and that it is for Indians to solve their problems. On the other is the claim that the transfer of power should be into hands of which His Majesty's Government are to be the judges.

Britain cannot easily shed her responsibility for judging of this matter aright. The responsibility is all the greater for her recognition that she should break with the past. A partition of India at the instance of Britain is the undoing of all the good that she did in forging the political unity of India and the consummation of all the evil that she did in pursuit of the will-of-the-wisp of perpetual domination by

driving a wedge between the Muslims and the Hindus. Lord Minto's "great act of statemanship" was then acclaimed as one calculated to affect India and Indian history "for many a long year." Partition of India now will be a consummation of that policy with the words "for ever" substituted for the words "for many a long year".

Here are words to ponder over. They read as if addressed to us today:—

Hitherto we have suffered from sectionalism, from lack of homogeneity, from the inability of our people to think in bold national terms. But when we are truly united, the release of dynamic energy will follow. Considering the great size of our country and its incomparable resources both human and material it is stirring to try to imagine what would happen then.

The words "incomparable human resources" might make us pause. But even in that respect our resources are not small. Our human resources, actual and potential, are as great as our material resources. Nothing is beyond our reach if we have the good sense to remain united. Those are the closing words of the "American White Paper" by Messrs Alsop & Kintner of date 1940, the same year that Mr. Jinnah was excogitating his precious Pakistan idea and propounding, against all the lessons of history, the supreme dynamic energy that would be released if we agreed to a division of India and her people. It is perhaps too late to expect Mr. Jinnah to see the truth that is obvious to everybody else. Some have said that he could not change even if he would, very much as in the old stories in which one could pronounce and send forth a curse but could not recall it. It can now come only from force of circumstances or from external pressure. Britain knows that unifications

have nearly always been the result of pressure, even ruthless pressure sometimes.

The integrity of India must be maintained. Partition of India will be a betrayal. The limited Centre of the Cabinet Mission, unsatisfactory as it is has been conceded to allay the apprehension of the Muslim League of perpetual domination of one community in the Centre. It is a baseless apprehension which will be dispelled by the working of the constitution. Economics will then dominate and cut right across religious divisions and the Centre may later become strong with the consent of all parties. Australia began with a loose Union in 1885, passed into closer relation in 1900 and a still closer Union was desired more recently, and even regret has been expressed that it had not begun with a close-knit Federation.

His Majesty's Government have departed from their traditional policy. Their sincerity is not in question. The past policy still persists in the Tory mind and in the Political Department and the Civil Service in India. Tories are open in their opposition. Lord Templewood, our old friend, Sir Samuel Hoare professes interest in an undivided India but discloses the truth when he shows himself hungry for a foot-hold in a divided part of India. And the League leader discloses his tactics and his affinities for the moment by declaring that the territories handed over to him will remain in the Commonwealth. The Serviceman in India can only work underground, not in the open. The steadily growing complaint against the partisanship of Governors who have risen from the Service indicates the need to replace these by altogether new instruments

for carrying out of the changed mind of His Majesty's Government.

Gandhiji refuses to contemplate a division either of India or of the Provinces. What view he will take if a partition of India was forced on us, is not disclosed. While the question of dividing Bengal or the Punjab in an undivided India is for those whom it will primarily concern. It is difficult to resist the conclusion of Dr. Rajendra Prasad that either India remains united or the two Provinces must be divided.

Mr. Jinnah's opposition to a division of Provinces, now supported by Sir Abdur Rahim (with an insistence on Pakistan at the same time), really comes to this. Muslims 24 per cent. in All-India will not agree to remain with the other 76 per cent. They are entitled to self-determination. But 45 per cent. or so of Bengal and the Punjab have no such right but must be content to remain with the 55 per cent. In the last analysis it amounts to this. "What we want we must have no matter how it affects you." The Leaguers in their present mood, deem it an achievement to have Pakistan however attenuated and whatever the inconvenience. Arguments against it have been many times stated, but it makes no impression on them. But Britain knows if any one does. Geography, economic consideration, material resources, future Industrial development, international position, in fact every possible consideration is against Pakistan.

An independent Bengal State, Premier Suhrawardy propounds with audacious frankness. Division of the two provinces in a united India is a matter of administrative convenience to be considered on its merits.

In a divided India, division of Bengal seems to me inevitable. *Calcutta Weekly Notes* deals with him in the plenitude of its knowledge of the Premier and his ways.

If the Constituent Assembly goes forward, as I think it will do, representatives of East Punjab, West Bengal and Assam and the North West Frontier Provinces will attend besides those of the Provinces of the A-section of the Cabinet Mission's statement. Cabinet Mission's limited Centre if the integrity of India is to be maintained, or a strong federation of the Provinces and areas willing to join may be set up. A strong Federation of all India minus West Punjab, East Bengal and Sind, with or without North-West Frontier Province, may come about. The League idea that Sind and North-West Frontier Province will consent to be dominated by the Punjab may turn to be a false hope.

Everywhere constitutions united those who were separate. Here we have to face the attempt to separate the united. It is increasingly recognised that many creeds, cultures and races have to live together in the same country. In India they have so interpenetrated each other's lives in almost every village during so long a period that a solution by division is not possible. Nor is it the true ideal. The ideal in a mixed world is "for a diverse people to find justice and liberty under equal laws". If once secession is allowed, the majorities and the minorities will remain intransigent and irreconcilable.

Self-determination in the disposition of the population in this country must end in disruption and in the destruction of the settled order of things in it.

PRESENT TRENDS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

BY PROF. T. K. N. MENON

INDIAN Education has come out of its dark ages; its winter has vanished and spring set in. The country is filled with the fragrance of educational enthusiasm and effort. The very swift changes that are taking place in the field of politics and the tremendous speed with which the country is marching towards freedom are responsible for the unprecedented educational endeavours that we now witness all around. The history of education in all countries show that education got its proper recognition only during times of great political upheaval and that the dawn of political freedom in countries witnessed also the dawn of a new educational era there. India seems to be no exception to this.

Belief in the power of education, a belief, which, in some minds has the intensity of religion, is the order of the times. Educational opportunities for all irrespective of castes, creeds or communities is the minimum that contemporary public opinion would tolerate. Both the major political parties, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, have made it clear that they stand for the introduction of universal compulsory primary education in the shortest possible time and for all-round expansion of other branches of education.

About three years ago, when war clouds were still hanging over the world, the Central Advisory Board of Education came out with an important report on the Post-War Educational Reconstruction in India. It was prepared by forty leading men drawn from educationists and administrators all over India and it is an all-

comprehensive report giving the present position of education in all its phases and suggesting the lines of advance. The Report, when it was published, attracted the attention of all educationists. The enthusiasm for the Report and the suggestions contained therein was, however, shortlived. Unfortunately for educational India, the name Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Advisor with the Government of India, got associated with the Report, and the Sargent Scheme is something that the new provincial Government do not like to commend to the public. Today it has become the fashion to ignore the Report. Educationists will regret the virtual shelving of this good Report prepared by some of the best brains of the country.

There is considerable educational activity in all provinces and Indian States. Schools and Colleges are being opened in large numbers. New types of educational institutions are thought of and new methods of instruction advocated. Admirable as these projects are, they suffer from one important defect. No province has yet come out with a definite programme for the spread of all types of education during a reasonable period of time and with a fairly good chance of the programme being continued by successive governments. The speed with which education should and could be expanded, the relative importance and urgency for the spreading of primary, secondary, technical and university education are problems yet to be clarified by the Government of the Provinces and States. For instance, the communique issued last month by the Bombay Government on their

policy regarding the various branches of education is vague in respect of many of the above-mentioned aspects. It is only definite in that the Government are committed to a programme of compulsory primary education to be introduced in the province within a period of ten to twelve years. The Bombay University granted affiliation to seven new Arts colleges in the beginning of the year, but in the province there was not addition of even one institution to train teachers for primary schools which are to be opened in hundreds to implement the programme of compulsory primary education. This certainly is putting the emphasis on the wrong thing, the other provinces and Indian States are also no exception to this kind of ill-conceived and unintelligent educational expansion.

The question of the medium of instruction in schools is no longer considered as a problem by modern educational theory. All educationists, including the English educationists in India, have pointed it out that to be educated in a language which is not the vehicle of our thought must cramp intellectual development in all kinds of ways. The subject however, continues to be debated in the press and on the platform. English certainly should have no place as the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools—indeed, the intellectual energy wasted by our children during the past in learning through English is stupendous and immeasurable. But the attempts noticeable in several places to tick off English from our schools are to be regretted. Educational statesmanship in India should recognise English as a great language worthy to be studied by as many

persons as possible because of its utility and perhaps indispensability in the future world and also for the simple reason that years of effort at learning this language and the great results achieved in its study by millions of people in India should not be wasted. Only a lack of sense of realities and unjustifiable prejudice could oppose the right place of English as a compulsory second language in secondary schools and in the three top classes of primary schools providing a seven years' course of study. There is plenty of support given by educational psychology that even the average pupil could start the study of second language at about the age of ten or eleven and such study would help rather than hinder the harmonious development of all the powers of the mind. It requires more than Micawber's optimism to think that India would ever have a common language; such an event could happen only if the country goes under a totalitarian regime with the consequent prospect of regimentation of education. Why should not millions of non-Hindi speaking children of India if they are to learn a second language, learn English rather than Hindi because English should help them to be in touch with not only the rest of India, but also with the rest of the world? Viewed from this point the Education Ministers of Congress Provinces who met in conference at Poona in July did not do justice to English language though they did well in reiterating the indispensability of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction*.

* This Conference decided that no place should be given to English in the whole course of basic education and that English should not be taught as a compulsory subject upto four years previous to University education.

The confused thinking about the medium of instruction, the position of English and about a number of other important matters are due to the paucity of fruitful data which could be had only through research and studies of educational problems. The defects and limitations of the existing educational system have been recognised by all; but the plans of the future are not all based on the results of sound educational research done here or elsewhere. The need for educational research in India has never been more than it is to-day. When huge sums of money are to be spent on education, educational research alone will provide the proper audit of that expenditure. Research in Indian Education should concentrate on the study of the Indian child in Indian setting, of Indian schools and their organisation, the contents of study with reference to Indian culture, heritage and civilization and of the methods of study to be evolved out of the purely Indian methods of instruction. It is unfortunate that when the need for such research is so important, the plans put forward by the central and the provincial governments do not at all make any provision for this. In the absence of data available, responsible leaders sometimes make important statements on education and put forward theories which do not find any support from modern educational theory and practice. Sjt. Rajagopalachari, the ex-Premier of Madras, and now a distinguished member of the Interim Government, in a speech delivered in Madras on the 16th of July,* said that new education in India should aim at teaching children till the age of eight without the aid of reading and writing.

Modern educational theory and practice stand baffled at this suggestion. Equally astounding is the fact that the programme of compulsory education planned by the Provincial Governments and Indian States have not thought of the importance of the education of the adolescent. Compulsory education in their scheme is to stop when the child reaches the age of eleven or twelve. India has to-day thirty million adolescents between the ages of eleven and fourteen who are receiving no education at all and whose intellectual, educational and moral development is left to chance. The most outstanding educational reform that has been engaging the attention of people in all civilised countries during the last two decades is the provision of facilities for the better education and care of such adolescents. The present trends in Indian education, however, do not show any thought bestowed on this question. Among the many problems that confront the Indian education, this demands the most imperative attention, because the future of the country and the retention of the freedom that is almost within our reach depend on the well-developed, well-adjusted, well-trained—in fine, well-educated youth of the country.

The above are the high lights and limitations of our great educational endeavour. This mighty endeavour is without parallel in the history of education because it is aimed at tackling the educational problems of a country with a population consisting of one-fifth of the human race and with over 85 per cent. of this population illiterate. In such a gigantic task, limitations of planning and execution are inevitable. For a decade there is bound to be some wastage of effort and expenditure. If educational statesmanship that is not lacking in the country would take lessons from the modern educational theories and practices of other countries and build up a sound system of educational practices through research, it could reduce considerably even this wastage, however inevitable it might appear to be in such great educational endeavours.

RUPERT BROOKE AND HIS POETRY

BY PROF. PHANI BHUSHAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

AT the outbreak of the First World War many youngmen had to join the army leaving their university and colleges. Their emotions in the midst of active warfare found expression in what is called "war-poetry" which is, however, not very copious in quantity for, as Fowler says, "The life and death struggles in which all civilisation was threatened with extinction was in many sensitive hearts a horror too deep for words."

"The war-poets are a group apart—a pathetic one," the most noted among them being Rupert Brooke, Robert Nichols, Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and Charles Sorley. Their poetical inspiration found expression mainly in lyrics and they may be classed into two broad groups: (i) those singing of patriotism and praise of heroic action and (ii) those singing of the horror and pity of war.

Brooke is the most famous of the first group as Owen is of the second. Brooke's war-sonnets express the enthusiasm of youth engaged in mortal combat for the cause it holds dear. He sings of the thrilling experience of war and not of its pity and horrors. The sorrows of youth doomed to die give him the consolation that

They brought us, for our dearth,
Holiness, lacked so long, and Love and Pain.
Honour has come back, as a king, to earth,
And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
And Nobleness walks in our ways again;
And we have come into our heritage.

Rupert Brooke was born at Rugby on August 3, 1887. His father William Brooke was an assistant master at the school and Rupert Brooke was educated there. He went up to King's College, Cambridge in 1906. In 1909 he took his

classical tripos after which he spent some time as a student in Munich. He returned to live near Cambridge at the old vicarage in Grantchester, which forms the subject matter of a poem of his;

There's peace and holy quiet there.
Great clouds along pacific skies,
And men and women with straight eyes.
Little children lovelier than a dream,

The women there do all they ought;
The men observe the Rules of Thought.
They love the Good; they worship Truth;
They laugh uproariously in youth.
(And when they get to feeling old,
They up and shoot themselves, I'm told).

Brooke occupied himself with reading,—his bedroom being always littered with books, English, French and German,—and writing poems which were remarkable for a happy spontaneity. In May, 1913 he left England again for a year and passed through the U.S.A. and Canada on his way to the South Seas. When the war broke out Brooke obtained a commission in the Royal Naval Division in September 1914. Having tasted of the experience of War Brooke died of blood-poisoning on board a hospital ship at Scyros on April 23rd, 1915, the day of St. Michael and St. George and was buried about a mile inland.

Rupert Brooke the man himself was as important as his poetry. "To look at he was part of the youth of the world." One of the handsomest Englishmen of his time his moods were "merely a disguise for the radiance of an early summer's day." He was, in the words of Mr. Edward Thomas, "a golden young Apollo" who made friends and adorers wherever he went; for, Brooke says,

"I have been so great a lover: filled my days,
So proudly with the splendour of Love's praise,"
because "All these were lovely."

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Mr. H. W. Nevinston writes of him, "it was impossible not to think of the line about 'a pard-like spirit'" in his presence. His whole being was permeated by the mastering passion for life—the most elemental of all passions.

There is no period of immaturity in Brooke's verses, so far as the technique is concerned. But inspite of his mastery of expression, the buoyant play of his wit and fancy, Brooke's earlier work is wanting in a note of high seriousness which is the abiding essence of great poetry. The war, however, had a swiftly maturing influence on him as on many other young poets of the time. He grew suddenly, as Margaret Lavington says, "into a man filled with the love of life indeed, but inspired most of all with the love of England." The actual earth of England "where men with splendid hearts may go" was filled, for him, with the quality of Holiness, which inspired him with a sense of sacred patriotism. Says he,

"If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed.
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways

to roam,
A body of England's breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home."

"This music, this beauty, this courage—
was Rupert Brooke."

His sonnet series (only five, composed in 1914) are "the crowning glory of Brooke's poetic achievement. He was moved to the depths of his rich nature as he had never been before, and all the gifts of his artistic endowment thrilled for use in the supreme offering of himself and his powers to one great object."

Mr. Winston Churchill said of him, "A voice had become audible, a note had been struck, more true, more thrilling, more able to do justice to the nobility of our youth in arms...than any other—more able to express their thoughts of self-surrender and with a power to carry comfort to those who watch them so intently from afar...Joyous, fearless, versatile, deeply instructed, with classic symmetry of mind and body, ruled by high, undoubting purpose, he was all that one would wish England's noblest sons to be when no sacrifice but the most precious is acceptable, and the most precious is that which is most freely proffered."

The sonnet series, referred to above, are among "the few supreme utterances of English patriotism". As Abercrombie says, "Each one of these five sonnets faces, in a quiet exultation the thought of death, of death for England; and understands, as seldom even English poetry has understood, the unspeakable beauty of the thought." Brooke pays a tribute to the glorious dead in lines, through which the accent of the noblest English poetry speaks:

"These laid the world away; poured out the red
Of work and joy, and that unhopd serene,
That men call age; and those who would have
been.

Their sons, they gave, their immortality

Lascellas Abercrombie has well said of him, "Rupert Brooke had a decided advantage over the patriotic poets; when he celebrated the faultless beauty of sacrificing oneself for England, they were his own immediate emotions that he expressed. He knew that beauty of self-sacrifice not by any effort of imagination, but simply because it was the thing that entirely

governed his life from the beginning of the war."

Brooke fully maintained the traditional high quality of older English poets. His felicity of diction and expression is remarkable, the right word being always in the right place. Though he died young there is nothing peurile in his poetry. His love of colour, form and sensuous joy and noble patriotism made him pre-eminently English, "warm with human passion and sane with laughter, soaring on wings of fire, but resting always on the good earth." Drinkwater wrote justly of him, "There has not been, I think, so grievous

a loss to poetry since the death of Shelley." What he wrote in simple and profound language, of his comrades in arms applies equally well to his own self:

"These hearts were woven of human joys and cares,
Washed marvellously with sorrow, swift to mirth,
The years had given them kindness, Dawn was theirs,
And sunset, and the colours of the earth.
These had seen movement, and heard music;
Slumber and waking; loved; gone proudly friended;
Felt the quick stir of wonder; sat alone;
Touched flowers and cheeks. All this ended."

Along with them he left as his legacy,
"a white
Unbroken glory, a gathered radiance,
A width, a shining peace, under the night."

Rural Uplift Through Industrialization

BY MR. MOSES DAS, B.COM.

INDIA'S 85 per cent. of population is found in the villages, whose primary occupation is agriculture. Since 85 is a considerable high percentage, naturally the problem of rural uplift arrests one's attention so closely. So much has been both said and written on the appalling condition of our masses that a repetition would sound of not much interest. However, in short, it must be admitted that the attainment of socio-economic and political ideals entails a general uplift of the masses morally, socially and economically. Poverty is the basis of all evils and the low standard of living, malnutrition and underfeeding.

Land is a limited factor and more so in our country where agricultural production is adversely affected by the defective system of land tenure and laws of inheritance and succession. The problem is

augmented by the uncertainty of rainfall. Our average yields for the major crops are at the lowest figures as compared with those of other countries. No doubt increased yields from land are to be aimed at but our agricultural economy is so complicated that it cannot immediately relieve the situation. Moreover there is no justification for such a large proportion of a population to fall back upon land as their sole means of subsistence while the raw materials thus produced could be turned into finished goods and bring in more wealth into the country. Besides, by doing so, the pressure on land would be lessened and a failure of rainfall may not wreck the whole economy of the country.

Thus we admit that some sort of industrialization must form an integral part of economic planning. But the system of industries which exists to-day in our

country does not add much towards the uplift of the masses. On the contrary it has created a wide gulf between rural and urban population which results in serious set-back to national development.

A careful study of our industrial system will reveal that our industries are not widely distributed over the whole country. On the other hand, they are concentrated in a few large cities. In the United Provinces there are more places suitable for industrial development than Cawnpore, but they stand nowhere in the matter of location of industries. Cawnpore does not have any particular claim for concentrating so many factories and mills, nor does any other city of the same category. But here we are with Cawnpore, Bombay, Calcutta and Ahmedabad.

The concentration of a huge population in one place creates a tremendous problem and results in serious social and moral drains. Crimes against society such as prostitution, gambling and drinking are brought about by the present system of industrialization. Why is this so?

In big cities all factors of industrial production except labour are easily assembled to-gether. The human factor so vital to carry on the various processes of manufacture is absent in the cities as I have said before more than 85 per cent. of our population is rural, i.e., this population lives in small towns and villages and has agriculture as its primary occupation. It is from these areas that industrial labour is drawn. A farmer in slack seasons or under economic pressure is compelled to go out to big cities to get into employment. There he comes in

contact with city life and can hardly adjust himself to the changed conditions. He is thinking of going back to his village-home at the earliest opportunity. Moreover in the city often he indulges himself in moral crimes due to environments and he cannot contribute much towards improving his home and village. On the other hand, he is proving a menace to public and family peace and to the whole nation, on the whole.

Thus the present industrial system does not contribute its due share towards improving the masses. The human factor of production is not utilized in right direction to get the most out of it. Is there any justification for this? Certainly not—there is a sheer wastage of human energy. Then where does the solution lie?

The answer is "in shifting the industries to rural areas" or technically "Rural Industrialization". That is, we need to redistribute and start industries at the source of raw materials—near fields and farms. By this the shortage of labour in industries would be removed, congestion in cities, which adversely affects the health and social life, will not be so acute, the rural population would be attracted to factories resulting in reduced pressure on land. Moreover, the farmer would be encouraged to earn subsidiary income to supplement his meagre returns from the land. He would then have more to spend on improving his living condition.

Besides, these direct advantages, indirectly also the rural population would be benefited. At times more hands are present than required to cultivate a small piece of land. They will be diverted to industries as their permanent occupation. Permanent

interest means efficiency of work and increased productivity. The cost of production goes down with higher wages. Again, more income is available for improving living conditions. Then these industries could prove of greater benefit by their subsidiary production of agricultural requirements—manures, tools and implements, etc.—and provide these to farmers in their areas. Thus agricultural returns would be helped to improve; hence, the standard of living.

Not only this, the problem of marketing of agricultural commodities would be removed. Our ryot often becomes the prey of usurious intermediaries and lose a good amount of money. Here, again, he is economically benefitted.

Moreover, the location of industries embraces the construction of necessary means of transport and power development. Such a programme of rural industrialization would make an indirect advance in this respect also. It will further help the agriculturists as the schemes of storage and

control of water for power production would serve the dual purpose of providing water for irrigation also, which is a necessity, if not all over, in greater part of the country. This will result in improved agriculture and finally in raising the standard of living of the rural population.

As a matter of fact, the distance between the rural and urban will be reduced and an all-round progress by the masses is within reasonable sight.

Any scheme of health, social welfare and others cannot successfully lift up the masses. Economic question reigns supreme. Even agricultural improvement—which is so difficult under the present system—cannot wholly solve the problem. Land, after all, has its limitations and is bound to yield diminishing returns after some time or other. Hence, such an industrial system, as outlined here, needs to be made an integral part of our economic planning, not only to improve the conditions of our masses but to ensure a better standard of living for all.

INFECTION IN LEPROSY WORK

BY MR. T. N. JAGADISAN

There is a lot of false heroism connected with leprosy work. After all, leprosy is no worse than a lot of other diseases with which doctors are associating themselves constantly in general medical work.—DR. COCHRANE.

I wish to state in this article the more known facts about the incidence of infection by leprosy work. Perry Burgess, the President of the American Leprosy Foundation, sums up the facts in the following words:

Despite the facts that among the many leprosaria, scattered throughout the world, thousands of well

people, doctors, nurses and lay workers have been in daily association with patients, the incidence of infection is very small. Reasonable precautions are taken as with any infectious disease.

The most publicized case is Father Damien, but contributing exceptional factors are not known to the public. To quote the late Dr. O. E. Denny of the U. S. Public Health Service:

The good Father never took any precautions against infection but lived surrounded by his sick parishioners, under un-hygienic conditions, his food prepared by leprosy patients, his clothes washed by them and even his pipe smoked by them.

Brother Joseph Dutton, Father Damien's successor whose work was largely medical and who spent 48 years at Kalaupapa, Molokai did not acquire the disease. Nor did the two nurses Mother Marianne and Sister Leopoldina, who served with Father Damien, acquire the disease. The biographer of Mother Marianne Dr. T. Wood Clark says:

The experience of Mother Marianne and her associates and followers has taught the medical profession a lesson of great value. They have proved beyond question that if sanitary precautions are properly carried out, one can spend his life among leprosy patients with impunity. They have, by their example, demonstrated the important truth that leprosy, while infectious, is not contagious.

In the 78 year old history of Kalaupapa there has been only one other case besides Father Damien's of infection by leprosy work. It was that of Father Peter Gail as "Father Damien's prototype." But he had only a small, dark, elevated spot high up on the forehead. He was operated and the spot removed. He has continued ever after to be clinically and bacteriologically negative. To-day at 73 he is an active worker at Kalaupapa.

Culion in the Philippines, founded in 1907, is the largest leprosarium in the world with many hundreds of employees, nurses and physicians. Only two cases of institutional infection have been so far reported—a priest and a labourer. The labourer developed the disease one year after arrival and as he had a brother as a patient in the colony it was easily established that the infection had happened before his coming to the colony. According to medical reports the diagnosis of the priest was doubtful.

The evidence of Dr. M. Carreon regarding the San Lazaro Hospital, Manila is very interesting:

From the time the present San Lazaro Hospital was founded 264 years ago up to these days, no physician, nurse or attendant has ever been known to have developed leprosy.

Medical and missionary literature frequently refer to the instances of Father Boglioli of New Orleans, Father Daniel of Brazil and Mary Reed in India. Father Boglioli, the Italian Chaplain of Charity Hospital, New Orleans, sometimes called "the Father Damien of Louisiana", is the only person known to have contracted the disease in the long history of the hospital. In 1879 there was a ward of 15 leprosy patients, attended daily by physicians and nurses. It is interesting that while none of the physicians and nurses contracted leprosy, Father Boglioli who administered religious rites to two patients in the ward and visited the ward from time to time should have acquired the disease. Father Daniel is said to have contracted leprosy in a similar manner. Eminent authorities have stated that both these cases are scientifically questionable. Dr. Christobal Manalang believes that the nature of their contact as priests administering religious rites to patients lodged in a hospital does not warrant belief in institutional infection. He believes that they could have harboured infection prior to their institutional contact.

Mary Reed worked for 7 years as a missionary in India but not in a leprosarium. Then she returned to the United States and discovered that she had leprosy. She returned to India and worked in leprosaria. She recovered from the disease

without treatment and lived a life of active service till 86. Dr. R. G. Cochrane thinks that her leprosy was so slight and benign that while her devotion to the cause deserved wider fame her leprosy was certainly not worth at all the publicity it has had.

In the history of Carville (Louisiana), which is completing its 52nd year, no member of the medical or nursing staff has contracted the disease. One non-medical employee, not having much direct contact with the patients, is reported to have had the infection. Perhaps he did, and that would be only a very small incidence—one case in 52 years. But as the worker came from a highly endemic district there is reasonable doubt as to whether he had not been infected in his earlier years before coming to work in Carville.

In reviewing the cases of institutional infection in leprosy one is struck by the fact that few or no cases concern physicians and nurses. Their contact is far greater and more intimate than that of the clergy. As a rule, however, they have observed

nothing more than the usual sanitary precautions taken in any general hospital. Dr. William Brady can well assert:

Hansen's disease (leprosy) is feebly, if at all, communicable through ordinary human contacts and that the place where one is least likely to contract the disease is in a properly conducted Sanatorium.

The doctor who takes to leprosy work to-day does not need to fear infection. Nor need he intoxicate himself with the belief that he is on the road to martyrdom. Let us in all humility learn the lessons of Father Damien's example, but let us not play upon the theme for dramatic effect.

Leprosy is difficult to acquire except in childhood and in an endemic environment. Inoculation with heavily bacillated tissues have failed to produce leprosy in those experimented upon. Father Damien is only the exception that proves the rule and there are sufficient reasons explaining the exceptional occurrence. It now needs far less heroism or none to take to leprosy work if one weighed the facts and shed the fear. But if the fear and the glory are gone, the opportunity of service still remains.

PARTY SYSTEM IN BRITAIN

ITS HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS

BY MR. L. ROBERTS

THE strength of British parliamentary life lies in the fact that it combines the safeguarding of the citizens' full political rights of freedom with a really workable system of government.

The political parties are the instrument that makes this combination possible. Normally, it is the Cabinet itself (the

wartime Coalition Government being a characteristic exception) that represents a majority party government holding office under the ever critical eye of the minority—the Opposition. Although no limit is imposed on the number of parties, Britain's parliamentary system is based on the two-party system, the smaller parties

either supporting the Government or the Opposition even if they also often pursue an independent path.

The names of the three great British political parties—Conservative, Liberal and Labour—have long since become part and parcel of everyday speech all over the world. However, as hazy notions are often associated with these names of parties, it is well worth while saying a few words about their history and their peculiar characteristics.

At the present moment, the Government in Britain is representative of the Labour Party, which is not only by far the strongest party in Parliament but also the youngest of the three great parties. Let us deal, first of, all, with the two other older parties.

ORIGINS OF THE SYSTEM

The Conservatives are frequently called "Tories" and this name brings us straight back to the origins of the British party system. The Civil War of the 17th century was, in the main, a conflict between the King and the Parliament and it ended with a decisive victory for the latter. But this war left a permanent mark on parliamentary government in Britain: the political leaders who supported the cause of the Monarchy formed the "Tory" Party, whilst the champions of parliamentary authority were known as "Whigs".

For a long time the "Whigs" formed the majority until finally, as a reaction against the French Revolution of 1789, the "Tories" were brought into power. Both parties changed their names round about 1830, the "Tories" hence-forth going by

the name of "Conservatives" in order to show that they sought to preserve the Old Order whilst the "Whigs" took the name of "Liberals" in order to give expression to the fact that they advocated free progress.

The question of Royal Prerogative is no longer of any importance in the Parliamentary life of Britain and is thus in no way characteristic of the Conservative fundamental political creed. Although, as a matter of policy, the Conservatives cling most tenaciously to tradition, this Party has in the course of centuries changed very considerably—which is natural in such a living institution as the British parliamentary system.

OPPOSED TO NATIONALISATION

The defeat at the polls in 1945 gave the "Conservatives" a new part to play, for they now form the Opposition in a House in which Labour Members hold a clear majority. Some time elapsed before the Conservatives recovered from the shock of their defeat but they are now energetically engaged in using their position as opponents to the Labour Government as a means of infusing new life into their Party as well as giving sharper relief to the process of formulating their programme.

This Party, accordingly, fights for a democratic system based on private ownership and initiative; it opposes nationalisation and the formation of State monopolies and they advocate a strengthening of the bonds uniting the member-States of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Whilst the Conservatives are led in the Lower House by such experienced parliamentarians and statesmen as Churchill and Eden, whose part in the Opposition in Britain's parliamentary life is so very

important, energetic attempts are being made, at the same time, to stiffen up the party organisation and make it more effective. Lord Woolton, the Chairman of the Party who enjoyed universal popularity as Food Minister during World War II, is one of Britain's best organisers. He is endeavouring to enlist the co-operation of the younger generation of Conservatives in important tasks and to create an entry for the Party into the ranks of the working classes.

EQUALITY OF RIGHT

The Liberal Party, once the great rival of the "Tories" has had to yield up this role to the Labour Party. The number of Liberal M. P's. in the present House is very small and only amounts to 25, (if we disregard the various "shadings-off" of the Liberal Party) compared with nearly 200 Conservatives and over 400 Labour M. P's.

The Liberals have, in a certain sense, fallen victim to their own ideas; their belief in the equality of the right of every individual, whether man or woman, to personal liberty has become so generally established in Britain within the last 100 years that their programme has, in part, lost its combative quality. The Liberal Party has, furthermore, suffered more than any other of its fellows since World War I from division within its ranks. On one side there was a strong movement of its members towards the Conservatives, whilst the other section fell victim to the Labour Party. But this does not mean that henceforward, the Liberals may not be a strong spiritual force in Britain, for the great inheritance of such men as Gladstone, Asquith and Lloyd George still lives on.

The old Liberal ideas that everything is measured in terms of man, that every human being must have freedom and independence to dispose of his own destiny provided, in so doing, he does not prejudice his fellow-man's rights to freedom—these ideas have, within the last 30 or 40 years, been developed still further by the idea of "economic freedom" based on

"social security." The leading position occupied in the Liberal Party to-day by Lord Beveridge, together with Lady Violet Bonham Carter (Asquith's daughter) and Lady Megan (Lloyd George's daughter) is characteristic of this development.

LABOUR—A YOUNG PARTY

To-day, the Labour Party in the Lower House has a safe and comfortable majority—400 out of 640 M. P's, and the Labour Government in office under the leadership of Attlee can rely exclusively on its own strength for carrying out its policy. It is the first time that "Labour" has an absolute majority in Parliament, for the Party is young and has within less than 60 years been borne to power on a wave of success.

The Labour Party came into existence round about 1900 as a not very clearly defined Socialist group and its representation in Parliament under the leadership of Keir Hardie occupied the position of a diminutive Opposition. The Party only received its present form in 1918 and now, as before, its strength rests above all on the support it receives from the Trades Unions: not unjustly has it been called the "political arm of the Unions." This does not, however, mean that the Labour Party is dominated by the Unions or that these act like a closed circle within the Party.

The policy of the Labour Party is laid down in its annual conference in which all the associated organisations—the Trades Unions naturally included—express their views and, by their votes, support or attack decisions of policy. At the present moment, the Labour Party is, without doubt, the best organised and most strongly disciplined of all parties in Britain: it has more than 700,000 individual members and further to this, more than 3,000,000 trades unionists are associated members of the Party paying their membership into the Party funds. To-day, in addition to the working-class, the Party derives strong support from both the middle and the intellectuals.

THE NEW BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

THE Viceroy Lord Mountbatten who had gone to London for final consultations with the Prime Minister and the British Cabinet returned to India on May 31. And the momentous Conference of Indian leaders called by the Viceroy to decide the future constitutional structure of the country met at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi on June 2. According to the Press *communiqué* issued the same day, the Viceroy

gave the meeting a full account of his discussions both in India and in England, which had led up to the formulation of His Majesty's Government's plan, and of the arguments which had resulted in its adoption. Copies of the announcement were then handed round to the leaders.

The leaders invited to the Conference were:

Congress: Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, and Acharya J. B. Kripalani.

Muslim League: Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, and Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Sardar Baldev Singh to represent the Sikhs.

PLAN FOR TRANSFER OF POWER

The salient features of the new plan have already appeared in the press since the Viceroy's return and the general speculations have not been altogether wide of the mark. The division of India with the division also of the Punjab and Bengal are provided for in the alternative plan of the British Government for a settlement of the Indian problem. The Government announcement stated:

The Major political parties have repeatedly emphasised their desire that there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India. With this desire H. M. G. are in full sympathy, and they are willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power and the setting up of an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date.

Accordingly, as the most expeditious, and indeed the only practicable way of meeting this desire, H. M. G. propose to introduce legislation in Parliament during the current session for the transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they have authority will remain within the British Commonwealth.

The plan lays down a procedure embodying

the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of areas on the issues whether constitution was to be framed:—(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly:—or (b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly. When that had been done, it would be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) would each be asked to meet in two parts one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province.

A referendum will be taken of electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the N. W. F. Province to choose which of the alternatives they wish to adopt. The referendum would be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

British Baluchistan will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives to adopt.

If it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Government if it should be amalgamated with the new province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees.

H. M. G. make it clear that the decisions announced relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States contained in Cabinet Mission's memorandum of May 12, 1946 remains unchanged.

The Government wished to make it clear that they had no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate constitution for India. That was a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor was there anything in the plan to preclude negotiations between communities or an United India.

THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE

The alternative to partition, said the Viceroy in his broadcast, was coercion. But His Excellency made it clear that

nothing I have seen or heard in the past few weeks has shaken my firm opinion that with a reasonable measure of goodwill between the communities a unified India would be by far the best solution of the problem.

For more than a hundred years, said His Excellency.

400 millions of you have lived together, and this country has been administered as a single entity. This

has resulted in unified communications, defence, postal services and currency; an absence of tariffs and customs barriers; and the basis for an integrated political economy. My great hope was that communal differences would not destroy all this.

My first course, in all my discussions, was therefore to urge the political leaders to accept unreservedly the Cabinet Mission plan of May 16, 1946.

In my opinion, which I share with the great fighter for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi, that plan provides the best arrangement that can be devised to meet the interests of all the communities of India. To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission plan, or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India.

But there can be no question, as once again I know Mahatma Gandhi agrees, of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority, to live against their will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition.

But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain Provinces.

To my mind this argument is unassailable.

In fact neither side proved willing to leave a substantial area in which their community have a majority under the Government of the other. I am, of course, just as much opposed to the partition of Provinces as I am to the partition of India herself, and for the same basic reasons.

PANDIT NEHRU'S BROADCAST

Pandit Nehru, in his broadcast, announced that the Congress had decided to accept the British plan and to recommend its acceptance to the larger Committee. The plan, he said, promised a big advance towards complete independence and such a big change must have the full concurrence of the people before effect could be given to it. Pandit Nehru said:

It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you though I have no doubt in my mind that this is the right course. For generations we have dreamt and struggled for a free and independent United India. The proposal to allow certain parts to secede if they so will, is painful for any of us to contemplate. Nevertheless I am convinced that our present decision is the right one even from the larger viewpoint. The United India that we have laboured for was not one of compulsion and coercion but a free and willing association of a free people. It may be that in this way we will reach United India

sooner than otherwise and that she will have a strong and more secure foundation.

He re-affirmed the determination of the Government to end violence and made it clear that political ends could not be achieved by violence now or in the future.

MR. JINNAH'S RE-ACTION TO THE PLAN

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, said in his broadcast that the final decision on H. M. G.'s plan could only be taken by the League Council which was meeting on June 9, but so far as he could gather "on the whole the reaction in Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful." "Of course," added Mr. Jinnah, "the plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before the final decision can be taken."

Mr. Jinnah most earnestly appealed to every community, and particularly to Muslim India, to maintain peace and order.

The League President requested the Provincial Muslim League in the Frontier to withdraw the movement of "peaceful civil disobedience." He felt confident that the people of the Frontier would give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

THE SIKH VIEW

Sardar Baldev Singh in his broadcast said that the plan announced by H. M. G. steered a course obviously above the conflicting claims.

It is not a compromise. I prefer to call it a settlement. It does not please everybody, not the Sikh community anyway, but it is certainly something worthwhile. Let us take it at that.

MR. ATTLEE'S STATEMENT IN THE COMMONS

India would have Dominion Status this year, said Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. She might leave the British Commonwealth later, if she wished, he added. Commending the plan as the "best practical method of entertaining the wishes of the people in the areas concerned," Mr. Attlee observed that

the British Government wished to make it clear that they had no intention of attempting to frame the ultimate constitution for India. This was a matter for Indians themselves. Nor was there anything in Government's plan to preclude negotiations between the communities for a united India.

Declaring that the British Government was in full sympathy with the desire of the major Indian political parties for the earliest possible transfer of power in India, Mr. Attlee said that

Government was willing to anticipate the date of June 1948 for the handing over of power by setting up an independent Indian Government or Governments at an even earlier date.

Accordingly Government proposed to introduce legislation during the current session for transfer of power this year on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken as a result of this announcement.

This would be without prejudice to the right of the Indian Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether or not the part of India in respect of which they had authority would remain within the British Commonwealth.

MR. CHURCHILL'S SUPPORT TO GOVT. PLAN

Support for the Government's plan to introduce Legislation conferring Dominion Status on India was given by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons after Mr. Attlee had announced the British Government's decision.

Mr. Churchill said that the two conditions on which he had been insisting—agreement among Indian parties and an interim period of Dominion Status—having been met, he would support the scheme and would not oppose any legislation brought to implement it. Support from such a quarter with its notorious record of hatred against the Labour government and Indian interests, is always suspect. "My objection to the Prime Minister's statement is very much strengthened by the fact that he (Mr. Churchill) supports it," said Mr. Gallacher.

VICEROY AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE

Addressing a Press Conference on the 4th, Lord Mountbatten explained British intentions at some length.

"Power will be transferred as completely this year as it ever would have been by June 1948", said the Viceroy. He added that the British would leave when they were told to leave. They were here just to assist the parties and nothing more.

The Viceroy explained the British Government's attitude towards States in reply to questions. But the position of the States remains as nebulous as ever. He said States would be free agents to enter either Constituent Assembly or make such arrangements as might be necessary. They cannot enter separately as Dominions.

Lord Mountbatten added that the British would help the States to reach agreement with the parties in India.

MACHINERY TO SETTLE DETAILS

It is realised that speed is the first consideration to-day. In view of this urgency the preliminary steps towards the partition of India were taken at a Conference of the seven Indian leaders and the Viceroy, on Thursday the 5th June. It was decided at the Conference to set up a small high-power Committee consisting of representatives of the Congress, the League and the Sikhs and presided over by the Viceroy to consider the problems connected with the plan for two Dominions.

It is recognised that it will be almost impossible to complete all phases of partition within the eight weeks at the end of which it is hoped to set up the two Dominion Governments. It is, therefore, intended to settle the broad principles of division and to set up machinery to work out details which will take much longer than two months to settle.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY MR. B. NATESAN

Divided India

PARTITION is an evil thing which will ultimately prove disastrous to the best interests of India, whether of Hindustan or Pakistan. It will weaken our position in the world and give rise to a crop of difficulties, internal and external, from which it will be no easy matter to escape. Vivisected India will cease to be the great world force of our dreams which it was expected to become by virtue of her growing strength and importance. That has been the cardinal faith of all people, except, of course, the Muslim Leaguers. But if the League insists on such Partition how can we prevent it except by force which we unhesitatingly condemn? That is the overriding consideration that weighs with all those who are now compelled to acquiesce in division, reluctantly though, and much against their better judgment. But where is the alternative plan which both parties could accept? We have wasted years in trying to convince them that our salvation lay in Union. We have also made it plain that no section could be forced against its will to join the Union and co-operation should be purely voluntary. Under such circumstances what is the course left open to us but to accept the inevitable and make the best of a bad situation?

It is, of course, a great tragedy that we cannot agree among ourselves even as to procedure. To our shame, even that has to be decided by others, however well intentioned at the moment they may be. It is painful and humiliating to reflect that it should be so. That the division of India goes against the grain of all patriotic people, that it is warranted neither by history nor tradition and is altogether a needless and painful operation is patent to all. Particularly it must be so to Britishers who, to their credit be it said, that in spite of everything else, have done not a little to give coherence and unity to India,

during the last 150 years. And yet, it is the mischievous and unholy attempt of British reactionaries in the past that first planned separate electorates, and lured the minorities with false hopes and brought the country to this pass. But there is no use repenting at this hour.

One feature of the plan which sustains our hopes of ultimate unity is that the actual constitution will not be an imposed one. Whatever is done will be done by us and no third party will be there to dictate or mis-guide us. The responsibility will therefore be all the greater and it is yet hoped that that sense of responsibility will teach us the value of united and common effort and understanding in matters of All-India interest. May it be that such a painful division alone will teach us all the more the virtues of deeper co-operation in such vital things as defence and foreign affairs; or will it merely aggravate existing differences and set the seal of complete separation of brother from brother? The future alone can tell.

Whatever the destiny in store for us all are agreed that Lord Mountbatten has, with great patience and understanding, made his best efforts to implement the generous intentions to which the Labour Prime Minister gave utterance the other day that there was nothing in the Government's plan to preclude negotiations between the communities for a *United India*.

In spite of the set back that the concept of a free, United India has received, the India of geography, of history and tradition, the India of our minds and hearts, as Pandit Nehru said, cannot change.

Clearly, this is not a solution, but as Sir Aurobindo says:

It is a test, an ordeal. . . In spite of all, India has a single soul and while we have to wait till we can speak of an India one and indivisible, our cry must be "let the soul of India live for ever."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

British Labour and Colonial Policy

THE resolution on colonial policy accepted by the executive of the Labour Party which met at Margate last month the Government not only urged to abandon the imperialism of the past, but to make reparation for it by colonial development and effective fight against disease, poverty, ignorance and malnutrition. It asked that—

1. Officials appointed as Governors should be competent civil administrators.
2. Higher administrative and technical posts should be in practice open to the native population.
3. Expert and administrative staffs should be appointed from those who are in sympathy with the local people.
4. Coloured races in crown colonies should be given equal status and opportunity with the white races and to this end the standard of general education be raised.
5. Industrial and agricultural development be given priority to ensure full employment and better standards of living for coloured people who should be accorded full trade Union rights.
6. Steps should be taken to ensure that the socialist measures outlined by the Colonial Office are fully explained to all officials concerned so that the schemes may be carried out quickly and effectively.

Military Training for U. S. Citizens

A commission of enquiry on military preparedness, appointed by the United States President, has submitted its report, recommending compulsory military training for all U. S. male citizens, at an annual cost of \$1,750 million. The report also urges the expenditure of more billions of dollars on defence projects and development of a powerful, mobile, striking force.

Mr. Bevin on World Peace

"The peace of the world in future and for many years to come will depend to a very large extent on the solution of the Indian problem," said Mr. Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, addressing the Labour Party Conference on May 29.

"That is one of the places," Mr. Bevin went on, "where if by any chance there is a breakdown or chaos or civil war it might create the vacuum of which everybody is frightened."

The Conference gave overwhelming support to Mr. Bevin's foreign policy and delegates stood up and cheered the Foreign Secretary as he sat down.

The Palestine Issue

Sir Abdur Rahman, the Indian delegate to the United Nations Fact-Finding Committee on Palestine who reached New York from India on May 28, deplored the reported Arab intention of "boycotting" Committee. He told *Reuter*.

I really do not see what useful purpose such a step would possibly serve. The members of the Committee have not made up their minds and could not if they were not in possession of the full facts. The task before the Committee is extremely difficult and I hope, will not be made difficult by any interested party. The terms of reference are wide enough and do not assume to be either in favour or against the contentions advanced by either party."

Anti-Indian Regime in East Africa

"There is no case for East Africa to place immigration restrictions on Indians either for political or economic reasons and the white settlers are endeavouring to do so only because they want to save these colonies for the British Empire at great loss to Indian industrial enterprise in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya," observed Mr. Dawood Naseer in the course of his report submitted to the Government of India. Mr. Dawood Naseer further stated that the administrations of the colonies were "universally anti-Indian."



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



THE SON OF ADAM. By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. Padma Publications, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

The anguished soul of Robert Burns sang of "man's inhumanity to man. In sadder accents, gifted Harindranath laments the arrogance and heartlessness of man towards the 'Lesser Brotherhood of brutes and beasts.' A pea-cock and pea-hen, afraid of the 'preying brute and prowling beast,' seek a lone island where they are met by a terrified Duck which relates to them his dream of the son of Adam, who "behind his soft alluring smile hides a poison cup of juice." It seeks the protection of the king of beasts—the lion, which in its fear of man runs to a cave for safety. There they are met by an ass, a horse and a camel who each in turn unfolds his tale of woe at the hands of man who takes all the service out of them and finally consigns them to the Butcher's knife. The son of Adam in the guise of a carpenter seeks to build a palace of wood which proves a trap for the lion. The cunning and cruelty of man finally triumphs. The poet evidently despairs of man's humanity. Here is a challenge for another to justify the ways of man to the rest of the creation.

LIGHT FOUNTAIN. By Prism. Sivananda Publication League, Ananda Kutir.

Those who are interested in Yoga and spiritual life will be greatly benefitted by a perusal of this ably-written biography of Swami Sivananda, a well-known expositor of Yoga, who after practising as a doctor entered the path of spiritual regeneration. According to him Yoga is service, and the duty of Karma Yogins is to work for god in man. As he has dedicated his life for the spiritual elevation of humanity, the biographer has aptly termed him 'the fountain of light.'

STYLISH HOMES. Vol. I. Mani Pusthakasalai, Publishers, Madras.

Crowded cities and ever-increasing population have given home construction the first place in town planning. Here are 80 designs to suit all tastes and purses. Style and comfort are equally provided for in these designs whose plinth areas range from 950 sq. ft. to 1500. The cost of each type can be easily calculated on the basis of prices in the respective localities and the quality of the materials used. The professional, no less than the prospective builders will find the book of immense interest.

NERVOUS DISORDERS AND CHARACTER. By J. G. McKenzie, M.A., D.D. (Aberdeen), Jesse Boot Professor in Social Science and Psychology, Paton College, Nottingham. George Allen and Unwin, London.

The persistence of what are known as neurotic symptoms and their reappearance even after a good treatment has ever been the subject of investigation especially in the psychological circles. In this collection of four essays delivered in connection with the Tate Lectures for 1944 in the Manchester College, Oxford, Dr. McKenzie courageously and illuminatingly deals with these two vitally important aspects in what he calls Pastoral Psychology. He says that Pastors in their ministry can render very efficient help in this sphere. The Pastor's field is as much limited as that of professional Psycho-therapist. The technique of the professional in bringing into consciousness the "repressions" out of the "unconscious" is the negative phase, while that of the Pastor's is the positive. The writer points out that the work of the latter starts where the former ends. That a positive theistic philosophy of life and moral rearmament only would bring about the regeneration of Man is commendably stressed.

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POLITICS OF CHARKA: By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Vora & Co., Round Building Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

In this small book Acharya Kripalani deals with the strategy of the Gandhian Constructive programme and its significance in Indian politics. He analyses in turn the organisational, political and revolutionary implications of Charka and Khadi, Village Industries and Constructive programme and its implications and outlines the strategy of freedom's fight. Finally he puts forward a plea for unity between the Right, Centre and Left for the achievement of complete independence.

FREEDOM FROM WANT: The International Aspect. By Edward Charles: Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. 1sh.

In this short pamphlet Mr. Edward Charles makes an attempt to sketch out the structure of a system of international economic collaboration and an approach to the problems with which it must deal. Economic freedom is perhaps the most important of all the freedoms and the author discusses the several factors such as commodity controls, foreign trade, exchange and investment which vitally affect the resources and politics of a nation in its effort to secure full employment so essential for stable peace.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BURMA PAMPHLETS: Burma Facts and Figures of the Burma Petroleum Industry, Longmans & Green & Co., Mount Road, Madras. Re. 1 each.

HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. By Bertrand Russell. George Allen & Unwin, London.

POST-WAR PLANNING OF INDIAN DEFENCE SERVICES. By Brij Narain. Indian Institute of International Affairs, New Delhi.

THE SOUTH INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE. December 1945. Published by the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras. Containing an account of the proceedings of the Conference opened by H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, at the Bangueting Hall, presidential address by Sir M. Visvesvaraya and welcome address by Dr. Sir Rm. Alagappa Chettiar.

STUDIES IN INDO-BRITISH ECONOMY HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By N. C. Sinha. With an Introduction by Radhakamal Mukerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta.

DALE CARNEGIE'S BIOGRAPHICAL ROUND UP. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

CONFLICT OF RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA. By P. S. Aiyar, Formerly Editor of *African Chronicle* and *S. A. Indian Review*. Published by The African Chronicle Printing Works, Durban.

IBN MASHKAWAH: A study of his Al-Fad' Al-Asghar by Khwaja Abdul Hamid, M.A. Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By B. N. Rohatgi, M.A., Bhadrabilas Press, Bankipore.

ESSAYS IN CONSTITUTION MAKING. By M. Ruthnaswamy. Good Pastor Press, Armenian Street, G. T. Madras.

STATES AND MINORITIES. What are their rights and how to secure them in the constitution of a Free India? By B. R. Ambedkar. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOGI. By Paramhansa Yogananda, The Philosophical Library, New York.

THE GREAT BEYOND. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Philosophical Library, New York.

INDIA CAN LEAD. By Kewal Motwani. Shree Samarth Sadan, Chira Bazaar, Bombay 2.

INSIDE CONGRESS. Swami Shradhdhanand. Foreword by Shri Deshbandhu Gupta. Shri Samarth Sadan, Chira Bazaar, Bombay.

GANDHI OR AMBEDKAR? By A. Harijan. Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Gandhi Era Publications, 7 Woods Road, Madras.

CULTURAL CIVILIZATION (Broadcast Talk) by L. P. Jacks. Gurdas Kapur & Sons, Lahore.

FURTHER SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY (IN 3 VOLS.) By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, University of Madras.

PANCAPRAKRIYA OF SARVAJNATMAN. Edited by T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D., University of Madras.

INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM. Containing the objectives, Resolution of the constituent Assembly and the two speeches thereon by Jawaharlal Nehru. Director of Publicity, Constituent Assembly of India, Council House, New Delhi.

FOOD AND DIET IN THE MAURITIAN EMPIRE. By "Krishivala", Madras Chamber of Agriculture Broadway, Madras 6 as.

FAR EAST IN TURMOIL. By Amal Bhattacharji, Saturday Mail, Ahmerst Street, Calcutta.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. Congress Cabinet meets in Delhi. Consamby guarantees freedom of religion.
- May 2. The Constituent Assembly adjourns.
- May 3. Gandhiji meets Viceroy.
- May 4. Sir Akbar Hydari takes charge as Governor of Assam.
- May 5. Viet Nam asks for peace.
- May 6. Commons complain against "iron curtain" over Japan.
- May 7. Dr. Dalton makes a sensational statement on Britain's war debts.
- May 8. Socialist J. P. Narain arrested in Hyderabad for defying order of externment.
- May 9. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari unveils portrait of late Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar at Ranade Hall, Madras.
- May 10. Leaders' Conference to meet on May 17.
- May 11. Viceroy postpones Leaders' Conference to June 2.
- May 12. Royal family returns to England from S. African tour.
- May 13. Calcutta Corporation demands partition of Bengal.
- Asaf Ali urges U. N. to bring Arabs and Jews together to solve Palestine question.
- May 14. Dr. Prasad, Food Member of Interim Government, warns against impending food shortage.
- C. R. and Rajen Babu presented with civic address in Madras.
- May 15. Pay Commission's report published.
- Viceroy invited by H. M. G. for talks.
- May 16. Sir John Colville to act for Viceroy and Sir S. V. Ramamurthi to act as Governor of Bombay.
- May 17. Train disaster in Bengal-Assam Railway.
- May 18. Viscount Mountbatten leaves for London.
- May 19. Lord Mountbatten confers with Mr. Attlee and the British Cabinet.
- May 20. Egypt demands immediate withdrawal of British troops.
- Aung San presents draft constitution for Burma.
- May 21. Mr. Jinnah demands Corridor between Pakistan and Hindustan.
- May 22. 15,000 Government employees in Indore (including clerks and peons) go on strike demanding increase in pay.
- Tetsu Katayama is elected Prime Minister of Japan.
- May 23. Udaipur Ruler's call to Princes to join the Consamby.
- May 24. The Anglo-Indians of Bengal meet and condemn the Partition move.
- May 25. H. E. H. the Nizam introduces compulsory primary education in 6 districts of his State.
- Pudukotah decides to join the Constituent Assembly.
- May 26. Dr. Hochi Minh, Viet Nam President rejects French demands for unconditional surrender.
- British Labour Party Conference meets at Margate.
- May 27. Moscow radio announces abolition of death sentence in Soviet Union.
- May 28. The Scheduled Castes Conference of Bengal meets in Calcutta and demands immediate partition.
- B & C Mills workers who went on strike agree to arbitration.
- May 30. Lord Mountbatten arrives in India.
- Mr. V. V. Giri is appointed Government of India's representative in Ceylon.
- May 31. Congress executive meets in Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi attending.
- Gurgaon in flames: riot in 30 villages.
- B & C Mills Union leader arrested in Madras for defying ban.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



LORD PETHICK LAWRENCE

The retirement of Lord Pethick Lawrence from the stewardship of India has occasioned many a genuine tribute to his great qualities of head and heart. Mr. M. S. Srinivasan, writing in *Swatantra*, calls attention to his many sided activities in political and social spheres in a well balanced appreciation of his career as a citizen of the world. Among the occupants of Whitehall, there have been all sorts from rank idlers to rash idealists, but the greatness of Lord Pethick Lawrence rests in his capacity to handle complicated situations with vision and understanding. He will be remembered as one who strove his best to give a turn to the affairs of India.

"A western scholar by temperament and an eastern philosopher in outlook, his genius is not suited for the rough and tumble of English ministerial life. He is the very antithesis of Mr. Churchill, whose mordant speeches, the "masterpiece of camouflage," and theatrical simulations he had learnt to repel. His attitude to revolts, imperial and national, is in general based upon Gladstone's superb remark: "If no considerations in a political crisis had been addressed to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience the liberties of this country would never have been obtained." His conception of world-brotherhood enlivened by his sense of the divine in man leads his robust commonsense to the conclusion: "We are conscious of a guidance which shapes our ends and lights our path. One day a greater light will be given to us; and in anticipation of that day we trim the lamps of our hearts so that when it comes it may irradiate our lives." I salute the Englishman who sees in me the same composite fragment of a Great Life as in himself."

THE LEAGUE'S DREAM

The Muslim League must be quickly disillusioned of the belief that they could capture the whole of Bengal and the Punjab, says Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, writing in *The New Statesman and the Nation*.

"It may be that disintegration will have already set in so far that a transfer of Civil Government machinery centrally will be impossible. To meet this difficulty and still keep up the pressure on the Muslim League to co-operate with Congress, the British should declare unequivocally that complete authority cannot be handed over to any Provincial Government in a province where the minority amounts to nearly half the total population. The Muslim League must be quickly disillusioned of the belief that they could capture the whole of Bengal and the Punjab through our good offices.

On the same principle, which might prevent complete power from being given to Congress at the centre because the British cannot be a party to imposing constitution on unwilling parts of the country, the Muslim League should only get control of the areas where they are in undisputed majority. In effect, Bengal and the Punjab would be partitioned, entailing the loss of so much in industrial potential, and agricultural productivity, that Pakistan would no longer seem worth while.

"If the Government is not willing to define such a course of action in the near future, civil war and mass terror will be the portion for the second half of 1948. India will not thank us to carve her up on our own initiative. If it were done fairly it would make permanent enemies of the Muslims. If favour were shown to the Muslims, the Hindus would be ranged bitterly against us for all time. Every effort must be made to see that any carving-up there may be coming from Indian action alone."

BRITAIN AND INDIAN ART

In a strongly worded article in the *United Nations World*, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy points out that Indian culture and the arts have deteriorated under British control. English education, according to him has undermined the very roots of a great tradition of culture in India and "poisoned the lives of the people", as he says. The assumption of political power by England cast upon her an obligation to preserve and foster a tradition of culture which she is ill-fitted to execute.

Zetland, in "The Legacy of India", laments that after a hundred and fifty years of British rule in India "it comes as something of a shock to discover how little has been added during that time to the legacy of India in the (cultural) sense in which the word is here employed." Nehru, our Foreign Minister, has had to admit that "I am a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere"; Jinnah knows little or nothing of Islam: theirs was an "Anglo-Indian" education.

What had such an unstable and groundless culture to offer that might have added something to the cultural inheritance of India?

A further responsibility assumed by the British servants of India, as successors of Indian princes, was that of the patronage of literature, music, architecture and all the other arts. One might have expected here a certain modesty, or consciousness at least of an average Englishman's absolute lack of the connoisseurship and power of discrimination that such a part demands.

For instance, the Indian royal patron of the dance—an art of immemorial antiquity in India, and there developed to a pitch of refinement almost unimaginable in modern Europe—is expected to be "versed in musical science, in the moods and their expression, familiar with customary etiquette and an expert connoisseur of all the arts"; and an Englishman might well have doubted his ability to fill this bill in India. Instead of that, we do not find that the moral obligation was recognized at all; the Englishman imported his own cultural environment from Europe, sacrificing nothing and learning nothing but to take a daily bath; and he taught the princes, whom he "protected" in idle irresponsibility, by precept and example, to organize brass bands inferior to any that could be found in the provinces of Europe, and to spend their revenues not on their own hereditary craftsmen, but in buying shiploads of pretentious and

expensive furniture with which to bedizen the new palaces that had been built for them by English architects ignorant of the Indian tradition and of the capacities of Indian craftsmen.

Dr. Coomaraswamy concludes with a protest against Christian missionary propaganda which, with the best will in the world, cannot but be deleterious to the interests of India.

What kind of picture do you think the missionary, even supposing him well informed, could afford to paint, if he was to persuade such audiences to supply the needed funds? Surely not a bright one, nor even a fair one. All the failings of an un-Christian society, whether or not identical with those that are to be found also in Christian societies, so called, must be emphasized, and over-emphasized, if the hearts of the audience are to be adequately wrung and its children persuaded to contribute their pennies.

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN CULTURE

It is a common place to say that Indian Culture has a great antiquity. It is the underlying principle that animates the entire country and gives a vitality and breath to the institutions that enliven it. Prof P. S. Shastri, writing in *The Social Welfare*, points out how the spirit of that culture has permeated the nation through all the ages from the Vedic to modern times. This Spirit of Vedic culture was manifested in two important ways.

First, the seers were bent upon popularising and spreading their culture in a peaceful way. They could succeed in such a way that the early Dravidians became the first converts to the Vedic culture. This is amply revealed in the fact that the entire eighth mandala of Rigveda is the work of non-Aryans.

The next aspect of Vedic culture is the martial spirit coupled with the moral integrity of man. The spirit of Vedic culture was later revived by Sri Krishna in the Gita.

Arjuna is unwilling to fight with his own kinsmen, though he knows full well that his cause is just. Justice is an impersonal factor which eschews the personal or subjective interests. It is always based on the principle of morality. Now Arjuna is found to be dissociating the cause of Morality or that of the society from that of justice with the intrusion of the selfish or the egoistic. Morality or Dharma—*Sittlichkeit*—is far higher and nobler than the personality of the finite individual. Herein lies the justification for the categorical imperative of the Lord combined with the station and duties of man.

When the Buddhists revolted against the Vedic Culture the custodians of the Vedic Culture began to realise the necessity of a practical order of Social existence born of the freedom of worship.

The principle of Morality was found to be too rigorous. Hence they incorporated readily into their fold certain principles of social existence which were long neglected. One such is that of Toleration. The other is the community of interest. The third is the progressive assimilation of what is best in others. Hence when the Muslims began to settle in our midst, from the Islamic culture we incorporated the ideal of Unity. We revived the broad principle of the martial cult based on a moral background. This is crystallised in the Bhavani cult of Shivaji.

All the important religions of the world have a historic necessity. They have come to fulfil a definite purpose assigned to them in various centuries and at various times and claims.

It is in the historical necessity of things that man should be constantly reminded of the Moral Consciousness which means Duty unto God and unto man. It is this spirit that is constantly dinned into our ears in the Indian culture. . . And in this background the Indian culture reveals that its essential principle of existence lies in the progressive assimilation of the best that is in other cultures and religions, in the broad principle of service to humanity, in the moral integrity of Man and finally in the will to be free. This freedom is social, political, and religious.

BRITISH DEBT TO EGYPT

Britain has no valid excuse for not paying her debt to Egypt, declares the *Manchester Guardian* in a leading article. "Behind the political demonstration of an appeal to the Security Council lie two more formidable and fundamental problems, the general strategic position in the Middle East and the future economic relations of Britain and Egypt.

It writes: "Of the first, one can say only at this time, that members of the Security Council can hardly help keeping it at the back of their minds through the coming hearing. The second presents extremely difficult questions. Morally the issue is plain enough. We owe Egypt about £450,000,000 and there is no decent ground for refusing to pay, over such period and in such form as may be practicable. It is not adequate excuse to

say that this sum was spent to preserve Egypt from the Germans and Italians and that the credit which Egypt gave us was therefore, a sort of 'lease-lend.'

"They were not asked whether they wished to be preserved and indeed Egypt might never have been attacked if the Suez Canal had not been a point of major strategic interest to the Allies. It is still more unconvincing to plead the poverty of Britain and importance of not lowering the standard of living of the British people. The common people of Egypt live and have lived for centuries at a standard immeasurably lower than that of Britain.

"The real difficulty is not a moral but technical one. It is to devise some form of repayment which is at once practicable and in conformity with the provisions of the Bretton Woods agreement, the condition of the American loan to Britain and the preservation of international trading conditions under which Egypt as well as Britain will benefit."

What, is said of Egypt is equally, and even more true of India!

FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN THE EAST

The New York *Herald Tribune* in a leading article says: "Fortunately the British have resisted the temptation to take advantage of the Indian dispute to try to remain in power in India. The British have shown judgment superior to that of the French in Indo-China, who seem to be acting on the assumption that they could bring about an internal conflict that would make it possible for them to continue French exploitation.

"Some Dutch officials in Indonesia with little perception have been encouraged by minority elements in Java, who have announced non-existent revolts in efforts to stir up a controversy. These officials who refuse to face new facts are increasing the obstacles facing wiser men who are striving for peace.

MASS TRANSFER OF POPULATIONS

Mass transfer of populations such as effected in Europe is out of question in India and the only solution lies in the redrawing of the provincial boundaries, states Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, late Principal of the Deccan College, Poona, in an article in the *Spectator* on Indian political background.

"The Punjab," he says, "must be divided so as to give autonomy to the districts where Hindus and Sikhs predominate and partition of Bengal must be revised—a need recognized in a recent speech by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

"But these decisions can only be taken by Indians themselves and the determination to fix a date for British withdrawal will probably in the end have a salutary effect. It is doubtful whether any alien Power can effect the sweeping changes necessary to bring about rehabilitation of rural economy—abolition of illiteracy and indebtedness and fragmentation of land on the one hand and break-up of the great landed estates in the zamindari provinces on the other. But at least we can claim that foundations have been well and truly laid. During the period of transition India cannot stand alone; she must range herself on the side of some great Power. The ties of long association and common culture point to England."

COMMUNAL TROUBLES

Commenting on the recrudescence of communal trouble in Calcutta, *New Orissa* writes editorially:

So long as the League is allowed to pursue its avowedly disruptive activities, it

would serve no permanent purpose to suppress the communal troubles in a spasmodic manner. Of course, wherever the forces of disorder appear, decisive steps must be taken to quell it, but that would be in the nature of suppressing the appearance of the local symptoms leaving aside the causes of the main disease intact. If the main cause of the communal bitterness is to be totally eliminated, the Muslim League must be disarmed in a manner to eliminate its dangerous activities, failing that it must be totally annihilated.

The Government must take serious note of the fact that the League's activities endanger the life and property of the people, Hindus and Muslims both, in addition to being a constant menace to the peace and tranquillity of the country. Whatever the British views regarding the League, any Government entrusted with the task of the administration of this country cannot but regard it in its present role as the most dangerous factor for the present and future of the country and must take decisive steps to crush it."

LOCATION OF RAYON INDUSTRY

Rayon can be economically manufactured in India from bamboo pulp and bagasse, the waste product from sugar industry. Travancore seems to be eminently suitable for the location of this industry as it has the best species of bamboo for pulp-making. If suitable pulp from ordinary bamboo can be successfully manufactured, there is ample scope in Bengal where coal, chemicals and water transport are available in addition to bamboo. These are the conclusions of the Cellulose Research Committee of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, which are briefly summarised in an article in the *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

SIR MIRZA FOR DELHI TALKS

It is understood that Sir Mirza M. Ismail has consented to represent Hyderabad at the forth-coming constitutional discussions at Delhi after the Viceroy's return. The question of the consideration of his resignation will be postponed till the conclusion of the deliberations at Delhi.

Various reasons are ascribed for the resignation. It is stated in certain quarters that there had been differences between him and the Nizam on matters of policy relating to Hyderabad joining the Constituent Assembly and the Indian Union.

RAJEN BABU ON FOOD SUPPLY

The assurance that Hyderabad State would receive sympathetic consideration in the matter of her needs in foodgrains was given by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member, Interim Government, when he addressed members of the Food Advisory Council at Hyderabad prior to his departure for Delhi.

No political considerations weighed with the Government of India in regard to the food problem which was always kept above politics and communal bias, he declared. He described the present year as critical in matters of food.

BRITISH TROOPS IN NIZAM'S STATE

A Press Note issued in New Delhi says that reports have appeared in the Press about an article published in Moscow that Hyderabad State is being turned into a British military base. This suggestion and the suggestion that British officers and units on withdrawal from their stations in India would be centred in Hyderabad are totally without foundation.

Mysore

STATE PEOPLE'S CALL TO DEWAN

The Dewan of Mysore would not be right in waiting for the expected declaration of the British Cabinet. Nothing in the State turned on that declaration, said Mr. K. T. Bashyam, ex-President of the Mysore State Congress and member of the Working Committee, delivering the inaugural address of Mithra Sangha.

"Whether India is divided or not, we are bound to have Responsible Government in the State", declared Mr. Bashyam and called upon the Dewan to act with speed, courage and determination in implementing the promises made by him.

Mr. Bashyam earlier said that it was idle and dangerous to think of Mysore as a separate Sovereign State. "It is impracticable and unsafe alike for Mysore and for India. People of every State and from every part of India must voluntarily combine into a united people of India, with a strong Central Government able to maintain law and order at home and resist invasion from abroad. Otherwise, history will repeat itself and we shall once again be enslaved by a powerful military nation.

TOTAL PROHIBITION IN FIVE YEARS

The Prohibition Committee appointed by the Government of Mysore has submitted its report. Important recommendations of the Committee are that total Prohibition should be introduced in Mysore State within five years beginning from 1947-48 and that it should be gradually brought into effect in all parts of the State simultaneously by annual reduction of 20 per cent. in the number of toddy shops and in the quantity of liquor produced.

Baroda**SIR B. L. MITTER'S TENTATIVE
SCHEME**

Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, disclosed in an interview that he had framed a tentative scheme for forming a large unit of Kathiawar and Gujarat States forming part of the Indian Union and with Baroda as capital. He said he would place the scheme before the States concerned as soon as the British Government's decision on division of India was known.

The Dewan added that the unit would be formed on a purely voluntary basis, taking into consideration linguistic, ethnological and cultural affinities.

Referring to the progress made by the Constituent Assembly, whose recent session he had attended as a representative of Baroda, Sir B. L. Mitter said the work now being done by the Assembly would not be wasted even if India was divided. It would be available for the Indian Union, which would comprise section "A" of the Cabinet Mission plan, a large number of federating States and, possibly, parts of the Punjab and Bengal, which would not go into Pakistan.

MOVE AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY

Further steps to remove untouchability in the State are being taken by the Government. Untouchables are now allowed to move in the public motor service buses without any distinction. The Government have warned the Caste Hindus that any case of assault on untouchables will be severely dealt with.

Travancore**TRAVANCORE'S FUTURE**

Addressing a Press Conference at Trivandrum on May 17, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar Dewan of Travancore, said that Travancore would for the sake of unity readily undertake any sacrifice to come into a unified India. He added that as it was now clear that there was to be no such unified India, Travancore should not be forced to barter away her inherent independence.

Travancore Government had entered into an arrangement with the Indian Government for the purpose of conjoint research on mineral sands and mica research. They had also entered into certain arrangements with the British Government for a joint research and exploitation of the mineral sands of Travancore and production of atomic energy.

Announcing this at a Press Conference on May 17, at "Bhakti Vilas", Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, clarified the attitude of the Travancore Government with regard to the internal problems and those affecting her relations with British India, England, America and other countries.

DR. RAJEN BABU'S PLEA

It would not be possible for Travancore to cut adrift from the rest of India. While it is not the intention of British India to force the issue, circumstances would make it necessary for Travancore and other States to join the Indian Union. It is to be hoped that the authorities in Travancore would have the foresight and intelligence to do the right thing in this respect, said Dr. Rajendra Prasad, speaking at a reception organised by the Travancore State Congress at Trivandrum on May 17.

Indore**REFORMS FOR INDORE**

H. H. the Maharaja of Holkar in the course of his reply to an address presented by the Indore Municipal Council said: he would make an announcement soon on Indore reforms. He also said: "I share with all my countrymen a feeling of profound happiness and pride at the opportunity of greater independence and all round development which almost immediately appears available to India as a whole."

The Maharaja pleaded for a spirit of tolerance, co-operation and statesmanship for the solution of problems "which will be required in a measure as perhaps never before if our motherland is to emerge a united and a strong country."

MR. R. G. HORTON

His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore has appointed Mr. R. G. Horton, C.I.E., Deputy Prime Minister, as Prime Minister of Indore on the retirement of Raja Gyannath.

Patiala**PATIALA RULER'S GESTURE**

To afford immediate relief and succour to the refugees from Hazara district and other places in the North-West Frontier Province, H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala has set up a representative committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Hardit Singh Malik, the Chief Minister.

His Highness has issued orders that such of the refugees who wish to settle in the State be given employment in all departments of the State and those who wish to start business in the State be rendered financial help.

Bhopal**INTERIM MINISTRY FOR BHOPAL**

An important step in Bhopal's constitutional progress was taken on April 11 with the appointment by H. H. the Nawab of Bhopal of a new Interim Ministry with a non-official majority.

His Highness has appointed the following members to be three non-official members of his Executive Council: Mr. Muzaffar Ali Khan (Muslim League) Mr. Saeedullah Razmi (Congress) and Mr. Bhairon Prasad (Hindu Mahasabha).

The New Government will now consist of: Raja Sir Oudh Narain Bisarya, Prime Minister, Mr. K. F. Haider, Finance Minister, Mr. Muzaffar Ali Khan, Revenue Minister, Mr. Saeedullah Razmi, Education and Public Health Minister and Mr. Bhairon Prasad, Public Works Minister.

The Ministers took their oaths of allegiance and received the insignia of office at a special meeting at the Palace presided over by the Prime Minister on April 15, 1947.

Cochin**COCHIN COUNCIL**

The Cochin Legislative Council is allowed to elect a President of its own. Certain amendments in the Cochin Constitutional Act have become necessary and His Highness the Maharaja has accordingly promulgated a Constitutional (Amendment) Act which comes into force immediately.

General**PRINCES' CHAMBER**

The decision of a number of Indian Princes to join the Constituent Assembly has made the position of the Nawab of Bhopal as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes uncomfortable and his resignation tendered sometime ago has been accepted. It is understood that the Maharaja of Patiala may succeed him.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

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South Africa

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO S. A.

Mahatma Gandhi has given the following message to Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker on the eve of their return to South Africa to be conveyed to Field-Marshal Smuts, the European community, the African and Colour people and to Satyagrahis:

"Field-Marshal Smuts is a trustee for the Western civilisation. I still cling to the hope that he will not sustain it on the suppression of Asiatics and Africans. South Africa should present a blend of the three.

"To the people of South Africa to whom I am no stranger, I would say they should not make the position of their representatives impossible by their unwarranted prejudice against colour. The future is surely not with the so-called white races if they keep themselves in purdah. The attitude of unreason will mean a third war which sane people should avoid. Political co-operation among all the exploited races in South Africa can only result in mutual goodwill if it is wisely directed and based on Truth and Non-violence.

"I have no doubt that those South African Indians who seek to create division will do harm to themselves and to the great cause of liberty for which the movement of Satyagraha has stood and must stand. To the Satyagrahis I would advise strict adherence to the fundamentals of Satyagraha which literally means force of Truth and this is for ever invincible. The Satyagrahis of South Africa should know that they have India at their back in their struggle for preserving the self-respect of Indians in South Africa."

BOYCOTT OF INDIANS IN TRANSVAAL

The United Nations Association at Johannesburg passed a resolution saying that it desired "to uphold the principles of tolerance between nations as set forth in the Charter."

Malaya

UNDERPAID INDIAN LABOUR

Indian labourers on Malayan rubber plantations are not receiving wages commensurate with their working ability, Mr. S. K. Chettur, Representative of the Government of India in Malaya, told reporters at a press conference after he returned from a 11-day tour of plantations in the State of Pahang, one of the Peninsula's most productive rubber areas.

"Under existing wage scales, the male Indian adult receives about \$1.30 (Straits Dollars) daily, while the adult female Indian tapper is paid \$1.15. At the same time, the Chinese tappers, working alongside the Indians, receive from \$3.00 to \$3.50 daily, for the same work."

"I will admit that the Chinese tapper is able to tap a larger number of trees than the Indian labourer," Mr. Chettur said. "The Chinese averages from 25 to 35 per cent. more trees than the Indian, daily. Even so, if wages were predicated on a ratio of efficiency of labour, the Indian, if paid on a comparable basis, would be entitled to from \$2.30 to \$2.40 a day which is a dollar more than he is now actually receiving."

East Africa

INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA

The Indian community in Tanganyika, at a meeting at Dar-es-Salaam on April 12, categorically rejected the proposals for an economic association of the three main East African territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, as contained in the British White Paper 210.

The Indians expressed the view that they have meagre representation on all Inter-Territory Boards and that the "Tanganyika Europeans are working hand in glove with the Kenya settlers who generally dominate." Tanganyika should be left alone to develop on its own lines.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

THE DEMAND FOR CORRIDOR

The demand for a corridor between Eastern and Western Pakistan; friendly and reciprocal relations between Hindustan and Pakistan; a military alliance, pact or treaty between the two; and membership of the United Nations for Pakistan—these are the highlights of a series of answers given by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to Doon Campbell, Reuter's correspondent in response to questions put by him, on May 21.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Member in the Interim Government, in a telegraphic reply to a question put to him by the United Press of America as to whether a corridor is practicable and whether the Congress would agree to it said:

"The idea of a thousand-mile long corridor through a hostile non-Muslim area on the face of it is such fantastic nonsense as not to be taken seriously at all. The demand itself discloses the sponsor's lack of confidence in the Pakistan scheme."

Answering another question about the possibility of a sovereign Pakistan making agreements with foreign powers without reference to Hindustan, Mr. Patel said: "The need for joint consultation on matters of defence and external relations already has been conceded by Mr. Jinnah. It is, therefore, inconceivable that a concession of extra-territoriality or external arrangements will be made without consultation of Hindustan. Such action would be regarded as hostile."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said in an interview to the A. P. I. on May 27:

Just when Pakistan was about to become a fairly practical proposition Mr. Doon Campbell has unfortunately trapped Mr. Jinnah into a *reductio ad absurdum*. I am not inclined to think that this representative of Reuters put any question mischievously, nor do I accept the popular theory that some British politicians incited him to interpellate Mr. Jinnah according to a plan of sabotage. I believe it is one of those journalistic accidents which sometimes happen and bring young men of that profession into the headlines.

A hostile population of many millions in East Punjab and many millions of even more hostile men and women in Western Bengal have to be coerced into a new and unknown Government before Pakistan could take shape according to Mr. Jinnah. As if this absurdity were not enough, Mr. Doon Campbell has made Mr. Jinnah ask for a corridor, 1,200 miles long from Lahore to Dacca. Such conditions reduce the League claim to stark absurdity. It would appear that the sooner the Muslim League wakes up from its dream and adjusts its aspirations to daylight the better. Such fantastic claims must serve to end this business which has tarried too long. India cannot afford to waste any more time in foolish trifling. The urgency of establishing peace and order is obvious so that problems of economic life in India in which the millions are terribly interested may be taken up for solution by responsible Governments. It will not do to set up Governments whose immediate occupation will be to fight large bodies of their own subjects.

DIVISION OF THE ARMY

If India is to be divided, inevitably, the armed forces also must be divided, says Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Member in the Interim Government, in a statement issued on May 25. The Defence Member foresees great difficulty in both nationalising and dividing the armed forces but he feels it would be inadvisable to have a joint army for Hindustan and Pakistan.

Sardar Baldev Singh reaffirms the determination of Sikhs not to be a part of Pakistan and says that the demand for partition of the Punjab has arisen in order to satisfy the Sikhs. He adds that the partition will weaken the Muslims who will very soon realise the folly of partition.

Utterances of the Day

PT. NEHRU'S HOPE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at a reception given to him and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel by the citizens of Mussooree on May 25, said that difficult times were ahead but they must face the situation bravely. Pandit Nehru added:

While India is on the threshold of freedom, while our goal is within our grasp, saboteurs are active. Forces of evil and good are at war but I believe India will come successfully out of this internal strife. The world looks for friendship to India which is going to be a mighty nation. Our countrymen are indulging in arson and destruction. The situation is deplorable. Out of this conflagration we will come out triumphant.

Referring to the happenings in the Punjab, Pandit Nehru said:

We are not ignorant of the happenings in certain parts of India. We have our limitations; in spite of that, we have to carry the burden of administration. But the time is not far when we shall have real power, when our countrymen will have no worry, when their necessity will be fulfilled. Be confident, the day of national rejoicing is not very far. We are determined to control the present situation and raise the status of our country.

Speaking at Dehra Dun on May 26, the Pandit again said:

Many problems, some intricate though essential, such as controls, and some very distressing such as the communal situation are facing us, but bigger ones such as national independence and preparation for the future governance of the country must have priority.

The circumstances which induced us to form the Interim Government have entirely changed now and had the later developments been foreseen by us, we would have perhaps refused to accept the offer.

The old slogans which helped us to drive the Britishers away from India have grown useless and out of date. Our fight is not yet over. But we should strengthen the Congress with renewed enthusiasm and direct the national dynamism, still intact, into right channels.

The proposed division of the Punjab and Bengal has brought realism to League politics, but what is in store for us in future no one can say. This is the time for quick decision and the Congress still believes in Indian unity though it decided as long ago as 1942 not to force any one to join the Indian Union.

GANDHIJI ON BR WITHDRAWAL

Speaking at New Delhi on May 26, Gandhiji urged every patriot and certainly the British Power to face out the worst violence and leave India as it can be left under the Cabinet Mission's document of May 16 last year and expressed the hope that India free will not give the world an additional object lesson in violence with which it is already sick almost unto death.

Re-calling his remarks on the previous occasion that it was unbecoming on the part of Indians to look to London for what the British Cabinet thought of the future of the country, Mahatma Gandhi said:

It is not for them to give us liberty. They can only get off our back. That they are under promise to do. But for keeping it and giving it shape, we have to look to ourselves.

I promised to tell you how we were to do it. In my opinion, we are unable to think coherently whilst the British Power is still functioning in India. Its function is not to change the map of India. All it has to do is to withdraw and leave India, if possible carrying on in an orderly manner, but withdraw in any case on or before the promised date, may be even in chaos.

But there is an additional reason why no vital change in the shape of a Hindustan with or without partition is not possible in the present state of the country. There is the joint statement issued by the Qaid-e-Azam and me. It enunciates a sound principle that there should be no violence employed in the pursuit of political aim.

If in the teeth of that document the country continues the mad career of violence of the worst kind and the British Power is weak enough to submit to it in the vain hope that after the mad thirst is quenched things will run smooth, it would have left a bloody legacy for which not only India but the whole world will blame her. We will then have learnt the cruel lesson that everything was to be got if mad violence was perpetrated in sufficient measure.

Political

FEDERAL GOVT. FOR INDIA

Mr. Sumner Welles, former United States Under-Secretary of State, stated in a broadcast on May 25 at Washington that Communism had recently strengthened its hold in all cities in India and was now rapidly spreading into the rural areas.

"It is significant that suggestions are being advanced by some Indian leaders that the British Government should continue to keep some British troops in India after the date set for Indian Independence as a practical safeguard against anarchy", Welles declared.

Mr. Wells added: "A solution will only be found if and when the Indian leaders are willing to think in terms of India rather than in terms of their own communities."

These leaders must also be "willing to enter into agreement about a federative system similar in principle to that which we evolved here in the United States" he concluded.

PROF. HUMAYUN KABIR'S SUGGESTION

Professor Humayun Kabir, M.L.C. and former General Secretary of the Krishak Praja Samiti (Bengal), suggested in Simla on May 11 steps to avert partitioning of Bengal which, he felt, had otherwise, become inevitable due to the short-sighted policy of the Muslim League and "the uncontrolled campaign of hatred and violence and methods of gangsterism pursued by the Muslim League, combined with inefficiency and corruption to create conditions of unparalleled maladministration in Bengal."

DR. MOOKERJI'S CALL

Voicing his demand for the partition of Bengal and the immediate removal of the present Bengal Ministry, in his address at the Hindu Conference held at Bankura recently Dr. Shama Prasad Mookerjee said:

"Let us not forget one very important aspect of the Bengal problem. Creation of two provinces out of Bengal offers a long term remedy of the present evil. But the question of the hour is, how are we to live until partition is effected? Are we to submit ourselves to the continued misrule of the Muslim League Ministry which has rendered life and property completely insecure not only in the great city of Calcutta but also in areas outside? Indeed the Bengal administration has collapsed. The Ministry must go. It has failed to discharge its elementary obligation to the people of the land, to Hindus, Moslems and others, apart from its grave misdeeds in the various departments of public affairs. To allow this Ministry to remain in charge of law and order for one single day is to compromise with crime and disorder."

DR. P. P. PILLAI

Dr. P. P. Pillai of the International Labour Office is appointed head of India's permanent delegation to the United Nations, and will shortly take charge of the New York Liaison Office with the rank of a Minister.

OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIPS FOR INDIANS

One hundred and thirty-six candidates have been selected for Central Overseas Scholarships this year. These include 86 Hindus, 34 Muslims, two Scheduled Castes, six Christians, one Parsi and seven Sikhs.

The total number of applications received was 2497 and 293 were interviewed. Most of the successful candidates will go to the U.S.A. or the U.K. though a few will go to the Continent and China as well as the British Dominions. The total of subjects for which candidates have been selected is 33.

UTKAL UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

The Utkal University Convocation which was to have been held in November last year but was postponed *sine die* following protests from students' organisations to the proposal of Sir Claude Auchinleck, C.-in-C. delivering the Convocation address was held on April 12 in the Ravenshaw College Assembly Hall. The function was simple and concluded within ten minutes neither the Chancellor nor the Pro-Chancellor being present. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. P. Parija conferred the degrees and only four out of 63 successful students were present to take their degrees personally.

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF RAJPUTANA UNIVERSITY

Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, ex-Dewan of Baswara State has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the proposed Rajputana University, which is to be established soon.

The Ajmer Board of Intermediate and High School Education is likely to be amalgamated with the University.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS

A comprehensive scheme of scholarships for foreign students at Indian Universities and technical institutions is now under the consideration of the Government of India.

As a first step the Education Department have decided to give seven scholarships to Indonesian students and five to East African. As the scheme develops students of other countries will be given scholarships.

This makes India the first country participating in the Asian Relations Conference to act upon one of the principles accepted by the Conference, namely that one of the best ways of promoting understanding between nations was exchange of students.

It is intended that foreign students coming here under this scholarship scheme should be provided with facilities for both under-graduate and post-graduate work. Their living and educational expenses will be borne by the Government of India.

SIND UNIVERSITY

A Conference of Sind Hindus decided to boycott the Sind University as proposed by the League Government where the majority community has been given statutory majority in the Senate and other allied bodies.

The resolution called upon the Hindu graduates not to accept the fellowship of the proposed university. Further it was resolved to send a deputation to Bombay, Benares and Delhi to prevail upon the universities there to so amend the constitution as they may grant affiliation to Hindu educational institutions in Sind.

MERCY-KILLING

The voluntary Euthanasia Legislation Society, which advocates the mercy killing of the people suffering from incurable diseases, is agitating for the reintroduction of a Parliamentary bill to make euthanasia legal. When the first attempt was made to introduce such a bill in the House of Lords in 1936, it was rejected by 35 to 41 votes. It is now hoped that the 17 members of the Society in the House of Lords will take necessary action to reintroduce the measure.

"Mercy killing" came to the fore last month with the admission by a retired doctor E. A. Barton, that he had "killed" a man to save him from pain. Later, Dr. Barton said: "It is absurd that voluntary euthanasia cannot be made legal. Many doctors are practising it, but they have to take the entire responsibility themselves."

APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

The fate of Privy Council appeals pending at the deadline of British departure from India was discussed by the Rt. Hon. Dr. M. R. Jayakar, who is shortly proceeding to the United Kingdom to resume his seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In an interview with the Associated Press of India Dr. Jayakar said that the question "did seem to require very careful consideration in the interests of litigants."

"If there is any abrupt end to the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee", Dr. Jayakar added, "it is bound to cause a violent wrench to the legal system of India. But apart from that, such abrupt ending would result in litigants losing the benefit of costs incurred on their cases".

ORDINANCE IN U. P.

The United Provinces Government have promulgated the U. P. Communal Disturbances Prevention Ordinance, 1947, to meet the threat to public peace and order from communal strife.

When an area has been declared to be in a communally-disturbed state, the authorities responsible for the maintenance of law and order will have powers to take special measures for the prevention of threat of disturbances. These powers include powers to shoot at sight, to prevent the commission of certain offences during communal disturbances and also powers to search for the detection of weapons.

Enhanced punishments have been prescribed for certain offences and punishment for a number of offences. Forcible conversions and forcible marriages have been made offences. The latter have also been declared void.

LITIGATION AGAINST STATE

The Government of India have decided to appoint a committee of legal experts to examine the legal position of citizens in any litigation against the state and have advised Mr. J. N. Mandal, Law Member, about necessary legislation.

It is stated that in India the rights and remedies of the citizen against the state are less complete than the rights of citizens against citizens. The object of the Bill which is likely to be introduced in the next session of the Central Assembly will be to give as much right to the citizen as he has got against another citizen.

LIFE INSURANCE IN RURAL AREAS

The annual general body meeting of the All-India Co-operative Insurance Societies' Association was held on May 9, at the Chartered Bank Buildings Madras with Mr. L. N. Gupta in the chair. Representatives from various provinces attended the meeting. Mr. Venkatchalam welcomed the gathering.

Mr. Gupta said that co-operative insurance societies provided the benefits of nationalisation by dispensing with the evils of private enterprise, while at the same time retaining the initiative of private enterprise.

The Association adopted a resolution stressing the desirability of the Co-operative Insurance Societies concentrating on the propagation of Life Insurance in rural areas, and urged that Government should subsidise rural policyholder who took out a policy of Rs. 500 or less. The resolution stated that "in view of the fact that the expenses of field organisation and the cost of procuration of business from rural areas was on the higher side, the premium required charged to rural policy-holders would be higher than those charged to urban population." The Association urged upon the member societies to see that such differences in premium did not exceed 25 per cent. of the regular premium and requested the Government to subsidise this difference so that the benefit of insurance may be made available to the rural population. The Association further recommended that the subsidy be extended to cover all rural policies for a sum assured of Rs. 1,000 or less.

The meeting adopted another resolution urging the extension of the insurance facilities to industrial workers and all other employees. The resolution however stressed that the Payment of Wages Act and the orders thereunder be suitably amended so as to permit the deduction of premium from the pay-sheets in respect of policies taken out by industrial workers from Co-operative Insurance Societies.

The Association appointed a Sub-Committee to take steps to implement the re-commendations of the Planning Committee appointed by the Government.

The meeting also passed a resolution urging, that the control and organisation of cattle insurance should be entrusted to Co-operative Insurance Societies.

INSURANCE FOR SEAFARERS

Unified sickness, employment injury, and old age and survivors' insurance for seafarers plus insurance for "waiting period" are the chief features of a scheme of social insurance for Indian seamen recommended in a joint report by Dr. Laura Bodmer of the International Labour Office, and Prof. B. P. Adarkar, formerly of the Labour Department, Government of India.

The report, however, emphasises that the success of an insurance scheme for seafarers will largely depend on simultaneous organisation of recruitment, involving a reduction in the number of those admitted to sea service and a system of rotation for seafarers who are not in continuous employment.

STERLING BALANCES

Non-officials, will be associated with the Indian delegation to the forth-coming talks on the sterling balances in London, it is learnt.

The Indian delegation will be led by the Finance Member, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan and will have two other members of the Interim Government, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Dr. John Matthai as delegates, besides Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank.

Among the non-officials who will go to London will be Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. Manu Subedar and Mr. Yusuf Haroon.

The delegation will also have a team of experts including the Finance Secretary.

No date has yet been fixed for the departure of the Indian delegation, but it is expected that it will leave, political developments permitting, in the latter half of this month. Should it not be able to leave in time to complete negotiations by the July 15, the date set in the Anglo-American Loan Agreement, the escape clause in that agreement which permits extension of the deadline with the concurrence of the two parties to the agreement will be brought into operation.

Meanwhile, it is understood, that the Government of India have been preparing their case for the London negotiations. The subject was thoroughly examined at a Conference held in New Delhi last month at which representatives of the Finance Department of the Government of India, Members of the Interim Government who will form part of the Indian delegation and representatives of the Reserve Bank took part.

INDIA'S TRADE WITH GERMANY

Commercial circles welcome the move made by the Government of India in the direction of resumption of normal trade relations between India and Germany.

India exported to Germany during the pre-war year rapeseed, raw cotton, hide and wool, while importing machine tools, chemicals, scientific apparatus, arms and ammunition, beer, ale and whisky, dyestuffs, fireworks, clocks and watches and hardware goods. The value of import trade in the year 1938-39 was Rs. 12,92,72,979, while that of the export trade in the same year was Rs. 8,70,17,516. Besides, Germany was the chief supplier of metal lamps for India before the war.

As far as Karachi is concerned, there was an export of 4,700 tons of rapeseed, 734 tons of raw hides, 1,06,949 lbs. of raw wool and 25,242 tons of raw cotton in the year 1935-36, but thereafter exports dwindled as the war was approaching. Karachi imported from Germany 13,85,537 pieces of arms and ammunition, 7,561 cwt. of chemicals and 4,784 gallons of wine, and 14,135 gallons of spirits in 1938-39.

In view of the vast post-war development programmes undertaken by the provinces, business circles feel that German goods would be useful, particularly for building industry and social services.

REMOVING TARIFF BARRIERS

Sir Raghavan Pillai, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the International Trade Organisation Conference at Geneva, said, on April 14:

"I do not suggest that we can dispense with all, since some are essential for Indian revenue purposes, but we may be able to try other forms of protection for Indian industries, if it is better for the world community at large."

WOMEN'S DEMAND

The Conference of women employees of Maharashtra, held in Poona on May 4, demanded in a resolution of 'fundamental rights', 'living wages, equal pay for equal work' and amenities for women employed in industry, and profession.

Lady Dhanvanti Rama Rau, President of the All-India Women's Conference, who was in the chair said that A.-I. W. C. demanded equal opportunities for women and men in all walks of life. The last war, she said, had brought out the fact that women could shoulder the responsibilities hitherto undertaken by men, with equal efficiency and intelligence.

In free India, Lady Rama Rau said, Indian women would have to shoulder far greater responsibilities and she appealed to them to pay particular attention to the field of teaching and nursing which required thousands of trained personnel. In the medical field she added there was an absolute paucity of both men and women doctors.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, who inaugurated the Conference urged women employees to put up a united labour front with men to get their grievances redressed, for, he said, workers, whether men or women, coming either from field industry or profession have many common problems to solve. At present, he said, the wages of workers were controlled by the supply available of labour. "This principle must go, for labour should not be treated as a commodity for sale but as human beings."

HONOUR FOR LADY SCIENTIST

A British mother of three children, who is one of the world's greatest authorities on molecular structure, has been made a Fellow of the Royal Society, an exclusive body which only admitted women for the first time two years ago.

Mrs. Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin earns one of the most coveted scientific distinctions for determining the structure of penicillin molecule. She is a leading authority on X-ray crystallography and has by this means also solved arrangements of atoms in the molecules of insulin and several hormones.

WOMEN'S WING IN POLICE

The organisation of a women's wing in the police force to provide protection for women who are being exposed to all manner of dangers in trains, streets, markets and other public places, has been suggested to the U. P. Government by Prof. Rudra, Head of the Economics Department of the Allahabad University, in a statement dated May 24.

RETURN OF AUSTRIAN WOMEN

Austrian Socialists have asked Government to demand immediate return of all Austrian women prisoners of war.

Many Austrian women and girls, compelled by the Germans to join the women's services attached to the Wehrmacht, were captured with the German forces when the war ended and have not yet been sent home.

Literary

A JOURNALISTIC CENTENARY

The profound effect on the American Press which was exercised by Joseph Pulitzer, noted Hungarian-born American journalist, was emphasised in observances throughout the United States during the centennial of his birth, April 10, 1847, in Maco, Hungary.

Pulitzer, who published the *New York World* and *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and made them both outstanding American papers was honoured in ceremonies in Congress and elsewhere throughout U. S. A. A commemorative postage stamp was also issued in his honour.

Many newspapers and commentators recalled Pulitzer's brilliant career and his influence on American journalism. He was described in a laudatory editorial in the *Washington Post* as the "father of modern journalism."

BOMBAY NEWSPAPERS' DECISION

At the invitation of the Home Minister, Bombay, the editors of newspapers met him at the Secretariat last month.

After a discussion on the desirability of eschewing certain material from the newspapers, the meeting unanimously resolved that "The use of insulting and abusive language about the leaders of respective communities and the representation of the Government of India or any local Government as the enemy of any particular community tends to inflame communal ill-feeling and that such writing should not be published."

MUSLIM PAPERS' CONVENTION

With the attainment of freedom, when national consciousness and national pride would fully assert themselves, the present anomaly in the country in which English newspapers occupied the pride of place in the Fourth Estate, was bound to disappear and the Indian language Press would occupy its rightful place, said Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, inaugurating the All-India Muslim Newspapers' Convention at New Delhi on May 9.

Personal

SIR S. V. RAMAMURTHI

Sir S. V. Ramamurthi, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras and Leader of the Indian delegation to the International Conference of Rice Study Group, was appointed as the acting Governor of Bombay in place of His Excellency Sir John Colville, who was acting as Viceroy during Lord Mountbatten's absence from India.

Sir S. V. Ramamurthi, after attending the opening session of the International Conference of Rice Study on May 16 left for Bombay to assume charge of his new office. Mr. S. Y. Krishnaswami, was elected to preside over the Conference.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR'S PORTRAIT

Unveiling a portrait of the late Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar at the Ranade Hall, Madras on May 9. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Member in charge of Industries and Supplies in the Interim Government, expressed the feeling that were Sir Sivaswami Aiyar young and alive to-day, he would have been a tower of strength in the Constituent Assembly. He added that at the present time they required hundreds of men and women of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's mould to take charge of the affairs of the country.

The portrait was presented to the South Indian Association and Ranade Library by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.

JOHN HOLMES TO LECTURE IN INDIA

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu, Hawaii and Los Angeles, California, announces the appointment of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church of New York since 1907, as the Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Lecturer to Indian universities for the academic year 1947-48.

SIR ABDUR RAHMAN FOR U. N. A.

The Government of India have nominated Sir Abdur Rahman, a Judge of the Lahore High Court, as their representative on the 11-nation Special Committee on Palestine constituted by the recent special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

NEW T. B. SANATORIUM

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Industries Member to the Interim Government, declared open on May 10, the new Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Trichinopoly. The Sanatorium is to be named after Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

Declaring the Sanatorium open, Mr. Rajagopalachariar complimented Trichinopoly on being singularly fortunate in having secured the valuable and extensive site and buildings ready to start with.

He expressed personal pleasure at Dr. Rajan having spared no effort to shape his ideas so quickly and having got it done so well.

Rajaji paid glowing tributes to Dr. Y. P. Vasudevan and his wide experience in organising T. B. Sanatoria at Perundurai and other places and described him as a missionary working to combat the tuberculosis menace.

WORLD DENTAL CONGRESS

The Government of India have nominated Dr. R. Ahmed, Calcutta, President, and Dr. N. N. Bery, New Delhi, Secretary of the All-India Dental Association as official delegates to the tenth International Dental Congress to be held in Boston in August, 1947. •

This is the first time the Government of India are sending a dental delegation abroad. The delegation has also been instructed to visit the various schools in the U. K. and U.S.A. for admission of post-graduate students for higher training in dentistry abroad.

GOVT. AID TO INDIAN MEDICINE

In accordance with their policy of giving encouragement to the development of Indian medicine, the Madras Government have approved the proposals for the opening of rural dispensaries of Indian medicine, in the districts of Nellore, Ramnad, Guntur, South Arcot and Malabar. They have accorded sanction to the payment of subsidies to 16 rural medical practitioners to be employed in the dispensaries.

SIR FREDERICK HOPKINS

Sir Frederick Rowland Hopkins, the discoverer of vitamins, has passed away at the age of 86.

Many years ago his dietary experiments with rats prepared the way for the modern knowledge of vitamins.

Sir Frederick's great ambition was to discover the last vitamin but he became blind and died without solving the strangest and the most important of all the secrets of nourishment.

Sir Frederic was an original member of the Medical Research Council, President of the Royal Society from 1930 to 1935, President of the British Association in 1935, and was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine and received the Order of Merit in 1935.

DRIVE AGAINST SMOKING BY CHILDREN

A drive against smoking by under-aged children has been launched by the Punjab Government.

The Deputy Excise and Taxation Commissioner, Lahore, recently started a general drive to find out licensed dealers who were guilty of selling cigarettes and beedies to children under 16 and who were in addition employing minors as shop-assistants. As a result of this, 164 cases were detected and registered. Out of these, 157 cases were compounded and seven were sent up for trial.

The Government, it is learnt propose to continue these checks periodically.

THREE YEARS ON MILK

Mr. Chaganlal Parekh, one of the Indian delegates attending the International Mining Conference in Geneva had caused a minor sensation there.

He has disclosed that he has lived on six pints of milk daily for the last three years—and he weighs 196 pounds.

CAPITAL STRUCTURE OF BANKS

The Select Committee on Banking Bill which met under the chairmanship of Mr. Yamin Khan, Deputy President of the Central Assembly is understood to have arrived at the following tentative decisions in the matter of the capital structure of banks:

(1) If any bank wants to operate in any district with one office, it will be required to have Rs. 50,000 in paid-up capital and reserves; (2) if it wants to have one branch within the district, it will be required to have a capital of Rs. 1 lakh plus Rs. 10,000 for such branch; (3) if it wants to have branches outside the district but in the province, then it must have Rs. 25,000 extra for each such branch; (4) if it wants to operate anywhere within the region as understood by the Reserve Bank of India Act, it should have a capital structure of Rs. 5 lakhs; (5) if a bank wants to operate anywhere in India, the capital structure should be Rs. 10 lakhs; (6) Banks willing to operate in Calcutta and Bombay cities will be required to have another Rs. 5 lakhs extra; (7) For banks situated in cities having a population between 1 lakh and 2 lakhs and in the provincial Capitals, the required capital structure would be Rs. 2 lakhs; (8) If any bank has its office in one Province and desires to open a branch in another province within a radius of 25 miles from its principal office, for such a branch it will require only Rs. 25,000 extra as if it were a branch in a separate district within the same Province.

THE FALLEN RUPEE

The replacement of silver by nickel in our coinage is carried further by a proposal of the Finance Member. Token coins of nickel have replaced silver: the legal tender coin is also to be displaced. The latest chapter in Indian currency history dethrones silver completely. The standard rupee was displaced completely in 1944 by the quaternary rupee half silver, half alloy and quaternary silver pieces too were displaced by nickel last year.

RAILWAY LABOUR CONDITIONS

Considerable reduction in the working hours of various categories of railway workers is understood to be among the main recommendations of the Railway Adjudicator, Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha. The cumulative effect of these reductions, it is believed, will entail the employment of about 80,000 more workers to discharge the present work on the railways and is expected to involve an additional expenditure of about Rs. 15 crores.

The railway workers have been classified into three categories: those who perform continuous sustained work, continuous work and intermittent work. According to the new scheme, workers in the first category who work for sixty hours a week now will be required to do only 44 hours a week which works out to nearly seven and a half hours a day. The working hours of the second category will be reduced from sixty to fifty-two hours a week including time taken for and giving charge. The intermittent workers who now work for eighty hours a week are expected to get a reduction of about eight hours.

LUXURY TRAINS IN RUSSIA

Luxury trains from Moscow to the holiday resort of Sochi has super-comfortable carriages provided with small libraries, chess boards and even post-boxes. The walls of the train are decorated with artistic photographs and railway maps, the floors are covered with carpets and the windows are adorned with silk curtains. All the carriages are provided with radio. The train has a carriage with shower baths and a hair-dressing saloon. There is also a footwear and clothing repair shop, and a cloak-room for hand-luggage. One can get soap, tooth brushes and tooth paste and writing material.

MR. K. C. BAKHLE

Mr. K. C. Bakhle, Controller of Stores, G. I. P. Railway, has been appointed General Manager of B. B. & C. I. Railway, in place of Sir George Cuffe. Mr. Bakhle is the first Indian to hold this post.

THYAGARAJA CENTENARY IN BOMBAY

Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Minister, Bombay, inaugurated the Sri Thyagaraja Centenary celebrations organised by the Sri Krishna Gana Sabha, Bombay Matunga. There was an overflowing gathering mostly of South Indian residents of Bombay.

Mr. Desai dwelt on the spiritual aspect of Thyagaraja's compositions and hoped such functions would bring South and North India closer and closer. Mr. Semmangudi Srinivasa Aiyar accompanied by Papa Venkatarama Aiyar on the violin and Palghat Mani on the mridangam gave the opening concert of the music festival arranged in this connection.

Brahmasri Maharajapuram Visvanatha Aiyar with the same accompaniments gave the second concert while Vidwan G. N. Balasubramanian followed the next day.

VALUE OF BHARATA NATYAM

The view that it was high time that the Government and academic bodies accorded recognition to the art of Bharata Natyam as they have done to the art of music was expressed by Prof. P. Sambamurthi, Head of the Department of the Music, Madras University, presiding at the Museum Theatre, Egmore, over the exhibition performance of Bharata Natyam given by Miss Rudhrani, a Ceylonese student of the Indian Institute of Fine Arts.

Proceeding, Prof Sambamurthi suggested that the Central Government should finance and send a few "cultural ambassadors" to foreign countries to propagate India's invaluable and unique contribution to the fine arts. Prof. Sambamurthi deplored that there had been of late several departures from the ancient traditions in the matter of propounding the art of Music and dancing and pleaded that every effort must be made to revive and stick to the ancient traditions which alone would preserve the beauties of the arts.

INDIAN TEAM FOR AUSTRALIA

The Indian cricket team selected to tour Australia was the best one in the present circumstances, emphasised Vijay Merchant, the Indian Skipper, addressing the members of the Indian Gymkhana at Matunga.

Merchant was confident that his side would fare well in Australia. He admitted that the average age of the member of the team was rather higher than the average age in a representative international side. He disclosed that vigorous preparations would be made from now on.

Conditions in Australia were quite different from those in England, Merchant added. Australia had the eight-ball over. He stated that arrangements were being made to give his side regular practice for the eight-ball over. It has also been proposed to get a coach, probably from England having experience of Australian cricket, to help the Indian team in their preparations for the Australian tour.

SPORTSMEN AS PEACE MAKERS

Congratulating sportsmen all over India for their "exemplary" conduct during the months of communal strife in the country, Mr. A. S. de Mello, President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India said in a statement: "It is not merely enough for sportsmen to keep aloof. They must try to instil the spirit of justice, fair play and sportsmanship around them, act as mediators and peace makers in cases of dispute, check acts of violence and lawlessness and generally constitute a security force in the areas in which they live. By their character and training sportsmen are ideally adapted for this kind of service."

WORLD OLYMPICS

India may have the honour of staging either the 1952 or 1956 World Olympic Games according to Mr. A. S. de Mello the President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India who left for England on May 16 to attend the Imperial Cricket Conference.

"THE BLACKETT LAW"

A theory for a new law of the Universe was propounded by Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, Professor of Physics at the Manchester University, addressing a crowded audience of mathematicians, physicists and astronomers in London.

The new law which he bases on empirical data, forms the missing link between mechanical and electro-magnetic theories for which scientists have been looking ever since Einstein propounded his general Theory of Relativity in 1915.

The Blackett "Law" declares that rotating bodies—including the earth, sun and stars—produce their magnetic fields by their spin, thus relating for the first time gravitation to magnetism, and states that the strength of the magnetic field is proportional to the momentum of rotation—the constant of ratio being approximately equal to the square root of the gravitational constant divided by the velocity of light.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN RURAL CENTRES

Mr. Omandur P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Prime Minister, Madras, delivered the Convocation address and distributed the certificates on the conclusion of training of the first batch of teachers in the Basic Education Teachers' Training Centre at Gurukula Ashram in Kengeri (about ten miles from Bangalore). Sir C. V. Raman presided.

Twenty-one teachers, including six women, received certificates after completing a ten-month course.

In the course of his presidential address, Sir C. V. Raman stressed the need for establishing in our country rural centres of scientific knowledge, for scientific research in rural surrounding devoted to rural problems conducted with stern consciousness and reality of what the ryot wanted and solve them there and not in cities where Universities and Colleges had been concentrated at present.

INDIAN FILMS FOR U.S.

Far-reaching plans to bring Indian made films to the United States to present a "true picture of our life, our people and our culture" was announced by Mr. Vijay Bhatt, Indian Motion Picture producer, at an Indian Culture banquet in New York on May 5.

The banquet, sponsored by the India Society of America, was the climax of the Indian Film Conference held to draw the attention of the American public to the Indian film industry and the possibility of further use of these films in promoting cultural ties.

Mr. Bhatt outlined a programme for improving the Indian industry based on what he had learned during his visits to important American film executives both in New York, and Hollywood.

Mr. Bhatt emphasised that the Indian film industry had yet to set its own house in order. "We have to build more theatres in our own country. Our indigenous industry has striven on its own for 35 years to attain its present standard and size. Progress will not be slow. Our independent government once established, we shall have better facilities. Also a new field of powerful new themes of national importance will be open for picturisation. This will have a better appeal in foreign countries who are anxious to know about our national leaders and the century-old story of our struggle for independence."

FILM ON EUROPEAN COLONISATION

Two members of Britain's Crown Film Unit have gone to East Africa to begin a three-year film-making tour. They plan to make a series of documentary films for distribution in Britain and the United States. The subjects chosen cover a wide range and it is proposed to make, for the first time, a film on the story of the European settlements in East Africa from their beginning to the present day.

DISTRIBUTION OF NEW CARS

The prevention of black-marketing in motor cars and the question of equitable distribution of new cars amongst the Provinces and States, were the two of the important points discussed at a meeting held recently in New Delhi when Officers of the Transport and Commerce Departments of the Government of India met representatives of the principal importers of motor vehicles in India.

All the importers present were unanimous in their agreement to distribute cars imported by them throughout their respective territories on the basis of their pre-war sales. They also agreed to send to the Government of India every month statements setting out clearly the number of cars imported by them and the number allotted to each Province and State.

As a safeguard against profiteering in new cars, importers will continue to publish in newspapers the retail sale prices fixed for their cars for the guidance of purchasers as has been recently decided by the Motor Manufacturers and Importers Associations in Bombay and Calcutta.

U. S. AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

American automobile manufacturers, who have completed nearly 1,250,000 automobiles and trucks during the first three months of 1947, are trying to equal or surpass that total during the second three-months period.

Production volume achieved in the first three months compares with production in 1941, when 1,501,567 vehicles were manufactured during the second three-month period.

Many uncertainties affect the American automobile industry, however, in some instances it has been necessary to transport nuts and bolts by airplane to some plants, to permit continued production.

Latest forecasts say the United States will manufacture 5,000,000 to 5,500,000 automobiles and trucks during 1947.

GRANT FOR HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT

A supplementary grant of Rs. 20,00,000 for 1946-47 in respect of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Bangalore, which is expected to produce the first Indian made aircraft in November this year, was approved by the Standing Finance Committee at its meeting on Saturday (March 22). The firm is jointly owned by the Central Government and the Government of Mysore.

During the current year, the firm has undertaken the assembly of 100 Tiger Moth Aircraft for the Air Headquarters and of 20 for the Defence Department. In addition, the manufacture of 30 Prentice Trainer Percival aircraft for the Defence Department has also been taken up. According to the present programme, the first assembled Percival aircraft will be ready in November 1947. Arrangements have been made in this connection for training six members of the staff at the Percival Factory in the U. K. and for the deputation of two representatives of the Percival Factory to the Hindustan Aircraft for one year. The supply of all drawings, jigs, tools, etc. required for the manufacture of this kind of aircraft has also been arranged.

LONDON TO MONTREAL IN FIVE HOURS

Air Commodore Frank Whittle Turbo, the Turbo-jet inventor told a press conference that an air speed of 1,000 miles per hour would be possible 'in not too distant a future.' He predicted London-Montreal crossings in five hours.

Air Commodore Whittle also thought that the United Kingdom might outdistance the United States in overseas transport if the engine designing quality is maintained.

LONDON TO CAPE WITHIN 22 HOURS

A British Mosquito plane on May 1 broke the London to Cape record by covering this distance of 6,717 miles in 21 hours, 29 minutes. The record was set up in 1937 at 45 hours, 6 minutes.

CO-OPERATIVE REGISTRARS' CONFERENCE

"Co-operation is primarily a poor man's organisation. It fits in with an economy in which the small cultivator is the central figure. As an individual the cultivator is weak and cannot hope to stand up against the gigantic forces that lead to his exploitation. Through co-operation he acquires strength. There is an element of democratic freedom inherent in co-operation and this freedom has to be prized above all things. A healthy compromise between discipline and freedom is embodied in the co-operative method: All for each and each for all. One cannot think of a more wholesome philosophy for a country of self-reliant cultivators". Thus observed Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member, Interim Government, in his Presidential Address at the fifteenth All-India Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies held at the Museum Theatre, Madras on May 12.

Delegates, numbering over 80, from all the Provinces and many States attended the Conference, besides a number of visitors.

The Premier of Madras, Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, said that if co-operation was to extend and develop, a considerable degree of State-help would be necessary for some time, but the degree of help that could be given by any provincial Government depended on the extent of their resources and these were limited.

ALL-INDIA CO-OPERATORS' CONFERENCE

"Co-operation is no longer a Central subject and in the free India of tomorrow it is definitely going to remain a Provincial subject. Besides, Co-operation to-day is after all but a State policy. It must now, at least be transformed into a movement of the people, by the people, for the people," said Dewan Bahadur Hiralal L. Kaji, who presided over the Seventh All-India Co-operative Conference held at the Banqueting Hall, Mount Road, Madras on May 10.

PROTECTION OF THE PEASANTRY

More than 200 delegates and observers from 33 nations heard an "eleven-point plan for world farmers," put before the annual conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers at Scheveningen (Holland) on May 12 by Prof N. G. Ranga, Leader of the Indian Delegation. He advocated:

Democratic partnership and co-operation with all other toilers;

Expansionist economy and maximum production of food and fibres to provide adequate food and clothing for the masses;

Crop fire, cattle and health insurance schemes;

The stabilisation of agricultural prices and wages;

The raising of the cultural and technical standards of the peasantry, and the introduction of improved machinery;

Socialisation of all key and basic industries and commercial service essential for the protection of the peasantry;

Multilateral, and world-wide commodity exchange agreements;

International co-operation between peasants and farmers of different countries for the movement of farm populations without distinction of colour or creed, to colonise undeveloped areas.

HIGHER STUDIES IN AGRICULTURE

Dr. J. Wind, Principal, Wageningen Centre of Agricultural Science, assured Mr. N. G. Ranga, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the International Federation of Agricultural Producers' first annual conference so that his University would be prepared to take up ten Indian students to study soil geography, soil research, tropical agriculture and economics.

Principal Wind's offer was made during a lunch given in honour of the Indian Delegation by the Students' Union, Wageningen University.

NATIONAL TRADE UNION

A new all-India labour organization called the Indian National Trade Union Congress has been launched with the object, it is said, of rallying all constructive forces in the labour movement of the country to prevent "disruptive elements from misleading the working class." The initiative in the matter was taken by the pro-Congress Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh and the inaugural ceremony took place in New Delhi under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Addressing the conference of the organizers of this new Union, Sardar Patel said that it was not the aim of the Congress to capture the trade union movement for "selfish or personal ends" but for building up a healthy and strong labour organization which would really promote the welfare of the working class. "Labour should not be made pawns in the struggle for political power. The labour movement should concern itself primarily with the economic struggle of the workers," said Sardar Patel. The President of the newly-formed Indian National Trade Union Congress, Dr. S. C. Banerjee, said the new body was absolutely independent of the Congress, though being Nationalist, it would have a natural sympathy for the Congress.

CONCILIATION BOARD'S PROPOSALS

A fifty per cent. increase in the basic wages of the miners, trolley men and wagon loaders in the collieries of Bihar and Bengal, a hundred-and-fifty per cent. increase in the dearness allowance of all categories of colliery labour in these areas, whose basic wages are Rs. 30 a month or below and suitable increases of dearness allowance for other workers constitute the main recommendations of the Board of Conciliation (Colliery Dispute), published on May 11.

The Board has also recommended the introduction of a compulsory provident fund and the grant of an attendance and a production bonus.

PAY COMMISSION REPORT

A "living wage for all" is recommended by the Pay Commission, appointed by the Government of India, whose Report has been published. The Commission holds that Rs. 55 and Rs. 90 are fair minima, in the present economic conditions for a working class family and a middle class family respectively.

The Commission has suggested that the dearness allowance should be paid on a sliding scale corresponding to the cost of living index.

The Commission has also recommended payment of house rent allowance in costly towns and certain other concessions for low-paid employees. It proposes a ceiling salary of Rs. 2,000 per mensem, to be relaxed only in the case of a few select posts.

The basic structure of pay recommended by the Commission has been accepted by the Government of India who, however, disagree with the Commission's suggestion that dearness allowance should not be paid to those getting a salary of Rs. 1,000 and above. The Government have under consideration the Commission's proposals as regards leave and other service conditions.

"WERE CHURCHILL IN POWER"

The allegation that Britain would have been engaged in a war in India if Mr. Winston Churchill were in power to-day was made by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, Labour M. P. addressing a Labour Party rally at Kent on May 28.

Referring to Mr. Churchill and the Indian people, Mr. Crossman said: "Had he been in power to-day, we should have had a war in India on our hands, with his determination to re-impose the British Empire upon them."

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMITTEE

The Indian Delegate, Sir Dalip Singh, was by acclamation named Chairman of the United Nations Committee on International Law and its codification which met at Lake Success (New York) on May 12.

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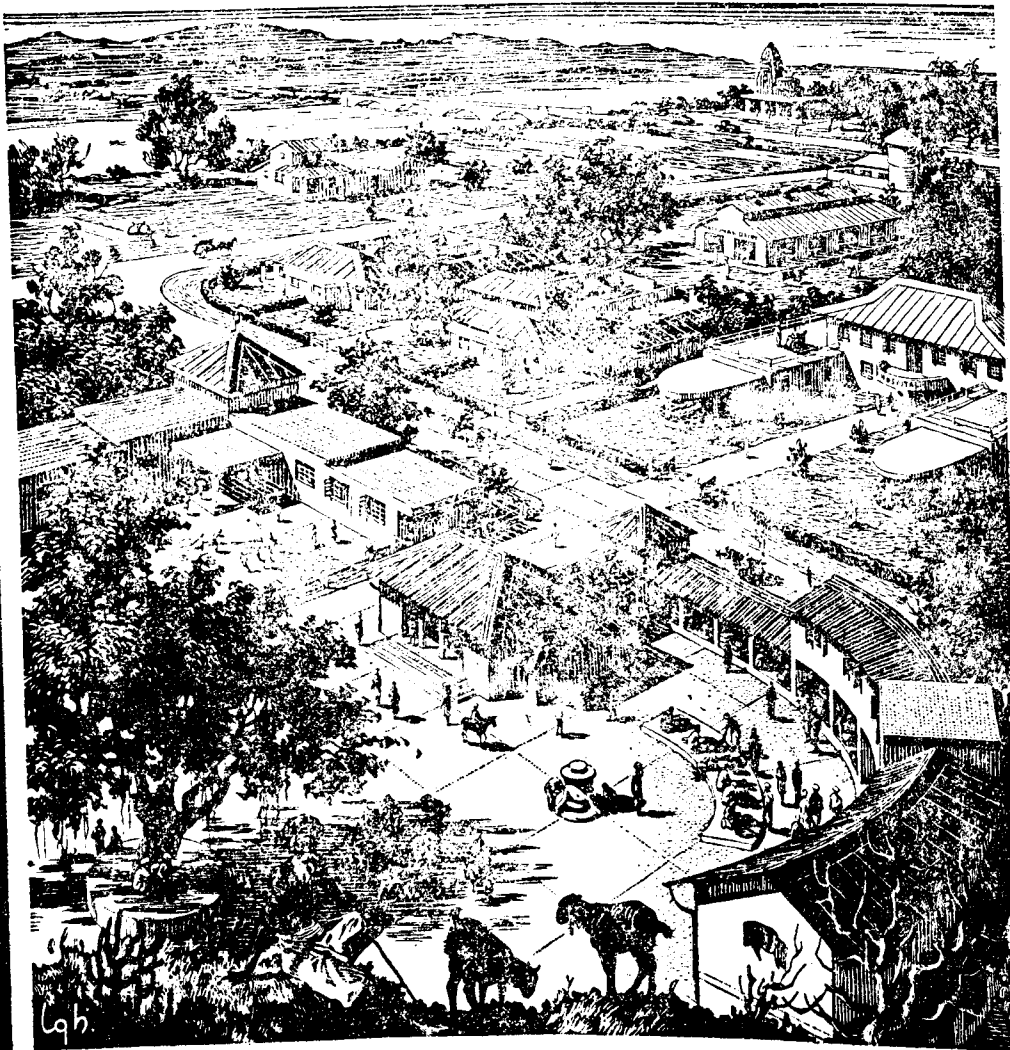


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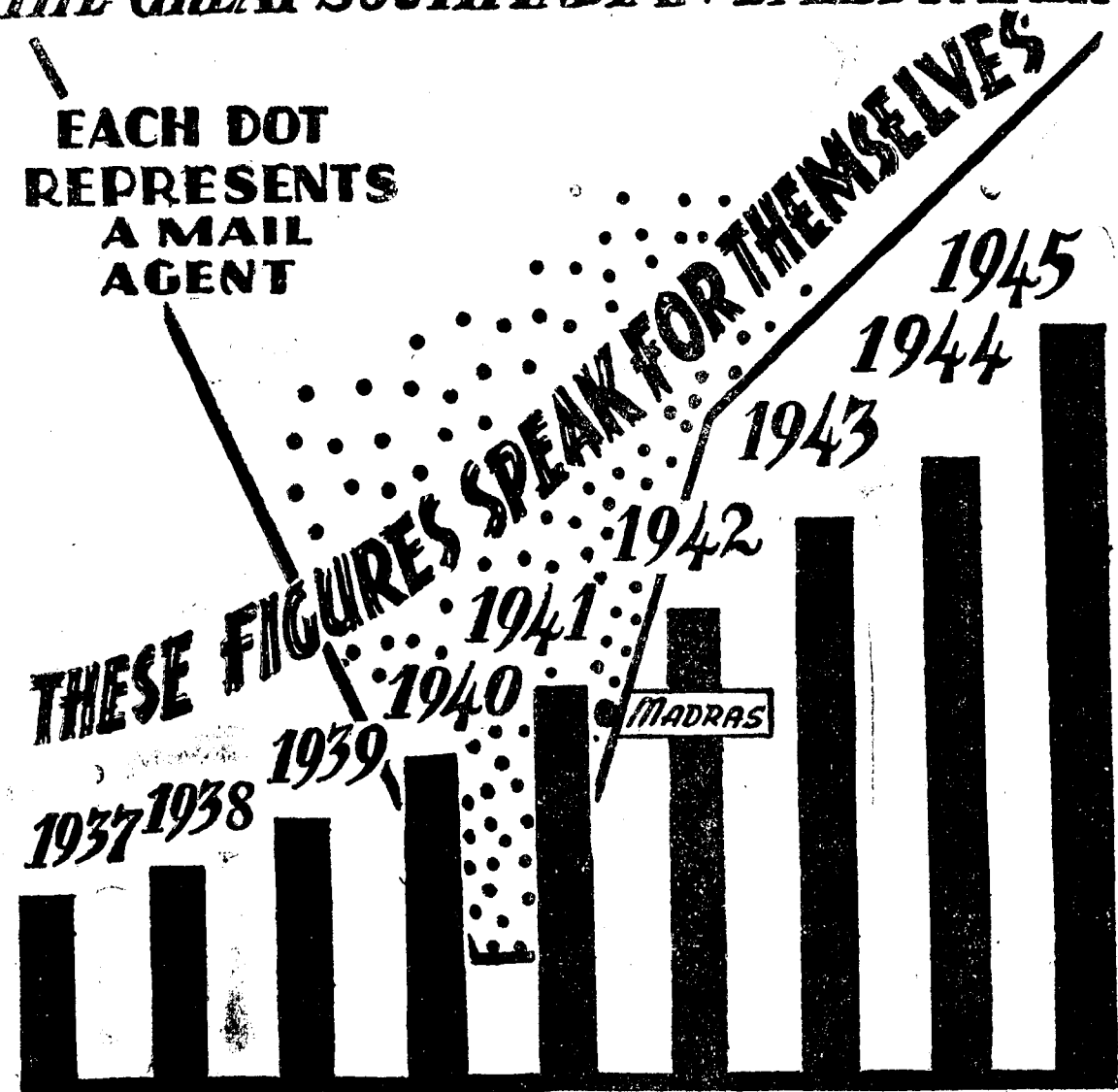
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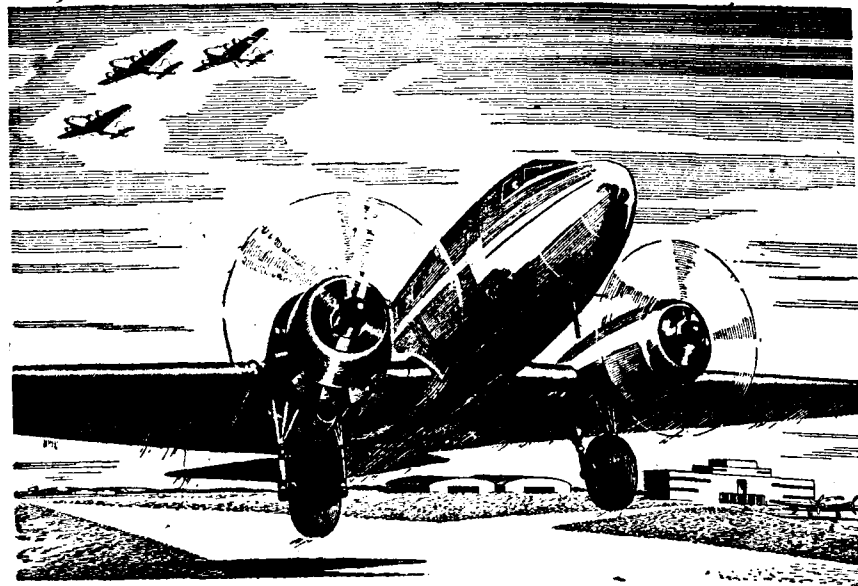
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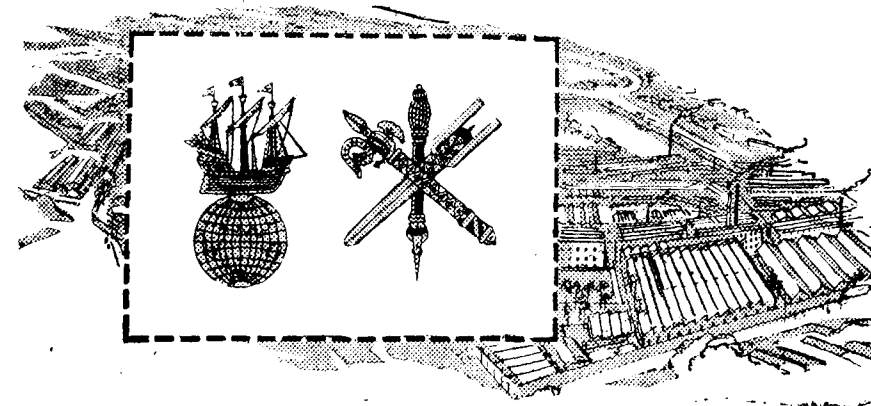
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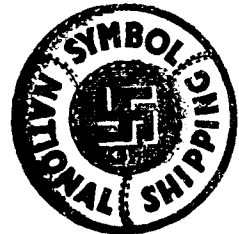


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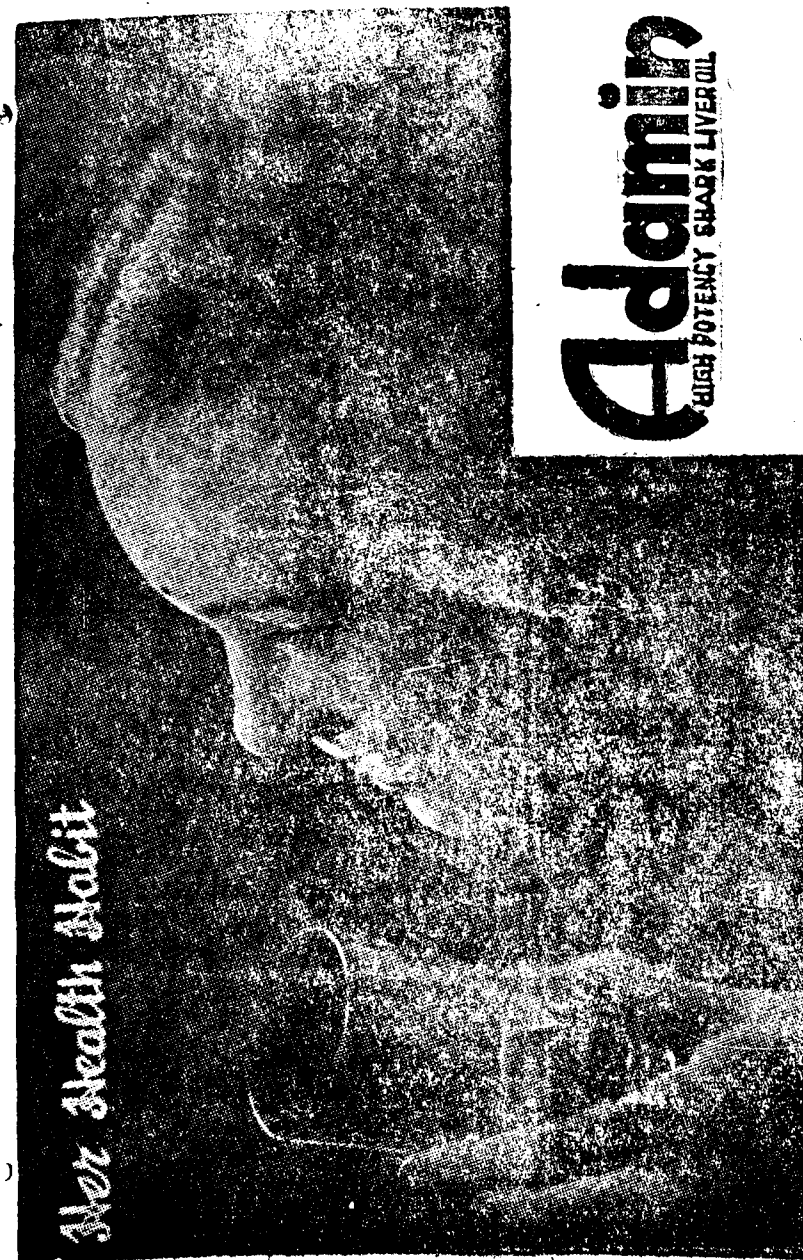
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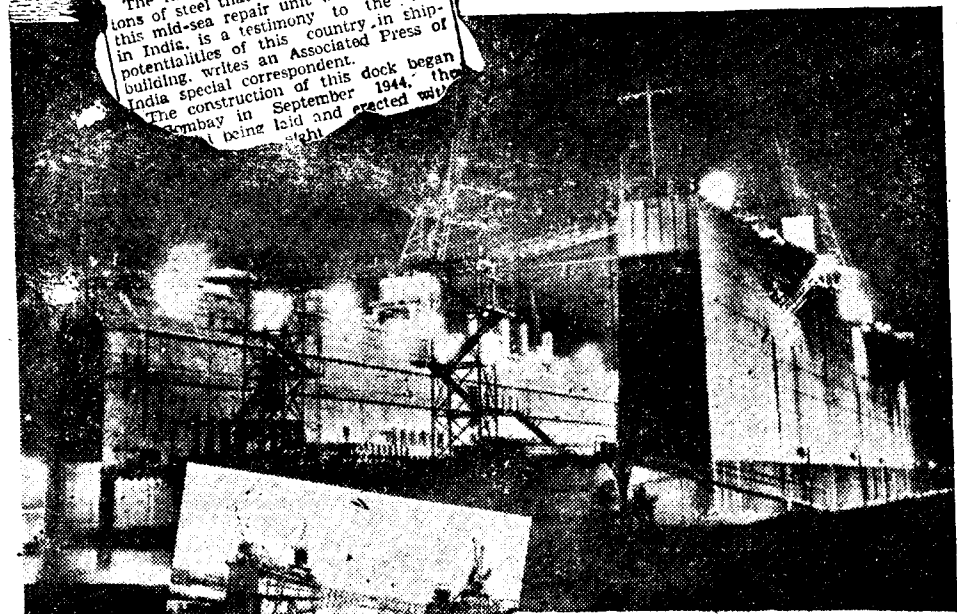
The dock which is 355 feet long, 172 feet wide and 75 feet high is a self-contained unit with a power plant, pumping machinery, a ship repair workshop and quarters for the crew. The fact that every bit of the 20,000 tons of steel that was required to make this mid-sea repair unit was fabricated in India, is a testimony to the vast potentialities of this country in shipbuilding, writes an Associated Press of India special correspondent.

The construction of this dock began in Bombay in September 1944, the dock being laid and erected with

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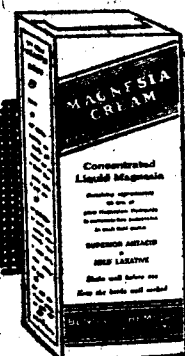
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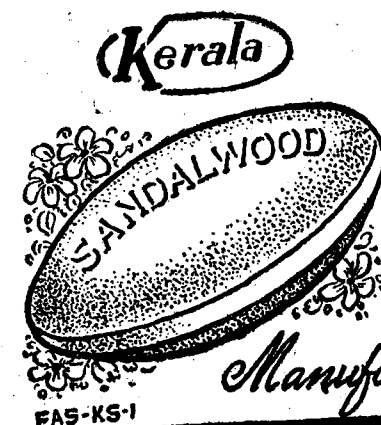
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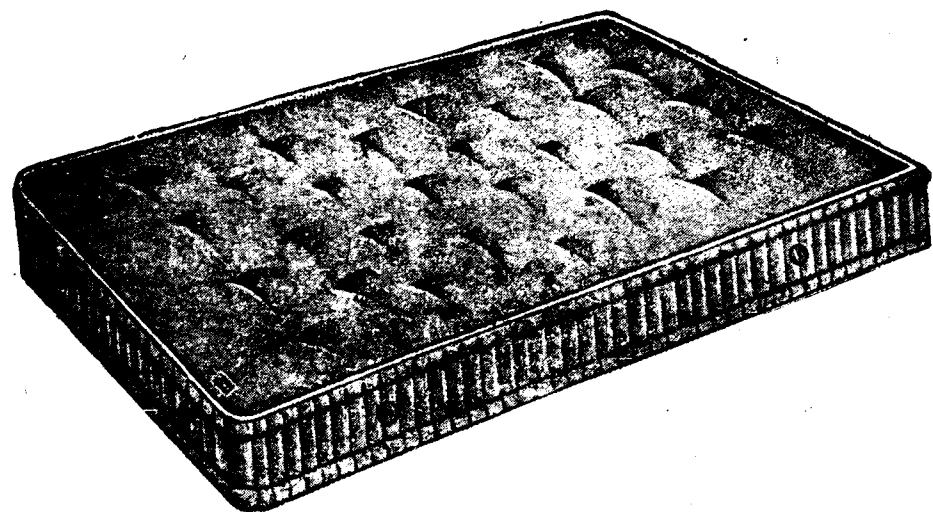


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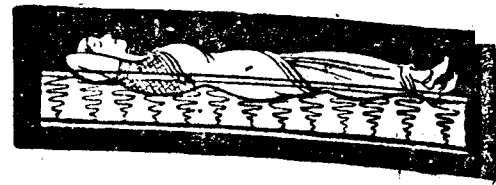
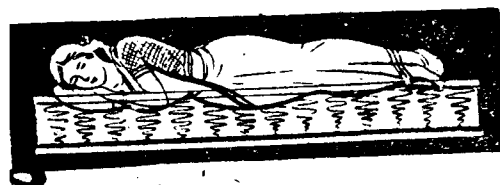
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