

BOOK OF THE DAY!

Fellowship of Faiths & Unity of Religions

BY



MAHATMA

GANDHI

EDITED BY PROF. ABDUL MAJID KHAN

There could be no better New Year gift to the Indian public and to young men in Schools and Colleges than this volume of supreme interest, at this hour now. In this booklet Professor Abdul Majid Khan has attempted to trace the evolution of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas on religion from 1908 to 1946 and for this purpose he has made a deep and laborious study of Mahatmaji's writings and has culled telling extracts from them which he has arranged in a chronological order. Mahatma Gandhi has consistently preached for the last 40 years the idea that there is an essential unity in all great religions and if only persons will study the great scriptures of the world with reverence as they are studied by the respective followers of each faith they will realise that there is an essential unity and equality in all religions. To Mahatmaji all religions are equal. He preaches the idea of the Fellowship of Faiths and, as Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh observes in his Foreword, it is the duty of every educated person to understand not only his own faith but also the other great faiths and thus remove the cause of religious animosities and feuds. Prof. Abdul Majid Khan's book will, in its own way, fulfil the Mission of Mahatma Gandhi.

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Equality As A Fundamental Right in India

BY DR P. C. ALEXANDER, M.A., D.Litt.

IN any list of Fundamental Rights the right to equality is bound to be recognised as the most important. In fact the doctrine of Fundamental Rights arose mainly as a protest against the concept of 'privilege'. The influence of the American and French revolutions in the evolution of the doctrine of Fundamental Rights needs no special mention. It was the tyranny of the privileged classes that compelled the masses to rise in revolt and assert their fundamental right to equality in France. As Delisle Burns says, Rousseau's opening words in the Contract Social that "man is born free and he is everywhere in chains" is the cry of pain from which the revolutionary enthusiasm arose. "Men are born and always continue free and equal in respect of their rights" proclaims the French Declaration of Rights. "All men are created equal" says the American Declaration of Independence, and they have the right to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them". The Indian National Congress which had largely drawn its inspiration from the American and French revolutions had consistently asked for the

incorporation of the right to equality as a Fundamental Right in the Indian Constitution. But the British Government were averse to the idea of recognising any right as fundamental in India. The Simon Commission thought that "mere abstract declarations were useless unless there existed the will and the means to make them effective". Sir Samuel Hoare was of opinion that it was "extraordinarily difficult to put in anything sufficiently explicit to make it susceptible of a legal decision". However the 1935 Act contained one provision which remotely at least recognised the right to equality. "No subject of His Majesty" says the Act "domiciled in India shall on grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in India or be prohibited on any such grounds from acquiring, holding, or disposing of property. . . ." This provision refers only to equality of rights for public service, property and profession. It does not attempt to remove social inequalities based on caste, religion or sex. The Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights guarantees unqualified equality. It says:— "No disability attaches to any citizen by

reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling. All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort maintained out of state or local funds or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public".

The right to equal protection of law and equal facilities are of special significance to the depressed classes in India. There is a close similarity between the Harijan problem in India and the Negro problem in the U.S.A. and so it will be of special interest to make a comparative study of the application of the right to equality in these two countries.

In the United States equality is assured to all the citizens by the famous 14th Amendment which says that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws". The Civil Rights Act which was based on the 14th Amendment assures all citizens of the United States equal facilities in hotels, public conveyances, theatres, places of amusements etc, without distinction of religion, race, colour or caste. But it is interesting to note how in the actual application of these laws the Negroes of America are denied their right to equality. The 14th Amendment on which the Civil Rights Act is based aims at preventing only discriminatory laws passed

by States and not by private individuals. Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court giving his judgment in the famous Civil Rights Cases (1883) observed that "Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject matter" of the Act. So if a coloured citizen in America is refused admission to a theatre or hotel on the ground of his colour, he has no protection of law under the 14th Amendment. The 14th Amendment gives him relief only against State legislation or State action. In India the right to equal facilities is an unqualified right in the sense that all citizens have equal access to wells, hotels, schools, theatres etc intended for the use of the general public.

Again, in the application of the right to equal protection of law, there is a wide gulf between theory and practice in America. In the U.S.A. the right to equal protection of law does not mean equality in social relations. For example, if laws are made segregating the coloured Negroes from the Whites in regard to travel in railway carriages or education in schools, it does not become *ultra vires*. So long as equal facilities are provided to the Negroes for education, or travel, or entertainments, there will be no infringement on the constitutional requirement of equal protection of laws. A violation of the right to equality arises only when facilities provided for one set of people are denied to another. The issues involved in the famous "Missouri Ex Rel Gaines V Canada Case" (1939) deserve critical study. A Negro student by name Lloyd Gaines who had graduated from the Lincoln University was denied admission to the law school of the University on the

ground that he was a Negro. Failing to get justice at the circuit court and the Supreme court of Missouri, he appealed to the Federal Supreme Court. Chief Justice Hughes delivering judgment in favour of the Negro student observed that the right to equal protection of law was violated because facilities for education in law given to the whites were denied to the Negro. If equal provision had been provided for education in law separately for the Negroes also, there would have been no violation of the right. Thus the right of equal protection of law in the U.S.

does not recognise segregation on grounds of colour as an offence. Of course it goes without saying that this is a flagrant violation of the Fundamental Rights to equality. In India segregation on grounds of colour or caste in public carriages, hostels, educational institutions etc constitutes an open violation of the Right to equality.

Thus it is clear that the right to equality recognised in our country is more real than that in America. At least it can be said in our favour that we have not deliberately left any loopholes in our law.

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

BY SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

EVERYBODY is familiar with the question of a common national language for India. Hitherto, Hindi has been the favourite and attempts have been made for about three decades to popularise its use by means of Hindi Pracharini Sabhas which not only run language classes, supply Hindi teachers but also hold periodical examinations and issue diplomas to successful candidates. I have myself taken part in this campaign. As far back as 1927, when I was a member of the Federal Public Service Commission I spoke at a public meeting in Madras in which by means of facts and figures I pointed out that the limit of voluntary effort to propagate Hindi had been reached in Southern India and that the next step to take was for the Madras Government to use compulsion and make Hindi a compulsory subject in schools. The

Madras Hindi Pracharini Sabha considered this speech important enough to print several thousand copies for distribution in the province. The first step in compulsion was taken when the first Congress Government came into power under the scheme of provincial autonomy and Mr. C. Rajagopalachar became Prime Minister. But the plan proved to be unpopular and was repealed (like some other things) by the more or less official government that succeeded the Congress Government when it resigned on the declaration of War in 1939. The question of a national language was left in a state of suspended animation till the present Congress Government came into power at the centre and in the provinces. When the Constituent Assembly of India held its initial sessions, several members from Northern India were permitted by the President to speak in

Hindi to the mild delight of members from the Hindi-speaking provinces and the amazement and confusion of mind of members from Madras, Bengal and South Bombay who could not follow the Hindi speeches. Dr. Rajendra Prasad even announced that the Constitution of new India would be written in Hindi, but I do not believe that he has so far succeeded in securing a translator who could render it into language which could be understood by the "common man" of even the Hindi-speaking provinces. I recall the difficulty felt in Udaipur when Mr. K. M. Munshi, who is a zealous advocate of "the well of Hindi pure and undefiled" framed a Constitution for the State in English and then set out on a search for a native of Udaipur who could put it into the popular language of the State. The difficulty was not overcome but the problem was finally solved when the Munshi Constitution itself was scrapped on the advent of later Advisers. The reason for the difficulty was that though Hindi was the recognised State language the people of the State including the Ruler and his court spoke a local dialect called Mewadi, while the style of official correspondence was a jumble of Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Mewadi which was obscure both in language and in script that practically every high native official (I mean officials born and bred in Udaipur) has to use a peshcar or reader. An attempt made by me to hold compulsory examinations in Hindi Manuscript reading and voluntary reward examinations in Hindi language and literature did not meet with much success. Some of the ablest officials in the civil service had to be given several

chances or exempted from the compulsory test and the many rewards failed to attract candidates for the voluntary tests. I then made the discovery that it was considered a proof of native patriotism to talk about encouragement of Hindi but in practice not to take the trouble to learn it. Hindi was not the language of the people, Mewadi was the language which they spoke and in which they felt at home.

I have referred to my experiences in Udaipur at some length because they throw light on the experiences of Dr. K. N. Katju, as Governor of Orissa. Dr. Katju is a native of the United Provinces, his legal learning is immense, he is a leading Congressman and has been a successful Minister. He too has been disillusioned about the possibility of making Hindi the national language of India. He says that he finds in Orissa that Oriya is the language most commonly spoken, that practically the entire vernacular Press is published in Oriya, that the official language is either Oriya or English and that it is only a "microscopic minority" which can carry on conversation in Hindi with ease. He adds "I imagine the case is the same in the non-Hindi tracts of India such as Southern India, Bengal, Gujrat and the Maharashtra." We can all confirm his surmise.

Dr. Katju then goes on to refer to the Governmental and private efforts for propagating Hindi in Schools and comes to the conclusion that even the few who learn Hindi under their auspices will cease to retain an easy working familiarity with it when they leave their schools. He adds,

rightly enough that unless the language learnt in schools is constantly kept up in daily conversation "the student will lapse into illiteracy" as far as Hindi is concerned. Many of us who have lived in Northern India can confirm this from analagous experience. How few of the B. A. and LL.B's. of the Northern Universities when they have left their colleges for life's careers are able to speak or write with ease the English language they had learnt so painfully through a dozen or more years of academic life!

What then should be our national language? Dr. Katju suggests Sanskrit. I am afraid considering the complexities of its grammar, Sanskrit would be even more of a stumbling block to the Madras, the Bombayite, the Rajput, the Bengali, the Uriya and the Punjabi than Hindi.

It may be asked "you discard Dr. Katju's solution. Have you any one of your own to offer?" My answer is "Leave the question to time. Voluntary effort may continue. But compulsory measures are to be deprecated. It may be that the increasing association of Madras, Bengal and Bombay with the North particularly in Delhi, the National Capital, may in the processes of time make Hindi a better known language. Meanwhile do not force Hindi on All-India institutions like the Central Assembly. That will only render the debates and the record of the proceedings unintelligible to the Bengali, the Bombayite, the Madras, the Nagpuri and the Oriya. If you really dislike English as you say you do, by all means use your provincial language in your

provincial assemblies. As for Central bodies, hasten slowly. Do not straight-away banish English."

Even so, however, while Hindi may become the *lingua franca* of Delhi for official purposes, it will never become the "national language" of India in the sense that the mass of the population outside the present Hindi-speaking area will be able to use it in speech or writing. And is that a matter to be regretted from the point of view of national unity? The example of Switzerland shows that linguistic unity is not essential to national unity. In the comparatively small area of that country three languages, French, German and Italian are spoken but that fact has never divided the Swiss in politics. The Italian-speaking Swiss is as patriotic as the French or German speaking one. He never wanted to join with Italy even in the days when Mussolini was speaking of reviving the glories of Ancient Rome. Similarly, the German speaking Swiss never aspired to join hands with Hitler in the days when Hitler was striding over prostrate Europe like a colossus.

One may even venture to go further and inquire why it is now considered the patriotic thing to discard English in central institutions in favour of Hindi. It is conceded by even the ultra-nationalist that English should continue to be studied for the purpose of international intercourse and commerce. Why then give up a language which serves as a useful *lingua franca* and which the non-Hindi man has learnt to use with facility and compel him to undertake the hopeless task of substituting

Hindi in its place? Unless indeed the object of the substitution is to reduce his political weightage in Delhi? If that is the end aimed at, by all means make Hindi the one language to be used in the Central Assembly, in the central cabinet and in the central secretariat. I cannot otherwise understand this ostentatiously proclaimed dislike of English. As for the

Mahatma himself, he spoke and wrote an English which in its simplicity, directness and force could arouse the envy of native born Englishmen. The plea that English is the "language of slavery" is historically untrue. It is to English, and not to Hindi, that we owe our desire for national unity and national independence.

AIR MAIL NUMBER ONE

BY SIR HUBERT SAMS

THE folder containing the issue of stamps commemorating the Independence of India contains a fac-simile of the post-mark used for the mail carried by air on 18th February 1911 from the Allahabad Exhibition across the Jumna to Naini Junction. It is claimed that this was the World's very first air-mail.

This at once set a chord of memory vibrating, but my memory, which admittedly is not what it used to be, would put the date somewhere in the Christmas holidays of 1910-11. On the other hand a post-mark is usually reliable. I can only think that both the folder and I are right and that I actually did see an air-mail carried in the last days of 1910. At any rate, date apart, the first air mail was undoubtedly carried in India somewhere about that time.

How I came to be at Allahabad at that time was in this wise. For the Christmas holidays of 1910, when I was P. M. G. of the Bengal Circle, I decided to give the fleshpots of Calcutta a miss and to spend

a happy, quiet time in hard exercise, fresh air and reading. For this purpose I had already marked down an old Mahratta fort, perched high on a cliff in Bihar, which in those days was part of the Province of Bengal. I have forgotten the name of the place nor does it matter.

Taking with me a case of Christmas delicacies and some very smokable cigars, I left Calcutta on Christmas Eve and by the afternoon of Christmas Day I arrived at my hill-top castle. Leaving the reliable Abdul Latif to arrange my kit and impedimenta and to make the necessary bandobast with the castle's seneschal, I strolled along the edge of the cliff and, fascinated, watched the great birds gliding above and below me like so many miniature aeroplanes, until the waning light suggested that it was time to go in and enjoy a 'nice cosy tea' before a good blazing fire. So to the fort I returned and found that Abdul Latif had already put the tea on the table. But where was the

blazing fire? It was not! Sivaji or the P. W. D. had forgotten to build a fire-place!

For tea a non-existent grate was bearable, but a Christmas dinner without the Yule log! Cold and cheerless I ate my Christmas dinner with no enjoyment. After it I sat huddled up in a great coat pretending that I was enjoying a glass of port and a cigar. But I wasn't. The glory had departed, if it had ever arrived.

On Boxing Day therefore I decided to end my self-imposed hermitage and to become gregarious again. I told Abdul Latif to pack up. We took the train North for Allahabad and its Exhibition. That night in a comfortable hotel I sat in my room over a roaring fire and really did enjoy myself. The next day I spent at the Exhibition. What it exhibited I do not re-collect. But I do vividly remember that the enterprising P. M. G. of the U. P. had staged an air-mail Service across the Jumna to Naini Junction on the opposite bank. I addressed a batch of picture postcards to my family and friends, saw them post-marked with the special date

stamp and watched them loaded into a rickety contraption, which called itself an aeroplane, piloted by an intrepid Frenchman, Monsieur Pequet. An Indian policeman stood by looking at the strange outfit with goggling eyes.

"I'll give you a hundred rupees" I tempted him "to go up in that."

He shook his head. "No, Sabib" he replied "I'm a family man."

The crazy affair rose from the Exhibition grounds and with the greatest difficulty managed to flutter across the river.

I then realised that I was watching the World's first Air-Mail Service, an ugly duckling that in a few years would grow into a glorious swan.

One more memory. The experience clearly called for something more emotional than a bald entry in a diary. I burst into a lyric in honour of Monsieur Pequet and to my pride and pleasure it duly appeared in the Calcutta evening paper. It was my tribute to a gallant Frenchman.

THE BEST MONUMENT TO GANDHIJI

BY MR. CHARANJIT SINGH BINDRA, M.A., LL.B.

—(O)—

GREAT controversy has raged in the Press, over the Radio and the stage as to what would be the most befitting and appropriate monument to the memory of Gandhiji. Some would be content with renaming a city or an institution after him, others with naming an era after him, which may or may not be adopted by the

rest of the world. The more thoughtful have suggested the setting up of an academy which would study and propagate the ideals of the apostle of Ahimsa. It may even be a university. All of them, however, are agreed that the most appropriate monument to Mahatmaji would be to practise the ideals dear to his heart. Why

not then translate this into a physical actuality so that his memory may enter our daily life in its visible form?

The ideal dearest to him was the application of the principle of Ahimsa in the service of humanity, specially the lowly and the downcast. He raised us all from the depths of slavery through Ahimsa, but his greatest achievement has been the emancipation of the out-cast without further need of regeneration. That is the miracle of his life, and we have to embody that in a physical form.

No amount of buildings, statues and pillars can be a source of gratification to the departed soul. His memory demands a practice that takes a physical shape, so that everybody feels his presence day by day for all days to come. To raise the lowly, the lowest, we must abolish the tasks that are set for the so called lowest. If we keep among us the means to lower a man by virtue of his work, we are trying to kill Gandhiji's work.

He tried to show that the humblest work should not be considered to demean a person when he went to clean the latrines himself; but the average man cannot understand it as yet. Thus so long as man is condemned to any work for which he is considered lowly Gandhiji's mission will remain unfulfilled. Our greatest homage can be only to help the fulfilment of that mission.

Yes, the greatest and most appropriate monument would be the abolition of the

duties which have lowered men in the eye of others, or creating such circumstance that the duties are no longer considered to be derogatory. It is with the scavenger's work that he started, and we may follow suit by taking measures to abolish the institution of scavengers. Release humanity from the dirty work that demeans.

It will be too early to do so by legislation without creating the necessary substitute for giving it a practical shape. The best thing would be to take immediate measures to install flush or other sanitation in all cities, towns and may be some villages, so as to abolish the present system of latrines. Secondly means may be developed to make the task of sweeping, specially streets, less irksome, and more dignified. For these purposes we should have to set up research institutes, where improved methods and implements be devised. Certainly many other countries are doing without professional sweepers. Cannot we change the face of India also? That would be the greatest monument to Gandhiji. A cleaner and healthier India!

By staying in Harijan Colony Gandhiji has set us another task. It is the dwelling, next after his work, that grades a man as lowly. His mission points in that direction also. So let every slum be replaced by a decent habitation worthy of a human being.

These two measures will make everyman feel the change in his daily life that Gandhiji has sought to bring about. Fulfilment of this mission is the only true monument to him.

THE INFLATIONARY MOVEMENT

BY MR. C.W.B. ZACHARIAS

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is unfortunate, almost tragic, that even two years after the termination of hostilities, the major economic spectacle in the country should be the unhindered progress of the inflationary movement. The general index of prices had by March 1947 risen by 48 points above the figure of 244.9 reached in 1945-46 and a further increase of 7 points took place by August 1947. Finance Minister's Budget Speech, November 1947) Varying increases have been registered in sectional price indices.

The inflation potential which existed in the country at the close of 1945 when the war ended, has thus been allowed to have unhindered play. From a study of the funds accumulated during the war period and available with the people for increasing private expenditure, it should have been clear to any one that the stage was well set for an inflationary movement under decontrol, and the Government should have been persuaded to adopt anti-inflationary rather than non-deflationary measures. Instead, the incessant talk of the imminence of deflation indulged in by a certain section of the expert press and other counsellors of Government virtually compelled the Government to embark upon measures calculated to ward off the unsighted deflation. The budget of 1946-47 was patently a non-deflationary budget. Its unbalanced nature, its provision for prolonged demobilization, speedy decontrol, reduction of taxation, expenditure on post-war schemes of development and its inadequate borrowing programme, all were clearly intended to engineer an industrial expansion which would moderate the effects of a diminution in Government outlay, at the same time they attempted to taper out that diminution. If industrial expansion had taken place as intended, the rise in prices would have been more moderate and the inflationary process would have been accompanied by the boom in production and business activity. But the very talk of an oncoming deflation

unaccompanied by a clear enunciation of governmental policy regarding the price-level were not circumstances favourable for engendering the proper psychological attitude in the business community. Such production figures as are available show that on the whole, production in 1946 was on the downgrade.

The budget of 1947-48 in as much as it contained proposals for the imposition of some new taxes involved a slight reversal of the previous policy, albeit in a half-hearted manner and on grounds of social justice rather than on economic urgency. In its other features it was just a replica of the previous budget, but with a narrower deficit. Reduction in Government expenditure was less than in the previous budget, and its borrowing programme manifested no improvement. As anti-inflationary measures there should have been a quickening of the pace of demobilisation, a drastic cut in civilian expenditure, a greater intake of funds by the Government through taxation and borrowing and a more rigid control at key points. Surplus budgeting which would have provided for the implementing of the Central Pay Commission's recommendations and the building up of a reserve for the post-war schemes of development to be used when the threat of deflation really materialised, should have been the keynote of the financial policy of Government. These measures should have been accompanied by a clear enunciation of Government's price policy.

While the financial policy of the Government was based on a wrong diagnosis, the political troubles consequent on the partition of the country and the widespread labour unrest have in effect accelerated the inflationary process. Government expenditure has increased in foreseen lines, but revenues have fallen through reduced production. The deficit in the budget is widening, compelling a recourse to deficit financing

just when production of goods is rapidly diminishing.

The existing situation is thus most intriguing, and any misreading of it now will be more fateful than the misreading of the situation two years ago for the reason that a further deterioration may take the economy past the stage of possible salvage. The main problem here is to discern whether the inflationary process will continue long, or the turning point will soon be reached. Had the problem of mass evacuations not arisen, the inflationary process would have most probably spent itself out soon. Demobilization was nearing completion, defence expenditure was being brought down to peace time level, recoverable expenditure had completely vanished, a large part of the saved up funds had got dissipated in inflated prices, trade inventories had been almost built up, the budget deficit was narrowing down, the rate of increase of currency was slowing down, the money market was beginning to experience tight conditions, and all the signs were pointing to a turning point. The general index of prices was nearing slowing down in the first half of 1947-48, having been only by 7 points from April 1947 to August 1947, as against 18.4 and 21.6 points in the first and second half years of 1946-47. Another significant fact is that these increases taken together are disproportionately greater than the increase in money supply, broadly indicating an increase in the velocity of circulation in currency, though not in bank deposits. Seasonal movement of currency and bank deposits was also tending to return to the pre-war pattern of movement in opposite directions.

But the refugee problem has unimaginably disrupted production and caused a reduction in both current real income and money income. Which of the two has experienced the greater fall cannot be gauged now, but the probability is that real income has suffered greater damage than money income in view of the fact that Government are sustaining consumption expenditure to

the tune of Rs. 7 to 8 lakhs a day through the grant of refugee allowances. Reduction of production accompanied by an artificial propping up of money income will give a new lease of life to the inflationary movement and retard the turning point indefinitely.

How long this state of affairs will continue will depend upon the speed with which rehabilitation of the refugees takes place. Governmental financial policy in this matter is therefore going to be the most crucial in the situation. On it virtually depends the prognosis of the economy, the continuance of inflation or the emergence of the deflationary tendency. A most valid and important distinction from the point of view of controlling inflation will be between rehabilitation expenditure and relief expenditure. Rehabilitation expenditure will amount to investment on productive ventures which, while providing employment in a context of large-scale and concentrated unemployment, will at the same time increase wealth production and bring into being the real counterpart of the money income disbursed. The limit to this kind of expenditure is set by the need for rehabilitation itself, for as long as unemployed refugees exist, investment expenditure cannot lead to an inflationary rise of prices. Relief expenditure on the other hand will merely strengthen consumption and increase the demand for the scarce consumption goods currently produced.

Its normal secondary effects on investment will hardly materialize under existing physical handicaps. It would be advisable therefore to reduce Government expenditure on relief to the minimum and start rehabilitating proceedings as quickly as possible. From the point of view of the refugees too such a policy would be more welcome.

The Finance Minister's budget speech (November 1947) does not state anything about the division of the Rs. 22 crores set apart for this purpose into these two items of expenditure. Perhaps it is too early to work out the details. However, the recent

Curtailement of the refugee allowance to less than half its former size is symptomatic of this realization by the Finance Minister. But if rehabilitation takes time, as obviously it will, the cutting down of relief expenditure merely with a view to lightening the burden on the exchequer will virtually be an overcautious parsimony which is unaccompanied by a full sense of the responsibility thrown on the Government. While it is the admitted duty of Government to husband their resources and safeguard the economy from disastrous consequences, the refugees should not be left to their unfortunate fate. There is the imperative need therefore for the cut in Government allowance to be made good by philanthropic effort either in kind or in money. A vigorous campaign in that direction is the least that Government can do for them in the circumstances. The substitution of philanthropic finance for state finance laudable in itself as a unique national gesture of goodwill and sympathy, is in addition the most harmless financial policy conceivable in an inflationary context. The same monetary innocuity will attend State finance too if the needed funds are raised through taxation. But the Finance Minister has chosen to leave the budget deficit uncovered in his anxiety to avoid tax measures injurious to incentive.

Whether this policy is quite justifiable in the circumstances is open to grave doubt. There is just reason to think that heavy taxation has not been the handicap to industrial expansion it is alleged to be during the past two years. Whatever it is, consistent with the desire to leave incentive undamaged, selective taxation could have been resorted to, such as indirect taxation on luxury articles which would serve the double purpose of securing revenue and raising their prices, thereby reducing their consumption and production. This would have released funds as well as physical resources for expanding the production of more essential commodities (See Cheap Money Policy by F. W. Paish, *Economica*, August 1947). Doubtless

taxation cannot be exclusively relied upon in the circumstances obtaining in the country to-day to control inflation, but it does not follow therefrom that this method could be altogether eschewed.

In the absence of new taxation to cover the deficit or retrenchment in civilian expenditure, the Government should have embarked upon a larger borrowing programme with special emphasis on small savings. The provision for Rs. 150 crores for the full year in the budget of 1947-48 which is less than the previous year's provision for Rs. 250 crores, but greater than the realized amount of Rs. 112 crores, remains unaltered in the new budget. The estimate for small savings either, is not very much greater than in the previous year. The budget figure under this head is only Rs. 45.45 crores against Rs. 62.34 crores in 1945-46 and Rs. 35.38 crores in the first nine months of 1946-47. In view of the promised drive to increase small savings, credit should have been taken for a larger amount.

However, the emphasis laid by the Finance Minister on increase of production as the proper cure for inflation strikes the proper note. Increase of production is both anti-inflationary and non-deflationary and may be pursued unhesitatingly even in the event of uncertainty prevailing regarding future developments in the economy. But the condition precedent for any expansion of industry on private account is the expectation of stable prices, and the absence of any indication of Governmental policy in the matter in the budget speech leaves the situation altogether unimproved. The Commodities Price Board is reported to have made a specific recommendation on that behalf, and if in spite of that, the Finance Minister is silent, the inference is inevitable that Government have not yet taken a decision on the question. The suggestion made here is not that the Board's recommendation should have been accepted, but that the Government should have by now exercised their mind on it and come to a

decision. The urgency of such a decision cannot be over-emphasized, for as the whole experience of the after-war inflationary period shows, without this condition being fulfilled, no amount of propaganda or financial aid will coax the business community to embark upon new ventures. During the inflationary period, the supreme need was for increased production in almost every line of activity, and yet the lack of it, so disappointing and disconcerting, cannot be explained except in terms of physical disabilities and psychological ineptitude.

While an announcement regarding the price policy of the Government is the primary requirement, it should be followed up by measures directed to providing facilities for expansion.

These conditions are partly fiscal and financial, partly economic and partly also physical. But in the present context the last of the series assumes priority over the other two. Neither lack of investible funds nor that profitability of industry could be held to have operated during the last two years as obstacles to expansion. The reserve and depreciation funds of corporations and the savings of individuals and institutions were all available for the purpose, and though in the money market a certain restriction has been latterly experienced, on the whole cheap money conditions have generally prevailed. On the investment market as the Report of the Reserve Bank of India on Currency and Finance (1946-47) says, there was restricted scope for investment even for the funds offering. Profitability of industry too as evidenced by the yields of equities has throughout the period been maintained at a high level. In the latter half of 1946 and possibly in 1947, those yields were experiencing a fall, due mostly to labour troubles, still when compared to the pre-war level, they have been maintained phenomenally high.

Creation of favourable physical conditions is therefore the supreme need of the hour. This is more easily planned than imple-

mented for the reason that through worsening of the international commodity situation, even erstwhile prospects have recently receded. Reports of Trade Commissioners from major and minor countries regarding the possibility of importing capital goods give no hope of relief on any effective scale till after the lapse of two or three years. The only exceptions are France and Belgium which are prepared to make earlier deliveries. The new possibility of tapping the resources of minor countries for this purpose opens out an altogether unexpected vista and should ease the situation appreciably. Still the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. are bound to retain their relative importance both in the promptness and magnitude of deliveries. But the absence of a satisfactory settlement regarding our Sterling Balances and the widely experienced Dollar Shortage coupled with the high ruling prices of American goods make it exceedingly difficult to secure even the little that is immediately available. All our dollars have to be conserved to finance of our imports of food, and that while a misfortune, is at the same time an index of a possible way of escape. Concentration on food production internally, the most urgent need on the principle of 'first things come first' and from the point of view of economic welfare and political contentment, would be seen also to act as a solvent of our general economic problem.

However it is imperative that everything possible should be done to secure these vital factors needed for our economic reconstruction, and the new diplomatic contacts established with foreign countries should be deliberately used for the purpose. An exhaustive investigation would include Russia too whose potential for the satisfaction of our needs is as yet little understood and little explored.

In this context an export drive with the limited objective of securing foreign exchange for a more liberal importation of goods from abroad readily suggests itself

from the fact that exports must pay for imports, especially in view of the immediate non-availability of Sterling resources and the difficulty of raising loans or credits abroad, the emphasis which such a drive will place on the production of exportable commodities will be seen to be based upon a lively recognition of immediate possibilities in the sphere of production too. Our exportable surplus as in the pre-war years consists mainly of agricultural produce, jute manufactures and hides and skins, in the exports of which large increases have already taken place in the post-war period. And it is just in one of these fields of production, *viz.* agriculture, that bottlenecks appear to be less forbidding and more amenable to internal planning and management.

But is our rate of exchange such as to favour such a drive? At present due to the existence of a sellers' market, international prices of our export commodities have risen higher than their internal prices, and so the inappropriate rate of exchange has not had the effects on our export trade which in normal times it would have. How long this state of affairs will continue cannot be foreseen now. But the inherent maladjustment between the external value of the Rupee and the domestic level of costs and prices is bound sooner or later to act as a handicap.

From the point of view of production, in addition to agriculture, cottage industries and building too are possible lines of immediate expansion. They, along with agriculture, have the characteristic that with a modicum of imported goods a programme of development can be carried out. It is idle however to expect that private initiative here will rise to the occasion and take advantage of the opportunity offered. In raw material production prices have risen high enough in the post-war period to make their cultivation remunerative, but the lack of facilities for extension of cultivation into the waste except under State auspices and with State help, and the proverbial lack of

enterprise in the agricultural classes would seem to demand organized efforts in that direction by the State. Such efforts are more profitably directed to intensifying cultivation through greater conservation and utilization of natural manures, re-organization of agriculture on the basis of co-operation farming, and an increase in the acreage under improved varieties.

Development of cottage industries and house building too has to be based on a short period plan in the furtherance of which the major industries of the country should be made to co-operate. They may through concentration on the production of such materials, standardized if possible, as are needed for progress in the aforesaid lines actively help in an increase of production. In addition to the provision of physical requisites, financial aid too may be needed in all these three lines. For that, provincial organs of the kind hinted at by the Finance Minister in his speech introducing the bill for setting up the Industrial Finance Corporation, may be required. Their formation on a provincial and state scale on the basis of separate organs for the three lines, would thus appear to be more urgent than the initiation of the contemplated Industrial Finance Corporation which in the context of nil scope for expansion in large industry will only doubtfully serve any purpose which existing agencies cannot equally well serve. These provincial organs will immediately find the maximum use for their funds and will undeniably fill an existing gap.

As for a production drive within large-scale industries, it can immediately take only the form of re-organization and standardization on the lines suggested for the Textile Industry. In such re-organization Labour should be persuaded to co-operate with overtime work and the maintenance of industrial peace. The fall in production as well as the fall in profitability in the post-war period can be directly attributed to recurrent industrial disputes and the shortening of the working day. If steps are taken to eliminate the

first and counter act the second, large industry will be enabled to maintain and in some ways to increase production till more propitious times emerge for a full-fledged expansion. The success of any such plan would demand the active co-operation of the industries concerned, and the enlisting of it through an appeal to self-interest and the social responsibility devolving on them should be the broad aim of State policy and propaganda.

Thus it would appear that priority should be assigned to such lines of production as will with a more economic utilization of existing resources contribute directly or indirectly to an increase of consumption goods. In the transition from

a war to a peace economy a pronounced and unalterable predilection for return investment usually exists. J. R. Hicks, *World Recovery After War—A Theoretical Analysis*—Economic Journal, June 1947) In India too an analysis of the applications made and consents given for Capital Issues shows that in the number of new companies formed, though not in the capital involved, immediate schemes preponderate. This preference satisfies both the individual interest involved and the social need of the moment. So it would be advisable for the State, unless engaged on the execution of a long range plan of development, to recognize this and adjust its policy accordingly.

Atomic Age: Race For Deadly Weapons

BY MR. VIJAY SEN

EVER since the two atom bombs fell on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, where at Hiroshima alone a single bomb claimed 2,40,000 people out of the total population of 2,50,000, the process and strategical and tactical concepts of war have been almost revolutionized. More so, if we consider that the bombs that fell on Nagasaki and Hiroshima were of a primitive type, which are now obsolete, and now we have in this world bombs and other weapons 50 times more deadly and powerful than the atom bombs already used. Now the country that can manufacture atom bombs, that can improve upon the bombs used previously and that can harness the atomic energy to its requirements is naturally at the top of the world and can win the next world war. And just for that very reason the United States is trying her best to guard that secret, if it still is a secret, but the other nations of the world are by no means sitting idle; scientists in almost every country on the earth are working day and night to discover the atom bomb-secret.

PROGRESS IN GREAT BRITAIN

At Harwell in Berkshire—a former R.A.F. station at which security is today stricter than even in wartime—and at three other stations—at Risley and Salwick in Lancashire and at Drigg in West Cumberland—Great Britain is attempting to catch the atomic progress, an attempt which entails an expenditure of £50,000,000 and the assistance of the country's leading scientists. Besides this, the research work is also being carried out at the University Laboratories of Cambridge and Harrow.

Moreover, the Government is giving absolute priority of labour, material, fuel and housing to the development of nuclear energy for industrial as opposed to destructive purposes. The Uranium deposits discovered at Cornwall in Great Britain are being utilized to their greatest extent for this purpose. And furthermore, Britain has developed a series of underwater weapons, some of them invented by Italian scientists who were encouraged to continue their

investigations after Italy's collapse in the World War.

THE SOVIETS ARE NOT IDLE

The Russian advances in this field are revealed by the ever increasing number of scientific publications coming from Leningrad, Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Kharkov and other centres of atomic research. But the research carried out by the Russians is quite independent of other countries. Professor Harold Urey, an outstanding figure in the United States atomic research, recently stated that if the United States gave her scientific data to the Russians, they would probably confuse rather to aid them by diverting their own advanced researches from the path the Russians are following independently. Uranium and thorium, the two elements which make the atom bomb tick, have been found at various places in the Soviet Union such as Karelia, Krnokamsk, Tannu, Tava, Sverdlovsk, Altai mountains and Tadzhik etc. And it is rumoured that the Russian scientists have actually discovered not only the atom bomb but the things deadlier than the atom bomb.

ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

On the American continent, ironically enough, in the United States—the home of atom bombs—there are comparatively poor resources of the essential basic elements needed for the atom bomb. However, rich Uranium resources have been located in North America—Canada—at Labine Point, on the east side of Great Bear Lake, and near Goldfields Lake; whereas, thorium deposits have been found in South America at Bohia and Espirito Santo.

But nevertheless, the United States maintain the lead in the atomic race. Over 200 installations in different parts of the country are now working at full speed. The scientists are not only busy manufacturing atom bombs, which no doubt are also being manufactured, but are devoting their energies to harness the atomic power for industrial purposes as well.

ON THE ASIAN COUNTRIES

In India the Government has encouraged research activities at three centres—The Tata

Fundamental Research Institute, Bombay. The Saha Laboratory and the Bose Institute at Calcutta—by granting large sums for the purpose. Besides, the Government also sent two foremost Indian Scientists, Dr. Bhaba and Dr. Meghnath Saha to tour some European and American countries in order to collect literature and material on the subject. Dr. Meghnath Saha who has returned only recently while referring to the present state of atomic research work in Great Britain, France and Sweden remarked: "What I saw simply amazed me."

Moreover, at Travancore in Mysore State we have rich deposits of thorium.

This basic element has also been found in Ceylon and in Indonesia at three places—Singkep, Bangka and Billiton.

In Australia as well at Radium Hill, Mount Painter and Stanthorpe Uranium deposits have been located. The recovery plants have been installed and milling activities are being carried out at these places. However, the Asian countries are still far behind the great advances made in the United States and Soviet Union in this sphere.

IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Small countries like Czechoslovakia, Spain and Portugal also boast of their wealth in Uranium. Whereas, Sweden and Denmark are conducting highly efficient scientific researches in these elements. On the continent of Africa Uranium ore is located at Chinkolobwe and on the island of Madagascar.

And in addition to that, today in the arsenals of the world several of the great powers, there are other absolute weapons, chemical, biological and climatological, more devastating than the atom. Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, War-time Deputy, wrote: "They are capable of no right to referring to such destruction in India, and they writes: 'They are capable of any Federation at the last of vestige in their States. Any and even vegetable life free with those who the earth. This is being required to abandon horrors to come.'

today. They are being manufactured right now, while you are reading these words."

And they are not an American monopoly. Several nations in the world are known to be in possession of them, to be manufacturing them and to be adopting defensive measures accordingly. Further more, unlike the atom bomb, they are of such a nature that even small countries with limited resources and funds, can afford to manufacture and develop them.

THE REVOLUTION IN WARFARE

The vast variety of work and manufacturing projects in progress for such weapons throughout the world reveals the race which is going on at its full swing. Man has made a tremendous advance, as a result of these discoveries, towards the efficiency with which he can kill his own brethren and it seems to be very likely that just after the next world war only few members of the human race would remain alive and that also in the Arctic Regions only, if atom bombs and other absolute weapons are freely used in the conduct of war. Secondly, they permit the waging of inter-continental wars from long distances, the 'push-button wars.' Thirdly, in the light of these developments, our most recent armaments—aircraft carriers, long range bombers, rockets, pilotless planes, lava-spouting incendiary bombs, cruisers and destroyers—that dismayed the mankind during the last World War, represent an era of Warfare which is very antique and will never again return. Admiral Schoeffel of United States Naval Ordnance talking of the latest weapons rightly remarked: "It will never again be possible for us to depend upon dusting off the weapons of previous conflict when another war breaks out. It will be like United States to the bow and arrow." that secret, other nations OF ONLY DEFENCE sitting idle; scie view of such deadly country on the eart. existence and being night to discover the

manufactured in the world, the Atomic Energy Commission of the Security Council, which has not arrived at any far-reaching decision has no functions to perform. This inability of the statesmen of the world to unite in controlling this menace to human survival and to win peace thereby is a sad tale.

The British public was not at all surprised the other day when it was told that every man, woman and child had to undergo training in civil defence for the 'atom bomb age', as it is now freely called in the Fleet Street, London. The Americans are thinking of sinking their industries and sky-scrapers below the surface of the earth and the Russians to build new atom bomb proof factories and localities in the cold regions of far off Siberia.

How tragic it is that the people of the world who have just emerged out of a world war, the destruction by which has not been mitigated so far, and who do not want war in any shape or form are being prepared for another war, more deadly and disastrous than the previous war, and are being put on a 'war footing'.

But plainly speaking there can be no defence against an absolute war except to make the war itself obsolete. Today we want leaders and statesmen who, taking into consideration the sanctity of human life may arrive at any such decision of removing the prospects of any other war from the surface of the earth. Let them arrive at a synthesis of the two conflicting ideologies—the communist totalitarianism and capitalist democracy both of which are a menace to the peace of the world—in order to bring true democracy in this world. Let them rise to the occasion and call a special session of the United Nations General Assembly, say in next Spring, to consider the strengthening of the United Nations Organization and to outlaw war instead of dividing the world into two rival groups. The need of planning for One World is as urgent today as it was never before.

MERGER OF STATES

By MR. V. P. KRISHNAN NAMBIAR, M.A., B.L.

PUDUKKOTTAH, a small State in South India with an area of nearly 1200 square miles and a population of 4½ million, and entitled to a salute of 11 guns, has merged in the neighbouring district of Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency. The Ruler recently signed the agreement with the Government of the Indian Dominion completing the formal merger, which marks the political effacement of his State. The Raja had been adopted sometime in 1928 as the successor of the late Maharaja, who had married an Australian lady by whom he had a son, whose claim to succeed to the Pudukkottah gadi was rejected by the Government of India. For many years past during the minority of the Prince, the State had been under European Administrators. It was only in 1944 that the young Raja was invested with ruling powers, and quite recently, Responsible Government was introduced in the State. Pudukkottah acceded to the Indian Dominion in August last. Under the old Government of India Act 1935, in the proposed All India Federation, Pudukkottah, Banganapalle and Sandur, had been jointly allotted one seat in the Federal Assembly and in the Council of State. In February last, Banganapalle, a petty principality with an area of 275 square miles, merged in the Kurnool district. In Bombay sixteen of the Deccan States, excepting Kolhapur have agreed to merge with the Bombay Presidency. There is a clamour for Junagadh to merge with the new State of Sourashtra.

The doctrine of Merger of States is not a novel one, though its positive fulfilment has been accelerated by the rapid strides of political history in India after August 15 last. In this connection, it would be interesting to recall what Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, a former Governor of the Punjab (1927-32) in his book, "The Indian States and Indian Federation," (1942) stated:

The States are still so numerous in India that they offer a grave conundrum in the evolution to which no solution is at present forthcoming. Their disappearance and absorption would of course

be inevitable if the British ever ceased to be the supreme power as regards India.

Sir Geoffrey was never guilty of any partiality for the Indian National Congress, yet his words of 1942 have proved to be ominously prophetic in 1948. Some of the Indian Princes, notably those in Central India and Rajputana, have become apprehensive as to their future and have come forth with a defence for their continued independent existence as separate geographical entities. The Government of India have followed the broad principle, that States with a population of less than one million and revenue of one crore of rupees should well be advised to merge in the neighbouring Indian territory for political administration. Lord Linlithgow, during his viceroyalty (1936-43) strenuously strove to bring in the Princes in the proposed Indian Federation under the Act of 1935. In his official utterances in 1938-40, the Viceroy publicly advocated the doctrine of Merger of States, and advised many of the small States in India to share their judicial machinery and administrative establishment with the neighbouring bigger States. The outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 put back the hands of the clock in the provinces, and the old agreement with the Princes was allowed to continue. The underlying principle of the Merger Doctrine which may be reckoned as the ozone of its ideal is, that such of those States which could not as individuals form stable independent economic units, should be absorbed in British India, and should not be allowed to flourish as feudatory oligarchies, jeopardising the political progress of the country as a fifth wheel in its march. The late Prof. Berriedale Keith in his illuminating contribution on the Indian States (*The Morning Standard*, 24th May 1940) wrote:

The Princes in my opinion have no right to hinder Federation for British India, and they should not be allowed to enter any Federation without first establishing Responsible Government on the provincial analogy in their States. Any Federation of those politically free with those who are not, seems wholly unsound, and if it is hopeless to work for the States being required to abandon

autocracy in principle and practice, at least the doctrine that they must stand out of the Federation should be adopted. Congress could plainly take up such an attitude with full right.

The Cripps plan of 1942 envisaged a Federation of British India and the Indian States if no less than 50 per cent of the Indian States were prepared to join when the Cabinet Mission visited India in 1946 in their Plan of May 7, 1946 for an Indian Federation, they stated that the Indian States should surrender to the future Central Government three subjects—(1) Defence, (2) External Affairs and (3) communications. In all the rest States were to enjoy internal autonomy, notwithstanding that all the States had entered into subservient alliance with the British crown in India, and the successor Government of the East India Company, for defence and protection against external aggression and internal security; They paid their homage, to the Government of India as feudatory vassals, and had received recognition as subordinate Ruling Princes. Under the Cabinet Mission Plan, the rights and obligations arising under Paramountcy were to lapse on the transfer of political power to Indian hands. During the India Debate in the House of Commons in March 1947 following the Atlee declaration of February 20, Sir Stafford Cripps, who deputised for the Secretary of State for India, (Lord Pethwick-lawrence) summed up the constitutional position of the States as follows:

There is no intention of, handing on our rights and obligations of Paramountcy to any one else. When we transfer power in British India, these rights and obligations of Paramountcy 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 we have stated that we are prepared to agree to such modifications where they are necessary and reasonable. Such modifications will not, of course, in any way determine the future relationship of the States to the rest of India. It is purely a matter of transitional convenience.

In July 1947 when the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in Parliament, the Secretary of State for India, (Lord Listowell), speaking in the House of Lords, and Premier Atlee, who wound up the India debate in

the House of commons, reaffirmed the constitutional exposition of Sir Stafford Cripps in the matter of the States. On August 15, 1947, they became de facto autonomous entities, who were free to link up or not, with either of the new Dominions. But the real position was really put to them by Lord Mountbatten, on July 24 last, when the Viceroy addressed the conference of Rulers and their Ministers at New Delhi:

The States are free to link their future with whichever Dominion they may care. But when I say that they are free to link up with either of the Dominions, may I point out there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. Out of something like 565 States the vast majority are inextricably linked geographically with the Dominion of India. . . . I have no doubt that is in the best interests of the States, and every wise Ruler and wise Government would desire to link up with the Great Dominion of India on a basis which leaves you great internal autonomy and which at the same time gets rid of your worries and cares over External Affairs, Defence and communications.

The result was, that the instrument of Accession which contained an explicit provision, that in no other matters except the three subjects above, has the central Government any authority to encroach on the internal sovereignty of the State, was signed by almost all states before August 15, and all of them accorded to the Indian Dominion, except Hyderabad and Kashmir.

The Nizam of Hyderabad did not like to accede to either of the two Dominions after August 15, but has chosen to remain as an independent Ruler, if possible. The area of Hyderabad is about 84000 square miles, and its population is over 16 million. 85 per cent. of the population is Hindu but the Ruler is a Muslim descendant of the Asaf Jah dynasty. Historically, Hyderabad has suffered several military defeats, notably at the hands of the Marathas. It was only with the help of the British Army that the Rulers in the past repulsed the ubiquitous incursions of the Marathas. The territory of Berar in Central Provinces, originally formed part of the Nizam's Dominion, but since 1853 it has been mortgaged to the British Government in India by a former Nizam, who was

unable to pay off the large arrears of salary due to the British soldiers stationed in Hyderabad at the Ruler's request, for protection against the Maratha onslaughts. In 1902 during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the territory was given as a permanent lease to the Government of India, in return for an annual subsidy of Rs. 25 lakhs to the Nizam. Subsequently, the repeated demands for its introcession by the present Ruler were rejected by the British Government. In his famous letter to the Nizam, in March 27, 1926, Lord Reading put the matter beyond all doubt, when the Viceroy rejected the claim for introcession, and stated the position, that the Sovereignty of the British Crown over the Native States arises not only from treaty rights, but exists independently of them, and no state can justifiably hope to negotiate on terms of equality with Paramount Power.

During the Round Table Conference in 1932, the Nizam revived his claim, as a bargain for his entry into the proposed Indian Federation. In the Berar Settlement of October 1936 which followed, the Nizam got a concession to fly his flag, side by side with the Union Jack, in all Governments buildings in Berar, and to appoint an Agent of his in the Berar, which were tantamount to a reaffirmation of the Nizam's sovereignty over the territory. But the province continued to be administered with the Central Provinces under Section 47 of the Government of India Act 1935.

The Indian National Congress has declined to recognise—and quite rightly too—the claim to independence of any State in India after August 15, in the new constitutional setting of the country. After protracted negotiations with the Indian Dominion, Hyderabad entered into a standstill Agreement in October last, for a period of one year. Subsequent developments falsified the earlier optimism of the State's peaceful accession in quick time. Its actual working has demonstrated the halting nature of the Agreement, and its incompatibility, as the expected prelude to the happy consummation. It has gained

only a tardy recognition at the hands of the State Government, which has been taken advantage of by the recalcitrant elements in the State. On the other hand, its working confirmed the worst fears of the detached observers, that the State was playing for time, postponing its decision on Accession, and relegating the introduction of Responsible Government in the State into background. It brought into bold relief the immediate need for filling in the picture. It betrayed the hollowness of the State's claim to stand aloof as independent. It landed to reaffirm the sage counsel of Lord Mountbatten, that there are certain geographical compulsions which should guide the State in its Accession. In the case of Hyderabad it can only be with the Indian Dominion if a plebiscite would favour the step. There can be no merger of a big State like Hyderabad with Indian Dominion. Such a step is fraught with grave difficulties. It may bring in its trail new problems of great complexity, which are liable to side-track other live issues, with which the Government of the Indian Dominion are now grappling. Regarding Hyderabad, the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, made the position clear on March 12, in the Dominion Parliament when he replied to Prof. Ranga. . . .

Our policy is that the people should decide every debatable point. That is our policy which we have always pursued in regard to any State including Hyderabad. There is no specific proposal at the present moment that a plebiscite should be held in Hyderabad, because various other things are happening, including for instance, border raids which have to be settled amicably.

The recent intervention by Government of the Indian Dominion in the internal affairs of Alwar, the expulsion of the Ruler from the State, and the dismissal of his Premier following the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, as also the interference in Bharatpur, could be fully justified by valuable precedents in the past, as well as on grounds of Dominion interest. In 1926 Lord Reading justified his intervention in Hyderabad on grounds of "imperial interests." In 1944 the Maharaja of

Rewa was deposed, after a judicial enquiry into grave charges of murder and mal-administration against him. The abdication of the Maharaja Holkar of Indore in 1926, following Lord Reading's ultimatum to constitute a judicial tribunal to assess the Ruler's complicity in the Bawla murder at Bombay, the abdication of the Maharaja of Bharatpur in 1925, consequent on his financial extravagances and gross misrule, the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha in 1922, the limitation on his powers of the late Maharana of Udaipur, the curtailment of the powers of the late Maharaja of Alwar in 1930 and his compulsory exile from State in 1933, the abdication of the late Maharaja of Dewas (Senior) in 1933 following his financial paralysis of the State treasury, are some of the leading precedents, which might well shape the policy and the line of action of the Indian Dominion, in her relation with the Indian States in future, subject of course, to modifications which the new political set up and changed conditions might justify.

The doctrine of Merger of States is not a new one, and it has no rigid rules governing its enforcement. Mathematically, it is restricted only to small States with a population of less than one million and revenue of one crore of rupees. Sardar

Patel the other day allayed his apprehensions of some of the Rajputana Princes, when it was advocated that States like Jodhpur, Jaipur etc. should amalgamate, stating that no such step is contemplated. The recent emergence of the new Sourashtra State in Gujarat by the voluntary fusion and union of the many small States in Kathiawar, and the Union of Malwa State in Central India were on right lines of healthy political advancement. The merger of Eastern States in Orissa Province, and of Chhattisgarh States with Central Provinces, were the logical corollary of the extension of the doctrine to the many petty principalities, which had in the past flourished, as a "running sore" in the political map of India. There are many more States which would attract the doctrine of merger, and which could claim only a debatable borderland over the two conditions for merger. It would be worth while to extend the doctrine to them as well, if a plebiscite would favour the step. While enlightened Princes have a worthy role in the Indian Dominion, others who grope in the dark as autocratic feudal chiefs, will be swept off their feet by the surging tide of national awakening among their subjects. Will such of the Rulers give a voluntary lead in the merger of States? Will they not read the handwriting on the wall?

ON WRITING AND WRITERS

BY MR. WILLIAM EDWARD HOOKENS

—:o:—

WRITING today is inclined to be both an art as well as a science, and in the hands of some writers it is a flexible instrument for the expression of the finer sensibilities of man, the subtle and the true and the incommunicably beautiful.

As a hobby, writing affords a happy means of self expression, not to say escapism; and when it is a paying one it often enables the writer to have the power and confidence to wield the instrument of the ancients to novel and telling effects.

Shaw and Maugham and Joyce so love writing that there is not a piece of writing in which they have not brought out their personalities clearly and beautifully. The prefaces of Shaw not only scintillate with a wit and humour that is charmingly Shavian but also reveal a language that is lucidly intellectual and artistic. Alongside this dramatist is Maugham who brings to his writings that deftness of workmanship that make his writings delightfully memorable. As for Joyce, he is a Shelley reborn, with

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a love for words, tossing them hither and thither with an association that is mediaeval and sex-orgy-like, with a gift of expression that is rare among writers, bringing out the calm philosophicalness or the swift hurriedness or the stop-gapped chequered movements of man. Each in his own way is a stylist, with matter and form felicitously coalesced, making the writers the creative artists of the age with universal appeal.

So delightfully expressive is writing that next to music and sculpture, it is the only one that most people take to as a recreation after the fog end of the day or at the week end. And the fact that thought-feeling words have to be co-ordinated makes the writer supremely confident in his prowess as the creator of a new and revealing language after his own mind and heart.

How the celebrated novelist Virginia Woolf as essayist-stylist-critic wrestled with words and feelings and thoughts before she cleared the dark forebodings of the dim-imagined mind: What colour and shape and sensation she gave to the haunting nucleouses of vague fancies, striving and straining to achieve the impossible. . . . and died a suicidal! Take any of her novels and you will see in them a finesse which makes her works undying of lasting joy.

T. S. Eliot, despised and cursed as he is by the moderns who "don't seem to understand him," is another example of a stylist-poet who not only represents the "bang, bang" of the despairing twentieth century but also the curious infelicitous expressions that are wiry and alive with the highly associated spoken-poetry, which is rare and makes him the gigantic figure of today, towering high above the Audens and the Spenders and Isherwoods, nor to mention C. D. Lewis and Louis Macneice who, though borrowing the rich vitality of the Mitonic figure, have nothing

in common with him except the language and the contemporaneous association that writers are accustomed to emphasise.

Writing between the Wars have not only been propagandists but are also stamped with a power that is distinctly and uniquely martial. Often they are grandiose, often febrile, seldom consolatory. Hardy's "Dynasts" breathes the fire and triumph of the Napoleonic era—not the 1914-18 War. "Murders in Cathedrals" and "Mourning becomes Electra" represent the age of despair and sex in a crude Nietzschean strain that befits the modern suicidal man.

The question now is: Will writers take to representing the age as it is, or will it represent the age as it ought to be in a sane science-art-religion blended world? Will writers take to curious methods of experimentation or improve on the past? It is time that writers subjected themselves to the process of self-beholding prior to writing, rather than cater to the base needs of fickle man by giving him series of hot sensation-alistic writings of the type "To beg I am ashamed" or "New York with his pants down". It is time that our poets took to writing poetry rather than deal with the crank idiosyncratic styles that beginning with dabs and blotches and strange tricks of punctuation and lettering that remind one of a second-hand Remington with the alignment and letters gone west.

Even in the land of Sri Aurobindo there are writers of the Karaka-Gauba type who not only flout the morality of the people by crude sensationalism but also bring to their writings the divine discontent which is supposedly characteristic of the Indian people and originated with Gandhi. A good few England and America returned writers have brought to their writings the seeds of viciousness and whatnotism which they intend planting in the native soil of peace and goodwill India.

INDIAN INDUSTRIALISATION

SOME FACTS AND FALLACIES

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

THE reaction of serious students of Economics to Indian economic conditions is varied and interesting. Some content themselves with collecting statistical information from which they draw the optimistic inference that the prosperity of the people has been increasing in recent years. Others notice the economic transition in the country and believe that the industrialisation of India cannot be delayed and should not be delayed. Again some competent observers of Indian affairs are emphatically of opinion that the economic future of India lies not in industrialisation, but in the application of the best brains and capital of the country to agriculture. Can this be true today when events seem to have falsified the expectation that the balance of payments in international trade has been moving in favour of countries which have been specialising in the production of foodstuffs and raw materials?

PRE-WAR PRODUCTION

The manufacturing power of India has no doubt rapidly developed and a brief survey of the principal industries will show the progress which places the country amongst the great industrial nations of the world so classed at the International Labour office. Taking 2 leading industries like cotton and jute, it is easy to show Indian's pre-eminent position. As regards cotton manufactures, India ranks second only to the U.S.A. both as a producer and as an exporter of raw cotton. As a manufacturer it gives pride of place only to the U.S.A., Japan and U.K. No industry has shown more remarkable expansion than that associated with cotton textiles. At the opening of this (averages 1899-1904) century, there were 195 mills with 42,000 looms and about 5 million spindles in India. By 1914 the mills had increased to 264 with 96,688 looms and over 6½ million spindles, and by 1936 the totals were 365 mills, 190,468 looms and 9¼ million spindles and by 1938, the normal prewar year, there

were 370 mills with 197,810 looms and 9¼ million spindles operating in India.

Even more expressive of the expansion of the cotton manufacturing industry are the following returns of yarn and cloth produced in Indian mills:

YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH.	YARN (MILLION LBS.)	CLOTH (MILLION LBS.)	CLOTH (MILLION YARDS.)
1914	683	274	1664
1923	706	405	1725
1933	1016	695	3170
1936	1056	761	3571
1937	1051	782	3572
1938	1160	864	4084

The average annual imports of cotton piecegoods and the percentage shares of the U.K., and Japan are interesting and instructive.

YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH.	IMPORTS (MILLION YARDS.)	PERCENTAGE SHARE OF	
		U. K.	JAPAN.
Average of 1009-10 to 1913-14	2617	97.4	0.1
" 1919-20 to 1923-24	1336	88.8	8.5
YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH.	IMPORTS (MILLION YARDS.)	PERCENTAGE SHARE OF	
		U. K.	JAPAN.
1923	1593	91.2	56.8
1933	1225	49.1	48.5
1936	917	46.4	52.4
1937	764	43.7	54.6
1938	591	45.1	51.8

As regards Jute manufactures, by the beginning of this century 15,000 looms were at work in Bengal; the number increased to 38,000 in 1913 when more Jute was consumed in Indian mills than was exported for manufacture overseas. The total reached 50,000 in 1925 and 58,000 in 1930. And now there are about 67,000 looms at work.

In the case of other commodities also, statistics show that the production of major industries had been increasing in pre-war years. In the case of sugar, sugar factories (excluding primitive methods whose output is by no means negligible) produced 453,965 tons in 1933-34 against 578,115 tons in 1934-35 and 885,000 tons in 1935-36 and in the case of sugar, the

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is not distant when India until a few years ago a large importer of sugar will be able to satisfy all her requirements herself and have a surplus available for export.

The quantities of petrol produced in the last pre-war years are 72,612,080 gallons, 81,058,551, and 91,699,220 gallons respectively. In the same period paper output rose from 873,160 cwt to 892,013 cwt. and 961,985 cwt. Iron and steel figures for the last three prewar years were 550,696, 627,358, 676,691 tons respectively. As to chemicals, a typical product is sulphuric acid production of which increased from 10,027 tons to 14,256 tons and 17,851 tons in the years under consideration. Cement showed a corresponding moving up from 642,944 tons to 780,791 tons and 890,683 tons.

All these statistics go to show that however much India might have been affected by the world depression, she had considerable potentialities for industrialisation which can be exploited even in adverse periods. If in such circumstances India could promote manufacturing actively and earn profits on the bulk of it, it follows that in more prosperous times, the country will enjoy such an industrial boom as will raise her to the front rank of industrialised nations.

INDIA'S POST-WAR PRODUCTION

An assessment of the progress that has been made towards production since restoration of peace as compared with that of some of the western countries is instructive and interesting. Agricultural production in the U.S.A. in 1946 is reported to have been the largest and industrial production was nearly 75 per cent above the pre-war level. Exports of merchandise were twice as large as the average for 1935-40 and more than twice the current imports. In Canada production in 1946 improved substantially and the value of foreign trade was higher than that of any previous peace year. Even in Great Britain in spite of her intense war effort, national output by the end of 1946 was not much below pre-war and exports rose to nearly

115 percent of the 1938 volume. Even greatly war-affected countries like Belgium, Denmark and Norway show surprising resilience and the index numbers of industrial production (1939=100) have shown as at September 1946, 91, 94 & 101 respectively. As compared with these countries, in India, the output of food supplies declined from 56 million tons in 1944-45 to 51 million tons in 1945-46 which is much lower than even the pre-war average of 53 million tons. As regards industrial production, the output of finished steel fell from 924,000 tons in 1945 to 895,000 tons in 1946; of cement from 216,000 tons to 1,959,000 tons; of sugar from 953,000 tons to 944,800 tons; of paper from 1,632,000 cwt to 1,548,000 cwt; and of cotton manufactures from 6187 million yards to 5300 million yards.

Through lack of replacements and renewals of industrial plant and machinery, shortages of coal and new materials, widespread industrial unrest are contributory factors to our deterioration in production, it cannot be gainsaid that the fundamental cause is lack of a definite economic policy of our Government. The various devices so far adopted augment agricultural and industrial production have had neither cogency nor direction. Political uncertainties hamper the enunciation and implementation of economic policy of the Central Government while in the case of Provincial Governments which are mostly free from such handicaps, they are frittering away their time and money on doubtful measures of social reform, like Prohibition, instead of addressing themselves directly to the vital problem of ordinary production on a basis of self-sufficiency to concentrating productive effort particularly on goods now in short supply.

Labour unrest is of course, the most powerful single factor which has recently retarded productive activity. Stoppages of work, go-slow tactics etc. have impeded production and though it is true that a betterment of the workers' standard of living is highly desirable by giving them higher wages, better housing and more amenities of life, all can be achieved only by increased

production. Though we can outline our ambitious programme of labour welfare, it is necessary to emphasise the workers' duties. Our Indian labourers have yet to learn that if they have rights, they have also obligations and it is trade unions that instil this spirit in labour and so long as trade unions in our country are managed by politicians, and not by workers for the workers, it is idle to expect any improvement in that direction.

OUR PATTERN OF INDUSTRIALISATION

A final consideration that may be mentioned in this connection is that in an economically backward country like India, many ambitious post-war plans have been proposed but the real objective of the planned industrialisation is somewhat murky. Do our plans aim at *improving real incomes through participation in world trade or alternatively stabilising domestic employment and national income* even, if necessary, at a lower level? It would be naive to assume as is often done that either plan of industrialisation

can be followed on India. seems to be a lack of hard thinking country in this matter. Planned industrialisation along the pattern in world seems to be difficult at present. Our people are too unskilled and lacking in "know how." Without Government sponsored educational programmes in technical subjects, not much progress could be expected. Even then, the beneficial results would not gradually emerge. Should we then give more importance to Indian industrialisation as a stabiliser of national income and employment? Industrialisation to achieve stability will dictate a different pattern of industrial development *i.e.*, 2 main types of industries are likely to be promoted—simple consumers' goods such as textiles, clothing, simple house wares and the like not requiring highly skilled labour nor heavy capital investments in relation to value of annual product; and also industries which seek to fabricate domestic raw materials for local consumption. Our planners must make it clear which is the objective to be followed



ILLNESS TURNS SURGEON INTO ARTIST
Sir Harold Gillies, the well-known plastic surgeon, recently held the first exhibition of his paintings at Foyles, Charing Cross Road, London. He first taught himself to paint in 1932 when illness kept him to his bed.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY MR. B. NATESAN

—:O:—

India's Foreign Policy

AT the moment the foreign policy of no country in the world can be said to be successful in the sense of a purposeful drive towards world peace or avoidance of war in the future. The big powers seem suddenly seized with a strange fit of suspicion and fear, fear that any combination might upset the balance. India's stock in the international world is decidedly low—though she is potentially a power to reckon with. India's idealism had caught the imagination of the smaller and weaker nations, and the forthright manner in which our spokesmen have protested their sympathy with the under-dog has naturally tended to alienate the imperialist powers. But then India cannot hope to meet the big powers on equal terms till she is strong in the only modern sense—of military and economic sufficiency. Nor can we afford to live in isolation, situated as we are. We will not be allowed to rest on our oars in peace and security, for world events are irresistably prodding us to an alignment with other powers. Nor can we wait till we have acquired the full complement of resources to back us in our dealings with the other powers. India can yet contribute much to world order by the direction of her policy and the moral influence she can bring to bear on the affairs of the world.

Pandit Nehru, in his survey of foreign policy in the Indian Parliament, made a frank declaration in reply to general criticisms in

the debate on foreign affairs. In explaining the causes for the failure to make an impression on the United Nations Pandit Nehru referred with satisfaction to the modest achievements that stand to our credit. In a world torn by factions and bitter conflicts India emerged as a free country and it has not been easy for her to find her feet. For there could be no greater illusion than for us to imagine that the moment India becomes free she can work miracles in the realm of international affairs. Yet it would be injurious from any point of view—"from an idealistic and high moral point of view or from the narrowest point of view of opportunity and national interest—to give up the policies we have pursued of standing up for certain ideals in regard to oppressed nations and trying to align ourselves with one group of powers or another and go as camp followers in the hope that some crumbs might fall from their table." In broad outline,

India will not take interest in international disputes except those that concern her directly. She will not further expand her representation in foreign countries for the present. She will be an independent, sovereign republic but her relationship with the British Commonwealth is a matter to be determined in the light of citizenship rights of Indians in the various British Dominions and Colonies.

But then, it may happen, as it has happened in the past, that events and situations will control our policies even more than the statesmen who try to control them.

The Muslim League in India

The decision of the Muslim League Council to continue its existence with a little new make up to suit altered conditions can hardly be said to reflect the views of the majority of Leaguers, not to speak of the majority of Muslims all over India. Only thirty members out of a total of 149 were present, and there were dissentients among the thirty. An earlier conference of Muslims had appealed to the Leaguers "to liquidate the Muslim League and thus create an atmosphere of understanding and peace and harmony in the country." But the League rump apparently took the clue from Mr. Jinnah's *Dawn* which wrote: "The Muslims of the Indian Union are perfectly entitled to organise separately and maintain a political platform distinct from the platform of other communities and parties."

But then the League has a bad odour from which it cannot easily divest itself. And with our bitter experience it would be too much to expect any one to believe that it will "devote its attention principally to the promotion of the religious, cultural, educational and economic interests of the Muslims of the Indian Union."

It is useless at this hour to hark back to the misdoings of the Muslim League and its reactionary and sectarian tactics. With the creation of Pakistan, for good or ill, that chapter is closed, and wise Muslims will now rally round the common flag as Indians first and last, and show by acts and words that the strength of the weakest part lies in the strength of the whole.

If this should be done it is time for all sectional groups to merge themselves patriotically in the nation and disavow any claims to creedal differentiation. One can understand parties with diverse social and economic programmes in the Legislature. There is no place for communal groups or parties in a secular democratic State and to talk of an opposition composed only of members of one community is an irrelevancy in a secular democratic Legislature. No official

recognition could be given to such groups. The anomaly of a Muslim party or Hindu party either in the country or in the Legislatures should cease.

Then none was for a party
And all were for the state.

If that is accomplished, there is no knowing to what heights the nation may yet grow.

Hyderabad Agreement

It is said that the Standstill agreement with Hyderabad is more evident in the breach than in its observance. The Chhattari delegation which negotiated the question of accession with the Government of India recognised the weight of facts and arguments put forth by the State Department and only pleaded for some breathing time to H.E.H. to settle accounts with the extremists in the State. The extremists have since become more violent and obstreperous. Fancy the leader of the fanatics, who has evidently been given a long rope, hurling defiance at the Union Government and threatening the State with dire consequences in the event of accession! He gloats over the so called reverses of the Indian arms in Kashmir and throws out this amazing warning:

This is the strain!

They should know that as soon as the Indian Union entered Hyderabad, the invaders would see everywhere burning bodies of one crore and sixty-four lakhs. Muslims would not spare others when they were not allowed to exist. The invaders would have only to collect ashes.

Throughout the delicate negotiations the Indian Government have shown a forbearance which is even criticised as misplaced but which is due to the peculiar position of the State in question. Yet it is intolerable that looting and arson and horder raids should continue unchecked. There is a feeling that the time for temporising is past. The Government of India have one simple and unalterable formula—responsible government. Even the question of accession may come afterwards. This is unexceptionable. Yet the leader of the Ittehad firebrand says he will accept neither plebiscite nor responsible government. Who is this Mr. Razvi to decide for the people

of the State 85 per cent. of whom are Muslims, and dictate terms to H.E.H.? When all is said let it be remembered that democratic India will no longer tolerate a Fascist oligarchy in its bosom. After all Hyderabad was only a Viceroyalty under the Moghals and it has never had an independent status at any time. Even under British Administration it was actually a part of India with its defence, communication and foreign policy under the direct control of Delhi. Its internal administration was closely watched and the Ittehad will do well to remember Lord Reading's outspoken dictum: Paramountcy is paramount. He put it bluntly there is no question of parleying on equal terms.

A Governor-General Nods

The Qaid-e-Azam who through ascending spirals has raised himself to the Governor-Generalship of Pakistan remains in essence just the same old Mr. Jinnah. This, in many cases, would appear to be a virtue. But one can hardly stand a High Court Judge betraying the tactics and arguments of a mofussil court pleader with a petty brief. The Governor-General's first visit to Eastern Pakistan is blazoned out in the press with two public utterances—one of them an address to an academic body—which in no way suggests such an exalted source. Mr. Jinnah still harps on the "oppression" in India and the evil designs entertained by Pakistan's "enemies" (who, it seems are bent on snatching away East Bengal), while at the same breath marvelling at the self control and tolerance exhibited by the Muslims of East Bengal "despite the great provocation afforded by the massacre and oppression of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion."

This is the sort of language that still passes for statesmanship in Pakistan.

Addressing the Dacca University the Qaid-e-Azam makes a pitiful exhortation, so out of place in an academic body:

Those of our enemies who had hoped to kill Pakistan at its very inception—were disappointed. Not only has Pakistan survived their shock of that upheaval, but it has emerged stronger, more seasoned and better equipped than ever.

Clap trap: and this passes for wholesome counsel to the young hopefuls. Apart from its bad taste and falsity, who are the enemies who are anxious to annex portions of Pakistan? Did we part in peace only to get it back by war. Have we not enough troubles of our own to court fresh troubles from beyond our borders? Let there be no mistake about it. India is not anxious to share Pakistan's burdens and we will reject it even if it is thrust on us—at any rate for the moment.

The Socialist Party and the Congress

The decision of the Socialist Party to cut away from the Congress may be regretted but it is understandable. It is a party that is growing conscious of its strength. Among its leaders are men of undoubted talent and patriotism. They have suffered and sacrificed in the past, perhaps more than any other body and that entitles them to special respect in free India. But then they could never bring themselves completely to co-operate with anybody in the actual day to day Government. Their rather doctrinaire attachment to socialism leads them to think and talk still in terms of revolution even after the purpose of the revolution has been achieved. What we require now is a different temper in a different atmosphere and the socialists seem tilting still at the windmill. It is very likely that the Party finds itself ineffective inside the Congress. This ineffectiveness may lead to frustration. But in a separate life the party may yet learn to face realities. It may be that in time the party may grow into a healthy constitutional opposition. There is ample need and scope for such an opposition in our Constitution and who knows the socialists might very well undertake that wholesome and very necessary job. If they can show guts, and face facts and carry their colleagues with them in due numbers, why, they could right away displace the existing Government. Hence this simple break may have far reaching portents.

Pandit Nehru's Warning to Public Servants

In reply to a short notice question in the India Parliament Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister, made a forthright statement calling upon Government employees to desist from participation, in any shape or form, in the strike announced by the Federation of Central Government servants in Calcutta. From the reports that have reached the Government there is reason to believe that the strike is not a normal strike seeking economic relief for the under paid at a time of soaring prices—which may be legitimate—but has a strong political objective backed by threat of violence in some shape or other. It would be monstrous if the infant democracy that is now battling against every conceivable form of trouble should now be faced with this new threat of insurrection from within. As Pandit Nehru pointed out "there can be no democratic functioning if violent means are adopted to attack the Government and to enforce the will of a small minority on the great majority."

The demand for increased pay comes with ill grace from those who have so recently been benefitted from the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission. Only very recently the whole subject of pay scales and service conditions was considered by the Central Pay Commission, an independent non-official body who in consultation with experts could speak with authority about labour conditions, recommended substantial increases in the pay scales of all classes of employees. Government, fully alive to the demands of the situation, lost no time in implementing these decisions. And yet there are more demands from the unappeasable.

This is hardly fair and positively unjust on the part of the malcontents. It is deplorable that the strike fever which has become so common among the work people should have spread to ranks who are expected to be more sensitive to their responsibilities. This is evidently one of the undesirable features of the bad old times when strikes were fomented with

thoughtless frivolity by interested groups to gain political ends. But now, it is no longer a foreign and irresponsible bureaucracy that is ruling us from afar. It is our own Government, chosen by our own people and ruling on our behalf and for our own benefit. It would be the height of folly to undermine a popular democratic Government, pledged to run the administration with the support of the people's will. Where then is the need for underhand or violent method? It is most unpatriotic to resort to such questionable ways. Pandit Nehru therefore did well to do a bit of plain speaking when he described the proposed strike as a "challenge to Government on the political plane." Any public servant who in the circumstances joined any strike or other form of direct action, would, he said, "be considered as guilty of dereliction of duty and serious misconduct entailing dismissal from service."

It would appear that the organisers are shifting the emphasis from enhanced salaries to retrenchment of surplus personnel. Now heavy retrenchment in military accounts and allied services is necessitated by the fact that the huge war time army is being rapidly reduced to peace time strength. Will the Government be justified in keeping at tremendous cost, posts that have ceased to be necessary? This is a vital question that must be answered with a due sense of responsibility to the public. Everybody is aware of the reckless extravagance and inflated establishments in the name of war emergency. And the present Government can hardly be held responsible for the follies of the old regime. And it is evident from Mr. Nehru's speech that the Government are bestowing earnest consideration on ways and means of fitting as many as possible of the retrenched employees into Government or private employ with the least delay.

Beyond this they cannot go, as Government resources have to be used for other purposes also than merely keeping up establishments and running the administrative machinery!

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BY "CHRONICLER"

Truman's Call for Conscription

PRESIDENT Truman proposed a temporary re-introduction of conscription in the United States in an address to a joint session of Congress on foreign policy on March 17.

President Truman also proposed prompt enactment of universal military training for the speedy completion of action on the European recovery programme.

He said these recommendations were to be considered as "most urgent steps toward securing peace and preventing war."

A Fifty-years Pact in W. Europe

A fifty-year treaty of economic co-operation and military aid has been signed in Brussels by the representatives of five Western European countries, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Britain. Other States may accede to it on agreed conditions.

Designed to fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom and political liberty, a rule of law and constitutional traditions," the treaty promises that if an armed attack in Europe should be made on any one party the others will, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, afford all military and other aid and assistance.

Smuts's call to Big Powers

General Smuts, South African Prime Minister, told the Union Senate: "The Great Powers should speak to one another as man to man. No one knows what Russia's position is."

"Russia says that she is just as much in the dark as the Western Powers. She says she may have to defend herself from the Western Nations. The Western Nations say they have to defend themselves against Communism. World statesmen have to clear up this misunderstanding, so that we can be clear about where we stand.

"If assurances must be given to Russia, let us give them and if Russia is required to give assurances, let her give them", General Smuts declared.

Trusteeship for Palestine

The United States delegation to the United Nations announced officially on March 19 that American support for the General Assembly partition proposals for Palestine has been withdrawn and that a temporary trusteeship regime for the whole of Palestine is proposed.

The U.S. statement was made during a "Big Four" meeting at which Sir Alexander Cadogan (British) was present.

If the Security Council adopts the U.S. proposal, a special session of the General Assembly will have to be called to reconsider the whole Palestine problem.

China and France indicated that they would support American proposal.

Mr. Andrei Gromyko (Russia) said: "It is in striking contradiction with the General Assembly's resolution, but I cannot give direct or indirect consent until I have further instructions".

Kashmir issue at Lake Success

A Twelve-point resolution containing proposals for restoring peace and order in Kashmir and guaranteeing a free and impartial plebiscite was presented to the Security Council on March 18 by its President, Dr. T. F. Tsiang (China).

The resolution proposed: Pakistan shall undertake to use its best endeavours to secure the withdrawal of the raiders and prevent further intrusion; India shall arrange for progressive withdrawal of such of its troops as are not required for purposes of defence and security and set-up a plebiscite administration with nominees of the U.N. Secretary-General, who shall formally be appointed by the present Government of Kashmir.

Pakistan has rejected this new proposal and there is deadlock again in the Security Council. The issue has been before the Council now for more than two months. And, as originally feared, nothing has come out of it.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

INDIA CALLED THEM. By Lord Beveridge.

George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

Henry and Annette Beveridge, parents of a well known public character of our time, spent most of their working life in India. They were typical Victorians of the Middle class, destined to find their respective jobs far away from England but making their homes in the midst of Indians whom they seem to have loved and served in the true spirit of Liberal Christians. The perseverance, literary skill and devotion of their more celebrated son have made it possible for him to weave a story from original documents—a story as authenticated as it is entertaining. Lord Beveridge has handled the immense material in the shape of letters and memoranda with care and discretion well worth the task undertaken by him. The letters, even the love letters, are remarkable in their way. They throw a flood of light on the political and social life of the time the Beveridges spent in India. On public questions, man and wife do not seem to have always had the same views, but the frank and open avowal of differences, with the candour and pertinacity of two intelligent and independent minded people, whose private life was never for a moment disturbed by such differences, has a lesson for us at all time. They wrote on all topics, from cholera in their locality to high brow politics and Homer. In all this exchange of correspondence there is a shrewdness of observation and sharpness of commentary on men and things which are admirable revelations of themselves and their own character. Henry himself held opinions which are half a century in advance of his time. And Lord Beveridge has furnished a biography which is as rich in

vivid portraiture of two remarkable Victorians as it is a social and political record of no mean value to the student of Indo-British history. That time is gone for ever with the lapse of the British power in India: and Indians and Englishmen alike will find in records like this a tender picture of a day that is dead.

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI. By Nirmal Kumar Bose, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Rs. 4.

Prof. Bose first published his selections from Gandhi in 1934 but Gandhi never ceased to write till the last day of his life. And hence the need for a more comprehensive and up-to-date collection. The revised, amplified selections passed through Gandhiji's hands, and the present Edition is commended by him. "The selections made by the author" says Gandhiji in his brief Foreword, "show the thoroughness with which he had gone into the subject. Those who are interested in my writings, will not fail to appreciate the author's labours."

INDIAN INTERLUDE. By Eric C. Becraft. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay Rs. 6-14.

This is the story of a British subaltern's life in peace time India, a mixed life of duty and pleasure. Bob Kimpley goes through the usual routine of Anglo-Indian life—duty in up country stations, short spells on the hills, occasional adventures into gay life in towns and once in a way on home leave. It is all a pleasant and varied adventure of living. Finally he finds true happiness in the arms of Sally whom he marries. But she dies at the birth of a child while he continues fighting in one of the sporadic frontier wars. Around this central figure, the author weaves a number of interesting situations where scenes and personalities move with delightful ease.

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE POPULATION. By B. S. Guha, Oxford Pamphlet.

Mr. Guha has been Anthropologist to the Zoological Survey of India since 1927. In the census of 1931 he carried out a systematic anthropometric survey of the peoples of India and revived Sir Herbert Resley's earlier results. He has therefore excellent credentials to handle this theme. In this pamphlet he attempts to give in simple language the main ideas held by modern anthropologists on the Indian racial elements. His description of the relation between racial and cultural groups, and his remedies for what constitute the racial problems in this country are a timely contribution to present day problem in India.

SELF KNOWLEDGE. By Swami Nikhilananda Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore.

This is a reprint of the American Edition of Self knowledge, an English translation of the great Sankara's well known treatise on Advaita Vedanta. The free and metrical renderings of some of the Acharya's devotional hymns, with the original text in Sanskrit, edited with notes, comments and elaborate introduction by Swami Nikhilananda of the Ramakrishna—Vivekananda centre of New York must be specially welcome to Indian readers. These hymns serve to draw attention to the less known aspect of Sankara's personality—his deep devotional approach to the gods and goddesses of popular religion.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND SOME OPINIONS AND REVIEWS ON THE MANASARA SERIES. By Dr. P. K. Acharya, I.E.S. Oxford University Press, Calcutta.

EGO, HUNGER AND AGGRESSION. By F. S. Perls, M.D. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

PRODUCE OR PERISH: HOW TO CONQUER POVERTY AND FAMINE BY AMERICAN METHODS. By Ram Nath Puri, Padma Publications, Baroda.

LIFE AND MYSELF. By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya Nalanda Publications, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta Road, Bombay.

HOMAGE TO MAHATMA GANDHI. All India Radio, New Delhi.

SOCIAL CONTRACTS OF FRENCH WOMEN IN CALCUTTA. By Miss Indira Sarkar, M.A. Chukervarthi Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta Rs. 3.

RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES: Report of the Delegation which visited the industrially developed countries of the West (1946-47) All India Manufacturers' Association, Bombay.

ATTITUDE OF VEDANTA TOWARDS RELIGION. By Swami Abhedananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

AN APOSTLE OF MONISM. Record of Swami Abhedananda's activities in the West. By Sister Shivani. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

THE QUESTION OF DEFENCE. By Cyril Falls, Longmans Green & Co., London.

THE COLONIES TO-DAY & TO-MORROW. By Sir Drummond Shiels, Longmans Green & Co., London.

PEACE: A SYMPOSIUM: THE GREAT TRIAL; THE MYSTERY OF KATYUMB; LIES, TRIALS, ATOMIC BOMB. Indo Polish Library, Padma Publication Ltd., Fort, Bombay.

1. AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF SIND. By Prof. K. N. Vaswani.

2. RURAL SURVEYS IN INDIA. By Prof. K. N. Vaswani. Published by Sind Society of Agricultural Economics, Sakrand, Sind.

THE ECONOMY OF A SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE. By V. G. Ramakrishna Aiyar, M. A. Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

THE FIRST EUROPE. A study of the Establishment of medieval Christendom A.D. 400-800 By C. Delisle Burns, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London.

THREE SISTERS OF GOLDERS GREEN. By Dr. A. K. Das Gupta. The Universal Publishers Ltd., Lucknow.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND HUMAN ADAPTATION. By A. M. Lorenzo, The Universal Publishers Ltd., The Mall, Lucknow.

THE GREAT SANNYASI. By Anilchandra Roy, Anuja Library, 19 Bhupendra Basin Ave, Shambazar, Calcutta.

THE WEAPONLESS WARRIOR, EDITED by Suraj Harfans Singh Thapar, Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., Lahore.

TELEPATHY AND MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Jan Ehren Wald, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- March 1. C. R.'s portrait unveiled in Madras Corporation Hall.
—Union Assembly refers Taxation of Income Amending Bill to Select Committee.
- March 2. Black Shirts banned in Madras.
—Union assembly passes Finance administration Bill
- March 3. Pudukottah merges in Madras.
Jews immigrate from Pakistan.
- March 4. Dr. B. S. Moonji is dead.
—Mr. K. S. Roy appointed Minister of West Bengal.
- March 5. White Paper in Indo-Kashmir.
Pakistan relations presented to Dominion Parliament.
- March 6. Agreement on principle reached in Five-power West European Union.
—Majlis leader of Hyderabad attacks Union Government.
- March 7. De Gaulle calls for U. S. Military support.
—De Valera in New York.
- March 8. Pandit Nehru explains India's Foreign policy in the Dominion Assembly.
—President Truman to seek re-election.
- March 9. Kashmir case in U. N.: Interim Govt. for Jammu installed.
- March 10. Indian Council of the Muslim League decides to continue.
—Jan Masaryk, Czech Foreign Minister, commits suicide.
- March 11. Indian team to Australia arrives in Bombay.
—Madras Banqueting Hall renamed Rajaji Hall.
- March 12. Merger of Junagadh urged by Junagadh Prajamandal.
- March 13. Covenant signed promising Responsible Government to Rewa and Bundelkund.
—Legislation to amend Port Trust Act is announced by Transport member in the Assembly.
- March 14. Pandit Nehru launches "Jala-Usha" in Vizag.
—A new body—Sarvodaya Samaj—set up as per Wardha Conference decision.
- March 15. Mr. Gadgil defends Government policy in respect of Sardar Patel's portfolio.
—Bhopal ruler opposes merger.
- March 16. Palestine Commission reports failure and points to British non co-operation and Arab resistance.
- March 17. Union of Matsya inaugurated by Works Minister Mr. N. V. Gadgil.
—Western European treaty signed.
- March 18. President Truman, addressing Joint Session of the Congress unfolds three-fold plan to combat Red menace.
- March 19. New Judges appointed for Madras High Court.
—U.S. abandons Partition plan for Palestine.
- March 20. Travancore Constituent Assembly elects Mr. A. J. John as President: Travancore Tamilnad Congress Party abstain from attending the meeting.
- March 21. Soviet delegation headed by Marshal Sokolovsky walk out of the Allied Control Council from Berlin.
- March 22. Estate Duty Bill is introduced in Dominion Parliament.
—Dr. P. Subbarayan unveils the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court, Madras.
- March 23. Responsible Government is accorded to Travancore: Pattam Thanu Pillai becomes Premier.
- March 24. Mr. N. V. Gadgil inaugurates Rajasthan Union.
- March 25. Dr. Albert Einstein wins the 1948 One World Award.
—The Govt. of West Bengal declares the Communist Party as unlawful.
- March 26. Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar is re-elected Leader of the Madras Legislative Congress Party.
- March 27. The Conference of the Chief Justices of High Courts of the Indian Dominion meets in New Delhi.
- March 28. Kalat State accedes to the Dominion of Pakistan.
- March 29. India Government's note to Hyderabad for rectification of breaches of Standstill Pact.
- March 30. National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party passes a motion for the abolition of monarchy.
- March 31. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru condemns strikes by Government servants.

TOPICS From PERIODICALS



WOMEN AND FREEDOM

Commenting on the bill to prohibit polygamy and provide for divorce, in Madras, "Saka" points out in his weekly *Swatantra* that the debates in the legislature reveal a sentimental confusion of morals with monogamy.

Monogamy wherever it exists is not founded on religion or ethics, but on the simple arithmetic of a one-to-one sex ratio in the people concerned. Whenever the numerical balance between the sexes at the marriageable age is disturbed, monogamy is also disturbed. Polygamy is an offshoot of man shortage and the correct and sure way of removing it is by rectifying such shortage. Some day science might find a way to increase at will the ratio of male children born and cut down the greater vulnerability to premature death of men over women. Then only will the efforts of the antipolygamist cease to be as uphill battle against adverse natural forces.

Inexorable is the law of supply and demand. Woman's bargaining power as a determining factor of her social position is proportionately high, he says, where there are enough men from whom she could pick and choose.

"The social importance of American women is by several clear thinkers attributed to the comfortable surplus of men which existed right from the beginning of American history down to the outbreak of the last war. But because of the scarcity of marriageable men caused by the heavy casualties of the war, a very serious threat to the social status of American women has begun. Under the stress of it the romantic system of marriage which used to be the pride of American tradition, is beginning to break down. One American writer laments that the system has fostered a "bondage to looks" in American women; that it has meant a stressing of the most transitory physical attributes in women, radically curtailing their period of eligibility; and that

it has forged shackles which has slowed the progress of many towards the altar and kept large numbers of the finest and ablest women—some of those best qualified for wifehood and motherhood—from ever marrying at all.

"Saka" then quotes an apt account of what freedom has meant to American women, from which wise legislators all the world over can draw many a good lesson:

Freedom to marry whom and when they wished has meant for a great many women no marriage at all, and freedom from cares of motherhood has meant for many women no children at all. Freedom from house-hold drudgery has brought to many women even more drudgery in factories, shops, and mills. Freedom to earn their own living has forced more women into industrial bondage. Freedom to live their own lives, to regulate their own conduct, has imposed upon women new difficulties and risks. Freedom to compete with men has brought with it the necessity to do so and has led to the breaking down of many conventions that in part, at least, were to women's advantage. And freedom from home duties and responsibilities has set many women adrift with no satisfying outlets for their energies, ever under pressure to find something worth while to do and constantly gnawed by the fear of being considered parasites.

A UNIVERSAL SAINT

Mahatma Gandhi's "final greatness will be voiced not through the nation he sought to create but in the aspiring hearts of all men in all nations and all times", declared the American magazine *Life* in its editorial.

The magazine, which devoted six full pages to Mahatma Gandhi, said: "In order to cut him down to the dimensions of our experience, we of the West may soon be tempted to 'debunk' Gandhi's greatness, to re-study his weaknesses and 'black' him in the political history of these times.

"But let us start with the fact Gandhi was not just a 'great man'—he was a universal saint, something the West had not produced for many generations"

Gandhi is described as the "greatest apostle of peace and brotherhood of man" on the "news pages" of the magazine.

Among 24 photographs illustrating his story is a half-page picture of the Mahatma sitting crosslegged at his spinning wheel and captioned, "Mahatma Gandhi exemplifies the virtues of the simplicity that he preached."

ECONOMICS OF PAKISTAN

In the rugged hills near Pakistan's northern border last month Muslim tribesmen fought pitched battles with regular Indian Army troops. Across the new Muslim nation trains pounded over the rickety railroads, collecting arms and volunteers for the raids into neighbouring Kashmir. Yet in the Pakistan capital of Karachi, the country's ruling creator-dictator, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, calmly insisted that it was none of his doing, says a recent article in *Life*, an influential American magazine.

This seemed a strange claim when daily reports told of Pakistani casualties and when Jinnah himself denounced Kashmir's Ruler for putting a predominantly Muslim State under Hindu India. But what it meant was simple enough—Jinnah still had no real programme for Pakistan except the incitation of fanatic Muslim zeal. If this led his 70 million followers to rush off to war crying, "Free Kashmir!", the Qaid-e-Azam could not help it. He knew well enough that Pakistan was too poor to fight a war if India should be provoked into all-out hostility.

When Pakistan suddenly received its freedom last August 15, proud and energetic patriots boasted that they had created a nation with more land than France and more people than Germany. Granting these comparisons Pakistan still lacks most of the attributes of a modern nation.

Of the approximately 70 million Pakistanis more than 80 per cent are farmers, a very few are wealthy landlords and the rest are shopkeepers and artisans. Nearly all of Pakistan's financial and professional men were among the approximately four million Hindus who fled to India. From India, Pakistan got about six million impoverished Muslim peasants who for the most part left their agricultural implements behind. In return for freedom Pakistan has huge transient camps full of landless farmers and an almost complete lack of skilled technicians or businessmen.

As a producing country Pakistan must quickly industrialize to achieve self-sufficiency or else must establish a cordial interdependence with a processing nation.

At present in all of Pakistan there are only 28,000 workers employed in industry. She has no big iron and steel centres, only 34 railway repair shops, no match factories, no jute mills, no paper mills and only 16 cotton mills against India's 857. Lacking the money or know-how to industrialize, Pakistan obviously requires a commercial rapprochement with Hindu India if her people are to be clothed.

In all the 370,000 square miles of Pakistan there are only 7,260 miles of railway and only 9,575 miles of paved roads. There are an estimated 53,000 miles of drift roads and are not very attractive.

Pakistan's financial troubles are compounded out of her political trade and industrial failures.

At the time of division Hindu business men took out all the gold bullion, jewels and other liquid assets they could carry with them. With normal trade cut off by the rioting and use of railroads for refugees, Pakistan's income probably will not exceed 450 million rupees for the current year against almost certain expenditures of 800 million. Officials talk hopefully of foreign investment or loans, but in Pakistan's present condition the risks are not very attractive.

THE KASHMIR QUESTION

Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, after a visit to Kashmir and Poonch says that there can be no question that encouragement and aid have been given to raiders by Pakistan. Writing to his weekly Mr. Martin says:—

".....India deserved to have its appeal honestly considered and not side-tracked. But the Security Council's refusal to face the straight issue put to it has convinced almost everyone in India that the case has not been considered on its merits but subordinated to uses of power politics. In particular, it is said that one of the underlying factors has been the Anglo-American concern about bases in Pakistan. The result is a very rapid change in India's feeling towards Britain.....A few weeks ago it was confidently expected that India would decide to remain part of the Commonwealth. This, I believe, is still undecided, but certainly no one should be surprised if India now prefers a completely separate status."

Mr. Martin's recent visit to Kashmir has given him the opportunity of judging India's case at first hand. The basic fact is he goes on to observe "that Britain defended the North-West Frontier of India, not only with several brigades of troops but more effectively by subsidy of several million pounds a year to the tribesmen.....Pakistan has not paid any subsidy and has endeavoured to kill two birds at one stroke by permitting the tribes to loot Kashmir. There is no possible doubt that if India had not intervened last October, Srinagar and the lovely valley of Kashmir would now be a devastated and blackened ruin. Nor can there be any question that encouragement and aid have been given to the tribesmen in Pakistan."

Mr. Martin explains in the following paragraph how he came to this conclusion after questioning Pathan prisoners, seeing up-to-date weapons, uniforms and army pay-books captured by the Indian Army. He says: "Evidence of this kind can be multiplied indefinitely; and having sat in the operation room of Jammu headquarters, I can also testify that the Indian Command takes the utmost care in using its aircraft against raiding parties until it is completely assured that they are hostile groups and well within the Kashmir Frontier. The devastation caused by these raiders can be seen any day as one proceeds by jeep on the rough and precarious road which is the only link between India and Kashmir"

"As long as Pakistan cares to allow these raiders to proceed, they cannot be stopped, for nature never meant there should be a frontier between Jammu and the Punjab. You might as well talk of a frontier between Norfolk and Suffolk According to the India's view which on this point seemed irrefutable these raids constitute invasion of Indian territory. Legally, there is no doubt that the Maharaja of Kashmir, after long hesitation, and after vainly asking for Pakistan's protection against the tribesmen, acceded to India and that the Indian

troops did not enter Kashmir until he invited them."

"It is said that India acted illegally in the case of Junagadh. A decisive reply is that in the case of Junagadh, Pakistan itself laid it down that the head of the State alone had a right to decide on the question of accession. Moreover, India strengthened her case on both occasions by making accession provisional pending the results of plebiscite. In the case of Kashmir, India also insisted on the abolition of the Maharaja's oppressive regime and the recognition of Sheikh Abdullah as the popular Head of the Emergency Administration. Certainly one factor which has played an important part in the minds of the Indian leaders is that Sheikh Abdullah's administration provides an outstanding proof that India is not Hindusthan, that there are Muslims who have voluntarily chosen to come into an India which, as Pandit Nehru emphasised, should be a democracy in which minorities can live safely and freely."

Summarising the legal and moral case as India sees it, Mr. Martin points out that the failure by the British delegates at U.N. and by a large part of the British Press to appreciate it, is doing great damage to Anglo-Indian relations.

"Responsible Indian leaders who are now engaged in suppressing the more fanatical communal Hindu bodies fully realise the utterly disastrous consequences of war between India and Pakistan. That would mean victory in India of semi-fascist elementsIt would mean the end of hopes of social change which have animated the progressive side of Congress...It would probably involve international complications which would create in India and Pakistan conditions resembling those of the Spanish Civil War. In Indian and Pakistan armies the possibility of war is viewed with incredulous horror.....But the question remains of Pakistan's desire for peace and of how to rid Kashmir and India of tribal raids. This once more means joint defence and large subsidies."

EARLY INFLUENCES ON GANDHI

New light is thrown on the influences which led Mahatma Gandhi to adopt the principles of non-violence and the simple life in an article in the current issue of the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who was Editor of Gandhi's paper, the *Indian Opinion*, in South Africa.

Mr. Polak says that he met Gandhiji first in 1904 when the Mahatma was living the quiet life of a middle class professional man. He was a vegetarian, a student of nature course and a lecturer, as well of course as a legal practitioner and his compatriots' political adviser.

I soon learned that his non-violence was derived from ancient Hindu teachings and practice. Tolstoy whose writings on the subject had greatly attracted him had merely emphasized an inherent trend in his character.

Mr. Polak recalls that after reading Ruskin's book *Unto This Last*, Mahatma Gandhi decided to take immediate steps to live as a peasant and handicraftsman. He did in fact but a small estate near Durban to which he organized a simple life settlement of British and Indian friends confident that despite racial differences they could collaborate.

Later, he sent his family there but he himself could only pay occasional visits owing to growing political difficulties in Transvaal.

Mahatma Gandhi's great struggle began in 1907. Mr. Polak continues:

I do not think that either then or later when the Union Government continued to enforce anti-Asiatic laws, Mahatma Gandhi fully understood that the essence of responsible government was the constitutional freedom to act wrongly as well as rightly. It was not until much later that he realized that the grant of 'the key of the door' had its dangers as well as its useful possibilities.

"Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance apart from his natural attraction to non-violence was much encouraged by two events," Mr. Polak says.

One was the arrival at a critical moment of a pamphlet entitled *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* by the American pacifist Thoreau.

His argument that a man must obey his own conscience even against the will of his fellow citizens and be ready to undergo imprisonment in consequence, for after all, it was only his body and not his spirit which was in custody, appealed strongly to Mahatma Gandhi. He pressed me to publish it as a supplement to the *Indian Opinion*.

"The other event was his observation during a brief visit in 1919 of the methods used by the British suffragettes involving imprisonment in the furtherance of their cause. His keen sense of humour was often displayed but never more appropriately than when he told my wife that he had learned more of passive resistance from Mrs. Gandhi when she disagreed with him than from any other source.

Mahatma Gandhi, says Mr. Polak, was never quiescent or negative but always dynamic and energetic. His non-violence he translated as utter belief in the power of the spirit and in truth force or Satyagraha, as he called it.

Nor was his simplicity of life due so much to an aesthetic preference as to a mystical strain combined with an urge to relate himself intimately to the sorrows, the needs and the way of life of the humblest peasant.

A loyal friend and a loving brother, never once did I hear from him a personal attack even upon his most aggressive opponents to whom he would always attribute the better motives rather than the worse.

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INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

P. N. NEHRU ON HYDERABAD ISSUE

Addressing a meeting at Vizagapatam, on March 14, Pandit Nehru said that the people should not get excited over the Hyderabad issue. The India Government, he added, were strong enough to deal with Hyderabad.

Pandit Nehru deprecated the "rash speeches" made by certain Muslim leaders of the State, and declared that, if those speeches, in any way, reflected the policy to be pursued by the State, Hyderabad would be the ultimate sufferer.

He referred to the complaints made by the Hyderabad authorities about incursions from outside, and also complaints of a similar nature against the State. He, therefore, appealed to the people of the Indian Union bordering Hyderabad not to complicate matters. The Government wanted their help to take the Hyderabad question in a simple and straight-forward way.

He stated that the policy of the India Government had been settled long ago. While they wanted responsible Government to be established in the States, the question of accession was a matter to be left to the decision of the people of the States themselves.

He wanted the people not to get excited over the Hyderabad issue, and said it was a matter for calm and cool thinking, but nevertheless assured them that the Government of India were strong enough to deal with Hyderabad.

MR. GADGIL'S WARNING

In the India Parliament on March 16 Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines, and Power, said that Hyderabad order incidents, after India's agreement with the State last November, had assumed formidable proportions. He was of the view that the peace and tranquillity in the South might depend on the speed with which these incidents were put down.

Baroda

BARODA STATE RAILWAYS

The first Indian State to get the benefit of a rail-road was Baroda, for the first railway constructed and opened to traffic among the States was from Dabhoi to Miyagam, a length of 20 miles in the Baroda State. This line was opened on 8-4-1873. Subsequent additions to this small piece of railway line were made during the illustrious regime of His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao III. Until 1908, the railways in the State were constructed by the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company at the cost of the State. In 1908, the State opened a construction department of their own and the working of the railways concerned was mainly entrusted to the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company. In 1921, the working of the narrow gauge lines of the State was taken over and the Railway department began to function as an open line and construction department as well. In 1933, the working of the metre gauge railways was taken over from the B. B. & C. I. Railway and in 1934 that of the Khijadia-Dhari railway was taken over from the Gondal State Railway.

MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY

The Baroda State Museum owes its existence to His Highness the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao III, who started it soon after his being invested with full powers of Government. From the very commencement of his reign he evinced great interest in works of Art, Indian as well as foreign. The State Museum of Baroda was one of the results of his love of learning and of his eagerness to educate his subjects in the various branches of knowledge. Libraries are certainly the storehouses of manuscripts and books, but museums and art galleries supply material for the study of different cultures in the form of concrete examples exhibited in them and their importance was recognised long ago.

Travancore

INTERIM GOVT. FOR TRAVANCORE

H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore has agreed to the formation of an Interim Government for the State and investing of the Representative Body with the powers and functions of the Legislative Assembly during the interim period.

In a Government Gazette Extraordinary issued on March 24, His Highness has promulgated the Travancore Interim Constitution Act of 1123 M.E., which provides for a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as head and invests the Representative Body with powers of the Legislature during the interim period.

In pursuance of the Maharaja's Proclamation, the Interim Ministry was formed with Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai, President of the State Congress as Prime Minister and Messrs. T. M. Verghese and C. Kesavan as Ministers.

The Ministers were sworn in at the Secretariat in the presence of members of the Representative Body and officers and staff of the Secretariat. Rajyasevapravina U. Padmanabha Kukillaya, Chief Justice administered the oath of secrecy and office to the Ministers.

Mr. T. Chandy, Administrative Secretary, welcomed the Ministers and offered the full co-operation of the officers and staff with the Ministry.

Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai replying, thanked Mr. Chandy for his welcome and offer of co-operation.

Mr. P. G. N. Unnithan, officiating Dewan, has been permitted by His Highness the Maharaja to retire from the office of Dewan with effect from fore-noon of March 24.

Indore

INDORE PREMIER

The Maharaja of Indore, it is learnt, has agreed to appoint the nominee of the Indore Praja Mandal as his Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers will consist of the Praja Mandal nominees and one independent member who is a supporter of the Praja Mandal.

Mysore

REINSTATEMENT OF I.N.A.

After considering the cases of the I.N.A. personnel of the First Battalion of the Mysore Infantry, who were either dismissed or discharged, the Government of Mysore have ordered reinstatement in service of twenty out of 43 such persons, placing them in ranks they would have been in had they continued service, the period of absence being treated as leave without pay.

The remaining cases will be reviewed in due course, it is announced.

MYSORE—MADRAS TALKS

Mysore might negotiate with Madras Government for the exchange of Madakasira with parts of Kolar district. Madakasira is a cluster of villages belonging to Madras but surrounded on all sides by the Mysore territory.

Mr. K. C. Reddy, Chief Minister, addressing a meeting at Madakasira, said that there was much in common between Madakasira and Mysore in point of language and culture and it should be possible to include this part in Mysore State by exchanging parts of the Kolar District. Mr. K. C. Reddy added that it was also a point for consideration why a South Indian Federation of Karnataka and Andhra Provinces should not be formed.

Nepal

H. H. PADMA SHAMSHERJUNG

Maharaja Padma Shamsherjung Bahadur, Prime Minister of Nepal, has relinquished his connection with the State.

On the occasion of the retirement twenty-two political prisoners in the State have been ordered to be released.

The Maharaja has been invested with Honorary Lieutenant-Generalship in the Indian Army.

The Government of India have made a gift of 25 acres of land at Ranchi to the Maharaja and he will settle down there.

POODUKOTTAH MERGED IN MADRAS

Dr. S. P. Poddutah, one of the South Indian States, has merged in the Indian Union. This was announced at a Durbar held on Wednesday 3rd March at Pudukottah. The State now forms part of the Madras Province.

The merger was a sequel to the discussions held at Delhi between the Ruler and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister for States.

Under instructions from the Government of Madras, the Collector of Trichinopoly has taken over the administration of the State from the Dewan.

Kashmir

MAHARAJA'S PROCLAMATION

The proclamation which the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir made on March 5 in regard to the setting up of a responsible government in the State and which was read out in the Dominion Parliament by the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says that the Council of Ministers of the Maharaja will consist of the Prime Minister and such other ministers as may be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah has been appointed as the Prime Minister with effect from March 1. He will function as a Cabinet and act on the principle of joint responsibility. The Dewan appointed by the Ruler will also be member of the Cabinet.

Kolhapur

PRAJA PARISHAD'S APPEAL

The Central Body of the Kolhapur Praja Parishad, unanimously passed a resolution favouring the merger of Kolhapur into the Indian Union and appealing to the Ruler of the State to read the signs of the times and take steps to achieve this end.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Shankarrao Mane with Mr. Ratnappa Kumbhar in the chair.

Junagadh

JUNAGADH FOR ACCESSION TO INDIA

Junagadh has voted in favour of accession to India in the recent referendum held in the State.

The following are the results of the referendum held in Junagadh State, according to a Government Press note:

In favour of accession to India 190,779.

In favour of accession to Pakistan 91.

Alwar

ALWAR ADMINISTRATION

Mr. K. B. Seth, Administrator of Alwar State has decided to dissolve the Executive Council immediately "in the interests of good administration." He has also dispensed with the services of nominated Ministers.

It is understood the Administrator will shortly appoint persons enjoying public confidence as his advisers.

Jodhpur

FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR JODHPUR

The Maharaja of Jodhpur announced his decision to establish a "fully popular Marwari Government" in the State and to form immediately an Interim Council of Ministers with a majority of popular Ministers selected from among the members of the Legislative Assembly. To safeguard the interests of the agriculturists one Minister will be from among the representatives of the agriculturists.

Rewa

RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR REWA

It is reliably learnt that the States of Rewa and Bundelkhand, spread out in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces have signed an Agreement with the States Ministry Government of India, promising the people of these States full Responsible Government.

It will be recalled that Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary, States Ministry, recently left for Rewa for consultation with the Rulers of Bundelkhand States and of Rewa.

INDIANS OVER

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NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

South Africa

PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

The Indian National Congresses of Natal and Transvaal declared in a letter to American journalists, published by the South Africa Committee of the India League in London that 232,000 Indians in Natal are living "as if in a vast prison."

The letter, dated February 26, was addressed to American journalists touring the Union of South Africa. It told them that they would see "one South Africa"—a country of gold mines, beautiful scenery and rising industries. But they would not see the other South Africa—a land of "slave labour" and high tuberculosis rates.

The letter said Indians had come to South Africa "on the distinct understanding that we were to be treated as full-fledged citizens." They were deprived of these rights in 1896.

"There are to-day roughly 66 different laws on the statute books of South Africa that discriminate against us on grounds of race and colour" the letter added. Indians were the only section of South Africa's population prevented from moving freely from one province to another.

The letter re-called the debate on the South African-Indian question before the United Nations and the Indian communities fight against discrimination inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-resistance.

Burma

MADRAS ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION

A Resolution "recommending to the Government to convey to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of India that this Assembly views with grave apprehension the deteriorating position of Indians in Burma and requesting him to move the Government of Burma to keep in abeyance the recent Ordinances relating to properties and suspend the recently imposed immigration restrictions pending final settlement of all problems in the Indo-Burma Treaty," was passed in the Madras Assembly.

General

SIR C. P. ON INDIANS IN DOMINIONS

The attitude of other British Dominions towards Indians, particularly Indian immigrants, was criticised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, during his tour in America.

Interviewed by a panel of Washington journalists he complained that although India had attained independence as a part of the British Commonwealth, other Dominions had failed to adopt the reciprocal attitude.

Sir Ramaswami Aiyar particularly criticised South Africa and Australia and said, "Indians are not welcome in many Dominions. South Africa does not want Indians. Australia is nearly the size of the United States, it is half tropical and only lightly populated and offers a splendid field for migration, but I have seen no enthusiastic response by Australia to the possibility of Indians migrating there."

Malaya

DEBT LEGISLATION IN MALAYA

Pandit Nehru said in a written reply to Mr. K. Santhanam and Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in the Dominion Parliament that a large number of Indian money-lending firms and individuals whose agents were in the occupied territory during the war would be adversely affected by the Debtor and Creditor (Occupation Period) Ordinance, 1948 introduced in the Malayan legislatures.

East Africa

ANTI-INDIAN BILLS IN EAST AFRICA

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, said during question-hour in the Dominion Parliament with reference to East Africa that the Government of India has made it clear to the U. K. Government that India could not acquiesce in legislation which adversely affected the rights and interests of her nationals abroad.

Questions of Importance

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

"In framing India's new Constitution, we have not hesitated to draw freely on the experience of other nations," said Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Security Council on Kashmir case, in a radio interview. Mr. Ayyangar added:

"Our endeavour has been to examine the best features of the existing constitutions elsewhere and adapt them to our own peculiar conditions. The constitutional development of my country thus far has inevitably and quite naturally followed the British pattern of Parliamentary democracy."

"While the new constitution retains this basic pattern with the removable executive responsible to the legislature we are following the American precedent in a number of matters, particularly, in providing for the head of the State for being elected for a term of years, and for a Supreme Court with powers to pronounce upon the constitutionality vis-a-vis the written constitution in addition to merely interpreting it."

"The peculiar conditions of Indian society made it necessary for us to state from the very beginning in the clearest possible terms our fundamental rights."

"We have, by a special provision, forbidden untouchability, and the enforcement of any disability arising out of this custom has been declared in future, to be an offence."

"An arresting feature is the enactment of 13 articles laying down certain directive principles of State policy to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a social order in which justice—social, economic, and political—shall form all institutions of national life."

SARDAR PATEL ON STATES

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, revealed in a statement issued on March 9 that requests and suggestions for merger or integration have been made by responsible authorities.

Sardar Patel said: "The policy of democratization of States and integration of such States as are not in a position to enjoy separate autonomous existence had achieved remarkable results in a very short period * * * The objective which the States Ministry had set before itself will be achieved even earlier than it could have been reasonably anticipated."

The Sardar appealed to the States' people to desist from any agitation for popular Government while negotiations with Rulers were being carried on.

THE ANDHRA PROVINCE QUESTION

Steps for the formation of an Andhra Province will be taken before the inauguration of the new constitution of India. This is indicated by the committee which has drafted India's constitution. A Boundary Commission will also be appointed.

The draft constitution of India closely follows recommendations of the various committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly. The question of the relationship between the Indian Republic and the British Commonwealth of Nations has been left to be decided later.

The drafting committee has not laid down the procedure for choosing Governors of States of the Union but has proposed alternatives, namely, direct election by the people, or appointment by the Union President from a panel of names suggested by the State legislature concerned.

Utterances of the Day

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN ON IDEAL OF SECULAR STATE

Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University, told the Hindu Association of Europe in London on March 14: "Our whole way of life has reached a dead end. It has broken down. Even before we have recovered from the effects of the last war, we are contemplating the possibility of another."

"The draft constitution for India," he said, "aimed at establishing a free society, an equitable social order in which the ideals of justice and freedom would inspire economic, political, social and cultural institutions. At the root of all civilised life were certain habits of behaviour by which nations lived and apart from which they perished. If they claimed to be civilised they must have justice, cherish mercy and not be ashamed to own the reality of the unseen spirit."

Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan declared:

The conception of the Indian State as a secular one does not mean that it aims only at the secular ends of life, material comfort and success. It only means that the State will not take sides; it will not be identified with any one religion. It will accord free and equal treatment to all religions to profess, practise and propagate their faiths, so long as their beliefs and practices are not repugnant to the moral sense, to the conscience of the people. The equal treatment of all religions imposes an obligation on the followers of the different religions to practise mutual tolerance.

Hinduism is the giant tree which bore the great fruit of Gandhiji in our time. He was nurtured by Hinduism and inspired by it to his great sacrifice.

When we lost our political freedom, our ardour of soul, our clarity of vision, our spirit of adventures were also lost. Gandhiji who had led us out of our political subjection pricked us into a new awareness of the evils from which we have been suffering. He exhorted us to rid our religion of the many accretions with which in its long history, it became encumbered.

He represents the highest ideals of Hinduism, a persistent search for truth and practice of non-violence. . . .

"India is passing through a revolution. On all sides, things are changing, our social customs, our agriculture, our industry. There is an eager anxiety to improve the lot of the common man, peasant and the industrial worker.

The revolution has to be effected by the spirit of truth and fairplay and not by the spirit of hatred and violence. The morally wrong cannot be politically correct. We cannot achieve good ends by foul means. It may appear that the moral methods delay some of the changes but they will be seen ultimately to speed them up. Love is the law of life; it is the flower of truth. Our nation and the world, if they are to save themselves should believe in it. If we lose the way, it is the youth who would suffer most.

C. R. ON "DRIFT TO WAR"

"I greatly fear that war seems coming again upon the world with swift pace," said His Excellency C. Rajagopalachari, Chancellor of Calcutta University, in his address to the annual convocation of the University on March 20. Mr. Rajagopalachari continued: "The world peace situation is deteriorating at an alarming pace. The hope of internationalists is to attain a world federation one day wherein peace and justice would be assured for all the people of the world irrespective of colour or creed or type or culture. So long as this is not attained and we have to rest content with a balanced system of national Powers as a transitory substitute for the more stable equilibrium of a world federation, there is always a tendency for one or the other of fairly equal Powers to be seized with a sudden fear as a result of some true or imagined event. Then a strong and instant feeling possesses it that the best thing would be to precipitate the inevitable conflict before the enemy gets time to grow stronger. Such a situation seems now to be rapidly developed.

"I hope my apprehensions are wrong but I greatly fear war seems coming again upon the world with swift pace. What is wanted now is not the interpretation of war preparations in terms of self-defence so as to make them acceptable to those who mostly love peace. Of that, we have enough stereotypes. What is wanted now is some one who will explain America to Russia and Russia to America, and keep off war, one who commands respect and influence and is trusted by both."

Political

DR. STATES AND E. PUNJAB

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, one flag, and one to make be the slogan at this transitional Ma. Said Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, for Jails, and member of the an acti Working Committee, addressing a Conference in Rayya village, Amritsar district.

He supported the move for a merger of the so-called Sikh States to East Punjab, and said: "My reasons are that East Punjab inhabited by Sikhs. Are we to look to the interests of the Rajahs or interests of the public? The interests of the public demand that they should join hands with us so that speedy progress could be made."

Referring to the talk of changes in the East Punjab Ministry, he said it was all a propaganda to malign the Ministry and weaken the Government.

SALARY OF PRESIDENT

An order issued by the Governor-General provides that, until provision is made by the Dominion Legislature, the President of the Constituent Assembly and the Speaker of the Dominion Legislature shall be paid salary of Rs. 3,000 per month each and sumptuary allowance of Rs. 500 per month each. Each of them shall be entitled, without payment of rent, to the use of a fully-furnished residence in New Delhi.

This order shall have effect in respect of the President from January 14, 1948 and in respect of the Speaker from January 1, 1948. In respect of the period before January 1, 1948, the Speaker shall be paid a consolidated salary of Rs. 4,000 per month.

TAMILNAD BOUNDARY

A resolution reiterating the fact that the boundary for the Tamilnad on north is the river North-Pennai (Vada Pennai) and that the boundary for the south is Cape Comorin, was passed at the resumed session of the Akila Tamizhar Conference on Feb. 16 at the S.I.A.A. grounds with Mr. S. Somasundara Barathi in the chair.

THE NEW MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Council by a resolution on Mar. 10 decided that the present constitution of the All-India Muslim League shall be the constitution of the Indian Muslim League with the following amendments until the new constitution is framed after the consideration of the report to be submitted by the sub-committee within three months.

1. In the existing constitution and rules of the All-India Muslim League wherever the words of "India" or "British India" occur, there shall be substituted the words "Indian Union."

2. The name of the organization shall be "Indian Union Muslim League."

3. The aims and the objectives of the Indian Union Muslim League shall be: (A) To uphold, defend, maintain and assist in upholding, defending and maintaining the independence, freedom and honour of the State of the Indian Union and to work for and contribute towards the ever-increasing strength, prosperity and happiness of the people of the State; (B) To secure, protect and maintain the legitimate rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities in the State (C) To promote mutual understanding, goodwill, amity, cordiality, harmony and unity between the Muslims and every other community of India.

QUORUM FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MEETINGS

By an order under the Indian Independence Act, the Indian Provisional Constitution has been further amended so as to provide that the quorum for the meetings of the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) shall be one-tenth of the total number of members of the Legislature, instead of the present one-sixth, says a Press Note. This change has been necessitated since there are several members who, being also members of the Provincial Legislature, are often unable to attend. In the British House of Commons, consisting of more than 600 members, the prescribed quorum is only 40, which is less than one-fifteenth of the total strength.

DEFENCE FORCE FOR W. BENGAL

It is understood that the West Bengal Government propose to raise a National Defence Force to guard the 500-mile border line between East and West Bengal.

The proposed Force will consist of young men and they will be given some training before they join their duty.

JUSTICE RAJAMANNAR ON STUDY OF SANSKRIT

"A course of study in Sanskrit should be made compulsory for all boys and girls in schools if we want them to acquire our ancient culture", declared Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice, speaking on the occasion of the Founder's Day celebration of the Pennathur Subramania Aiyar High School, Mylapore, Madras on March 6.

Outlining his own views on the place of Sanskrit in the educational system, the Chief Justice said:

The study of Sanskrit, would, in an indirect and sub-conscious way induce in us a sense of the fundamental unity of the whole of India. A line from Valmiki, a simile from Kalidasa or a noble utterance from Upavishads would touch our heart strings and stir in us a thousand memories—memories, sub-conscious, ancestral, primordial, going back to the origin of man in India—memories of our great and glorious past which binds us together though in this superficial present we are torn by differences and dissensions. The greatest value of Sanskrit probably lies in its usefulness to build up our national life on healthy lines. That is why I appeal both to the authorities of this School and still more to the persons who are in charge of the education of our Province, not to have a hatred for Sanskrit or to accord to it step-motherly treatment but positively to encourage the study of the language. The least that they can do is to make it compulsory for every boy and girl.

ADMISSION TO COLLEGES IN MADRAS

Vigorous protest against the policy of the Madras Government in regulating admission to educational institutions on a communal basis was launched by Srimati Durgabai in the Dominion Parliament on March 11.

Moving a cut motion on the Education Ministry's demand, Srimati Durgabai referred to the conditions in Madras and urged that it was incompatible with the aspiration of India to build a secular State if the fundamental right of every individual to education was denied to one particular community. She admitted that backward classes did need some reservation of seats, but urged that under the guise of encouraging economically backward classes

one particular community, the Brahmin community, should not be deprived of that elementary right. She did not claim, she asserted, that she regarded to jobs or contracts. She demanded unrestricted freedom.

To those who interrupted her with the remark that education was a provincial subject, Srimati Durgabai retorted that the Central Government which gave educational grants to the Provinces, had the right to condition such grants.

She urged that Governments or universities which indulged in communal discrimination should be made ineligible for grants.

The Education Minister said that the Central Government had the right to stipulate the manner in which a grant should be utilised by educational institutions and promised to make enquiries of the Madras Government about the complaint made by Srimati Durgabai.

C. R.'S ADVICE TO GRADUATES

Addressing the graduates at the convocation of Calcutta University on March 20 Mr. C. Rajagopalachari asked the new graduates to be tolerant of other's feelings and said that charity in judgment was a civic policy of the highest practical value. His Excellency concluded:

Every time you find yourselves tempted to stray from the path of truth and love, remember Gandhiji, the man who was so eager to guide us and who was so full of wisdom and love and who was snatched away from us so cruelly seven weeks ago. Remember the blood that flowed from Gandhiji's wounds and the tears that flowed from the eyes of the women of India everywhere when they learnt of his death serve to lay the curse of 1947, and may the grisly tragedy of that year sleep in history and not colour present passions. Shall we hope that in 1950 or thereabouts we shall be able to say truthfully that all of us are more honest and less selfish in free India than before, that the rice crop has been more abundant than in the days of the British, that the number of acres under cultivation is greater, that there is less crime and that the behaviour of men and women in India is superior to what it is in places not blessed by Indian culture? Then indeed we can claim that we have built a worthy monument for Gandhiji.

JUDGES FOR MADRAS

The Governor-General has been pleased to make the following appointments in the Madras High Court, namely:

(1) Mr. Justice Yahya Ali, at present in the vacant period, to be a permanent Judge in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice Wadsworth;

(2) Mr. Justice Satyanarayana Rao, at present an Additional Judge, to be a permanent Judge in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Justice Byers;

(3) Mr. Justice P. Govinda Menon, at present an Additional Judge, to be a permanent Judge in the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. Justice Shaha-buddin, to the High Court of East Bengal;

(4) Mr. K. Subba Rao, Advocate, to be a permanent Judge in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice K. P. Lakshmana Rao; and

(5) Mr. S. Panchapakesa Sastri, Advocate, to be a permanent Judge of the Madras High Court in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice Chandrasekhara Aiyar.

RECRUITMENT OF H. C. JUDGES

Replying to Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar in the Union Assembly during question time Sardar Patel said that a majority of the High Court Judges were recruited from the Bar, but it was not intended to confine the recruitment exclusively to members of the Bar.

Asked whether in view of the shortage of I.C.S. personnel Government would limit such recruitment to the Bar, the Home Minister said that as far as possible recruitment was made from among the practising lawyers but service personnel should not be debarred from promotion to the Bench.

Replying to supplementaries the Home Minister agreed that in the old days many eminent Judges on the Bench were recruited from the Provincial Judicial service of Subordinate Judges but for many years now no such appointment had been made.

SEPARATE HIGH COURT FOR ASSAM

The arrangement by which the Province of Assam is subjected to the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court in Calcutta has for some time been found to be inconvenient. In pursuance of the view expressed by the Legislature and Government of Assam, the Governor-General has on (March 1) made an order under Section 229 of the Government of India Act, 1935, setting up a separate High Court for Assam with effect from the 5th of this month.

All proceedings pending on the day before the Calcutta High Court (except on its original side), the court of origin of which is in Assam, will be transferred for disposal to the High Court of Assam. The powers which the Governor of Assam at present exercises as a High Court for certain purposes will also be transferred to the Assam High Court from that day.

BILL AGAINST TAX EVADERS

The Dominion Parliament referred to a Select Committee the Finance Minister Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty's Bill to amend the Taxation on Income (Investigation Commission) Act, 1947, which mainly dealt with finding out tax-evaders.

Explaining some of the relevant features of the amending Bill the Finance Minister said that the Investigation Commission, set up to catch tax-evaders, was in no sense required to play the role of an adjudicator in a dispute between the Government and the assessee. The Commission's duty was only to investigate a case in any manner it chose and submit a report to Government.

CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

Mr. N. G. Ranga's Bill to repeal the Criminal Tribes Act (1924), says: "The Act is oppressive and inhuman. Instead of improving the morale of the backward communities, it has the tendency to make them deteriorate mentally and morally. The Act is a blot on the Statute book and should not be allowed to stand in it."

INSURANCE FIRMS' DIFFICULTIES

The difficulties facing Indian insurance companies, particularly as a result of the communal disturbances in the Punjab, were discussed at length by Mr. L. N. Birla, presiding over the half-yearly meeting on Feb. 16 of the Indian Insurance Companies Association, Calcutta.

He also emphasized the need for curbing the hold exercised by non-Indian insurance companies and helping Indian concerns against the discriminatory policy followed by some foreign countries in regard to non-national insurance companies.

Mr. Birla said that the Punjab disturbances had seriously affected the business of non-Muslim insurance companies. The Punjab Governments had a liability to the insured under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance for the compensation of riot claims. It was a matter of urgency that the Governments of Pakistan and India must reach an early decision on this matter to enable insurance companies to estimate their actual liability in the affected areas.

Mr. Birla was critical of the hold exercised by non-Indian insurance companies and felt that the time had come when Indian insurance companies must assert themselves and organize with a view to claiming the right of controlling and managing the insurance organizations in India.

To counter the tendency of discrimination against non-national insurance companies prevailing in some foreign countries, particularly in Iran and Argentina, Mr. Birla thought that efforts should be made by international organizations to stop such practices which restrict expansion of trade and commerce in the long run. "In the meantime, I believe, there is every justification for our own Government to find ways and means of helping insurance companies of our own nationals as compared to non-Indian companies," he said.

POSTAL INSURANCE SCHEME

The Government did not extend the benefits of the Postal Insurance Scheme to members of the public, as their policy hitherto had been that the Postal Insurance Scheme should not compete with private insurance companies, stated Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Minister for Communications, in the Indian Parliament on March 2, during question hour.

Mr. Kidwai added that it was proposed to conduct the valuation of the fund as on August 15, 1947 as soon as the required data for such valuation was available and, if a sufficient surplus was disclosed, to declare a bonus to policy-holders. The bonus would be payable with the sum assured as an addition to it.

WORKMEN'S INSURANCE SCHEME

It is understood the Government of India propose to assist actively in the successful working of the Workmen's State Insurance scheme with a grant towards the cost of administering the scheme which depends on contributions by employers and employees. The Government of India may undertake to meet the cost of administration up to two-thirds and this may cost the Central exchequer about Rs. 38 lakhs. It is possible Government may give this grant for a period of five years.

MOTOR VEHICLES EXEMPTED FROM INSURANCE

The Government of India have called from Provincial Governments for particulars regarding the total number of buses, goods vehicles and private vehicles, which have been exempted from compulsory Third Party Insurance under the Motor Vehicles Act.

OLYMPIC GAMES INSURED

The organisers of the Olympic Games have effected an insurance for £140,000 against the cancellation of this year's game in London from war or any other cause.

MOOKERJEE'S APPEAL

D. Meghaya Prasad Mookerjee, Minister for Industries and Supply, in the broadcast from All India Radio in the series "produce or perish" urged the necessity to observe complete industrial peace and concentrate all our energies in producing to the maximum of our capacity or else "all our hopes and aspirations will be shattered to pieces." He said:

India is to-day engaged in a race against time. The prize is the consolidation of the freedom that has been gained. And the only way in which we can win this prize is for all to agree to work for the common good and to devote our energies for the promotion of peace and harmony in the country. This will come through unity and strength which will sustain an ancient nation in the trials that it has to face in the hour of resurrection. Indeed the trials we are facing are very sombre and they have darkened to a tragic gloom with the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi. This marks the very culmination of our troubles and to add to them we are in the midst of an economic crisis affecting the welfare of the common man. There is, therefore, no room for complacency. This is not the time to think of sectional good as against the common good of us all.

The struggle for freedom has ceased to be. But the freedom that has come must be maintained and enriched. There looms ahead the much greater struggle on the home front against our old enemies—hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease and their attendant host of social evils.

First in importance is food. Our immediate problem is the development of a large-scale organisation which would stimulate each village community to constructive patriotic effort for avert the food crisis. For such an organisation, we must be able to draw upon the devoted enthusiasts who formed the spearhead of our political struggle and who believed in sacrificing everything they had for human betterment of this land.

TRADE BETWEEN W. & E. BENGAL

The Government of East Bengal has issued a Press Note confirming the Press Note issued by the Government of West Bengal regarding free trade between the two provinces in respect of commodities other than those that might at any time be controlled in either province.

This decision, the Press Note says, was arrived at a conference between the Chief Secretaries of East and West Bengal.

FINANCE MINISTER'S WARNING

The Finance Minister said in the Union Assembly that President Truman's message to Congress might mean that India might have to have a re-orientation of her entire outlook in economics and in international relationship. If the U.S.A. was to switch over to a semi-wartime economy, then all hopes of India getting capital goods were gone.

The Finance Minister observed: "Pandit Kunzru did a great service in calling our attention to the fact that today we are meeting under the shadow of the message of President Truman to the American Congress. I hope that the members will realise the implications of that message. It might mean that we might have to have a reorientation of our entire outlook in economic and in international relationship. We were banking on our receiving capital goods, especially from the U.S.A., for our reconstruction programme. What are going to be the implications of the message? If the U.S.A. is to switch over to a semi-wartime economy then all hopes of our getting capital goods are gone. At such a time, for us to rush on without being clear in our own minds as to what the future is going to be, and what should be the steps that must lead us to that future, will be a matter of the deepest and gravest concern."

CONTROL OF CAPITAL ISSUES

Replying to Mr. Khandekar, the Finance Minister, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, said in the Dominion Parliament that the object of introducing control over capital issues was to prevent the development of an excessive demand for materials in short supply, to direct capital away from the manufacture of luxuries, and to prevent inflationary tendencies.

Replying to Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar the Finance Minister said the use of capital depended on the availability of plant and machinery abroad, and that was very limited. They had not been able to use more of their exchange because of the unavailability of goods.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Laying the foundation-stone of the Miranda House of the Women's College of the Delhi University, Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten said that it marked a historic step forward in the education of women and fittingly exemplified the spirit of this great academic establishment.

She said: "There is pressing need for further facilities for women's education throughout the country but here in Delhi perhaps particularly so with the large influx of students from the Punjab and being as it is the capital city. The Government of India has with sympathetic and financial support enabled the University of Delhi to carry out its farsighted plans to meet the need by the construction of this building where the vital facilities of collegiate life and academic training will be available to about 30 resident students.

"Women are already playing a great part in the public life of India to-day. In what other country of the world does one find women holding the responsible and leading appointments as Governor of a Province, as Ambassador and as a Minister of Health? The high example of ability and service to their country set by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Pandit, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, and so many leading women, is one that is an inspiration to all of us and one which, with, increasing opportunities for education and training, we can confidently expect a greater number of women to emulate in the years to come".

RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

The Government of India have communicated to the High Commissioner for Pakistan their permission to the Pakistan Government to set up its own organization for the recovery of abducted women in East Punjab States and Alwar and Bharatpur.

The Pakistan Government has at present two organizations of its own for the recovery of abducted women, at Delhi and Jullundur.

C. R.'S BEAUTY TIPS FOR SCHOOL GIRLS

His Excellency Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, gave some sound advice to the girls while presiding over the prize distribution ceremony of a school at Howrah, writes the *A. B. Patrika*.

"Girls," said he, "I want you all to be happy and to be cheerful in your deportment. Whenever possible you should never cry. By laughing you will improve your beauty and your character. Do not depend upon powder and rouge, depend upon your laughter. If you have a cheerful countenance and cultivate a good temperament and laugh whenever you can, you will grow beautiful—take this advice from me as an expert in this matter."

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

Addressing a meeting of the Delhi Young Women's Christian Association in New Delhi, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, who represented India on the International Commission on Human Rights, urged the women to secure the fundamental rights as envisaged in the proposed International Bill of Rights.

Reviewing the work done by the Commission, she said there were three categories of rights; first, rights of freedom of the such as freedom of the Press and other propaganda methods, secondly, of equality, and lastly rights of security which included social rights.

SARIS IN LONDON

India's and Pakistan's prominence in British limelight since the achievement of independence combined with the present sartorial austerity has caused smart women to pay attention to the glamorous possibilities of sari which may grow into fashion.

Many London women are adapting forgotten lengths of colourful material disinterred from old chests and drawers for evening wear in sari style.

RECORDS OF INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

A Resolution recommending the compilation of a list of important records, published and unpublished, bearing upon the national struggle for freedom, and requesting the Government of India to make an initial grant of Rs. 25,000 to collect material for an authoritative history of the national struggle has been passed by the Indian Historical Records Commission, which concluded its three-day session at Jaipur on Feb. 23.

The Commission also resolved to request the India Government and the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Committee either to transfer all the original writings of Mahatma Gandhi and other relevant records to the National Archives of India for preservation or to associate the Director of Archives with such measures.

MSS OF PANDIT SWAMINATHA IYER

On the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar in the Presidency College, Madras, on March 6 it was announced that Srila Sri Ambalavana Pandarasannadhigal of the Tiruvavaduthurai Mutt had donated a sum of Rs. 5,000 towards the cost of publication of manuscripts in the Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminatha Aiyar Tamil Library at Adyar. Of this, a sum of Rs. 3,000 has been already handed over to Sri Lati Rukmini Devi for the purpose.

LOUIS FISCHER AS GANDHIJI'S BIOGRAPHER

Louis Fischer, U. S. columnist, has agreed to write for Harper Brothers a book, tentatively titled "The Life and Teachings of Gandhi."

To speed his work on the book, Fischer has cancelled most of this season's remaining lectures and agreed to make only 10 lectures the next season.

MR. BARRINGTON WARD OF THE TIMES

Mr. R. M. Barrington-Ward, Editor of the London *Times*, died at Dar Es Salaam, on Feb. 29 on board the ship Llangibby Castle on which he was making a health and rest cure trip to Kenya. Mr. Barrington Ward was on his way home when he died.

PORTRAIT OF THE LATE V. J. PATEL

A portrait of the late Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel, the first elected President of the Indian Legislature, was unveiled in the Dominion Parliament on March 8.

The portrait was presented to the House by Mr. Amirchand Bombwal of Peshawar.

Paying a tribute to the late President Patel, Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker, recalled the difficult and delicate conditions under which President Patel had come to occupy the Chair and said that although 14 years had rolled by, his name was remembered with love and respect for his sacrifice and courage as a sturdy fighter against British imperialism on the constitutional front and for his constructive genius and liberal social outlook in the field of Local Self-Government.

GANDHIJI'S RECORD

The only recording ever made of the voice of Mahatma Gandhi was released for sale on March 6 by the Columbia Gramophone Company. It is a spiritual message to the world and was recorded in English by Columbia when Mahatma Gandhi went to Britain in 1931. Mahatma Gandhi said: "The problem of India's freedom is transient but these (his recorded thoughts) are things that I have felt deeply. They are the essence of my own convictions."

PROF. K. V. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR

The Royal Society of Bengal, at its annual general meeting held at Calcutta honoured Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, the well-known historian of South India, by electing him a Fellow of the Society. This is a rare distinction because the rules of the Society stipulate that there shall not be more than 50 Fellows on its rolls. Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar is the only South Indian among the 40 Fellows.

THE LATE DR. MOONJE

Dr. B. S. Moonje, former President and General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and founder of the Shivaji Bhonsle Military School at Nasik expired at his residence, in Nasik on March 4 after a short illness. He was aged 76.

MEDICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION

The Medical Education Committee appointed by the Madras Medical and Public Health Conference held in 1947 has recommended that all entrants to the Medical Service should be debarred from private practice and that, making allowance for this bar, their scales of pay should be revised.

The Committee says that every officer, on selection to the general service, should be posted for training for a period ranging from three to five years at a primary medical centre, after which his tenure in other posts may normally be three years, frequent transfers being avoided.

NEW CURE FOR PLAGUE?

Five cases of plague in Madras Presidency, all moribund, have been treated successfully with streptomycin, reports the *Lancet*, the British medical journal. All the five patients recovered at a time when out of 152 cases in an outbreak, there had been 66 deaths. No untoward effects were observed and more cases could not be treated because the supply of the drug was exhausted. The new drug, it is suggested, may be a valuable weapon against the deadly disease.

X-RAY PLANT FOR MADRAS

The Executive Committee of the Madras Provincial Welfare Fund at its last meeting in Madras decided to sanction a sum of Rs. 98,000 for the purchase of 18 X-ray plants to be installed in various places in the Province. The meeting was held at the office of the Automobile Association of South India and was presided over by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.

GANDHI HOSPITAL FOR TIRUVADUTHURAI

In the name of Mahatma Gandhi a Hospital will be erected by the Tiruvaduthurai mutt authorities.

The hospital will be erected on the spot where Gandhiji's ashes brought by Sri Kumaraswami Thambiran of the said Mutt, was kept.

DR. MEHTA ON HEALTH SERVICES

Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Secretary to the Ministry of Health, and Director-General of Health Services, Government of India, emphasised the need for active support and participation of the people in carrying out health programmes.

Speaking at the All-India Exhibition at Calcutta on February 24, he said that health measures which had only or mainly the support of the Government were bound to fail. The public should help the Government by allowing themselves to be taxed.

Dr. Mehta said that the Centre was prepared to assist the Provinces in their various health schemes by grants on a 50:50 basis. He suggested a concentration of effort on rural medical relief through the establishment of hospitals or expansion of existing ones at Sub-Divisional Headquarters and of 250-bed hospitals in district towns. This should be supplemented by a travelling team of experts. Double shifts should be introduced in existing medical colleges to train a larger number of doctors. Preventive work should be expanded through the utilisation of non-medical personnel. Efforts should be made to make India self-sufficient in the production of drugs and other medical supplies.

MEN OF 175

Soviet doctors hope that experiments now being carried out will enable them to prolong the span of human life to upward of 120 years and, under perfect conditions, even up to 175 years.

One of the biggest steps forward in the fight against old age has been taken by Dr. M. Usurinov, who, working at the Laboratory of General Biology of the first Moscow Medical Institute last year, succeeded in isolating the "pigment of old age."

This pigment, a substance completely absent in the organisms of young children, he says, reduces the efficiency of nerve cells and often destroys them completely.

SEPARATE CURRENCY FOR PAKISTAN

Pakistan will have its own currency from April 1 and the Reserve Bank of India will cease to function as bankers for the Pakistan Government from the same date.

The original proposal was that the existing arrangement should continue until September 30, 1948. But now the Pakistan Government has expressed its desire to assume responsibility for its currency and banking arrangements even as from 1st April.

NATIONALISATION OF RESERVE BANK

In the Dominion Parliament Mr. Mohanlal Saxena asked whether, if the Reserve Bank were to be liquidated after Sept. 30, the shareholders under Section 57 (2) of the Reserve Bank Act would receive only Rs. 100 plus Rs. 13 (one rupee per year for 13 years), plus the accrued dividend.

The Finance Minister, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, replied that the question was hypothetical, and, in any case, it would not be possible to quote a definite figure when the exact date of liquidation was not known.

The Finance Minister explained that the Bank was not being put into "liquidation", but would be taken over as a going concern, and the dividends which were at present paid to the shareholders would accrue to the Government. The Government were aware that the opening rates on the Bombay and Calcutta Stock Exchanges were different.

Asked to which Stock Exchange the Government would refer to ascertaining the average price, the Finance Minister replied: "The Government will be guided by the Reserve Bank's advice."

RESTRICTIONS ON THE RUPEE

The Nizam's Government have issued fresh instructions to banks, drastically curtailing exchange facilities for Indian currency.

Hitherto local banks were freely exchanging Osmania Sica currency with Indian currency at the official rate of exchange. Local banks have not been exchanging more than Rs. 50 at a time to any one and that on giving a declaration in writing that the Indian currency obtained in exchange is being sent out by money order or for clearing a V. P. parcel.

SHARING RAILWAY SURPLUS

The Special Committee which went into the question of distribution of railway surplus, it is understood, has unanimously recommended that out of the surplus four and a half crores should be contributed to the general revenue while an equal amount should be taken to the Railway Reserve and any balance left should go to the Railway Betterment Fund.

The Committee consisted of Messrs. T. T. Krishnamachari, Vikram Sondhi and Dewan Chamanlal (Members of the Standing Finance Committee) and Messrs. Nasiruddin Ahmed, Lakshmikantha Maitra and Balakrishna Sarma (members of the Railway Standing Finance Committee) with Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker as Chairman.

RAILWAYMEN WHO OPTED FOR PAKISTAN

Of a total surplus of 11,000 Indian State Railway employees, who opted for Pakistan, 3,000 subordinate grade and 230 superior grade officers have been absorbed in the North-Western Railway while the remaining 8,000 are to be retrenched and face the prospect of either staying in Lahore and finding employment in other Government departments or going back to India, says a report in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore. Nearly 700 had already gone back, the General Manager of the Railway told pressmen in Lahore recently.

The surplus staff, it was stated, was costing the Government over Rs. 5 lakhs per month.

DRIVE AGAINST TICKETLESS TRAVEL

The N. W. Railway has renewed its drive against ticketless travel recently and checking parties accompanied by Magistrates checked the whole passenger train and detected about 200 persons travelling without tickets. Over 162 of these were sentenced to imprisonment in default of payment of fine, by the Magistrate who held his court in the running train. Over Rs. 8,000 were recovered by way of fare, penalty and fines.

GANDHI STATUE IN BOMBAY

The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Raj Pramukh of the Union of Kathiawar States, pledged himself along with the other princes of Kathiawar to the service of the people and to follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Jam Saheb, laid the foundation stone of a gigantic 79-foot statue of Mahatma Gandhi on the top of a 694-foot hill in Chandivili village, north of Bombay.

Chandivili, a suburban village 15 miles north of Bombay, is surrounded by a range of hills and a fairly thick-set jungle. In the centre of the range of hills, is a summit 694 feet high. On this summit will be erected a gigantic statue 79 feet high, which could be seen from any place within a radius of 15 miles.

The summit will be named Gandhi Shikhar and a pavement about 7,000 feet would be constructed around it.

RUKMINI DEVI ON DANCING

In the series of lectures on Bharata Natya delivered at the Rasika Ranjani Sabha, Mylapore, last month Srimathi Rukmini Devi said that even as there was a *dharma* for life, there was a *dharma* for *natya* as well. An artiste could be said to conform to *natya dharma* only if she was able to give expression to the sentiment of the subject she was representing rather than the subject itself. It was not the form but the spirit, which was of paramount importance, she added.

Srimathi Rukmini Devi also said that art was not merely something which was exhibited on the stage but it was also an expression of life.

NATIONAL ANTHEM FOR INDIA

Before finally deciding on a National Anthem for India, it was considered desirable to give trials to orchestral renderings. With this object in view such orchestral renderings had been prepared by experts of Tagore's "Jana Gana Mana", and a number of military bands had been asked to practise them said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the Indian Parliament.

GANDHIJI CHALLENGES PATAUDI

Recalling his last opportunity of meeting Gandhiji in person, the Nawab of Pataudi, writing in the *Statesman* describes how Gandhiji pulled his leg by challenging him to a cricket match!

During our talk, he writes, Gandhiji, wanting a change from discussions on general topics of the day, suddenly decided to pull my leg by telling me that he had made up his mind to challenge me at a single-wicket cricket match. Would I accept the challenge? I replied that I would on condition that when the match was over he would allow me to challenge him at politics. My proposal having been accepted I proceeded to tell him with a serious face that whereas I was certain he would beat me at cricket, I was equally certain I would beat him at politics. Gandhiji laughed like a happy child and thumping me affectionately on the back said: "*Nawab Sahib ap ne to abhi se mujhe bowled kerdia.*" (Nawab Sahib, you have bowled me out already.)

THE AUSTRALIAN TOUR

Lala Amarnath, the Indian cricket captain, discussing the tour with Andrew Palmer, Reuter's Correspondent said: "I am fully satisfied with what my team has done both on and off the field during this happy and most enjoyable tour. We never had any pretensions that we could beat Australia, who at present are the topmost cricketing nation in the world."

Amarnath concluded: "I see a bright future for Indian cricket and also feel sure India will give a much better account in international games in the near future."

INTERNATIONAL TABLE TENNIS FEDERATION

The number of countries affiliated to the International Table-Tennis Federation has been increased from 30 to 40, the newcomers being Greece, Italy, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico, Singapore, Malta, and Ceylon.

The Table-Tennis Section of the Soviet Physical Committee is considering an invitation to affiliate.

ATOMIC RESEARCH IN INDIA

The view that atomic energy held out inestimable potentialities for India, which had the richest deposits of raw materials for its manufacture and research, was expressed by Dr. Meghnad Saha, in a lecture on the "Atomic Age" at the All-Indian Exhibition Lecture Court Calcutta, on March 15. He stressed the need to encourage fundamental research in atomic energy and starting a National Atomic Energy Establishment under an Atomic Energy Commission.

While pointing out that atomic energy had inspired fear, Dr. Saha said that it had created hope also. "Here we have a source of power, easily available, unlimited in quantity, which if applied for peaceful ends, can make all parts of the world smiling gardens. It can free mankind from 'drudgery' and can create a high standard of life for everybody."

Dr. Saha continued: "At this juncture the discovery of a practical method of release of atomic energy brings new hope, because the method is extremely potent, and the source of energy is inexhaustible. One kilogram of uranium when completely fissioned, will give as much energy as we obtain by burning 3,000 tons of coal."

"Atomic energy, therefore, holds out great potentialities for India. The reserve of coal is estimated at 63,000 million tons, which is barely sufficient for a hundred years, when her industries reach American proportions. Water power has great possibilities in Northern India, but is limited in amount, and the major parts of Southern India have no coal and extremely limited water power."

RESEARCH IN MINERAL WEALTH

It is understood that the Government of India have decided to establish a Bureau of Mines for the purpose of research in Mineral Wealth. A recurring expenditure of about Rs. 3 lakhs has been sanctioned, it is understood, by the Standing Finance Committee.

U.S. FILMS FOR BRITAIN

Britain and Hollywood have ended their seven months' deadlock over the import of American films, Mr. Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, announced in the House of Commons on March 11. Mr. reported that an agreement had been reached with the Motion Picture Association of America providing the 75 per cent. *ad valorem* tax imposed on American films last August to save dollars will be withdrawn as soon as the necessary order can be made.

Normal import of American films will be resumed as soon as possible. The tax was imposed under Sir Stafford Cripps's "super-austerity" dollar-saving programme. The Americans replied with banning export of new films to Britain.

Under the new agreement 17 million dollars a year has been fixed for the remittance during the first two years of earnings in Britain from the showing of American films, Mr. Wilson said.

PLEA FOR CENTRAL FILM CENSORSHIP

The need for constituting a Central Censorship Organisation for the whole country to pass pictures was stressed by a deputation of the Indian film industry which waited on Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, at Bombay.

The deputationists submitted a memorandum to the Sardar explaining the difficulties and grievances of the film industry. They requested that the Government should assist the industry by giving it some relief from taxation.

U. S. FILM MARKET

The U. S. Department of Justice has asked the Supreme Court to order five large motion picture companies—producers, distributors and exhibitors—to dispose of their cinemas scattered throughout the country.

The Solicitor-General, Mr. Philip B. Perlman, said in a brief that this "was the only way in which the domestic film market can be opened to competition."

SPARE PARTS' MANUFACTURE

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, Industry and Supply Minister, replying to Mr. V. C. Kesava Rao in the Dominion Parliament, said that it was expected that in the next three years, a large number of motor spare parts would be manufactured in India on an organised basis. At present there was no organised production though a few items of motor vehicle spare parts, such as pistons, gaskets, piston rings, batteries, radiator hoses and diaphragms were manufactured.

Dr. Mookherjee said that the distribution of batteries was not controlled but it was believed they were now in short supply. The Government had taken active steps to increase the production of batteries in India.

NATIONALISATION OF TRANSPORT

The Government of Madras have decided to build bodies of buses required in connection with their scheme of nationalisation of bus transport, in a workshop of their own. This will be located in the old naval sheds at Chromepet, which Government acquired recently.

Government have decided on this venture, said Mr. R. P. Kapur, Secretary of the Road Traffic Board, who is in charge of the scheme of nationalisation, because the present arrangement with private companies for building the required bodies has not been a successful one.

PETROL RATIONING

The Transport Minister, Dr. John Matthai in a written reply to Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said that the question of the decontrol of petrol was reviewed recently. It was not possible at present to abolish petrol rationing in view of the present supply position, dollar scarcity, inland transportation capacity and, in the event of emergencies, the need for controlling distribution to desired ends. The position was constantly under review with a view to lifting the control as soon as conditions permit.

Aviation

DEVELOPMENT OF AVIATION IN INDIA

The Government of India propose to construct new civil aerodromes in 14 places, namely, Ajmer, Aligarh, Berhampur, Cuttack, Cuddalore, Dehra Dun, Hubli, Mangalore, Nellore, Ootacamund, Salem, Ratnagiri, Saugor and Surat.

At present, India has three big airports at Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi (Palam) maintained on international standards, seven major aerodromes at Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Lucknow, Madras, Nagpur, Patna and Vizagapatam 13 intermediate aerodromes and 22 minor aerodromes. Besides these, there are 26 aerodromes in the States which have acceded to the Dominion. There are also landing grounds at a large number of places but they are not being maintained upto normal standards.

Major construction works were in progress in the three international aerodromes, six major aerodromes, twenty intermediate aerodromes and three minor aerodromes. The works programme was to cover a period of five years.

BANGALORE-DELHI AIR SERVICE

The Government of Mysore has under consideration a proposal to run an air service between Bangalore and Delhi.

The scheme which is being examined and details of which are being worked out, contemplates daily to and fro service between the two places touching new stations *en route*. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory, Bangalore, of which Mysore is a partner and the proposal to establish a flying school in the State are points in favour of Mysore Government venturing on this new enterprise.

CEYLON-SINGAPORE AIR SERVICE

The Boac have introduced a new service across the Indian Ocean connecting Ceylon and Singapore, Lancastrian aircraft, converted to carry 13 passengers and mail and cargo are flying on the route and complete the 1,777 miles non-stop journey in eight hours.

Industry

DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

The Dominion Legislative Assembly on February 12 passed the Damodar Valley Corporation Bill.

The Bill provides for the setting up of the Damodar Valley Corporation designed on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States to supervise the fifty-five crore project to harmonise the waters of the river Damodar which flows through West Bengal and Bihar.

The Bill was originally initiated by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar when he was Labour Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council and the work was taken up by Mr. C. H. Bhabha when he became the Minister for Works, Mines and Power in the Interim Government.

The present Minister for Works, Mines and Power Mr. N. V. Gadgil pushed through the final stages of the Scheme which has now been approved by the Dominion Parliament.

The passage of the Bill is considered a land mark in the history of planning for the prosperity of free India. The multipurpose project will promote agricultural, Industrial, economic and public health developments in a large area in Bihar and West Bengal.

LAUNCHING OF S.S. JALA USHA

Launching the first India-built ocean-going steamer, S.S. *Jala Usha*, Pandit Nehru gave a categorical assurance that the India Government would offer every kind of assistance to the ship-building industry, though it be a private enterprise. Comparing the newly-launched ship to the ship of State, the India Government, he appealed for the maintenance of industrial peace.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN MATCH INDUSTRY

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, Minister for Industry and Supply, said in reply to Mr. Deshabandu Gupta that firms desirous of establishing industries were required to state what percentage of the capital proposed to be issued would be reserved for non-Indians. Disclosure of the other terms of agreement entered into with foreign industrialists was not insisted upon.

Agriculture

AGRICULTURAL FINANCE CORPN

The Working Committee of the All-India Kisan Congress, which met in Delhi under the presidentship of Prof. N. G. Ranga, in a resolution requested the Central Government to introduce a bill in the Constituent Assembly for establishing a National Agricultural Finance Corporation on the lines of the Industrial Finance Corporation Bill.

The Committee expressed gratification at the removal of controls on cloth and partial removal on foodgrains controls, and appealed to the peasants to produce more.

The Committee requested the Government to appoint a special All-India Marketing Board for gur to improve the quality staying power of gur and help sugarcane growers in the development of co-operative marketing and elimination of the present "uneconomic methods" of marketing.

TO INCREASE PADDY CULTIVATION

The cultivation of paddy, on floating platforms in rivers, lagoons and lakes in India generally, and Travancore State in particular, is suggested as a means to step up food production by Mr. K. J. Jacob President, Malabar Catholic Association.

The Governments of Madras, Cochin, Travancore and the Centre were urged to take up the scheme, and to entrust its implementation to a public corporation, constituted on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority in America. China and Japan had profitably adopted the scheme, he points out.

WORLD RECORD FOR MILK

The world's record for one year's milk yield has been beaten by a British cow. It is a pedigree Friesian heifer named Bridge Birch, owned by a Hampshire farmer. Till now the record has been held by a cow from the United States which, in 365 days, gave 41,943 lb. Bridge has given 41,952 lb. in 329 days. She has thus already created a fresh record, with 30 days still to run, and is still giving more than 150 lb. of milk a day. A regular ingredient of Bridge's diet has been half-a-gallon of British stout each day.

T. U. C. RESOLUTIONS

The Executive Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress which concluded its two-day session at Bombay on March 7 welcomed the "industrial truce" concluded at the Tripartite Conference of the representatives of Government, employers and labour at New Delhi in December last, but expressed deep concern that "no visible progress was made in giving concrete shape to the unanimous recommendations embodied in the resolution."

The committee was of the opinion that in order to evoke the enthusiastic co-operation of the workers in the drive of production and to develop among them a high sense of responsibility measures should be taken for the quick realisation of the workers' status as full partners in administration and control of industry.

The committee urged the Government to take immediate steps in providing houses for workers and establishing machinery for assuring speedy justice through conciliation, arbitration or adjudication, and for the effective association of labour with management through Works Committees and Production Committee.

INCREASED WAGES FOR TATA WORKERS

Results of the protracted discussion, going on for the last ten months between the management of Tatas and the Tata Workers' Union on the question of the revision of the wage structure were announced at a recent meeting of the workers at Bari Maidan by Mr. Michael John, President of the Workers' Union. As a result of the revision the majority of the workers will get payments either in the shape of increases in wages or a performance bonus. A substantial increase in dearness allowance has also been granted by the management.

Mr. John emphasised on the need for the wholehearted support of the workers to the Tata Workers' Union.

The revised wage structure has been printed in different languages and made available to the workers.

WHO IS THIS GODSE?

Mr. K. B. Bhagwat of Poona draws attention to the confusion that has arisen in respect of the name Godse. The Godse described in the last issue, he says, is erroneous.

"You have confused this individual with one Purashottam Bhaskar Bhare, of Nagpur. Godse has nothing to do with Nagpur. He was born at Sangli, a southern Mahratta State and was educated at Poona, where he did not progress beyond the Pre-Matric class. He started a tailoring shop at Poona and began to take part in Hindu Sabha and R.S.S. activities. At one time he was an organiser of the Hindu Maha Sabha. He was editor of an extremist anti-Congress daily Agranī or Hindu Rashtra at Poona. He was never secretary of Savarkar; but N.D. Apte, who has also been arrested in connection with the assassination was the secretary of Savarkar and he was very intimate with Godse. To his friends he was known as Panditji and some of his English articles have appeared in the Mahratta of Poona."

GANDHI MEMORIAL AT RAJ GHAT

An artistically-designed pillar in the centre of a beautifully laid out garden covering 90 acres of land at Raj Ghat has been planned by the Government of India in memory of Gandhiji.

The U.P.I. learns that, according to the Works Ministry's plan, there will be an inner garden covering an area of nine acres in the bigger one of ninety acres and in the centre of the inner garden there will be a platform of the area of one acre artistically done. In the centre of the platform will be erected a pillar and for its design, artists throughout India will be invited to contribute their ideas and the final selection will be made with the help of the eminent artist, Nandalal Bose.

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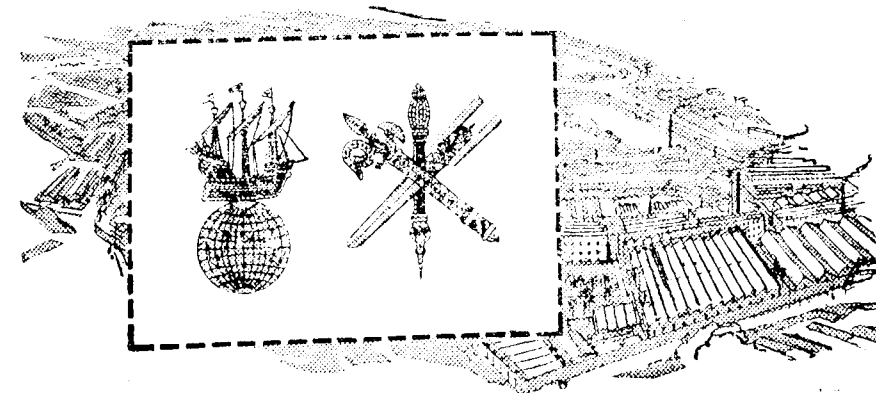
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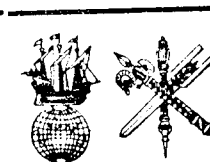


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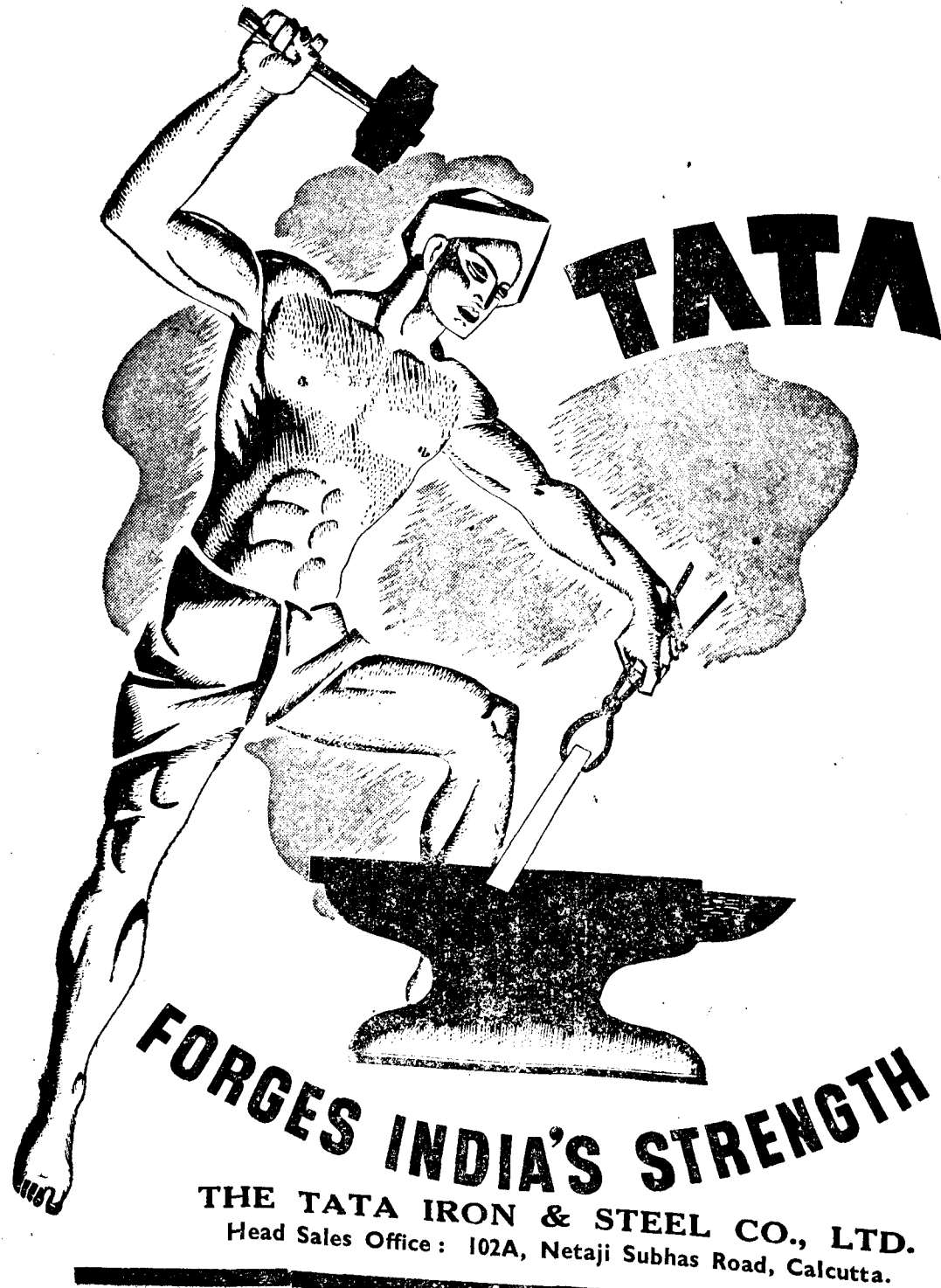
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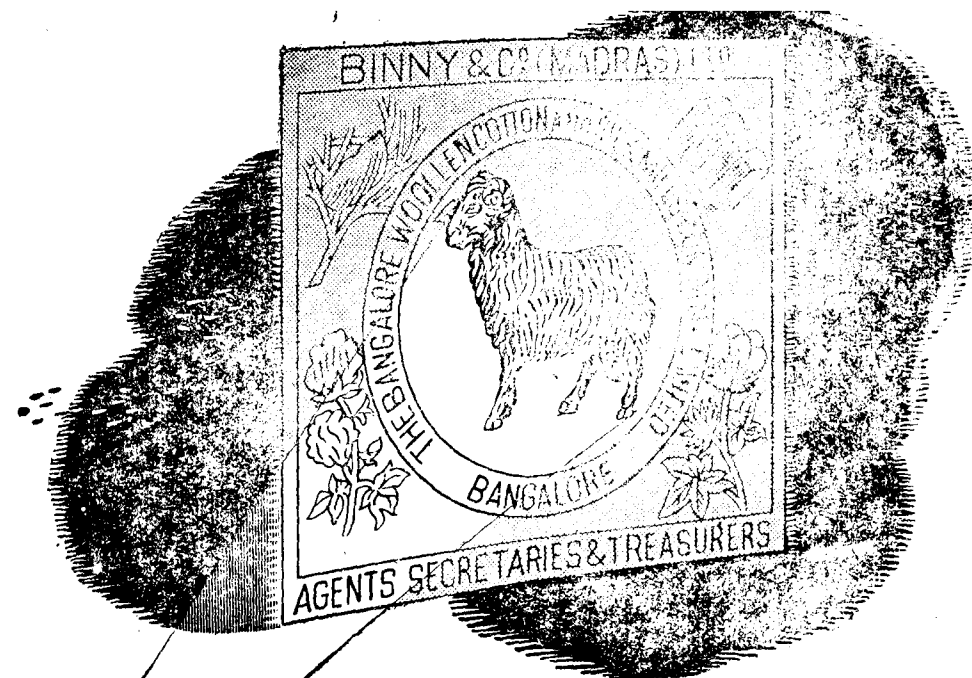
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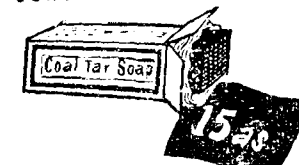
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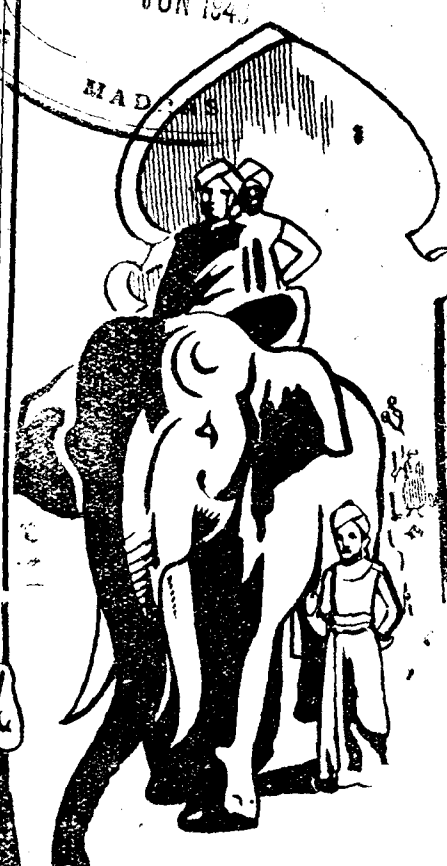
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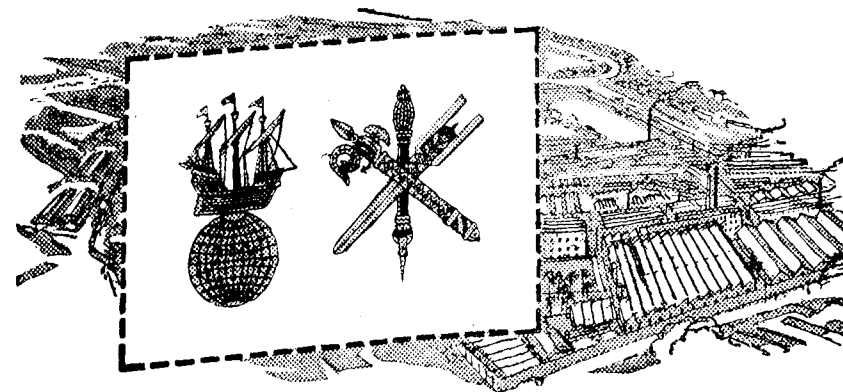
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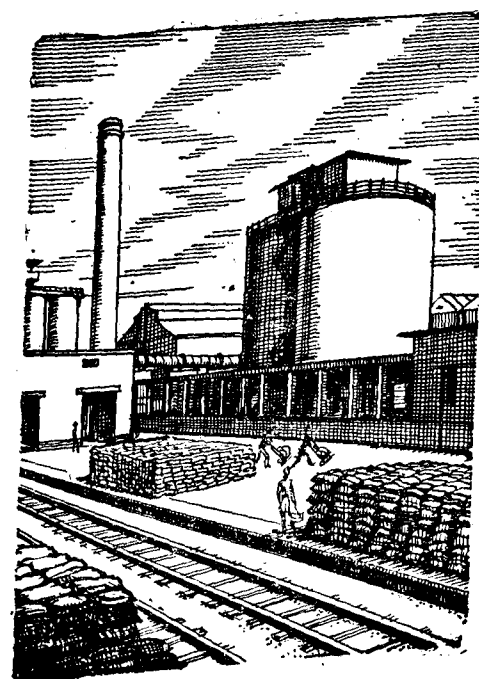
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BY MR. S. K. GEORGE

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THERE is an attitude of mind, all too prevalent among a certain section of enlightened minds in India today, which regards all Religion as outmoded and Science as having taken its place in the allegiance of the modern man. This position will, of course, be generally granted if by religion is meant, as it is held to mean, dogmatic religion, wedded to exploded cosmogonies and waging a losing battle with advancing knowledge in the liberation of mankind from irrational taboos. Such dogmatic religion even, however, is not dying an easy death. It is still making an appeal to the modern mind, clothing itself in modern philosophies and speaking its own sophisticated jargon. Witness, *e.g.*, the revival of an exclusive Christian orthodoxy in Europe and America with such eminent intellectuals as Karl Barth and Reinold Neibhur as its exponents. But such recrudescences can be regarded as the refuges that the frightened Western mind seeks for itself amidst the tumblings of the very foundations of Western culture under the shattering impacts of two world wars. Dogmatic religion can rightly be regarded as doomed, along with its geocentric universe and its anthropomorphic deities.

But the mistake that those who would write off Religion from any share in the shape of things to come is that of identifying all religion with dogmatic religion. They certainly do less than justice to the great religious teachers of the world when they characterize them and their teachings as "the inspired outpourings of hysterical prophets". A Buddha who expressly asked his followers not to accept anything on authority however sacrosanct, a Socrates, who bade men follow the argument wherever it led and a Jesus, who stood as a witness to the Truth that shall make men free, to give only three out-standing examples, were not demented hysterics nor were their utterances inspired non-sense. Rather were they the sanest of men; and the world today can only save itself out of the gaping horror of a scientifically prepared hell by recapturing something of their insight and fashioning itself accordingly.

The reason why even our intellectual leaders join the so-called rationalists of the West in decrying religion is that they too are obsessed by the conflict in the West between Science and Religion, or rather between Science and the Church. A creed-

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bound church, highly organised and with far-flung vested interests, fought a persistent though a losing battle against advancing knowledge. Though worsted in that fight it still gnarls and grunts and the Western advocates of Science still find delight in flogging the fallen monster, which yet wags its tail as noted earlier. But Religion in India never set itself against Reason and Science. In fact it claimed to be itself a science, the highest science, demanding that reverential faith, which the modern votaries of Science naively admit even Science will have to demand of those who would enter its holiest portals. The intuitions of Indian spirituality were never presented as contrary to, though they often went beyond, reason. There is nothing in the highest Indian religious teaching that demands the surrender of human reason or anything that tells the human mind "thus far and no further". It recognises no priesthood except that of the initiates, who can open the gates of the higher consciousness to those who would submit to the discipline needed for entrance therinto. A significant thing in recent times has been the way in which many enlightened minds in the West, like Gerald Heard and Aldous Huxley, the latter a one-time "Jesting Pilate" concerning all ultimate

truth, have come to recognize this scientific approach to religion, this Religion which itself is Science, Science conscious of its purpose and significance. It is therefore sad to see enlightened Indian minds echoing the XIX century Western cry for the head of Religion on a platter.

Of course this scientific religion, this Religion which is Science, will have to vindicate itself and establish its sway in the modern world. And the worst enemy it will have to fight is dogmatic religion; and the only thing that can oust dogmatic religion from its strongholds in the underground cellars of the human mind is the undogmatic Religion of the Spirit, which has the same attitude of open-minded certainty as modern Science. Further this Religion of the Spirit has got to find an ally in modern science in achieving that universal Dharma of equity and harmony it visualises and which is the very condition of human survival at the present time. Religion, as bringing to a point and giving a purpose to the revelations of Science, and Science, as the handmaid of Religion, serving the ends of the Good Life for all, that is the consummation devoutly to be wished for, and not a continued challenge of the claims of the one by the other.

GANDHI, RUSKIN AND TOLSTOY

BY MR. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE triad can be considered to constitute a group of faddists, if not prophets. Each of them was in a way, a rebel against society. Each of them rode a hobby of his own. Each of them gathered about him a group of admirers who shared his

ideals and ways of life. Each of them spent a part of his fortunes on schemes for the salvation of mankind. They varied in the actual measure of their achievements, though a common touch of beneficence allies them together. A few anecdotes from

their career may not be without some interest today.

What makes me think of Ruskin and Tolstoy alongside of Gandhi today, is Gandhiji's own confession of their influence on his life and outlook. Ruskin and Tolstoy were elder prophets who had delivered their messages before Gandhiji began his active career. What is surprising is that decades later, the messages should have inspired an Indian and borne their first fruits in the South African soil. Miracles are sometimes wrought by the merest of accidents.

Gandhiji had started his *Indian Opinion*. Mr. West was assisting him in its office, at Natal. Gandhi was then at Johannesburg. An anxious letter called him to Natal. Mr. Polak who had by then joined Gandhiji in South Africa, entrained him to Natal, and left with him a copy of Ruskin's "Unto the Last," to break the tedium of the railway journey. He opened the book, he was fascinated. It made him restless. Many of us have felt its literary charms but laid it aside as containing crude and quixotic political economy. But Gandhiji's insight drew from it three fundamentals; the good of the individual is merged in the larger good of society; the barrister and the barber are alike in their avocation and their status; the best of wages is that of manual labour. On return from Natal, first 20 acres of land and next 80, were purchased a few miles off Durban. In a trice the land hummed into a colony with a chosen but devoted band of workers, Polak included. The famous Phoenix colony was inaugurated and the office of the

Indian opinion was shifted thereto. Members of the staff were paid alike, irrespective of the work they turned; each of the inmates shared a bit of land and did his manual labour. Conventions were laid aside; a common kitchen was maintained; Men, women, children, had each a share of domestic service. There was but one large family without caste, colour or creed—a new pattern of life was set up, with far-reaching effects. The training therein sent out a batch of servants for ameliorative social service. The idea of Ruskin was rendered dynamic at the hands of Gandhiji.

But see how Ruskin himself worked out his ideas. He was scared by the mechanisms and mechanical civilization of the age. He felt with Emerson, that man built himself a coach and lost the use of his legs, invented a Geneva watch and lost the faculty of telling time by the stars, that man was being increasingly made dependant upon mechanism for the barest of his wants.* Man's real independence was being undermined. He ceased to be self-reliant. There was consequent demoralisation and false gods came into worship. The hub of city life jarred on Ruskin's nerves and choked him. Far from the madding crowd, he built what he called the St. George's Guild, and hearkened men to the raptures of a simple pastoral life. He sank his fortunes therein. The upshot of it all was nothing. The attempt might have been valuable as

* "The civilized man has built a coach, but has lost the use of his feet. . . . He has a fine Geneva watch, but he fails of the skill to tell the hour by the sun. A Greenwich nautical almanac he has, and so being sure of the information when he wants it, the man in the street does not know a star in the sky. . . . and the whole bright calendar of the year is without a dial in his mind."—On Self-reliance.

a protest against the false values of mechanism. It did not transform life, in and around him. The institution served more as a retreat and an escape. There was nothing constructive about it. He remained a faddist.

Observe the contrast between the St. George's Guild and the Phoenix Colony.

The establishment of a Tolstoy farm in Transvaal, is evidence of the influence of the Russian prophet on Gandhiji. Both of them limned a canvas, wide and large. Both of them concerned themselves with the secular and spiritual interests of man. Both of them transcended narrow national interests and opened the eyes of men to everwidening and distant horizons. Both of them subjected the fundamental, primary emotions of man to a searching analysis. Man's hopes and fears were similarly examined and the basic truths that ought to weld the different races and nations into a common Humanity for the welfare of all, were sought and preached with unflinching fervour. With all this similarity in aim and endeavour, they are studies in contrast. A detailed assessment on this head can not be attempted now. Only one marked feature thereof is sought to be noted here.

Vanity has been a besetting sin with many a celebrity. With Tolstoy it has almost been an obsession. One critic of his observes that he wrote with two minds; one he applied to his literary production and with the other he anticipated the verdict and the approbation which the morrow would bring. It is further reported that if he was not noticed in the

papers for three or four days together, he would be thrown into a distemper; that his friends and associates and domestic servants would have a bad time of it. This weakness seems to have pursued him to his last days. When he fled out of his house for the last time to meet an unexpected end, he is alleged to have taken with him his secretary who Boswell-like recorded every word that fell from his master's lips. This vanity, though a common failing with great minds, affects their sincerities and loyalties to higher values of life and accounts for the disparities between their preachings and their practical life.

Tolstoy was a born aristocrat and much of his early life was dissolute. He was an artist first and then turned a moralist. But neither his art nor his morality transformed his character, till late in life. Even then his simple outward life was but a show designed to draw a glory about him. The pride of Diogenes, said Plato, is peeping through the holes of his cloak. True, that Tolstoy donned the robes of a rustic and went about sawing wood and making stoves for a daily wage; but he turned home in the evening to the delicacies of a rich table which the diligence of the Countess had provided for him. "He repudiated luxury and yet had to live surrounded by it; he surrendered his personal belongings but continued to enjoy them; he renounced his family, but went on living with them; he refused to recognise the pomps and vanities of the world, and every year he was drawn nearer to them." Thus wrote his contemporary and critic, the late Dr. E. J. Dillon, and each of these allegations is

corroborated by the merciless but pitiful entries in the diary of the Countess Sophia Andreyavna.

An anecdote related by the Count himself forcefully illustrates this contrast. One day he was returning home from a long walk. On his way he met two old men dressed in an unfamiliar garb and hopping with sticks in their hands. They were village-rustics, who had been charmed by his stories and fascinated by reports of his simple and sympathetic life, and desired to meet him and pay him their respects. They caught him up and inquired if he could lead them to the legendary man. Without disclosing his identity, he had his fill of vanity from their opinions of him. They were brought near his residence. They saw the park, the pond and the green house and the castle. At that time a carriage and pair brought his numerous children and guests from the bathing. The Count had to disclose himself. The gong rang for the dinner. When invited to it the rustics refused. Nothing could persuade them to enter the castle. Asked the reason 'why', they said: "Because you are not as we thought. Things are bad enough with you. You do not live the simple life as we imagined and because of that you cannot tell us what we want to know." They retraced their steps.

Tolstoy's doctrines of universal brotherhood and non-resistance to evil and the joys of a simple life gathered many admirers for him. They sold their possessions and sought village farms. Many Tolstoy Colonies came into existence. Huts were erected and people slept on planks covered with straw; their

garments consisted of variegated coloured shirts, trousers and shoes, all made by themselves. Their morning meal consisted of weak coffee without sugar and dry bread. They abjured meat and took to vegetables. Each Colony had some cows and sheep. Lands were ploughed and harvested. Other necessities were obtained by a system of barter. Travel by rail was avoided.

Dillon remarks that the inmates felt that they were serving a penal servitude. Nobody remained in the Colony for more than two years and their place was filled by others who likewise gave up after a short time. A deserter is reported to have observed: "Evil we certainly did not do, but neither did we do good to any one. I got no benefit out of the experiment although I worked like a wolf." There was a reaction and a protest and a counter propaganda that Tolstoy was misleading the youth of the country. Here again you find the absence of a constructive programme linking an ideal to the needs of practical life. The Tolstoyan Colony was no better than the St. George's Guild and Tolstoy stops with being a mere faddist. The dynamism of the Mahatma is missing. Tolstoy conceived an idea but did not live it. His early life knew no discipline or perseverance—in a word, he made no experiment with Truth as he conceived it. There was no true renunciation. He was too much in love with himself to sacrifice himself for humanity. Intellectually less brilliant but in love of humanity, far surpassing him, the Mahatma has led the world to far greater and more effective achievements by his spiritual dynamism.

PUBLIC SERVANTS AND THE PUBLIC

BY DR. PREM NATH, M.A., Ph.D.

THERE has remained a terrific conflict between the public and the Government servants under the aegis of the British rule in India. And now that we are coming into our own this conflict is more intensified than ever before. There is a surging enthusiasm almost unchecked in the mass mind and particularly in the minds of all those who wield political power directly or indirectly to crush the old bureaucratic traditions of the services; and so far as some measure of success has been achieved it is a very welcome gift of freedom.

POSITION OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

The term 'Public Servants' would be more meaningful in its connotation in preference to either officers or Government Servants. Now, every public servant holds the public trust, is responsible for the discharge of his duties and is answerable to the public through its Government for all omissions and commissions. It is necessary therefore that such an institution of the state should be very sound in its structure and spirit for we should know better than others what incalculable harm it is capable of doing otherwise. What are the necessary conditions for that?

FAIRNESS OR FAVOURITISM

Obviously the first condition is that selection of public servants, whether made by an individual or a group of individuals, must be fair and free from prejudices. It follows therefore that the selecting authority must itself be trained, experienced and competent. One or more basis of selection should hold good for all. It must be remembered in this connection that more than anything else favouritism in

services damages the social good and gives rise to a chain of evils. Should this be understood and practised by all those who are charged with the responsibility of making selections, it will give a new life to the services and will be partly responsible for promoting the general welfare.

TRAINING

The second condition is sound training and it has two sides. One refers to technical training which is peculiar to the nature of a particular job or a profession. Our experience in this connection may not comparatively be very sad, but a good deal remains to be done to improve the skill. The other refers to a sort of social training which enables an individual to grasp the social implications of his job more than he could do without it. It follows therefore, that training centres for imparting necessary instructions in the background of social sciences should be started in as many centres as possible and no university education should be thought to be complete unless it covers a good part of social training. Thus it will not only be helpful for the trainees to grasp the social and moral implications bearing on their professions but also train them to develop a habit of spontaneous behaviour of high level social sympathy and service. It is a good sign that the Government of India have already started making a move in this direction. That is for the new entrants to services.

Those who are already in service should not be exempted from this training for most of them, confirmed in

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their old habits, might need more of shaking by way of such training. Competent persons should, therefore, be deputed to give instructions to the personnel of each department. This holds good also for people in the field of politics in general and ministerial posts in particular.

RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC

Since public servants are fed by the public purse and are pledged to their service, it must be conceded that the public has every right to recall those servants who fall below a set standard and no Government would be doing justice to its people if their wishes were not respected in this matter. For all round efficiency and justice it is highly imperative that corruption in any form amongst the public servants should be dealt with by strong and unsparring hand and the fullest measure of punishment be given to defaulters. It must be remembered that power whether concentrated in an individual or a group of them has a tendency to corrupt an individual or a group and while the public servants will do well to realise this aspect and profit by it the public will be justified in re-assuring and asserting itself if necessary in case things are not going the way they should. So far so good.

DUTY OF THE PUBLIC

In any democratic state the public surrenders its right of administration to public servants in the interest of efficiency of work and consequent social welfare. Ethics demands that unless a public servant is found to be inefficient or dishonest in the wide scope of the term, he should not be interfered with in the discharge of his duties. It was this that was

in the mind of an English Jurist as far back as the 18th Century when he pleaded that public servants should be allowed to be in a position to do justice. And that is possible if they are free from the influence of political parties and their supporters. And only in that condition does the age-long institution of public service justify its existence true to the ideals of Democracy.

In the absence of proper education and training in democratic ideas and practices the above mentioned considerations are likely to be ignored wildly; and already the morale of services in India on account of unjust and anti-social interference from various quarters has gone down considerably and it is feared that if this trend is not checked in time the results will be disastrous. This needs no more dilating upon. Instances can be readily cited with proofs when public servants have been almost coerced to bow to the unreasonable dictates of one or the other person connected with one or the other political party at the point of dire consequences. Such a dangerous practice is bound to lead to more corruption than the best of our leaders are out to check. It is necessary, therefore, that steps should be taken to eradicate this evil and for that a few suggestions are laid down.

To form societies with the names of 'Anti-Corruption Societies' and the like in each city is to fall below the mark in so far as the functions of such societies go. In practice such societies do little good as compared to the enormous harm they do. From the very start the members of such societies assume an attitude of antagonism to

all public servants. It would be in the fitness of things if such societies are named as something like 'Co-operation of the Services Societies'; and the members of the societies take more effective part in eliminating corruption on one side and co-operating actively in the way the co-operation should be given to the public servants, on the other. Members of the society in each town should be drawn from responsible persons from various sections of the people and it should not be necessary that all persons should belong to political parties. In fact, it would be more helpful to have as president of the society preferably one who is a non-political person and is known for his education, experience and integrity of character. Besides its advantage on a small scale, it will prove of immense help in wider political life in so far as minorities and individuals belonging to no political parties will have due share in guiding the administration with their experience.

Now, if there is any charge against the public servant which is beyond the department to reckon with speedily and completely, such a society can investigate the matter more efficiently and quickly and a high ranking officer of a department, to which an official belongs, can join this to make sure about its deliberations and findings. But it must be conceded that the right of a public servant to be heard before any serious action is taken against him is a sound principle established by experience in all democratic countries and should be

respected much more in India. Anything short of it will mean not as much harm to an individual public servant as to the whole tone of administration and result consequently in the damage of social good.

Another suggestion is that the Ministers of the Government by nature of their being party men or women should withdraw their hands from making any appointments to the services; for so long as the Ministers continue to do it persons of right qualifications and experience would never find their way to the services. The reason is simple enough. The Ministers, on account of their party affiliations, find themselves in helpless positions and have to make certain appointments not by conviction but by persuasion or even fear. Some of the best meaning ministers have at times to 'bow low to the blast' as it were. I should think, therefore, that Ministers would be giving proof of their honesty and spirit of high level social service if they voluntarily surrender their present privilege of making appointments to 'public service commissions' or high ranking public servants of integrity. However, the Ministers shall keep all check on the way the appointments are made and see that justice rules free.

The sooner a regular code of public services is set up in keeping with the ideals of just Government, the better it would be for all. It is hoped that the Government of India and Provincial Governments would give their best attention to this.

The Governor in the New Constitution

BY PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.

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WE have had an experience of more than ten years in working the provincial constitution on a 'responsible' basis. In the light of that experience, I want to examine the provisions of the 'Draft Constitution of India', recently presented to the Constituent Assembly by the Drafting Committee. In this particular article I am confining myself only to a single, though the most important, institution, namely the Governor of a Province, a 'State' as they have renamed the old provinces.

It may be recalled that the Governor in the old constitution was appointed by H.M. and was responsible to H.M. and he was the Executive head of the provincial government. He had to appoint the provincial Ministers, and dismiss them in his discretion. He had 'special responsibilities' and he could act in his 'individual judgment' in these matters. Thus this nominated Governor of a Province had to carry on the work on the "advice" of his Ministers in some cases, and in his individual judgment and discretion in some others. He had also the powers of issuing 'Ordinances' and of assuming complete power over the administration of the Province under Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act.

The following are the main provisions of the proposed constitution for an Indian province (to be called a 'State') regarding the Executive head:—(the figures in brackets indicate the corresponding Articles in the new 'Draft Constitution of India')

- i. The Executive head of each province (State) will be called a Governor (Act 129).
- ii. He shall be elected by direct vote of adult persons of a province, or, as an alternative, he will be appointed by the President from a panel of four persons, elected by provincial legislature by a system of proportional representation by a single transferable vote (131).
- iii. He need not belong to the province (134).
- iv. He will hold office for a period of five years, if eligible for re-election or reappointment once, but only once (133). He can be removed only by impeachment and only on a charge of violation of the co.

v. All executive action of the Government of a province will be expressed as acts of the Governor, according to rules to be framed by the Governor himself (146).

vi. The Governor will be 'aided and advised' by a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister as the head. (143).

vii. He has no veto powers. In provinces where there are two Houses of Legislature, he has to declare either that he gives assent or withholds assent, but in the case of a province having a single House, he can refer back a bill once passed to the Assembly with his recommendations, but if the Assembly once again passed the same, he has to give his assent (Act. 175). (In this Section, the Governor seems to have power to withhold a bill of a province having two Houses, which was not the intention of the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly that framed a 'Model Constitution' for the provinces. (This Section requires retouching).

viii. The Governor has no special responsibilities, but has some emergency powers that correspond to Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. In an 'emergency', he can assume to himself certain powers of Government under a proclamation, but the proclamation shall forthwith be communicated by the Governor to the President of the Indian Union. The proclamation shall have only two weeks' life, unless revoked earlier by the Governor or President, or extended by the Central Parliament (188 and 278).

ix. In choosing his Ministers and in his relations with them, the Governor shall be guided by instructions, set in a separate schedule Art 144. Clause 4.) (This Instrument is just like the Instrument of Instructions but this enjoins on the Governor only the method of choosing the Chief Minister and ensuring collective responsibility. In the case of the Centre, Art. 62 deals specifically with the mode of the appointment of the Prime Minister and the collective responsibility of the whole cabinet to the Lower House; there is nothing like an Instrument. Why such a specific provision in the constitution itself is not made for the provinces also is not explained by the Drafting Committee.)

x. The salary and other emoluments of the Governor will be determined by the Legislature of the Province (144. 157).

These are the main provisions. The most noteworthy features that the Governor will be an Indian citizen, that he will be a 'constitutional head', having no special responsibilities (that gave so much discretion to the Governor in the Act of 1935), and enjoined to act only on the advice of the ministry except in a few cases, and especially in an 'emergency'.

Before I enter into a discussion of the main provisions, I want to explain the angle from which I propose to examine these provisions. The Act of 1935 gave us partial independence or 'autonomy' and should be viewed from one angle—to what extent it really gave 'responsible government' and to what extent the provisions of the Act were conducive to the establishment of 'responsible government' in its working. The angle of examining the provisions of the new Draft Constitution should be different. We have independence—that is an established fact. We should therefore examine the new provisions from another angle—to what extent the provisions of the Constitution are conducive to good Government, in the sense of a stable and democratic Government. After all, students of constitutions might say, the degree of excellence depends not on the legal provisions of the Act but on the actual working; but it has to be admitted that to a great extent, the working itself depends on the provisions of the Constitution. We want to establish a democratic government in the Province with an executive really responsible to the Legislature popularly elected on adult franchise. The Governor will only be a 'Constitutional head' like the English King. Now let us examine if the Constitution suggested by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly is likely to result in practice in an Executive responsible to the Legislature, with the Governor as the *nominal* head.

Now will the Governor remain only as a 'Constitutional head'? The intention of the Constitution may be so, but will he be in practice? The reader will recall that in England we have the system of 'Cabinet' or Parliamentary type of Executive and the King is only the nominal Executive head. In America (U.S.A.) the President is the real as well as the nominal head of the Executive—in the States of the U.S.A. he is called the Governor—and he is (and also the Governors,) elected by the people. Now our Constituent Assembly, which was compelled to rush through a lot of

constitution-making, has tried to combine the two systems and evolve a synthesis of the two to our advantage. In France we have a 'Parliamentary' type of Executive, but the Executive head of France is called the President elected by the National Assembly. He has no powers—he is only a 'constitutional President.' Now if the question is asked—who is the real Executive of the State or Country—the answer is very simple. He is the Prime Minister in England, the President in the U.S.A., the Governor in the States of the U.S.A., and the Chief Minister in France. If we ask the same question in the case of the Provinces in India, can we give the name of the Prime Minister of the Province and still be certain about it?

Now the question is, will the Governor allow himself, if he is popularly elected, to be a mere Constitutional head? In England the King and in France the President allow that. But in India there will be this difference namely that the Governor is *elected*. In England by long practice and convention, the King knows his position that he is only a figure-head and that democracy means 'popularly elected' Executive running the administration as the real executive whatever may be the name given to it. In case of dispute between the King and the Prime Minister of England, the latter can easily say that he is the representative of the people and he can go back to the people for re-election. The King cannot say that—he cannot appeal to the people against his Prime Minister and get a verdict from them. This convention is now firmly established after the incident of the abdication of Edward the Eighth. It was then suggested that the King should appeal to the people against the 'advice' of the then Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, on the question of the King marrying the then Mrs. Simpson. Though the issue then would have been only whether the King had or had not the right to marry the woman of his choice, it was feared that the controversy would degenerate into one between the King *Vs.*

the Parliament and therefore the attempt was dropped. In France the matter is very simple; while the King is 'nominal' only by convention, the President in France is 'nominal' by Law also. He is not elected by the people and no decree of his is valid unless signed by the Minister concerned. The constitution gives him not many special powers and even those given he scarcely uses. (For instance, he has the power to dissolve the Parliament and order fresh elections, but he has used it only once so far, because when he used it for the first time there was such an unfavourable public reaction that no President now thinks of doing it again.) Even if there is a dispute between the President and the Chief Minister, the former cannot claim to have popular backing behind him. In the U.S.A., such a question does not arise at all, as the President is the real executive (The Governor in the States) as well as the nominal one and the 'Cabinet' in the U.S.A. is the President's nominee (with the approval of the Senate) and is responsible to him; it is more or less a team of technical experts to advise and assist him in his executive work.

Suppose in an Indian Province, there is a dispute between the Governor and his Ministers, whose will is to prevail for the moment and in the long run? Now one may say that there cannot be a dispute between a popular Ministry and the *Constitutional* Governor. This assumption is wrong for two reasons. In the first place the Governor also is *popular* having been elected by the province. Nay, he may even tell the Premier that he represents the majority of the electorate as a whole, while the Premier represents only a constituency, though his party commands a majority in the legislature. So our Governor has an advantage—or is it a disadvantage?—over the King in England and the President in France that he has the backing of the people of the province. In the second place the constitution by giving him the power to withhold or refer a Bill back to the legislature in

certain cases (S.175) and to declare an "Emergency" in certain others (S. 188), implies that there is a possibility of a dispute. This is strengthened by the fact that the Governor will have to be *elected*. Let us see.

One of the main reasons we are told, why there is a provision for the election of the Governor, is that he should be above party politics. If he is nominated by the Union President or elected by the Legislature, he would naturally be a man belonging to some party or the other now in power and thus he would be a tool in the hands of the Ministry. Now if a Governor will have to be popularly elected, does it mean that he will be above party politics? On the other hand, it makes him necessarily belong to some party or the other. After all, when rival candidates appeal to the electorate for votes, they cannot say merely "I will do nothing. I will be a Constitutional head. Please vote for me". They will have to say some thing and hence a programme has to be submitted to the electorate. In their anxiety to capture the imagination of the people, these candidates will necessarily approach the electorate with the party programmes of the rival parties. As a matter of fact, the contending parties for power in the legislature in practice would set up their own candidates for posts on their own party-programmes.

So the constitutional provision is such that in practice the Governor will belong to some party or the other; either he will belong to the party in power or to the opposite party. Now if he belongs to the same party, he is superfluous as he has the same programme as the Ministry, and if he belongs to the opposition, he is a constitutional nuisance as he will be usurping the powers of the popular Ministry by his constant 'advice' and interference. So if the idea is to bring the best man to the Governorship and make him the 'Constitutional head', the best way is to make the Legislature elect him with three-fourths majority as in France. It is futile

to expect the best man in the country to undergo all the ordeal of a province-wide popular election and then to allow himself to remain only a figure-head, specially when he knows that the majority of the people of the province is behind him.

Nor does the Model Constitution expect him to be always a 'Constitutional head'. In an emergency he has "to act" and then to report to the Union President. Now again it is futile to expect a man to remain a puppet willingly for a long time and then suddenly assert himself in an 'Emergency.' Then who is to judge whether there was an 'Emergency' or not? Is it the Governor? Yes; but he has to get the approval of the Union President who by implication is to sit in judgment on the Governor in his exercise of this extra-ordinary provision. This safeguard which looks innocent is against the canons of both democracy and federation and is positively harmful in its possibilities. We will discuss this later on.

So even the Constitution itself does not expect him to be a mere 'Constitutional head'. He cannot also be one from any other point of view. He is elected and on a programme and so he too is answerable to the people as any party in power for all acts of the Government of which he is the head. Suppose he is thinking of re-election. Naturally he would be anxious to watch the mood of the electorate and whatever he does will be influenced by this desire. Suppose as I said above, the Governor belongs to one party and the Prime Minister to another party. Such possibilities cannot be discounted in the working of a democracy. In the U.S.A. it has happened a number of times that the President belongs to a party which has no majority in the Senate (the upper House in America and it has more power). Suppose the Prime Minister brings forward a matter which is opposed to the election programme of the Governor. What will he do? We can have the spectacle of the Governor and Prime Minister standing on opposite platforms each preaching the merits

of his own scheme; and especially if the elections are nearing such differences will increase and each will be playing for time. The Emergency Powers of the Governor may be misused in such times. The Governor might dismiss a Ministry and appeal to the President of the Union. This President might belong to this own party and might connive at it.

But one might ask what the Governor can do when the Legislature is behind the Ministry. This is all right as it goes. In the struggle for power and democracy in England, the people ultimately won because England has always a two-party political structure and because the struggle was always between the people and the King. In India, there is no king and there is no two-party structure. As far as anybody can visualise, the Congress is not likely to continue to have such solidarity in future as it has now and a broken Congress will give rise to many parties. In all possibility, in the future provinces no party might be able to command an absolute majority in the House of Legislature. In such cases a clever Governor with the knowledge of popular backing will try to influence the Ministry of the day too much, and ample scope is provided to the Governor for free play of this mischief. He can do and undo Ministries and influence them to a great extent. In this respect the 'Emergency Powers' will come to his rescue very easily.

As an alternative to the provision of a popularly elected Governor which creates such a dual leadership in the province, the Drafting Committee have suggested the appointment of the Governor by the Union President from out of a panel of four elected by the provincial legislature. Now let us see how the situation is improved by this alternative. In the first place, it is undesirable and positively dangerous to introduce the President into provincial politics, about which I will discuss later on. In the second place, if the legislature at all should have a say in the matter, why not allow it straight away

to elect its Governor? That would at least give a Governor acceptable to the majority in the legislature. Otherwise, if four are elected, can the President on any reasonable grounds reject the man who has got the maximum votes, i.e., the man recommended by the majority; and what happens if the legislature refuses to submit a panel of four and gives only one name? Such a situation arose twice in Madras during our memory, once when the Madras Congress Legislature Party refused to submit a panel of three names for leadership to the Congress President, and, before that, when the Madras Senate failed to submit three names to the Governor for the post of the Vice-Chancellor, as required by the regulations.

Even if they submit a panel of four names, if the President appoints the man getting a majority of votes, it amounts to the legislature choosing the Governor, and if the President chooses another man getting less number of votes—he must consider many times before doing so—he will in that case thrust somebody as Governor that is not acceptable to the Ministry, as the majority that refused to vote for him will have to be called in to form the Ministry. This necessarily means a man of another political complexion and this would be the beginning of all the trouble and tussle for power between the Governor and the Chief Minister. The province will have a Governor that the majority does not want working with a Ministry belonging to another school of thought. In this case there may be all the troubles, the Ministry trying to avoid him by fixing his salary low, or refusing him other emoluments (Sec. 144; Clause 5), the Governor trying to send away the Ministry, or forming minority Ministries taking advantage of the party position, or declaring Emergency (specially if the President and the Governor belong to one party and the Ministry to another) under Sec. 188, the Ministry trying to impeach the Governor (Sec. 137) and so on.

So under any conditions, whether the Governor is elected by the adult population

directly, or is appointed by the President, we can neither avoid a party man nor avoid dual leadership in the province resulting in a tussle for power. The real source of mischief is giving the Governor *some power*, even if it is in an 'emergency', and giving him some latitude in selecting his Ministers. 'Give no powers at all to the Governor and make the Ministry collectively responsible to the legislature. then it is immaterial whether the Governor is elected, appointed, or nominated, though it would be the safest to make him elected by the legislature. If our idea at all is to create a 'constitutional head', and a cabinet system of government responsible to elected legislature, it is better we frame a constitution explicitly with the purpose, instead of monkeying with the problem. One of the arguments used for giving some power to the Governor is that, having got a capable and good Governor, we must use his great knowledge and experience to the best advantage by giving him some power and discretion. This argument is based on two fallacies; one is that elections do always result in the best man being elected; the other is that, if man is to be useful he should necessarily possess some power. After all, the King in England is only a puppet, but we have it on the best testimony that the Chief Minister does consult him, when the King happens to be a capable man. If the Governor is really capable, power, or no power his advice is always welcome; but if he is incapable, any power given to him will make him a positive nuisance.

The real source of trouble is the question of 'emergency' powers. Sec. 188 of the Draft Constitution is supposed to be the counter part of Sec. 93 of the Government of India Act, 1933. This section coupled with Sec. 278 of the Draft Constitution completes the picture for a regular conspiracy between the Governor and the President (Central Cabinet) to oust a provincial ministry of another political party from power. Just imagine a situation like that which existed in N. W. F. province after

August 15th 1947. Suppose such a situation occurs in any province, a similar action taken by the Governor of N. W. F. could be taken here also. Even if all the people concerned belong to the same political party, a similar situation could still be visualised if we recollect that there are factions, or 'groups' within parties. I am particularly referring to a situation which existed in Madras when Mr. Prakasam was the Chief Minister. The Governor could have played much mischief under similar conditions especially if he could get a President at the Centre who thinks politically like himself.

Justifying this provision for an 'emergency', Mr. B. G. Kher, the Prime Minister of Bombay, one of the members of the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly to frame a 'model constitution' for the provinces on which the present Draft Constitution is based, remarked in one of his A. I. R. broadcast speeches as follows:—

Unfortunately the danger cannot be overlooked that in a country like ours party politics may sometimes assume undue importance in a legislature that the larger interests of the country may be ignored and a situation may develop which may be a grave menace to the safety, peace and tranquillity of the Province. The influence of the Governor who will not be subject to party politics in the legislature and who will be himself a person commanding the confidence of the people... and the powers vested in him should be such as to act as a corrective in such cases. The Governor should also have the power to report to the President of the Federation whenever he is unable to secure legislative support to combat an emergency of such a nature.

Now this statement of Mr. Kher implies many points:

- i. That party politics require a corrective;
- ii. That the best person to do it is the Governor;
- iii. That the Governor would be above party politics; and beyond the control of the party-ridden legislature;
- iv. That there are possibilities of a break-down of the constitution and situations of grave emergencies; and
- v. That the Governor should be given the necessary powers to carry on the King's Government with the help of the

Union President, when the legislature is so unreasonable that it with-holds support to him.

I cannot possibly enter into a detailed discussion of all these implications for want of space, but one can easily say that all these implications are against the canons of democracy. Democracy implies party politics and the government of a country is good where it has a well-defined party system. If it requires a corrective, the only one available in a Parliamentary type is and should be an appeal to the country, to the electorate. Any other corrective is anti-democratic. We have already seen that the Governor cannot be above party politics and if the only intention is to keep him above the control of the legislature the best way of doing it is not by popularly electing the Governor but like the French President by the legislature removable only in cases of high treason. In the case of the 1935 Act, one could visualise a break-down of a constitution, as then the question was one of a foreign Governor with 'special responsibilities' ruling over Indians with the help of an Indian legislature filed with a party committed to the policy of "wrecking the constitution". Now the situation is different. It is an Indian Governor and Indian legislature in an independent country and we cannot understand how the elected legislature would be unwilling to shoulder the responsibilities of electing its own Ministry and assisting it to carry on the Government. It is surprising that Mr. Kher should talk like an Amery or Churchill about 'safety, peace and tranquillity' of the province. But in such emergencies, assuming for the moment that one has arisen, whose business is it to carry on the Government of the day—that of the Governor or the Ministry? One of the implications of good government is that the Ministry should be responsible to the people for all their acts, must be prepared to carry on the government of the day and face the electorate one day. That is the best corrective to the undemocratic or irresponsible acts of the Party in power. But the Constitution

seems to place the final responsibility on the Governor!

The difficulty is that in their anxiety to produce the best out of the two good constitutions of the world, the Committee have made a mess of the matter. They have combined the fixed executive of America with the parliamentary one of Britain. The result is a Plural Executive in the provinces which is not heard of in the whole world, except probably in Switzerland where there is Plural Executive but they have also some other direct democratic devices like the Initiative and the Referendum. The divided Executive is dangerous and is likely to produce an unstable Ministry in the provinces. In all other constitutions, there is only one Executive (real) and the tendency

is for the concentration of the Executive but not diffusion.

We in India are yet in the initial stages of developing democratic institutions, and we require a constitution that will ensure a stable Executive elected on a democratic basis. Judging from this point of view, the constitution now suggested is bad and harmful. Gigantic problems of poverty etc. face us and at a time when we expect the Ministers to concentrate all their energies on economic development, we will find them quarrelling with each other trying to wrest more and more power each to himself. There is no special virtue in any form of Executive fixed or parliamentary, but a combination of these will divide the Executive and spoil the whole game.

WHITHER ECONOMICS IN INDIA?

By MR. HARISH CHANDRA, M.A.

BEFORE the War India was importing about two million tons of rice from Burma, Siam and Indo-China, besides manufactured articles and general merchandise goods. This was un-balanced economy. The then existing alien Government should have taken stock of our failing resources as early as that. But they did not. And what is still worse, they vigorously pursued their reckless policy of mobilizing the resources of the country for the prosecution of the war without any regard to its consequences on agriculture and industry. Peak industrial production was thus reached in most cases during the war. Textiles expanded from the production of 4269 million yards in 1938-39 to 4800 by 1944. In leather, the footwear output alone increased from 7.6 million pairs in 1941 by more than double—16.22 by 1942. On the whole, India supplied some 80 percent of the articles needed for the Indian army. If we reckon this industrial expansion in money terms we are apt to infer that increased national wealth accrued in India during the period of war. But that would be misleading and fallacious conclusion. For one thing,

the price level varies from time to time so that money does not represent the correct quantitative or qualitative resources or requirements at different times; for another, in proper national planning we are more concerned with commodities and services, with human needs and their satisfaction, than with their money expression. Thus, the so-called industrial expansion was in fact a heavy drain on the already failing resources of India. Further, as no capital goods were allowed to be imported, the strain on our economy greatly increased; for, it meant over-working the factory equipment, mechanical as well as human. Here, if you recall the method of war finance in India, you get the clue to the unprecedented inflation which inevitably resulted. As foreign imports rapidly declined and no fresh channels of production were created in the country, 'the rapidly turned out currency notes could mean only so many bits of paper'. It is said that these increased by some 5000 per cent. This erratic phenomenon remained uncontrolled and the prices naturally shot up sky-high. This brought untold misery and suffering

for the general masses of the country. Who can forget the Bengal Famine four years ago which took frightful toll of lives?

The war ended in 1945. Full two years have gone by. And yet, far from any improvement in the economic set-up of the country, India is heading towards a serious economic crisis with persistent fall in her production and constant rise in prices; the progress of transition to a peace economy is being rendered painfully slow. The crisis is already at our door.

The food position is most grievous. There have been periodical warnings of renewed food shortage. Two successive years of patchy harvests and weakening of the procurement organisations in some provinces have left stocks (including supplies from abroad received and expected) at their lowest level. The following statistics of production reveal the downward trend for the last few years:

(Figures in Million Tons)			
Food cereals	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46
Rice	32	28	26
Wheat	10	10½	8.8
Others	17	14	11.8

As compared with the highest war-time figure of 56 million tons of the principal food-grains, we have to-day a deficit of about 5 to 6 million tons and we are hardly in a position to give to every individual in the country 600 calories per day as against the League of Nations' standard for a working adult male of 3,600 units. It was said that on October 1, the principal deficit areas, with the exception of the United Provinces, had only ten to fifteen days stocks left. Thus, our diet is quantitatively very insufficient. Qualitatively it is far more poor, because a large majority of our people are devoid of protective and nutritious foods such as milk, ghee, vegetables, fruits, eggs, meat etc. If this deficit in our food economy continues it will bring malnutrition on a mass scale and one shudders to think of its consequences on the health and intelligence of the posterity yet un-born.

Crisis is coming in every sector of our economic activity. The cloth situation is equally worse. The total production of our cotton textile industry was 487 crore yards in 1943 which worked out at 12 yards per head. The production of cotton piece goods has further fallen in 1946-47 to 386 crore yards. This clearly shows that we are unable to provide even 12 yards of cloth per head as against a reasonable minimum requirement of 30 sq. yards.

The over-all industrial position is equally serious. Shortages are all round. The production of industrial goods as a whole shows a steep fall to-day as compared with the production figures of the peak year. To give only a few instances, the production of pig iron has fallen by 30 per cent, steel by 10 per cent, paper and sugar by about 25 per cent and cloth by about 17 per cent. Factors which have contributed to the present situation, it is stated, include an acute shortage of almost every commodity, more particularly of food and cloth; an unchecked spiral of rising prices, which threatens to assume inflationary proportions; increasing cost of living coupled with labour unrest and falling production, both in agriculture and industry; and finally, a short supply of foreign exchange for the purchase of consumer goods as well as capital goods for the replacement of old and the installation of new industrial plants and machinery. Other factors responsible for the present critical situation in India include, firstly, reduction of working hours from nine to eight which has brought down the production by 11 per cent; secondly, higher wages causing absenteeism of the workers which brought about another fall of 10 per cent; and finally, strikes, curfew, flight of labour due to communal disturbances and such other factors, the cumulative effect of which is that production has gone down by nearly 25 to 30 per cent. Our industrial wealth is thus being reduced while loot, arson and destruction following from communal disturbances are taking a heavy toll of the existing national wealth.

The crisis in production is more appropriately brought out by the following statistics:—

COMMODITIES.	UNIT.	1938-39.	1945-46.	1946-47.
Cotton piecegoods	.. Million Yds.	4,268	4,651	3,863
Jute manufactures (Non-Govt. account)	.. Thousand tons.	1,205	973	1,042
Pig iron	.. " "	1,576	1,406.2	1,864.4
Steel Ingots	.. " "	978	1,299.9	1,199.3
Finished steel (including Semis except Blooms, Billets and Slabs)...	.. " "	932	1,338.2	1,160.3
Coal	.. " "	25,000	26,489.0	26,218
Cement	.. " "	1,512	2,145.8	2,016.3
Petrol	.. Million Gallons	19.8	22.9	21.29
Kerosene	.. " "	38.7	13.14	13.41
Paper	.. Thousand Tons	— (Apl. to Jan.)	69.9 (Apl. to Jan.)	62.3
Matches	.. Million Gross	— (Apl. to Dec.)	14.4 (Apl. to Dec.)	12.42

The fuel position which is the key to industrial production has also been unsatisfactory. Despatches of coal which averaged 2.1 million tons per month in 1945 fell to 1.09 million tons in 1946 and are round about the same figure today. Electrical energy sold for industrial purposes has fallen from 194 to 177 million units. This fact is bound to have serious repercussions on the industrial production in India.

Thus, it is evident that there has been a serious tendency towards decline in production with the result that there is shortage of consumer goods and wholesale prices have been increasing and the cost of living index figures, therefore, are registering higher levels every day:

The higher levels of prices have led to a demand for higher wages to cover the increased cost of living resulting in still higher prices of all products. This unchecked spiral of rising prices is threatening to assume inflationary proportions and therefore bound to disrupt our economic progress. Labour troubles are already on the increase holding the production line time and again. Thus on account of industrial disputes we lost 234,200 man-days in 1943; 12,285,000 man-days in 1946 and 5,205,000 man-days from January to April this year. Wages and salaries including grants of dearness allowances were increased from time to time. The additional cost to the Government Exchequer, following the recommendations of the Pay Commission, may roughly be put down at Rs. 60 crores. In coal mines and sugar industry, the

average earnings have gone up by 57 per cent. and 60 per cent. respectively. Including Government, industrial and commercial establishments, the increase in the wage bill is estimated to be Rs. 100 crores per annum in urban areas alone by Mr. J. R. D. Tata. These increases were needed and may be justified also. But it should be remembered that while production is dwindling and national wealth decreasing, from where are these increases to be met? And if production is not increasing, then, there is no end to the inflationary spiral of rising costs and prices.

Increased production on all fronts is the most urgent and crying need of the hour in order to fight scarcity, inflation and rising prices. Imports of essential consumer goods are not possible owing to the restriction on imports as we have very limited supply of foreign exchanges at our disposal. Crisis in the food economy has rendered it all the more necessary to conserve our exchange resources as much as possible. The economic situation in India is far more depressing in view of the partition of the country and its after effects—murder in the eyes of men, violence in the hearts of officials, misery and starvation on the faces of refugees and the feeling of despair among politicians—as also the world economic crisis precipitated by the dollar shortage. Let us then go ahead most vigorously with production drive in all sectors of our economy and save the country and her teeming millions from the economic crisis which is at our door.

THE RECLAIMED WOMAN

By SANTHA RUNGACHARY

ARUNA sat in her room brushing her hair. It was long and dark and like silk to the touch and framed a small and shapely head. She ran the brush over her tresses straightening a profusion of rebellious curls over her forehead which at once defiantly curled up again. Her arms aching with the brushing, she threw the brush on the table and looked at herself in the mirror.

It was a pleasant face, the face in the mirror. It was also a strong face. Here was no weakling either in flesh or in will. The deep, dark-brown eyes looked back at her steadily. A wide, generous mouth which laughed gaily. The smooth, fresh skin made her look even younger than she really was. The eye-brows curled, deliciously piquant.

Aruna frowned and leaned nearer. Had she changed? Was this serious face with the bitterness lurking around the corners of the lips her own? Or was it somebody else's? There had been times during the past six weeks when she felt that that face didn't belong to her at all. It belonged to some other woman who had suffered intensely for some time. It couldn't be hers. This face with the shadows on it certainly could not be hers.

Her husband came in whistling. He stopped on the threshold and looked at her with a twinkle in his eyes.

"Stop looking at your pretty face twenty-four hours in the day, you vain popinjay," he teased.

She turned to him, her eyes veiled with fear.

"Do I look different?" she asked.

He surveyed her anxious face with an amused smile on his lips.

"You do," he said.

"How different?"

"Prettier."

"Oh!"

She turned away bitterly disappointed. Neither his words nor his manner had

reassured her. She closed her eyes and wished she could cry. She felt that unless the intolerable tightness in her relaxed, she would soon die asphyxiated.

"I wish I could cry," she said.

"Why don't you?"

"I can't. I am not able to. I sit here all day feeling as if there is a horrible weight on my chest. And if one of these days I do cry," she added dully, "it would be tears of blood."

"Stop being fanciful," said her husband quietly. "You are wrecking your nerves."

"My nerves too, you mean?" she said bitterly.

There was no answer.

"There is no need to spare my feelings," she said lashing herself into a fury with her bitterness. "I have wrecked my life, my marriage and now my nerves. To-morrow it will be something else."

"Fiddlesticks!" he said quietly dismissing her outburst.

"You fancy yourself, don't you, playing the noble, forgiving husband? The God taking back the Sinner. And the whole world applauding. You must feel tremendously proud."

"There is nothing for me to forgive."

"I suppose you expect me to go on my knees and thank God I have such a generous husband? Me, the reclaimed woman! I wish by God I had thrown myself into the river than chosen to return here."

"You don't know what you are saying," he said wearily. These scenes were happening every day and he didn't know how to stop them.

"Oh, yes, I know. This is even more humiliating than—the other thing. 'Reclaim your women' said Bapuji. There must be excommunication. The women must go back to their homes. Why do they shout about it? Why do they make speeches? Why do they publish appeals?"

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Why can't they leave us alone? I know why. Because some husband somewhere has said 'No'. How do I know you are not one such?"

Santosh leaned back grimly determined not to say anything which might upset her still more.

"You have been married to me long enough to know I am not," he said quietly.

"I don't know. How does a woman ever know anything about a man? You have been insulting enough since I came for me to have doubted."

"I?" he said jolted into incredulity. "Arun, what are you saying? How do you mean I was insulting?"

She stared at him angrily.

"Why didn't you ask me anything then, if you really cared?" she asked spitefully clipping her words.

"Ask you what?"

"About the week."

"What was there to ask? The sooner you forget those horrible days the better."

"But it was natural to be curious. I can't say you have been indifferent. You have just been behaving as if nothing had happened—nothing."

He looked at her steadily in the face.

"As far as I am concerned," he said unflinchingly, "that is exactly how I feel."

But she was not reassured. She sat tense on the dressing-stool, her pose stiff and ungraceful.

"I hate men," she said almost thinking aloud. "I hate them all—even you. And I could kill myself but for this child in me."

The pathetic words seemed to strike a chill in his heart. He got up and moved to a seat beside her.

"You are not well," he said gently.

"Why don't you see a doctor?"

"I am all right," she said coldly.

"There is time enough to see a doctor when the baby comes."

A little bow came bounding into the room. He ran to his mother and hugged her knees.

"Has she come?" he asked excitedly.

"Who?"

"My little sister. Everyday when Father puts me to sleep, he says 'Tomorrow you are going to have a surprise. Mother is going to bring you a little sister.'"

Aruna leant back against the chest of drawers as if too tired to reply him.

"No," her husband answered the little boy for her, "she hasn't yet come." He added playfully, "What do you think? She is a lazy little hussy. That is why she is taking such a long time coming."

The little boy's eyes were round with curiosity.

"What will she be like?" he asked, awed. "Will she be small? And will she play with me?"

"She is going to be small and fair and as pretty as your mother," said his father gaily.

The little boy seemed almost overwhelmed by the prospect of the advent of such a bazzler into the family. He considered it a moment.

"Nobody can be pretty as my mother," he decided finally.

Aruna listened to the gay chatter between father and son and idly said to herself, 'This might be just another day for all the difference there is!' Little Babu didn't know but the other did and seemed not to care. Did he really not care?

She closed her eyes and as if let off by a spring, her mind flew back to a dreadful afternoon two months ago in the heart of Lahore. They had come surging into the streets, hundreds of Muslims, daggers and bichuvas flashing in their hands and their faces and eyes alight with a dreadful lust for blood. They were not men. No, such could not be men. They were animals, beasts of prey, human vampires. They had come and gone, all in two hours and less

and left behind that a trail of blood. There was blood on the floors, blood on the stair-cases, the imprint of bloody on the bannisters, little pools of it or little congealed clots of it mixed with human flesh. She remembered as though it had happened to somebody else, her husband grabbing her by the waist as she stood clumsy and awkward with the child in her and pulling her backwards into a room. Someone laughed coarsely, blade descended driven by a savage hand, a spurt of blood and. Oh that week! Seared in her memory in letters of blood!

Aruna staggered into the bath-room and was violently sick. A sharp flash of pain stabbed her in the back as she groped her way to a chair and collapsed on it. As if from a long way off she heard Santosh say;

"The doctor will be here in a few minutes. I have just telephoned."

The anguish in his voice touched her.

"I am being such a bother," she said feebly.

"It is the memory of it," said Aruna, the words coming slow in weariness. "He was coarse and dirty. And that awful staircase in his house! The boards were so loose they seemed to slip from under my feet every time I went up. And there were his wife and a little boy. The boy was nice, almost wonderful. He brought me the key to the outside door. They must have killed him for that. Imagine that! A little boy being killed for being kind to a stranger!"

"He wouldn't have been killed," her husband assured her. "You must not worry. The father would have beaten him perhaps, nothing more."

But Aruna couldn't leave it alone.

"You don't know," she declared vehemently. "He is capable of anything. He would certainly have killed the boy. And if he finds me again, he will kill me too this time," and added with a crafty,

vengeful gleam in her eyes, "unless I kill him first."

With rough tenderness Santosh held her by the shoulders and shook her.

"You must stop thinking, Aruna," he said sternly, "or I am going to be angry. Get this into your head. There is going to be no more killing. This is Delhi and here we are safe."

As if to belie his words even as he uttered them, there was the low hum of many voices at the end of the road. Shouts were heard and sound of running feet. As she heard them, Aruna trembled convulsively and her grip tightened on her husband. He released her hands quickly. "Stay here," he said. "Don't move from the bed. And don't go near the window. I will go down and see what it is."

Aruna lay rigidly in bed listening to the voices and shouts coming nearer. She heard agitated footsteps dart hither and thither. Then there was a lull as the mob stopped next door. Men were asking questions. And then to her horror, she heard the footsteps come rushing again and stop outside their house. With a bound she was out of bed and racing towards the stairs. Oh, where was Santosh? Had he bolted the door? God in heaven, what if the mob were already inside the house!

She leaned against the bannister at the head of the staircase to clear the dizziness which came up like a hot torrent drenching her from head to foot. And then as with a supreme effort she opened her eyes and took one step forward—she saw the woman standing at the foot of the stairs. Behind her stood Santosh immobile with a dreadful calmness.

An upsurge of revulsion and hate shot Aruna as she looked at the upturned face beneath her. Her stomach turned as memories rushed in on her stopping the breath in her throat. Her eyes felt as if they were suffused with blood. And as she went down slowly, she felt again under her feet the loose boards of that other staircase. . . .

"Who is this woman?" she asked in a low voice. "Why is she here?"

The woman looked at Aruna dumbly and said nothing.

"She was chased by a mob," Santosh said. "She rushed into this house for help."

Aruna laughed. It was an ugly sound.

"Into this house;" she said. "Oh, the Gods are kind. Does she expect us to hide her—us?"

"Yes," her husband said quietly. "I have promised to hide her and see that she comes to no harm. I have bolted the front door."

Aruna passed her husband coolly.

"I shall open the door," she said. "The people can come and claim their prey."

"They will kill her."

"Let them," said Aruna calmly. "I want to see her die."

There was a cold bitterness in her husband's voice which she had never heard before.

"She is a woman too, a woman like you. Have you no pity?"

"Do you expect me to have pity on her? I haven't forgotten, if you have, that it was the husband of even such a woman as this who. . . . who. . . . Oh, I could kill her. I have no pity."

Without a word her husband turned and went in.

"I shall prepare the servants," he said at the door, and added distinctly, "The people will be here in exactly five minutes."

The woman stared at Aruna, her eyes like that of a hunted animal.

Aruna stared back at her. Why should she let her escape? Blood for blood. Life for life. Honour for honour. What the leaders preached in precise, pretty words didn't mean anything. This was her fight. Why should she lay down arms and show pity where none was deserved? For all that she knew, the husband of this

cringing hunted woman might even at this very moment be torturing a Hindu. No, she must suffer. Let some man take her and treat her even as she was treated. Let her then weep and rend her breast and tear her hair. Let her eyes smart with tears unshed because her heart was tortured worse than hell's inner circle. She deserved to die.

A still, small voice inside her asked:

"Is this what will make you happy? Is this what is going to release the tightness round your heart and let your tears flow?"

What answer had she? It lay deep inside her heart under layers of hate and remorse and outraged modesty. It would need some digging up. Heavens, was this going to dam her Reason and betray her?

Just another woman like myself.

Babu came down the stairs slowly, his eyes wide with fright. Another sharp flash of pain cut through Aruna's side transfixing her where she stood. She looked up at Babu and as if in a dream, disconcerting her very senses, she saw in his place another little boy, scrawny, thin and ill-kept. . . . Babu came running down the stairs whimpering with fear and clung to her skirt, and she remembered as if it had only happened yesterday other hot little hands which had clutched her own in the darkness of a house pressing a small key into her trembling hand.

The shouting outside was now concentrated in front of their house. The front-door was banged by a dozen pairs of hands. Some one threw a stone at a closed window.

Aruna slowly lifted her head and looked again at the other woman. Her lips parted in a small, shamed smile.

The thumping on the door grew louder.

"Quick," Aruna gasped, galvanized into action. "In here. She pushed her into the library behind a book-case well out of sight. "Oh Don't make a sound."

Santosh opened the front door. A small crowd of men burst into the room.

"What is all this shouting about?" demanded Santosh coldly. "You have frightened my wife. And she is in no condition to get upset."

"We are searching for a Muslim woman who escaped down this street," said a stalwart fellow stepping forward. "Has she come into this house?"

"Into this house?" said Santosh, astonished. "No, no one came here."

"Are you sure?"

"Sure, man?" shouted Santosh, furious. "What do you take me for? Do you think a Muslim would dare step across this threshold and hope to go out alive?"

The man hesitated. Aruna stared at his face and despair assailed her. Were these Hindus—Bapuji's countrymen who believed in God and His Infinite Goodness? It was amazing how ugly their actions and words made them. They looked wolfish, inhuman, bestial.

"We want to search this house," someone else shouted.

Santosh shrugged his shoulders. "Search anywhere you like," he said and walked away unconcernedly.

Aruna's heart sank. Sick with apprehension she saw some heading towards the kitchen, others rushing into the back-yard, two take to the stairs. The stalwart fellow looked about him and walked towards the library.

Aruna's head suddenly stopped spinning. And as if sent by God, another sudden sharp pain shot through her back. She closed her eyes in an ecstasy of thankfulness, put her hand to her side and screamed and screamed again. The stalwart fellow stopped dead in his tracks, amazement on his face.

"For heaven's sake," Aruna cried, almost in tears "get my husband. It is the pains."

The man's eyes widened in horror. Babu howled with fright. Santosh came running.

"What have you done to her?" he demanded.

The stalwart fellow stared at him dumbfounded.

"Nothing," he stammered. "She has got pains, she says. I didn't do anything."

"Well, she must have been upset by all this noise and confusion," the other returned irritably and then turning to his wife, "I asked you to stay upstairs in bed. Why must you come barging into a business that is none of a woman's?"

Aruna stared at him humbly. This was a part of Santosh she had never known existed.

"Have you finished searching?" her husband asked the others impatiently.

"Oh, yes," said a chorus of voices in obvious relief.

"Please don't crowd round me," Aruna moaned as she saw a dozen heads cramming into her vision.

They moved towards the door walking quickly.

"Close the door as you go," Santosh shouted after them, "and send a midwife here if you come across one."

Quick footsteps went out of the door and down the front steps towards the road. Santosh listened to the voices dying away and tiptoed towards the door and bolted it. He stood with his back to it and whistled softly.

"Whew!" That was a close one," and then admiringly, "That was clever of you, my pigeon, pretending you were having pains. The cutest trick I have seen for a long time."

"Trick!" said Aruna, tears of relief and gladness running down her cheeks, "Oh, you big, prodigious nitwit, it was no trick. It was the real thing. Get a doctor quick."

The other woman stood in the door of the library. The hunted look had left her eyes and they were now alight with a desperate, incredulous gratitude.

"Please!" said Aruna smiling through her tears as she stretched out her arm towards the other. "Come and help me. I have such an awful pain I am not able to get up by myself. Thank the good God, Babu is at last going to have his little sister!"

FREE INDIA'S FIRST BUDGET

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

In order to understand the true significance of the budget for the year, we have to bear in mind that the crux of the situation in our country at present is a high degree of inflation *i.e.*, excess of demand in relation to goods available. The cure for it is increased production and increased savings. We therefore require a correct monetary policy to achieve these ends and the monetary policy has also to be aided by a correct fiscal policy *i.e.*, large budget surplus to mop up excess purchasing power. The methods by which this surplus is achieved are no less important than the surplus itself. An effective surplus must satisfy three conditions: (1) It must be achieved as far as possible by reduced public expenditure; (2) indirect taxation must have also its place along with direct taxes in the tax-structure; and (3) the surplus must be genuine *i.e.*, it must effect a curtailment of private spending. . . .

A proper appraisal of the budget for the year 1948-49 requires consideration of certain basic factors against which the Finance Minister had to contend. He had to frame the budget proposals of a newborn state. The fundamental unity of India had been broken and it was too soon to assess the permanent results of the partition. Besides these two problems, within the first three months of the birth of a Free India, the country had to face the problem resulting from the migration of no less than 8 millions of people. Further the orgy of inflation resulting from the war and a series of deficit budgets extending over eight years have left a deep impress upon Indian finance. Added to these the Finance Minister had to face the problem of restoring confidence which was shaken by the revolutionary financial proposals of the budget of the previous year. Above all the Finance Minister had to frame the budget in the context of world conditions which are so fluid and uncertain that one could not be sure of what awaited them to-morrow.

In making the financial proposals, the Finance Minister had to reconcile the problem of covering deficit with the problem of giving relief in taxation and he had to fight the problem of inflation and at the same time to control public expenditure so as not to increase inflation.

The budget had been criticised as a capitalist budget but an examination of the tax proposals will show that this is not true. For instance the Business Profits Tax, an odious war time tax which deserves to be repealed in the interests of industry has only been reduced. In the case of super-tax the relief given is not quite considerable to the capitalist. Right up to Rs. 30,000 there is no change. A man who earns Rs. 30,000 a year under the last budget would be paying Rs. 6000 as tax and he will be paying the same amount in the budget for the coming year. In the case of a man who earns Rs. 50,000 while he had to pay Rs. 16,156 till now he will have to pay only Rs. 15,375 *i.e.* the supertax relief is reduced from 32.3 per cent. of one's income to 30.8 per cent. In the case of a very rich man, for instance, getting an annual income of 10 lakhs, he would have to pay 92 per cent of his income as tax in last year's budget whereas in this year's budget he will have to pay 91.3 per cent, and it is therefore obvious that the relief to the capitalists by way of reduction of supertax rates is not extravagant but is a step to ploughing back of money into industry with a view to provide incentives to increased production which is the crying need of the hour and also to avoid evasion in the payment of the tax. As a matter of fact, any scheme of relief in present taxation rates in India is more in the interests of not the few rich investors but the vast multitude of the small and middle class investors in our country. In our country no less than 75 per cent. of the shareholders can really be classified as middle class people.

As regards the criticism that the budget has not given any relief to the poor man,

the Finance Minister has pointed out that there was very little scope for relief in central taxation, and the real effective help and relief to the poor man will have to be given not by trying to tamper with the present excise duties but by creating avenues of fruitful employment to our people. The real relief to the poor men should be found in the capital budget which provides this year for no less than Rs. 165½ crores for various programmes of development to be undertaken largely by the Provincial Governments. The central budget provides for a free grant of Rs. 30 crores to the Provinces and if the Provinces are to utilise the whole of this amount, they have to spend another Rs. 30 crores, and with the Rs. 60 crores for development purposes the Provinces could do a great deal to the rural class.

As regards efficient and sound financial administration, it is desirable to have periodical conferences of Finance Ministers so as to ensure more co-ordination between the centre and the Provinces and a development in this direction is foreshadowed by the Finance Minister in the budget. Further in line with latest developments of advanced European countries it is proposed to set up a Tax Research Department and a monetary Research section.

BUDGET ESTIMATES

It is interesting in this connection to compare the revised estimates of the interim budget for the 7½ months period ending 31st March 1948 with the budget estimates for the same period to see how far the Finance Minister's expectations have been fulfilled.

	In crores of rupees.	
	Period ending 31st of March 1948.	
	Budget estimates.	Revised figures.
Revenue	172.80	178.77
Expenditure	197.39	185.29
Deficit	24.59	6.52

The above statement shows an increase of nearly Rs. 6 crores under revenue and decrease of Rs. 12.10 crores under expenditure.

For the financial year 1948-49 the budget estimates are as follows:

	In crores of rupees	
	At existing levels of taxation.	On the basis of new level of taxation.
Revenue	230.37	256.28
Expenditure	257.37	257.37
Deficit	26.85	1.09

A noteworthy feature of taxation in the budget is that all new taxes are indirect. It looks as if we have to rely on Central Excises of export duties. But the export duties selected do not involve additional burden on the people and the excises do not affect the poorer classes. Is the Finance Minister's decision to rely on indirect taxation justifiable? His reasoning is that in the ultimate analysis the maintenance of a proper relation between direct and indirect taxation is merely a question of arranging the taxation to the best advantage of the community and with reference to the economic condition of each country; and added that "in an industrially advanced country it may be possible to raise a substantial revenue by direct taxation but it will be obviously unwise to pitch the direct taxes too high in a country in the process of development as the inevitable effect of high direct taxation is to retard the formation of capital without which industrial development is not possible"; and another point put forward in justification of the resort to indirect taxation is that the growth in indirect taxation in our country has not kept with that in direct taxation. Thus for instance, whereas in 1937-38 direct taxation was only 21 per cent. of the total revenue, it is nearly 50 per cent in the budget for 1948-49. Direct taxes in India have increased about 8 times while indirect taxes have risen only by a little over twice.

The proposal to exempt from taxation donations to approved institutions and charities so long as the amount does not exceed 5 per cent. of the net taxable income for companies and 10 per cent. for individuals subject to a maximum of Rs. 2½ lakhs is very commendable. The

increase in corporation tax in the case of foreign companies does not seem to be based on purely fiscal considerations. The rebate on the income tax on undistributed profits will help larger allocations to reserves. The new imposition of indirect taxes on luxuries such as motor cars, tobacco etc. is a welcome departure in financial practice.

PUBLIC DEBTS

The total interest bearing obligations at the end of the budget year were estimated at Rs. 2331 crores against which the interest-yielding assets were expected to amount to Rs. 1237 crores and cash and other investments to Rs. 120 crores leaving a final uncovered debt of Rs. 864 crores and these figures which are approximate as the final figures of Pakistan's debt to India still remain to be worked out give a broad indication of the position. The proportion of the country's debt to its national income also compares favourably with more advanced countries like U.S.A. and U.K. The Finance Minister observed that this country's debt was only half its probable national income while in the U.K. nearly three times the national income. It is no doubt true that India's public debt at Rs. 2231 crores at the end of 1948-49 is

less than half its national income estimated at Rs. 4500 crores. But a more correct basis for comparison would be to compare the *per capita* income and the *per capita* debt in view of the fact that many in India have an income below the theoretical *per capita* income. The net burden of interest on the deadweight debt in our country would amount to only 10½ per cent. of revenue next year.

In Conclusion a study of the first budget of Free India shows that whatever might be our difficulties in other spheres, our financial position is sound and one cannot do better than quote the optimistic statement of the Finance Minister. "The very small deficit in the next year's budget", the Finance Minister said, "is an index of the efforts which we are making to close the era of deficit budgets and place our revenues in a satisfactory position. Our revenue and expenditure position is even sounder. The productive capacity of the country is great. The resources at our command are even greater. Natural resources we have in plenty and our man power is stupendous. The two combined will create wealth which will enable our people to attain a high standard of life."

FUTURE OF ENGLISH

BY PROF. B. S. MATHUR, M.A., B.A. (Hons.)

D. A. V. College, Cawnpore.

THERE is a fashion to-day for banishing English altogether and immediately. This fashion caught even our Education Ministers in the provinces. This is disheartening. I certainly wish for a speedy development and flourishing of our Indian languages but this wish assisted by patriotism should not blind us and particularly our guides to the necessity of maintaining English for some time more in our own interest. English must go but gradually without causing confusion and disorder, without retarding our progress and affecting our position in the world of

progress. Our languages are rich but they have yet to enrich themselves. The only course, therefore, is its displacement by degrees. Maulana Azad has rightly suggested: "It is but essential that Indian languages should be given their legitimate position. But we have to decide after mature deliberation how to bring about this change. Obviously there are two courses open to us. We may either take an immediate and sudden step, or we may proceed gradually measuring our way and considering the pros and cons of our steps. I wish to make clear to you that

after having considered all aspects of the question I have come to the conclusion that it is the second alternative alone that can suit us."

Maulana Azad has measured out his practical wisdom in these ideas about the replacement of English by degrees. We have to do a little bit of realistic thinking. Mere patriotism of the blind and of the blinding will not do: mere idealism will not come to our help. English has occupied a position of importance for a long stretch of years. Not that only. It has now become an essential and most comprehensive means of communication of our ideas in India and the world. Who can dispense with it immediately without peril to our cause? All communications will stop. Who can afford this? All advance in science and commerce will also stop for some time. This, too, we cannot afford. We are living in times of science and the poverty of India is a deplorable fact and this will have to be eradicated in the near future. This achievement is not possible in isolation. We have to learn and teach equally. How can we think of isolation from the rest of the world? We are not in a position in spite of our newly-won freedom to discard all that is English. And if we do discard we do so to our own peril. This picture of immediate check to our progress should teach us caution.

Even in our own country we are going to cut down all fellowship. India is not a small country. It is almost a continent and there must be some means of communication of ideas. You might give importance, indeed, total importance, to Hindi but rest assured you are not going to substitute it for English at present. This is not an easy task. Hindi might grow but in growing it will take time. Any language cannot take the place of pride by some official proclamation. Even English came upon us by degrees through filtration. Let it go, and there is no harm in this, if it goes by degrees and meanwhile Hindi is allowed to grow in importance

and eminence. Even in this I have my own doubts. Hindi cannot become a means of communication in the South. It might take the place of English in Northern India, and not in South India.

When this is the position why this hurry? Caution and moderation might be possible for us to march from power to power. At present, our position, just after achievement of freedom, is peculiar. We cannot make enemies in our own country. We have to march with all in unity and strength, sure of our design and achievement. There are so many more important problems than this linguistic problem of replacing English. We have poverty. We have hunger: we have no clothes, no security, consequent on hunger and communal trouble. We have little of scientific and industrial development. We have yet to plan our education to turn our country into a land of smiling people, trained in culture and refinement, breathing of fellowship and peace. We have to remove untouchability, separating brother from brother. Why not measure our steps with caution and wisdom if we want to be sure of our achievement?

The *Pioneer's* observation is quite realistic:

"The administration will fall into pieces if English, its main prop, is dismantled before some other equally strong and acceptable pillar is put up in its place."

English has entered into our vital transactions in India. Even administration is bound to suffer if English goes immediately. There are so many all-India services and if English is disallowed there will be little contact between people and the officers. In the absence of contact there will be no smooth working of the administration of which as smooth and effective there is such an urgent need to-day in the event of India's rise to the status of free nations of the world. There must be a campaign for unity in India and then alone it will be possible to retain the freedom just won by constitutional means under the leadership of Gandhiji.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY MR. B. NATESAN

His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari

FOR once, press forecasts and public expectations are agreeably fulfilled in the appointment of His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in succession to Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General of India, on the latter's relinquishment of office next month. C. R. is one of the few of our elder statesmen who by varied experience and versatile talents have proved themselves worthy of the highest honour in the gift of the nation. And at a time of trouble and tribulation when the country is faced with enormous difficulties, both internal and external, a statesman of proved ability at the helm of affairs is an asset of supreme value. Not a day dawns without some crisis, and we have need for sagacious lead and prompt decision at the highest level, to guide us through the mazes of our perplexing politics. We congratulate C. R. on his appointment to this exalted office, and on the further opportunities of service to the nation, in the shaping of whose fortunes, his own labours in the past have contributed not a little.

The Draft Constitution

The publication of the Draft Constitution has elicited keen interest in all politically conscious people, and students of politics particularly in the South have discussed the future constitution with a thoroughness and competence which the importance of the subject fully deserves. It is for the Constituent Assembly to decide the precise relation between Britain and India in the future but in the meanwhile it is certainly advantageous to view the question from all aspects. Dr. Ambedkar wants to substitute the word "State" for the word "Republic" lest the independent Sovereign body should automatically break away from the Commonwealth which would be an "irrevocable leap in the dark." Dr. Jayakar

and Sir Jagdish Prasad, in a joint statement urge the view

that separation may satisfy our present feelings of resentment or national elation but will not lead to the greater security of our newly-created status or to its rapid growth.

Congress politicians in the past made no secret of their preference for complete severance (and it was on this assumption that the preamble was drawn up); while the older Liberals held the more prudent view that in the Commonwealth we can have freedom with the additional assurance of security. As against this view there is the case of Burma which went out of the Commonwealth only the other day and is none the worse for it. India's right to break away from the Commonwealth is implicit in her objective. The Constituent Assembly decided the question when it defined India's objective as a Sovereign republic. No quibbling could take away the substance of that objective; and the relationship with the Commonwealth was to be adjusted later.

Where then, it may be asked, is the need to tamper with the Preamble when membership of the Commonwealth is open to us on treaty basis? From the point of view of security there is certainly much to be gained from the strong arm of Britain but India cannot be tied to the apron strings of Britain in any future adventure against possible rivals. Nor can it be said that membership of the Commonwealth has so far saved us from bad treatment in the British Dominions and Colonies. Whether the conditions will deteriorate under secession or improve is a moot point. It is for the Constituent Assembly to give its best thought to the subject and give a definite verdict in accord with the best interests of India.

In this as in other matters, Pakistan will wait for India's lead and will give no clue to her intentions. But that is hardly necessary, as in spite of all bluff and threat Pakistan, owing its very creation to Britain, will continue to be guided by British diplomacy.

Mr. Jinnah's one party rule

For a Governor-General to dabble in party politics and favour one group against another is rather tactless and unseemly; but Mr. Jinnah's violent denunciation of the Khudai Khidmatgars at Peshawar at the end of his Frontier tour is evidence of a pettiness of mind inexcusable in one raised to that exalted office. "There were grave dangers", he darkly hinted. "Those dangers came from within and sprang from those same people that had misled the people of the N.-W.F. Province in years gone by." From this and from the tirade he indulged in against "such people, who had misled them for years and had all but succeeded in handing over the Frontier Province to 'the Hindu Raj'" it seems that the Khan brothers and their followers constitute the menace which Mr. Jinnah was warning against. If the formula 'once an enemy always an enemy' were to be acted upon in public life there could be no security for anyone except those in power. Did the Governor-General of Pakistan reflect on the implications of his speech? If those who previously worked for the retention of the unity of India are not to be trusted and they cannot be accepted as friends in Pakistan, what about those who deliberately and mischievously worked for partition and who are still in India? Are they to be distrusted because of the part played by them in the past? Are their professions of loyalty to the Indian Union to be discounted, because they were once fanatical Leaguers and whole-hearted supporters of Pakistan? India has taken a more sensible and tolerant view of things, and thank God, we do not propose to treat

the erst-while Pakistan-minded people as aliens or enemies. We accept their *bona fides* and treat them as true citizens entitled to all rights and obligations. It would be monstrous to think otherwise. And then could the Khudai Khidmatgars of the Frontier Province be liquidated as aliens even on the basis of the absurd two-nation theory?

The States in the New Constitution

Probably the most outstanding achievement of the period following Independence is the integration of the States with the Indian Union. Sardar Patel and his Ministry have in the course of six months done a work which for two centuries the statesmanship of British administrators had failed to do in India. It will be remembered that the independence which came in August last was hedged in with two disastrous conditions—the complete severance of Pakistan and the loosening of the old tie of relationship with the States. On August 15, 1947, there were 562 Indian States which claimed to assume sovereign powers with the lapse of British paramountcy. When the integration plan is completed, there would roughly be 25 State units. In accordance with the Minister's undertaking that viable units would be allowed to stand by themselves, major States like Cochin, Travancore, Mysore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Bhopal etc. would not be touched. The other States have been, or will be, formed into Unions.

It must at once be admitted that this great work would not have been possible but for the patriotic rally of the Princes and the peoples of the States to the cause of Indian unity. And the States Ministry is fully conscious of the debt it owes to these princes who have voluntarily surrendered some of their rights not only in their own interest but in the larger interest of the country.

MAY 1948]

The Kashmir Muddle

It was a straight and simple issue on which India sought the help of the United Nations in respect of the Kashmir trouble. For four and half months the Security Council has discussed and debated all points except the one point at issue and the result of their deliberations is a painful reminder of the way that power politics is working against India. No wonder the Indian delegation has returned disappointed and disillusioned. The immediate task is the ejection of the raiders and prevention of those whose complicity in the affair is undisputed; but instead, the Security Council is indulging in erratic attempts at constitution making. And then to ask Sheikh Abdullah to take into his Cabinet the very men who took up arms against his Government and let loose hordes of tribesmen to ravage the fair valley of Kashmir is to ask for the impossible. Have we not had bitter experience of what two-party Government meant, when the League and Congress were working against each other in the Interim Government before partition? With such melancholy memories we can be no party to Kashmir being asked to undergo a similar experience. If the request for the withdrawal of Indian troops will threaten the military security of Kashmir, the demand for expansion of the Abdullah Government will reduce Kashmir to administrative chaos.

The late Mr. K. Natarajan

The death of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* at Bombay at the age of 79, removes a veteran journalist and reformer who for fifty years and more laboured with singular devotion to the cause. Natarajan started his career in the *Hindu* in the eighties of the last century and was one of the first Madrasese journalists and reformers to win distinction in either field outside the Presidency. The *Reformer* was never a financial success but Mr. Natarajan's refreshingly rational views and the vigour of his writings served as a mental tonic to three generations of Indian journalists. The *Reformer*, by its frank and outspoken

views, has continued down to this day as the journalist's journal, drawing pointed attention to aspects of questions not always popular and refreshingly unconventional. Mr. Natarajan, like Veerasalingam, was a reformer when the term was one of reproach and he was living the life he had all along preached. Throughout his life he displayed singular courage, self sacrifice and devotion to the cause he held sacred. The world of journalism and progressive thought in India is the poorer for his death. But apart from this, we regret the snapping of yet another link with our own firm. For it will be recalled that his "Rejoinder" to Miss Mayo's infamous "Mother India" which ran into many editions, was perhaps the most brilliant of all the polemical literature on the subject yet published by this or any other firm.

Journalists in Conference

Journalists in India have had little time to think of themselves in their pre-occupations with other people's affairs. Only recently have they awakened to the necessity to organise themselves if only to serve the public with greater efficiency. South Indian Journalists met in conference the other day at Madras and adopted a series of reports designed to improve their status and position, no less in their own interests than in the interests of the public which it is their privilege to serve in their own way.

Should they organise themselves on the lines that have served well other learned professions like law, medicine and engineering or should they form a trade union of journalists just as there are unions of industrial workers and field labourers? Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar, Assistant Editor of the *Hindu*, who was elected for the third time to preside over the conference definitely advised his fellow journalists to organise themselves on the lines of the learned professions. If journalism were organised as a profession having its own distinctive code of conduct, he added,

it should be possible for them to withstand encroachments on the freedom of the Press, from whatever directions these might be attempted, and to achieve reasonable security of tenure as well as the emoluments and status that was their due.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

Democrats' Majority in Italy

PREMIER Alcide De Gasperi's Christian Democrats emerged from Italy's first elections since Mussolini seized power, with a clear majority in both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

Almost half of Italy has voted for the Christian Democrat party, and nearly one-third for the Communist-Socialist Popular Front, for both Legislative Houses.

In the Chamber, the Christian Democrats have 303 seats against the Popular Front's 178.

Seats for the other parties are: Socialist Unity 29, National Bloc 15, Monarchists 12, Republicans 6, Italian Social Movement (Fascist) 4, Minor Groups 5.

New Czechoslovak Constitution

The draft of the new Czechoslovak Constitution provides for the establishment of "a people's Democratic Republic" with equality between Czechs and Slovaks, but "deprived of hostile elements".

The existing Senate is abolished in favour of a single Parliamentary Chamber to be known as the National Assembly with 300 members elected for six years, instead of four-year Parliaments as at present.

The head of the State will be the President elected by the National Assembly for a seven-year term of office and the Supreme Executive will be the Government appointed by or dismissed by the President and responsible to the National Assembly.

End of Warfare in Costa Rica

President Teodoro Picado of Costa Rica resigned on April 20 after signing a peace treaty with rebel forces. The treaty confers the Presidency on 74-year-old Santos Leon Herrera. It also decreed the unconditional surrender of Government forces and the exile of military and political chiefs.

The treaty ends five weeks of civil war between President Picado's regime and the insurgents led by Jose Figueres.

Sovereign Status of Canada

The Canadian House of Commons passed on April 27 the first reading of a Bill to substitute the one word "Canada" for "Dominion of Canada" on all official documents.

Mr. Bona Arsenaut (Quebec Liberal), who introduced the Bill, said the word "Dominion" had lost its original meaning since Canada was now a sovereign nation.

Abolition of Death Penalty in England

The death sentence in Britain is now commuted to penal servitude for life.

Mr. James Chuter Ede, Home Secretary, announced this when the Bill suspending the death penalty for murder for five years and including other reforms passed through the House of Commons on April 10.

It was sent immediately to the House of Lords, where it received a formal first reading at once.

When it becomes law, the sentence will be simple imprisonment for life.

Jew-Arab War Prospects

Military experts who have studied the prospects of an all-out war between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, believe it would possibly last for years.

That is, of course, unless the United Nations eventually stepped in with a workable plan—or sufficient force—to end it.

Strategists forecast that the war, if it comes, will be pointed with few major battles—unless the Jews, knowing it would be to their advantage, could force the Arabs to stand still.

At the time of going to press, the cease fire order for the walled old city of Jerusalem is in operation according to an official report to the U. N. Trusteeship Council at Lake Success.

New Democratic Party in China

Gen. Chengchine, Director of the President's head-quarters in Hankow, and his supporters have established in Nanking an association for the promotion of constitutionalism and democracy.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

INDIAN WRITERS IN COUNCIL. Edited by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar—(P.E.N.) The International Book House Ltd., Bombay.

Srimathi Sophia Wadia, the Founder of the All-India Centre of the P. E. N., can well claim that the Jaipur conference was the first important cultural gathering held anywhere after the end of World War II.

As has been well-pointed out by the editor, unity in diversity, unity triumphant over dis-unity, was the main theme of the Conference. Indian Literature is thus a harmonious orchestra to which each of the regional literatures has contributed its own characteristic note. Srimathi Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Radhakrishnan and other personages enriched the proceedings, with their participation. The Editor himself contributed a suggestive essay entitled 'Inter-play and circulation of thought in Modern Indian Literatures.' One well-known vernacular writer has held that English is now throttling the development of our vernacular literatures. A strong plea is put forward for the indispensability of English to Indian Culture.

LIFE AND MYSELF. By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. Nalanda Publications, Bombay.

This is an autobiography of that portion of Harin's life which he has characterised as 'dawn approaching noon'. In this he gives us graphic details of some of the more important events that have shaped his life which according to him is kaleidoscopic displaying accidental patterns and colours. His passion for colour, beauty and rhythm was born with him and from his early days Shelley has much influenced his imagination.

The book provides interesting reading, giving colourful sidelights of the life of a visionary and artist.

FROM FAILURE TO FULFILMENT. By John Martin. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

This book deals with psychology, but only in its bearing on the treatment of mental disorders. It is intended chiefly for ministers and social workers, who, in the course of discharging their duties, may have to do with people whose mental poise has, for one reason or another, been disturbed; and it shows how useful a knowledge of scientific psychology will be in handling such cases. The method chosen here for dealing with the subject, is to cite particular cases of mental break-up and to describe in detail the measures adopted to cure them.

HOMAGE TO MAHATMA. A.I.R., Delhi.

This is an excellently got up brochure containing some of the tributes broadcast to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, and the A.I.R. Delhi has done well to give them a more permanent form. The collection includes appreciations of the Mahatma from no less than thirty-three well known and representative people drawn from different ranks and occupations. We have selections from the talks of Lord Mountbatten and Nehru and Patel and Rajen Babu and Sarojini and C. Rajagopalachari and others. The book is sumptuously printed on art paper with appropriate illustrations.

GOLDEN JUBILEE SOUVENIR OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MATH, Mylapore, Madras.

For fifty years the Ramakrishna Math in Madras has rendered signal spiritual and humanitarian service and it is fitting that the occasion of the Jubilee should be marked by the publication of a Souvenir recording the work and achievements of this beneficent institution.

The story of the Math's growth and development in Madras is told in detail in the Souvenir which is enriched with articles on different aspects of the Mission's work.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

April 1. India's Parliament discusses Employees' State Insurance Bill as amended by Select Committee.
—Round up of communists in Madras Province.

April 2. Partial strike in Calcutta.
—Mr. S. A. Dange arrested.

April 3. India's Parliament adopts resolution urging elimination of communal organizations.

April 4. Vindhya Pradesh States' Union inaugurated.
—Dr. Subbarayan's resignation accepted by Madras Premier.

April 5. Soviet fighter collides with U. K. plane over Berlin.

April 6. Mr. C. H. Bhabha quits central cabinet.
—India Govt. outline industrial policy.

April 7. Dominion Parliament approves Government's Industrial policy.
—Mysore Constituent Assembly meets.

April 8. Dominion Parliament passes National Cadet Corps Bill.

April 9. Pandit Nehru explains Indo-Hyderabad relations.
—Deadlock over Kashmir in U. N.

April 10. Uprising in Colombia: Bogota reduced to a shambles.
—Indo-Pakistan air pact discussed.

April 11. H. H. Gaekwar announces popular Govt. for Baroda.
—Two new series of National Savings Certificate issued.

April 12. Pandit Nehru lays foundation of Hirakud Dam.

April 13. Pandit Nehru lays foundation of new capital of Orissa at Bhuvaneshwar.
—Colombia breaks with Russia.

April 14. Mr. Asaf Ali, Indian Ambassador in U.S.A. returns to India.

April 15. Plane crash in Eire, Sir Homi Mehta among the dead.
—Inter-Dominion Conference meets at Calcutta.

April 16. Plebiscite to decide future of French India agreed.
—21 Simla Hill States taken over by Centre.

April 17. New draft on Kashmir issue in U. N. A.
—Delhi talks on Hyderabad.

April 18. Nehru inaugurates Rajasthan Union: Udaipur joins.

April 19. India rejects U. N. draft on Kashmir.
Indo-Pakistan Pact on minorities.
—Burma admitted to U. N. A.

April 20. British troops leave Haifa.
—Christian democrats obtain absolute majority in Italian elections.

April 21. Jail delivery ordered in Hyderabad.
—Industrial truce accepted by Labour Conference in New Delhi.

April 22. Malwa Union covenant signed.

April 23. Cloth controls to go.
—Haifa falls to Jews.

April 24. A. I. C. C. meets in Bombay.
—Nizam appeals to parties to join Interim Govt.

April 25. Attempt on life of Nahas Pasha.
—Draft of Congress constitution adopted by A.I.C.C.

April 26. Sind Premier Mr. Khurho is dismissed.
—Nehru addresses Secret session of A.I.C.C. on relations with Hyderabad.

April 27. Report of Transjordan declaring war on Palestine.
—Hyderabad Premier addresses Legislative Assembly on relations with India Govt.

April 28. Agreement between Arabs and Jews at Lake Success.

April 29. Death of Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of *Indian Social Reformer* at Bombay.
—Salary scales of administrative service fixed.

April 30. Bhopal ruler announces responsible Government.
—U. N. Commission warns Abdullah of Transjordan.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



GANDHI AND INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION

From his earliest years, Gandhiji was brought up in an atmosphere purely Hindu, writes Mr. Pereira in the *New Review*, and if at all he did occasionally breathe in an atmosphere of another religion, it was usually of a kind that tended to choke him. It is clear therefore that his first attitude to the divine was institutional. He has never been able to shake off this attitude entirely.

That much of this is due to sentiment is suggested by a little incident reported about him. His mother had placed a Vaishnava necklace of beads around his neck with a view to protecting him from injury and hurt. Gandhiji, however, in course of time came to disbelieve in its mysterious powers, and yet he absolutely refused to have it removed. This necklace is indeed symbolic of the mantle of Hinduism which the contingency of his birth has placed on him, and even though he had come to disbelieve in most of its essential tenets he refused to lay it aside. Hence he claimed to be as good a Hindu as any other orthodox Hindu, to love Hinduism dearer than life itself, and to fulfil its various prescriptions. He had no other wish in this world than to find the light of joy and peace through Hinduism, and it is for this reason that he wished to see it purified: 'I cannot,' he said, 'leave religion, and therefore Hinduism. My life would be a burden if Hinduism left me. I love Christianity, Islam and many other faiths through Hinduism. Take it away and nothing remains for me.'

He has summed up his religious position from the institutional angle in his now famous credo:

"I believe in the Vedas, in the Upanishads the Puranas, and all that goes by the name of Hindu Scriptures, and therefore in the Avatars and in rebirth.

I believe in the Varnashrama Dharma (Caste system) in a sense, in my opinion, strictly Vedic, but not in its popular and crude sense.

I believe in the protection of the cow in a much larger sense than the popular.

I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

THE NEXT WAR?

All countries are in a state of general nervousness, questioning whether the war clouds are not already on the horizon for the third and greatest of all World Wars. This anxiety, says Mr. C. Jinarajadasa in the April *Theosophist*, is undoubtedly due to the expansionist policy of Russia, which has brought within her orbit (which is more than just a mere "sphere of influence") Poland, Western Germany, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and last of all Czechoslovakia.

All that one can gather from such fragments of news as come from behind the "iron curtain" is that for some mysterious reason Russia is afraid lest a combination of Western powers should attack her, and so has buttressed herself with a ring of subservient nations. It has been not unusual for great empires in the past to protect their interests by various illegitimate forms of expansion. The history particularly of the development of France under the old Kings, and later of the British Empire, illustrates this principle, the difference only being in the speed with which it is being done by Russia, as contrasting with the leisurely process of expansion of other nations. Thus, for instance, long ago Britain considered that since she had overriding interests in India, Australia and New Zealand, the sea route through the Mediterranean should be safeguarded. Hence the leisurely seizure of Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus. A part of the same policy was the secret and sudden purchase by the British Prime Minister Disraeli of a large part of the shares in the Suez Canal owned by the then Khedive of Egypt for the sum of four million pounds.

Nations like Britain and France with imperialistic expansions never had any gospel to proclaim to the peoples of the territories annexed; but Russia today has a gospel of communism which must be incorporated into the policy of every nation which is forced to come within her "sphere of influence".

But neither of the two great Blocs, U.S.A., Britain and France on the one side, and Russia and her satellite powers on the other, want a third war to come so swiftly after the second. Nevertheless, there is serious alarm.

A WORD TO PAKISTAN

Pakistan is advised by *The Economist* to order all armed tribesmen in its territory back into their own tribal areas. The paper says: "Although Pakistan cannot escape the responsibility for allowing armed bands to pass through its territory into Kashmir and may have given them positive aid and encouragement, nevertheless these raiders have come from the tribal territories in the North-West Frontier, which are outside Pakistan itself and which are potential sources of danger to Pakistan as well as to India."

"By taking a firm line with the raiders, Pakistan would put itself right with the Commonwealth and create at once Commonwealth solidarity in common defence; for, from the moment Pakistan positively opposes the raiders, the two Dominions would stand together under external attack and would have the right to expect full support from other members of the Commonwealth against an invader."

What is now needed is not a judgment on Pakistan's past actions or inactions, not even a scheme for settlement in Kashmir, but action by Pakistan to put a stop to the Pathan campaign in Kashmir.

"Mr. Jinnah would no doubt object that this would merely leave Muslim Kashmir at the mercy of the Dogras and the Indian troops now in the country and would destroy Pakistan's hopes of obtaining the accession of Kashmir or any part of it. But no proposals for settlement are likely to be accepted by India while the fighting continues; India feels itself the aggrieved party and is more and more resentful at what is regarded in Delhi as a denial of justice due to British efforts at conciliation at Lake Success."

"Pakistan must make a positive contribution to restore the goodwill which is essential for reaching an equitable agreement on Kashmir and should not doubt that the good offices of all members of the Commonwealth would be used to ensure a fair deal now and later."

GITA IN ACTUAL PRACTICE

Work strenuously, says the *Gita*, for the welfare of all animate beings in a spirit of detachment. That is the ideal of the Karmayogi and Gandhiji has striven in his own life to realise that ideal, observes H.E. Dr. K. N. Katju in the *Hindustan Review*. "Gandhiji by his precept and his example, led us in the path pointed out by the *Gita* as the best and most suitable for those in trouble, in sorrow and in conflict with forces of evil. Gandhi himself had said that over and over again he had gone to *Gita* as a child goes to his mother. He considered the *Gita* as the best dictionary of human conduct and the key, which unlocks all mysteries and riddles. The message of the *Gita* is eternal. It is meant for all humanity, and is not limited to any particular race or nation. This Gandhiji had shown by his life. During the past thousands of years the *Gita* had been expounded in a variety of ways by various philosophers in support of their own theories and doctrines, but the Indian people owed to Gandhiji the living example of the best exponent of the *Gita* in actual practice."

There is another debt, continues Dr. Katju, which we who consider ourselves as his humble followers owe to him. "Under his influence and direction the Indian National Congress adopted truth and non-violence as the only legitimate method for achieving freedom. Gandhiji thus carried political warfare on the highest moral plane, and every Congressman in the public eye and imagination shared to some extent the moral grandeur of his leader. This uplifting by a political leader of his followers by the sheer force of his example and character to a higher level of moral integrity and virtue is, in my judgment, an unprecedented phenomenon."

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

The nomadic age has all but returned, says Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in his article on the Problem of Human Relationships in the *Aryan Path* for March. He is referring to the movement of refugees from Pakistan to India and vice versa.

Families and communities are uprooted in their thousands and millions and transplanted at the whim of power-drunk politicians who cannot look an inch beyond their noses. And madness, however or wherever it starts, assumes an epidemic form, and sanity itself is daunted and awed into acquiescence. Even otherwise, in this unblest atomic age many of us are forced to play pathetic Sindbads careering on an endless number of voyages. In search of what? Power, adventure, bread, happiness...?—it is difficult to say. But we are all men who have left our souls behind; we are men frantically in search of our lost shadows; we are sundered in our hearts and cleft in our souls. Once more the sense of isolation spectre like approaches us, and only a mastery of the now almost lost art of right living can save us.

Re-incarnated Sindbads, he goes on to say, often find themselves in strange surroundings and constitute "minorities" of various sorts and sizes. There are minorities in terms of religion, and there are racial minorities. There are floating microscopic minorities, like the southerners in the North, the Marwaris in the South, the Indians in Ceylon. The minority receives shelter and support but the minority too owes a duty to the majority.

I am here reminded of what Gandhiji told the Indian community in Ceylon when he visited that island nearly twenty years ago. What he said then with reference to the Indians is applicable to the minorities—be they "permanent" minorities or floating minorities of labourers, intellectuals and businessmen—here and elsewhere. Imagine a cup nearly brimful of milk. Add a little more and the milk will overflow. Add water, and the milk will be diluted and lose its taste. Drop a little stone, and the glass will break and the milk run to waste. Add a little sand, and the milk will be spoiled. But drop a spoonful of sugar, and a miracle is enacted before us. The milk recedes, as it were, or rather receives the sugar with open arms. The sugar penetrates the pores of the milk and sweetens every atom of it. The scientific explanation of this phenomenon does not liquidate the miracle. Indeed, it is a double miracle that we witness for the two have become one, and in return for the welcome and the shelter and the support that it has received in abundant measure, the sugar has sweetened the whole body of the milk. "Live as sugar in milk," exhorted Gandhiji, and surely I can conceive of no worthier ideal.

LOYALTY TO THE STATE

We may have the highest ideals of democracy incorporated in the Constitution but if the executive is disloyal and self seeking, then of what avail is it all, asks the *Modern Review*, in a critical note on the ways and vagaries of the present executives in the centre and in the provinces. To-day the enthusiasm of the masses is slowly dying out and a sense of futility is gradually gaining ground. This, if not checked in time will end in chaos.

What is the use of planning for industry, asks the writer, when all industry and commerce could be held up today by corrupt officials, who utilize the control machinery for the sole purpose of extortion of bribes?

What is the use of export control when the black-marketeer can lubricate his way past all barriers in broad daylight for the passage of millions of rupees worth of essential goods? There is an acute shortage of railway transport, we are told, but waggons and priorities seem to get wings when judicious sums—ranging from fifty to five hundred rupees—are handed over at the right place. Textile goods cannot be got for love or money in the "open" market, but go to any bazar in any city, town or village, you can get whatever you want from the black-marketeer at double the market price. There is a control system for the export of essential commodities to Pakistan, but go to any frontier station, you will see open markets for so-called smuggled goods, goods smuggled, that is, with the open connivance of those whose duty it is to check the transit. As a result there is a vast flow of "controlled" goods across the border, "in one direction only, so far as the Eastern frontier is concerned. For strange though it may seem, it must be admitted that the masses of Eastern Pakistan, lacking though they might be in education, culture and the higher human traits do possess a far stronger sense of loyalty to the state in this respect at least. Possibly that is because of the absence on the other side of the counterparts of our mercantile bag-barons, bloated with ill-gotten gains, and totally devoid of any scruples, principles of higher ideals."

Bribery, corruption, nepotism and patronage of unworthy and unscrupulous job-hunters, we are told, are still as rife in the State as ever before.

There have been many instances in the High Command when loyalty to undeserving associates has taken precedence of loyalty to the State. The Cabinet cannot deny that on many a crucial juncture the interests of the particular set have overridden the interests of the Nation. If this continues then how can they expect the mass to remain staunch in the face of privations and loyal in the midst of disruptive influence?

STATE AND CULTURE

In an article in the April number, the Editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata* criticises the concept of the Secular state adumbrated by our Constitution makers. A secular state, he says, is one which is opposed to a theocratic state, which is ruled by priests or persons who claim themselves to be representatives of God and who enforce a particular form of religious belief on its subjects.

Students of history will find numerous instances of the conjunction of church and state authority in lands beyond India. Even now, though religion is relegated to the background, there is still the form of combination of church authority and political power in certain countries. Not very long ago heterodox communities were either not allowed political rights or permission to stay in countries which had an official orthodoxy.

India never had anything in the same line or in the nature of a theocratic state. For one thing, he says, there never obtained a single religion in India.

What goes by the name of Hinduism is not a religion, though the world has formed a habit of vaguely regarding it as a kind of faith. The word Hinduism was unknown to Indians either as a racial or a religious term descriptive of themselves, before it was applied to them by a not too discriminating foreign people. In origin it had a geographical significance. Even now its meaning is predominantly social. And if we choose to apply it in a religious sense, we have to take it in the sense of a parliament of religions. If religion is taken to mean a set of beliefs and observations and a scripture or scriptures, then Hinduism contains forms of faiths which by their number and variety defy precise calculation. Hinduism even contained sects without belief in God.

All the different beliefs and practices were protected and respected by the state authorities. They were free to preach and practise what they believed and win adherents to their folds by the democratic method of persuasion and free choice. The writer goes on to say:

The method of force in religious matters was unknown. Even in a single family the different members followed different beliefs and practices, which would be termed different religions in the sense in which religion is used in the West. That intolerant hatred which is associated with devotion to a particular faith elsewhere was never a feature of Indian religious life. The higher wisdom of the fathers of the race knit together the different beliefs as varying approaches to the Truth, which is one and indivisible.

The vision of unity thus permeated every stratum of society and held it together. The political and commercial authorities were strictly confined to their particular spheres, and they performed definite functions in the social order.

They were not allowed to overstep the limits of their authority and to raise themselves to positions from where they could override all other considerations. They were subordinated to the higher needs of the community and the laws of the spirit. Holiness attached to a life of renunciation and self-control, representing the top level and the ideal of the community as a whole. The *kshatriyas* who governed were controlled by the moral authority of men of poverty and virtue, and the state policy was subjected to the demands of the spiritual evolution of man and the cultural progress of the community.

"HARIJAN" WEEKLIES

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, writes in the first issue of the revived *Harijan* that

"it was with a heavy heart that they agreed to suspend the publication of the *Harijan*. It was no easy decision to discontinue after Gandhiji's death a paper, which had for years been the vehicle of his thought and through which he had preached incessantly his unique message of truth, love and non-violence.

"There have been numerous requests from all parts of the world, from sympathizers and admirers of Gandhiji and his ideals, to be kept in touch with the course of his various activities in India. It would have been wrong to disappoint that very natural desire on their part.

"The world has a right to know how Gandhiji's countrymen and particularly those who shared his faith are trying to acquit themselves of the responsibility that has devolved upon them after Gandhiji's death. The various workers in the field, too, need a vehicle for co-ordinating their efforts and exchanging notes of their respective experiences. The resuscitated "*Harijan*" weeklies will be a mirror of our shortcomings and failure no less than of our strivings."

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME: A Symposium. Rs. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, G. T., Madras.

INDIAN STATES

Hyderabad

RELATIONS WITH HYDERABAD

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declared at Bombay on April 26: "The Government of India's patience in dealing with the issue of Hyderabad State is on the verge of being exhausted."

Pandit Nehru said it was not a question of accession, nor even a Responsible Government in the State, although these issues were important by themselves.

"The real question is this", Pandit Nehru said, "that a certain section of people in Hyderabad is committing hostile acts against the Government of India. We do not know if the Hyderabad Government are powerless to check it, or may be, they do not desire to check it.

"In either event, the time has arrived when this hostility must cease. If the Hyderabad Government cannot stop it, other measures will be adopted to stop it."

THE NIZAM'S FIRMAN

The Nizam of Hyderabad, in a *firman* issued on April 22 appeals to all political parties, not represented in the present Interim Government of the State to join and take a proper share in the responsibilities of the Government. The Nizam has asked the Prime Minister to submit proposals for the framing of a new constitution.

MR. LAIK ALI'S APPEAL

Addressing the members of the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly on April 27 Premier Mir Laik Ali announced the decision of the Government to withdraw all warrants against persons residing outside the State in addition to the release of most of the political prisoners in view of the fact that the situation is reasonably under control. He added that the ban on the Communist Party in the State had been lifted on the principle that while the Government did not propose to place any restriction on various political ideologies, they would not permit any subversive activities.

Mysore

MYSORE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly which has been charged with the task of framing a new constitution for Mysore, on the basis of full Responsible Government commenced its work on April 7.

Messages from leaders from all over the Indian Dominion were received wishing the Constituent Assembly success. The meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held at the Sir Puttanna Chetty Town Hall and this historic meeting was attended by a distinguished gathering.

A message sent by H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore extending his warm greetings and cordial good wishes to the members of the Constituent Assembly, was read to the House. The message said that events of great moment had come to pass in India recently and "it has been our privilege to witness one of the greatest facts in history, namely India taking her place of honour as a free and independent Dominion in the Commonwealth of Nations. This event has its own full significance for Mysore. My decision that the new Constitution for Mysore should provide for Responsible Government was announced in September last year and, in pursuance of my later Proclamation, dated October 29, 1947, this Constituent Assembly, composed entirely of elected representatives of the people, has been set up to evolve proposals for implementing my decision to establish Responsible Government."

The Assembly adopted, all standing, a resolution recording its sense of poignant sorrow at the tragic demise of Mahatma Gandhi, the beloved Father of the Nation.

Mr. K. C. Reddi, Chairman, then welcomed the members. He thanked the Maharaja for his kind message and acknowledged the innumerable messages of goodwill received from all parts of India from the Nation's leaders wishing Godspeed to the work of the Assembly.

Baroda**CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT
IN BARODA**

Following discussions between the Maharaja of Baroda and the State Prajamandal leaders in Bombay, an agreement has been reached on the constitutional reforms that Baroda is to have in the near future. The Prajamandal leaders had expressed dissatisfaction with the terms of the declaration regarding reforms made by the Maharaja on April 11 and had met the Maharaja in Bombay to obtain a revision of its terms.

Darbar Gopaldas Desai, with other state leaders, conducted these negotiations with the Maharaja.

It has now been agreed that the Interim Government shall be called an Interim Cabinet and will consist of popular representatives—a point, according to the leaders not specially made clear earlier. One of the Ministers shall be the Chief Minister who will be styled the Dewan.

The Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will come automatically into force and will not be submitted to the Ruler. The reserved subjects have been pruned, defence, foreign relations and residuary powers having been removed from the "excluded subjects" mentioned in the previous declaration. "Patronage" will also be defined.

Cochin**STATE INSURANCE IN COCHIN**

The Cochin Government have passed orders introducing State insurance with immediate effect on the model of the Mysore and Travancore schemes.

Insurance has been made compulsory on the part of Government servants, except in the case of those who have approved the State Insurance Department as the sole authorised insurer for purposes of the Cochin Motor Vehicles Act. Consequently certificates issued by registered companies have become invalid with regard to the Cochin Motor Vehicles Act.

Travancore**TRAVANCORE CONSAMBLY**

The Travancore Representative Body met on April 9, under the Presidency of Mr. A. J. John, President to consider the report of the Rules of Procedure Committee and adopted 11 sections dealing with the election of the President and Deputy President. As consideration of rules began, the question arose in which language the original of Rules of Procedure should be recorded. The Committee had got the same ready in English, Malayalam and Tamil. After a full discussion, Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai's suggestion to record the same in English, and get ready the translation in local languages was accepted.

DRIVE AGAINST COMMUNISTS

In line with the Provincial and other State Governments, the Travancore Government have ordered the arrest and detention of all active Communist workers.

Malwa**UNITED STATE OF MALWA**

An important landmark in the history of Indian States affecting the life of about eight million people belonging to 25 Central India States including the big States of Gwalior and Indore took place on April 20 when signatures were affixed to the Draft Covenant authorising the formation of the United State of Malwa, the biggest of all unions of states hitherto formed. The new Union, which has the Gwalior Ruler as the Raj Pramukh, includes an area of about 42,000 square miles and a total revenue of above Rs. 12 crores.

Bhopal**RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT
FOR BHOPAL**

The Nawab of Bhopal announced on April 29, the inauguration of Responsible Government in the State with the formation of an Interim Government with Raja Sir Oudhnarain Bisarya as Prime Minister.

Kashmir**U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL'S
RESOLUTION**

The U.N. Security Council on April 21 adopted the joint resolution on Kashmir presented on April 17 by the President, Dr. Alfonso Lopez, on behalf of Britain, the U.S.A., China, Columbia, Canada and Belgium. The resolution, it may be mentioned, was rejected by India when the Council took it up subsequently.

A minor amendment by China to paragraph 10-E, giving the plebiscite administrator right to communicate directly with Pakistan Government, was adopted in spite of India's strong opposition.

The Council voted the resolution clause by clause. Russia and the Ukraine abstained from voting on all clauses.

Rajasthan**UNITED STATE OF RAJASTAN**

The Indian Prime Minister Nehru, on April 18 inaugurated at Udaipur the new United State of Rajasthan, one of the largest unit set up so far in the process of integration of States into strong regional units. The new State has an area of 32,000 square miles and a population of 43 lakhs with a revenue of over three crores.

Alwar**MAHARAJA OF ALWAR
EXONERATED**

The Maharaja of Alwar has been exonerated as a result of the enquiry conducted by the Government of India into activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak in Alwar State and the possible complicity of that organisation in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi as well as the allegations of support extended to it by the State Government.

A Press note issued by the State's Ministry on April 18, announces that "it has been established to their satisfaction that His Highness himself was not concerned in any such activities".

Vindhya Pradesh**VINDHYA PRADESH UNION**

The Union of the 35 States of Vindhya Pradesh, comprising the States of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, came into being on April 4, when Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, Government of India, inaugurated the Union.

The integration of the administration of these two regions with the Government of India, will result in the addition of an area of nearly 25,000 square miles with a population of about 35,00,000, the total revenue of these States in the two regions is estimated at three and a half crores of rupees.

Matsya**MATSYA UNION'S REQUEST
TO INDIA GOVT.**

The Government of the United States of Matsya has granted a further sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for rehabilitation of refugees coming to the State from Pakistan.

About 50,000 refugees have already arrived in Alwar and Bharatpur. Thirty thousand of them, who are agriculturists, have so far been settled on land. The rehabilitation scheme is expected to cost the Government Rs. 1½ crores.

The Matsya Union has requested the Central Government for an advance of Rs. 20 lakhs, twelve trucks and 20,000 gallons of petrol to organise rehabilitation.

Saurashtra Govt.**NAWANAGAR ADMINISTRATION**

The Nawanagar State the last of the covenanted States of Saurashtra to be brought under the administrative control of Saurashtra, was taken over by Mr. Balvantr Deputy Prime Minister and Mr. Rasikhlal Parikh, Home Minister, on April 14.

With the taking over of Nawanagar the whole of Kathiawar peninsula, excepting the territories of the Bombay Province and the Baroda State, and Junagadh and other adjoining States whose accession is undisputed, comes under one administration.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

S. America

SIR C. P. ON COLONISATION OF S. AMERICA BY INDIANS

Giving his impressions of his tour of America Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, in a recent interview in Madras, said that there is "tremendous scope for the colonisation of South America by the people of India because the climate there was similar to that of India."

But the point was would those countries admit Indian colonists? That was matter for diplomatic negotiation, he said. In this connection, it was useful to remember that South America is more than twice the size of India and about the same size as the United States; it is rich in natural resources and the possibilities of development are enormous.

In many parts of South America there was on the average only one house to every square mile; so sparse was the population.

There was, Sir Ramaswami Iyer said, a very prevalent feeling in the United States that there was no spiritual leadership there such as India had with Mahatma Gandhi. There was among the intellectual Americans a real sympathy with Indian ideals such as those of the Vedanta, inculcated amongst them by Swami Vivekananda, and an anxiety to re-orientate their lives on the basis of those ideals.

Sir Ramaswami Iyer had spent over two months in the U.S.A. and Canada and had spoken under the auspices of many political and commercial bodies.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR INDIANS

Following agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon on broad principles of citizenship rights of Indians in Ceylon, the Government of Ceylon have forwarded draft proposals for approval of the Government of India. The proposals, after approval, would be introduced in a Bill form at the next session of the Ceylon Parliament.

South Africa

INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

The Highest Court of South Africa at Bloemfontein delivered on March 24, a momentous judgment affecting the quarter million Indians in the Union and vindicating the leadership of the Passive Resistance Movement.

The judgment makes it possible for the resistance movement to have official blessings of the South African Indian Congress whose officials not only refused to align themselves with the movement but also tried to prevent officials of the Transvaal Indian Congress from taking their seats on the Executive of the South African Indian Congress. Following the judgment the Transvaal resistance leaders with delegates from Natal will hold a majority of seats on the Executive of the South African Indian Congress.

Interviewed by the United Press of India Mr. Yusuf Cachalla, Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress said: "The Bloemfontein judgment has vindicated the stand of the leadership of Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker. We have finally ousted the people who believed in collaboration with the Smuts Government and in a dishonourable compromise."

INDIANS JAILED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Nine Indians, who crossed the border from Natal into Transvaal with Mr. Manilal Gandhi, in April last in defiance of the Land Tenure Act were sentenced to three months' hard labour.

England

NO POOR INDIAN IN U.K.

There are no poor Indians in Britain, it was stated at a meeting of the Hindu Association in London on April 4.

A member pointed out that a fund "for the benefit of poor Indians" remained unaltered every year, and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Fakir Chand Sondhi, said they had encountered no poor Indians in Britain for the last 8 years.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

Questions of Importance

A. I. C. C. DECISIONS

Important decisions to limit the jurisdiction of the Indian National Congress to the Indian Union and to leave out East Bengal, Sind, West Punjab and N.W.F.P. were taken by the A.I.C.C. when it met at Bombay on April 24 to adopt the new Congress Constitution and to take stock of the general political situation in the country.

The All India Congress Committee considered the Constitution Committee's recommendations and approved the proposal that the Congress should function only in the Indian Union.

The Committee took up clause-by-clause consideration of the draft constitution and approved Article I without amendments. Article I lays down that the objective of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means a Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

INTER-DOMINION CONFERENCE

A nine-point agreement has been reached at the Inter-Dominion Conference at Calcutta last month. The terms of agreement are:

(1) Responsibility of protecting the lives and property of the minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and their civic rights are fully safe-guarded by the Government of the Dominion in which minorities reside.

(2) In Pakistan and India every citizen shall have equal rights, opportunities, privileges and obligations and there shall be no dis-

crimination against the minorities whose cultural, including educational and religious, rights shall be fully safeguarded.

(3) Both Governments recognise that wholehearted co-operation of the press is essential for creating better atmosphere and agree to ensure that it does not indulge in propaganda against the other Dominion.

(4) Complaints from the minorities in both the dominions should be promptly and fairly looked into and remedial measures taken.

(5) Both in East and West Bengal provincial minorities board and district minorities board be set up.

(6) Any Government servant in any dominion proved guilty either of dereliction of duty in protecting the lives and properties of the minority community or showing prejudice against the minority community in discharge of duty shall receive exemplary and deterrent punishment.

(7) Severe action shall be taken against the persons creating apprehensions or fear or insecurity and alarm in minds of the minority community.

(8) The two Governments shall take adequate steps to remove complaints regarding discrimination in the grants of export and import licences and curb all tendencies towards economic boycott of the minority.

(9) The West and East Bengal Governments will provide Legislations for setting up evacuees' property management boards in the districts or areas wherefrom substantial exodus have taken place.

To implement these decisions both dominions will meet at least once in two months and East and West Bengal Premiers once every month.

Utterances of the Day

PANDIT NEHRU ON HIS TASK

The stupendous task and responsibilities that confront him in his high office as Prime Minister of India were described by Pandit Nehru, replying to a civic address presented to him by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on his first visit to the City as Prime Minister of Free India.

"I remember the sufferings of ten years of life that I had to spend in jail during the national movement but when I compare them with twenty months I have been as the head of Government I feel these months were more difficult due to the unprecedented situation created during the period than those 10 years of jail life. The new life has almost made me a prisoner and I do not find it always possible to go wherever I like and whenever I like. I feel as if I am in a bigger prison now both in body and spirit."

MR. MUNSHI ON EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Mr. K. M. Munshi, in the course of his Convocation Address, at the Calcutta University, on 20th March said:

India is passing from the organic society of the past, created by the unconscious forces of tradition; we are now evolving, as in Europe, a consciously organised society in which our higher aspirations have to combat with the deadly power of the machine cutting into every aspect of life. We can only escape the fate of Europe if we evolve a new education shaped by our own cultural traditions.

Such an education in the earlier stages should be formative; such as would teach the student permanent values in life, not merely arm him with effective skill, make him a useful instrument and yet a man of culture.

Our new education, therefore, must follow the lines of our Culture. It must affirm the Man, his inner self and, his ultimate destiny as much as his historical and social responsibility. Of such an education there should be two basic principles: First, each individual has an individual nature. For him, the highest law is to express it through thought, word and deed which are compact and intrinsically his own. And his highest destiny is to be prepared to die in order to fulfil the law of his being. Second, education, to be truly creative, must make the student more and more himself and teach him to realise his possibilities to the fullest, and so, to fulfil himself. In this way his

personality will grow from strength to strength producing the highest results from his relation to life.

It is an error to suppose that a man is truly educated because he is a good scientist or a literary man though a bad husband; because he is a capable lawyer though a bad citizen; because he is a good patriot but a moral wreck. Human life is one. It cannot be divided into compartments. And no one can evade his responsibility to life as a whole by claiming that he is devoted to a part of it.

DYNAMIC DEMOCRACY

"The political independence of our country is only the beginning of an unfinished revolution—a revolution which is to establish a positive dynamic democracy which will provide full employment for all people to organize adequate social services, check dangerous concentration of economic power and raise the standards of public life and administration," said Dr. S. Radhakrishnan unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at the Cosmopolitan Club, Madras on April 2.

"If we are to be worthy of Mahatma Gandhi's example and true to his memory, we must work for the revolution which he had in view—a social and economic revolution which should be achieved in a peaceful manner," he said and added: "it is true that the first Government of free India was faced with a series of formidable difficulties. Yet if we solve the urgent problems of economic reconstruction in the name of these difficulties we will play into the hands of our enemies."

DR. RAJEN BABU'S APPEAL

Addressing a public meeting at Patna, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, said that although cash contributions were required for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, there could be no better memorial for Gandhi than the practice of his preachings by his countrymen.

"We followed him partially during his life-time," said Dr. Prasad, "before the country's independence was won. But since then we have deviated from his path more and more. This is the reason why we find that principles of truth and non-violence the winds. Whatever may be the reasons for this moral degradation, we must make honest efforts for our moral rehabilitation if we want to save ourselves and to achieve this what could be the better way than to follow the path laid down by Mahatma Gandhi?"

CONGRESS MEMBERSHIP PLEDGE

The following is the new form of the Congress membership pledge:

Effective members: I accept the following objective of the Congress: "The object of the Indian National Congress is the wellbeing and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship."

I am a habitual wearer of Khadi made from handspun yarn and a teetotaler. I do not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form, I am a believer in inter-communal unity and have respect for the faiths of other people. I also believe in equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

I devote regularly a part of my time to activity or activities indicated in the following list by my initials: (1) communal unity, (2) removal of untouchability, (3) prohibition, (4) other village industries, (5) village sanitation, (6) new or basic education, (7) adult education, (8) education in health and hygiene, (9) uplift of women, (10) propaganda of Rashtra Bhasha and provincial languages, (11) working for economic equality, (12) organisation of Kisans, (13) organisation of labour, (14) organisation of students, (15) service of Adivasis, (16) relief work, (17) parliamentary work, and (18) Congress organisation or any other activity recommended by the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C.

I am not a member of any other political party, communal or other which has a separate membership, constitution and programme.

TEXTILE CONTROL TO GO

The Government of India, explaining their Textile Control policy in a Press communique issued on April 23, have announced their decision to discontinue control over distribution of yarn. Government will however retain the right to requisition or ear-mark for the handloom industry at least as much yarn as is now being supplied.

The Government have also decided that, with immediate effect the stamping of ex-mill and retail prices of cloth will be discontinued. The existing regulations regarding movements of cloth, the marking of the month and year of production and the hoarding of cloth and yarn by manufacturers, traders and consumers will continue.

FUTURE OF HARIJANS

"The statement of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, advising Harijans and members of the Scheduled Castes to form a third political party in India, keeping off from the folds of the Congress, is calculated to do more harm than good to Harijans in general," said Bhagat Amichand, General Secretary of the All-India Harijan League.

Bhagat Amichand contended that "the division of Hindu society into different compartments will jeopardise the integrity of the nation and do harm to the economic uplift of Harijans".

"Harijans will be a minority in India and will not be trusted either by the Congress or the Socialists if they follow a separatist tendency and attempted to form a third political party", he said.

Bhagat Amichand regretted that the Law Minister of the Indian Cabinet should have made "such an irresponsible and provocative statement at a time when India required greater unity, greater faith and greater integrity to lead all communities safely to the achievement of our common objective, namely, a democratic republic".

NATIONAL CADET CORPS

The Dominion Parliament on April 18 passed the National Cadet Corps Bill which provides for the constitution of a National Cadet Corps.

Sardar Baldev Singh explained that the present schemes for the Cadet Corps and the Territorial Force were only a beginning. Later on, finances and resources permitting, the strength of both could be raised.

C. R. TO SUCCEED LORD MOUNTBATTEN

It has been officially announced from Buckingham Palace that the King, on the recommendation of the Government of India has approved the appointment of H. E. Mr. Chakravorthy Rajagopalachari the present Governor of West Bengal, as Governor-General of India, in succession to Earl Mountbatten of Burma, who will relinquish his appointment on June 21, 1948.

Educational

5 YEAR TIME-LIMIT FOR ENGLISH MEDIUM

The Committee on the Medium of Instruction at the University Stage, consisting of Vice-Chancellors of all the 24 Universities in the Indian Union, and Sir S. S. Bhatnagar and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, met on May 2 at New Delhi and resolved that there should be a five-year period of transition during which English would continue to be the medium of instruction and examination in the Universities and that this period should be utilised to prepare for the introduction of the regional or the State language of the area concerned.

Regarding the place of the federal or national language in secondary and higher education, the Committee decided that a test in the federal language will be obligatory for all students, but the result of the test will have no effect on the academic career of the pupil. The Committee also felt that every university should provide facilities to students for taking up the federal language and its literature as an optional subject of study.

SANSKRIT AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

A plea that Sanskrit, considered a dead language by some, should be the medium of instruction, was made by the hon. Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, when he presided over the 63rd anniversary of the Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupathy. He expressed the hope that Sanskrit would receive every encouragement at the hands of the present National Government.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S GRANT TO CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Government of India have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 2,25,000 for the building and equipment of the Calcutta University, Applied Physics and Applied Chemistry Departments and also a loan of Rs. 50,000 for students' hostel attached to the same Departments.

S.S.L.C. SELECTION EXAMINATION.

The Government of Madras have directed that the practice of selection of candidates for the S.S.L.C. Public Examination be abolished and that candidates should not be detained in the Sixth Form except for shortage of attendance.

It may be mentioned that the Government ordered on October 15 that detention in the Sixth Form after selection for the S.S.L.C. Public Examination should be restricted to the ten per cent.

The Government have further ordered that the discretion to admit supplementary pupils to the Sixth Form irrespective of any restriction regarding age may continue to be exercised by Headmasters of high schools. Where, however, the question of accommodation makes it impossible to admit all the supplementary pupils who seek admission, the age of the pupil should be the deciding factor, that is to say, students younger in age should be preferred for admission.

MEDIUM FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In the Indian Parliament Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in reply to Seth Govind Das that as far as primary and secondary education was concerned, the Provincial Governments have accepted the principle that the medium of instructions should be the mother tongue. Every effort was being made to put this into practice.

The Central Advisory Board of Education and the Educational Conference both came to the conclusion that the change in University education should be by stages, so that the standard of education did not suffer.

POONA UNIVERSITY

The Government of Bombay have appointed the Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona for a period of two years.

Legal

HINDU LAW REFORM

Replying to the debate on the motion for reference of the Hindu Code to a select committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister for Law, said:

"In a transitory stage, leaving the past and going to the future, there are bound to be opposing considerations, one pulling towards the past and the other pulling towards the future. The test that we can apply is no other than the test of enlightened conscience. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the provisions of this Bill are in perfect consonance with the enlightened conscience of the community."

Explaining the provisions of the Bill, Dr. Ambedkar said that the new points which are for consideration were first, the abolition of birth-right and abolition of the right to property by survivorship; secondly, giving of a half share to the daughter; thirdly, conversion of the woman's limited estate into an absolute estate; fourthly, abolition of caste in the matter of marriage and adoption; fifthly, the principle of monogamy and sixthly, the principle of divorce.

It was provided that while the daughter would get half the share in the father's property, the son would also get half the share in the mother's property so that, in a certain sense the Bill sought to maintain an equality of position between the son and the daughter.

MR. JUSTICE RAJAMANNAR

The Governor-General has appointed Mr. Justice Pakala Venkata Rajamannar, at present acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, as permanent Chief Justice of that Court *vice* Sir Frederick Gentile who has resigned. Mr. Rajamannar who entered the bar in 1924, was elevated to the post of Advocate-General in the year 1944. He was appointed Judge in 1945 and was acting as Chief Justice from January last.

ILLEGALISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A number of Allahabad University professors in a joint statement have protested against "the virtual illegalisation of the Communist Party all over India."

They say: The virtual illegalisation of the Communist Party all over India raises certain fundamental issues of civil and democratic liberties, which intellectuals and other progressive forces in the country cannot ignore. Is Government to be permitted to suppress all civic freedom through undemocratic methods? The Government has worked up to a position wherein all strikes are virtually illegal and suppressed by force. The right to strike is regarded in all democratic countries as a fundamental right. To take away this right is to be steadily moving towards a police State. The Government should eliminate discontent by progressive and enlightened measures and not through repression. No Government has ever succeeded in putting down ideas by force. If the Government has in its possession any grave charges against any parties it should bring them forward in the open.

EXCHANGE OF HIGH COURT JUDGES

Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Governor of Orissa, pleaded for the free exchange of Judges between the various High Courts in the provinces and their appointment in future on an inter-provincial basis.

Inaugurating the All-Orissa Lawyers' Conference at Cuttack, Dr. Katju said, it would be a great blessing if they could "ensure the existence of an element on the Bench with complete detachment from local environments." He added that "Judges who come from other provinces will find in their new sphere of public service peace of mind and absence of all embarrassment which may not always be available to them in their own provinces."

V. K. K. MENON ON STATE HEALTH INSURANCE SCHEME

Dr. C. L. Katial, at a farewell party given him in London on April 22, before leaving for India to become Director-General of the Employees' State Health Insurance Corporation, told how he was commanded by Mahatma Gandhi to do this work.

He saw Gandhiji in India last January, the day after he broke his fast for communal peace, and was greeted with the words: "You have come back, I am glad. Your work in England is finished. We want you here."

Referring to the insurance scheme, the Indian High Commissioner in Britain, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon one of the speakers at the reception, said: "India has embarked on a great adventure. There is no going back on it."

STATE INSURANCE BILL

The Dominion Parliament on April 2, passed the Employees' State Insurance Bill, which provides for certain benefits to employees in case of sickness, maternity and employment injury.

The Labour Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, said that the Bill opened "a new chapter in the history of labour legislation in this country." It was a beginning of social security measures. Its scope was limited but the benefits might be expanded and extended to any extent in order to cover the various categories of the working classes in this country.

"I am sure", he said amidst cheers, "that the corporation, the provincial Governments and the Central Government will take the earliest opportunity to extend the scope of this Bill as soon as conditions permit."

Replying to the debate, the Labour Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, pointed out that the constitutional position was such that they had mostly to depend upon the Provincial Governments for the implementation of the measures passed by the

House. The Central Government did take utmost care to see that there was uniformity in the provinces and that the Provincial Governments made honest efforts to give effect to the various measures adopted by the House to the best of their ability, capacity and resources.

Most of the Provincial Governments had welcomed the measure under discussion and had promised to give effect to it to the best of their resources. In this matter, the times had changed and the Provincial Governments had begun to take more and more interest in labour welfare and labour legislation. There was no cause for mistrust of the Provincial Governments.

INSURANCE BUSINESS IN INDIA

Mr. M. A. Aziz Ansari, Superintendent of Insurance, Government of India, met the members of the South India Insurance Association at Madras on April 10, at the premises of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and discussed with them various problems relating to insurance in India.

Mr. Ansari told the members that he would shortly hold discussions with the authorities of the Pakistan Government and he expressed the hope that a satisfactory solution would be arrived at to facilitate Indian insurers transacting business in Pakistan.

PROVIDENT FUND FOR WORKERS

The institution of compulsory Provident Funds for all industrial concerns was generally favoured by the Standing Labour Committee of the Indian Labour Conference, which met at Delhi on April 15. In the absence of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Labour Minister, Bombay, presided.

The Committee was of the view that all organised industries should provide this service for their permanent workers and recognised that both employers and workers must contribute to the Fund. It was felt that 1/16th of the worker's salary would be a reasonable rate of contribution.

TALKS ON STERLING BALANCES

Emphasis will be laid by India during the forthcoming negotiations in London for the release of sterling assets on the importance of having a fairly long-term settlement.

The current settlement, which expires at the end of June 1948, and the previous one, it is pointed out, were short term settlements and did not give the country an opportunity to arrange her imports programmes. Imports of either capital goods or foodgrains, it is pointed out, are not normally transactions which could be effected in short periods. Further, past experience has been that by the time an agreement is concluded, at least a month or six weeks even of its short tenure of six months elapse.

The Finance Minister is at the moment holding discussions with the Pakistan Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad in regard to the sterling releases.

EXPORT OF CASTOR SEEDS

The Government of India have decided to allow 21,500 tons of castor seeds to be exported through the normal trade channels during 1948, says a Ministry of Commerce Press Note. Applications should be made on the prescribed form to the Deputy Chief Controller of Exports at Calcutta or Bombay or to the Export Trade Controller in case of other ports, on or before May 7, 1948 with the necessary evidence.

PAKISTAN NOT TO CASH SECURITIES

It is understood that Nizam's Government has addressed a request to the Government of Pakistan asking them not to cash the securities valued at Rs. 20 crores transferred by the Nizam's Government to the Pakistan Government till the expiry of the standstill agreement between the Government of India and the Hyderabad Government.

The Pakistan Government, it is further understood, has agreed to this request.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA 2¾ PER CENT. LOAN TO BE REPAID

The Government of India, through an Extraordinary Gazette of India notifies that the whole of the 2¾ per cent. loan 1948-52 will be repaid at par on July 15, 1948, with all interest due up to date. Interest will not accrue on the loan from and after July 15, 1948.

Under the terms of the relevant notification, the Government of India have the right to redeem the whole of the 2¾ per cent. loan 1948-52, or any part of it, at par, on or after June 1, 1948, on giving three calendar months' notice.

IMPORT DUTY ON PAKISTAN COTTON

Pakistan having been declared a foreign territory with effect from Mar. 1, 1948 imports of cotton from Pakistan have to bear the Indian import duty of two annas a pound, says a Press Note, issued by the Ministry of Industry and Supplies.

Since this duty will raise the price of imported Pakistan cotton, and have the effect of inflating the price of Indian cotton, and consequently of cotton textiles, the Government of India, have decided that cotton grown in the Federation of Pakistan and imported into India till August 31, 1948 should be exempt from the Indian import duty.

EXPORT QUOTAS FOR GROUNDNUT

The Government of India have decided to allow the export of 50,000 tons of groundnut and 30,000 tons of groundnut oil as advance quotas for the year 1948, says a Press Note.

Applications should be made on the prescribed form to the Deputy Chief Controller of Exports in Calcutta or Bombay or to the Export Trade Controller in the case of other ports, on or before May 12, 1948 with the necessary evidence.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister, Government of India inaugurating the women's section of the 19th Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference on April 12, emphasised the need for unity among all classes, castes, and creeds, and said the Co-operative movement could play a great role in helping the people "to rise above separatism, which must, at all times, be a source of danger to any country, more especially to us as we have just come into our own."

The dawn of our freedom, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur said, had placed many responsibilities on their shoulders.

No longer could they say that their endeavours were being hampered by rulers unsympathetic towards their progress. Fissiparous tendencies which had taken hold of the people had to be rooted out. No longer could they think in terms of rich and poor, high and low, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin. These terms of distinction had to go as a whole.

WOMEN FOR ENGINEERING

In reply to Smt. Durgabai, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, said in the Parliament on April 9, it was a fact that a woman was debarred from applying for one of the advertised posts of Assistant Research Officers for the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Research Station, Poona. The Assistant Research Officers had to do both laboratory and field work, and had to do extensive touring. While working on models they had to stand continuously for long hours. It was considered that women might not be suitable for these posts.

But, in view of the intense feeling expressed by the late member, he proposed to reconsider the question to the extent, whether it would not be advisable, after all to reserve a post or two for women.

Smt. Durgabai said women were against any reservations being made.

DRESSES AND SEX CRIMES

Women and girls who dressed in a "provocative manner" helped to inflame the passions of sex criminals, says the *Church Standard* in a leading article.

Although the paper, which is issued in Sydney, urges more severe punishments for men who commit sex crimes against women, it demands that Christian charity should require "women to abstain from dressing in a provocative manner."

"In all innocence," it says, "women and girls parade the streets and use the trains and trams in costumes that may be suitable for the beaches, but are emphatically not seemly for use among crowds and normally-dressed citizens."

MRS. KUSUMA GUNAWARDENA

Mrs. Kusuma Gunawardena becomes the second woman to be Member of Parliament, being returned unopposed when nomination papers were submitted for by-election for the Avissawella seat in the House of Representatives of Ceylon. She is the wife of Mr. D. R. R. Gunawardena who lost his seat in Parliament having been convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment for inciting busmen to join the strikers in last year's general strike.

The other woman member of Parliament is Mrs. Florence Senanayake. Both are leftist members of the Lanka Samaj Party.

RUKMINI DEVI

Srimathi Rukmani Devi, who will be away from India for six months, stayed in Bombay for three days and then proceeded to Geneva. While on tour she will mainly devote her time to lecturing and visiting educational, cultural and other centres besides addressing the conventions of the Theosophical Society in the countries visited.

POET BHARATI'S PORTRAIT FOR MADRAS

An appeal to the people to popularise the songs of poet Subramanya Bharathi and to follow his inspiring message was made by Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Premier of Madras on the occasion of the unveiling of Bharathi's portrait (a gift of His Excellency C. Rajagopalachari to Tamil Nad) by Mr. T. K. Chidambaramudaliar at Rajaji Hall, Madras, on April 13.

The unveiling of the portrait of Tamil Nad's great poet took place appropriately on Tamil New Year Day.

PUBLICATION OF TEXT BOOKS

In connection with the representations made to Government of Madras by certain publishers on the question of Government's taking up publication of text books for schools, it is learnt that it is not at present, the intention of Government to take up the publication of all text-books, but only of guide books for teachers and such other books as are not normally published and as cannot normally be published by any individual agency.

Government, it is understood, will not suddenly disturb any existing practice without obtaining further experience in the matter.

"NEHRU ON GANDHI"

A valuable book of reference detailing a large number of the speeches and writings of Pandit Nehru in which he refers to Mahatma Gandhi, is to be published in New York under the title of "Nehru on Gandhi". The book is also likely to be published in London and will be published in India by the Signet Press of Calcutta.

All royalties from the book will go to the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund.

500 VILLAGE LIBRARIES FOR BOMBAY

The Government of Bombay have approved a plan to open 500 village libraries within a five-year period at a total cost of Rs. 2,59,500.

Every village in Bombay Province with a population of 1,000 to 5,000 and a full-grade primary school, will have a library at the rate of 100 libraries each year.

SIR C. P.'S. PORTRAIT

Dr. Syam Prasad Mookerjee unveiling a portrait of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar at the Cosmopolitan Club, Madras, on April 23, paid well merited tribute to the service rendered by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to Travancore and India and said that in law, administration, politics, education and wherever it fell to his lot to do something, Sir C. P. occupied a pre-eminent place. Mr. Govindarajachari President of the Club, observed that Sir C. P. was a lawyer of all India reputation to be mentioned along with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Bhulabhai Desai.

TRIBUTES TO ANDHRA PUBLISHER

Tributes to the services rendered by Sri Vavilla Vankateswara Sastrulu to the country in general and to Telugu literature in particular were paid by many speakers at a public meeting held on the occasion of the Shashtiabdapurti of Mr. Sastrulu on April 3.

Dr. C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, presided over the meeting which was held at Tiruvottiyur High Road, Washermanpet.

MR. SHUKLA RE-ELECTED LEADER

Pandit Ravishanker Shukla, the Central Provinces Premier, was unanimously re-elected leader of the Congress Party in the C. P. and Berar Assembly at the Party's meeting held at Nagpur on April 2.

Pandit D. P. Mishra and Mr. Dinkar Shastri Ranade were re-elected Deputy leaders and Mrs. Vimalabai Deshpande Secretary.

PIONEER OF SOCIAL REFORM

Glowing tributes to the pioneering social work and the farsightedness of Veeresalingam Pantulu were paid by Dr. C. Ramalinga Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, and other speakers at a public meeting held at the Rajaji Hall, Madras on April 16, to celebrate the centenary of that leader's birth.

A large and distinguished gathering was present on the occasion which marked the inauguration of a three-day celebration.

NUTRITION EXHIBITION AT DELHI

Opening a Nutrition, exhibition organised by the Health Department of the Local Administration at Delhi on April 2 Raj-Kumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister of India, emphasised the need of hygienic preparation of diet for the improvement of national health. She said, that with the achievement of freedom, the people of India, should realise the importance of medical science. She felt that school children should be given free mid-day milk, as most of the parents were poor.

In conclusion, she urged Indian women to be the "queens of the kitchens" and to feed their family as also themselves in a scientific manner and improve the general health of the country."

C. R. ON THE PROGRESS OF AYURVEDA

If Ayurveda was to prosper in India, its practitioners should shed their cloak of secrecy and bring it on a par with allopathy, said the Governor of West Bengal, H. E. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari inaugurating the West Bengal Ayurvedic Conference at Calcutta.

The Governor ascribed the decadence of this ancient art of healing to the failure of its exponents and asked the gathering of Kavirajs to devote their attention to remedying the situation by asking the Government to budget similar amounts for medical relief under both Indian and Western systems. He promised all aid for intensive research in Ayurveda, but said that it was up to the practitioners themselves to chalk out how best it could be achieved.

VACCINATION FOR TUBERCULOSIS

At the request of the Indian Government, the World Health Organisation is sending to India a medical team headed by Dr. W. Gellner of Geneva to introduce vaccination against tuberculosis.

This is an extension to Asia of a programme already being carried out in Europe through co-operation between the International Children's Emergency Fund and the World Health Organisation.

Radio

A NEW TYPE OF TRANSMITTER

A transmitter capable of permitting simultaneous voice transmission and reception on the same wave length for duplex traffic is reported to have been developed by Oswald G. Volland, Jr. at the School of Engg., Stanford University, California. This development, though quite simply designed, is considered to be an important event in the radio amateur world and promises wide-spread commercial potentialities.

INSTRUMENT TO COUNT LISTENERS!

An instrument called "Instantaneous Apparatus" which is able to "count" the number of listeners to any particular programme or even any part of a programme is reported to have been invented by Dr. Petr Goldmark of the Columbia Broadcasting Syndicate. If people switch off in the middle of the broadcast then that is also recorded.

THE USE OF "RADAR" EYES

One of the major causes of the recent tragic air crashes is bad visibility the cure of which lies in the use of "radar" eyes, which, on transmitting a question beam ahead of aircraft flying in misty weather, reflects a warning to the pilot of any obstruction lying in front of him, even though the hurdle is invisible to the human eye.

RADIOS FOR DELHI VILLAGES

Among the various questions concerning the development of Delhi Province it was unanimously decided at a meeting of the Delhi Provincial Development Board on April 1 that the Director-General, A. I. R. should be asked to instal radio receivers in some of the principal villages in the province.

MEMORIAL TO MAHATMA GANDHI

So as to enshrine Gandhiji's memory, Mrs. S. M. Reddi, in a letter to the *Hindu*, Madras, suggests that Mahatma Gandhi's "works should be carefully collected . . . and be broadcast to the public in India and outside in all the languages."

Currency and Banking

OVERSEAS BRANCHES OF INDIAN BANKS

The Finance Minister, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, said to reply to a question from Mr. S. V. Krishnamurti Rao in the Union Parliament that there were in all 30 branches of Indian banks abroad. The Government had already taken steps to help Indian banks to play their legitimate part in the field of exchange, providing full facilities to all deserving banks actively to participate in the foreign trade of the country. "While the Government would naturally welcome any move by authorised Indian banks to increase their share in this business, they feel that the facilities at present available, through the operation to foreign banks, are adequate to meet the needs of India's foreign trade. The establishment of branches has no direct bearing on the finance of foreign trade, which, in certain circumstances, may be more economically handled by the Indian banks through foreign correspondents."

NATIONAL SAVING CERTIFICATES

The Government of India have been considering for some time the question of providing facilities for middle and lower middle class investors who may wish to invest in National Savings Certificates without having to lock up their money for as long as twelve years. They have accordingly decided to issue two more series of National Savings Certificates, one with a currency of five years and the other with a currency of seven years.

The new issues will be subject to the same rules as the present 12 year National Savings Certificates, except that they will be encashable at any time the holder desires. These certificates will be issued in denominations of Rs. 5, Rs. 10, Rs. 100, Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 5,000.

The redemption yield of the 5-year certificates will be 3 per cent, of the 7-year certificates a little over 3½ per cent, and of the 12-year certificates a little over 4 per cent.

Railways

RAILWAY RATES TRIBUNAL

Dr. John Matthai, Minister for Transport introduced in the Dominion Parliament on April 9 a Bill providing for the setting up of a Railway Rates Tribunal and for the appointment of Claims Commissioners.

This Tribunal is intended to be an inexpensive forum for considering public complaints relating to rates and charges for merchandise traffic by goods trains and complaints of unique or unreasonable preference.

In addition, the Tribunal's permission will have to be obtained before railways can increase the level of "class" or "schedule" rates in force of terminal or other charges, or before any commodity is reclassified in a higher class, or any unclassified commodity is classified.

The object of appointing Claims Commissioners is to remove the hardship which is at present experienced by passengers, as a result of delays in the payment of compensation to those injured or to dependants of those killed in an accident to a passenger train. It is intended hereafter to entrust such matters to Claims Commissioners to be appointed by the Central Government. In addition to receiving and enquiring into the claims for compensation. Claims Commissioners will be empowered in appropriate cases to make interim payments up to an amount not exceeding fifty percent of the amount of compensation which is estimated to be payable.

JAYA PRAKASH' ADVICE TO RAILWAYMEN

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, speaking at Trichy appealed to railwaymen not to be narrow in their outlook but to view their problems from the larger interests of the country as a whole.

Mr. Narayan who was replying to a welcome address presented to him by the South Indian Railway Workers' Union advised railwaymen not to become victims of the propaganda of any political party and resort to strike but to remain patient, and await the final outcome of the present negotiations between the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and the Railway Board.

RAM GOPAL FOR U.S. ART FESTIVAL

Ram Gopal, India's most celebrated male dancer who had been playing to crowded houses in Paris for over a fortnight, told *Reuter* that he received an invitation from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Premier of India, to represent his country at the International Art Festival in New York in October.

"I consider it a great honour," he said "to represent India as a kind of cultural ambassador. Parisians have been very receptive to my dancing and that of my Hindu ballet. "It was necessary first of all to dispel the notion that our art was a mixture of exotic serpentine movement of the hips and eroticism. On the contrary, it is simple, plain and beautiful as danced in the temples of India for many centuries," he concluded. Ram Gopal has strongly resisted any attempt to westernise his art, and he refuses, for example, to have any but the traditional forms of Indian music and dancing.

INDIA'S NATIONAL ANTHEM

Addressing the annual Re-union of old and present students of the Calcutta University Law College on April 16, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, pleaded for avoiding a controversy over the National Anthem issue.

"Shall we choose the historic song 'Vande Mataram' which is associated with the freedom movement of India or shall we take the more attractive sweet, less controversial and polished song 'Jana Gana' of Rabindranath Tagore?" he asked and advised them to leave it to the wise men at the top to decide the point by a balanced consideration. "For God's sake, let us not do a disservice both to Rabindranath and Bankim Chandra by dragging their name into the controversy," he stated.

GANDHIJI'S PICTURE AT DELHI TATTOO

A new painting of Mahatma Gandhi entitled "The Spirit of Peace" forms the central decoration of the Irwin Stadium facade at the Armed Forces' tattoo, which opened on April 1.

Sport

OLYMPIC PARTICIPANTS

Of the 65 countries invited 58 have accepted, the latest, in addition to Pakistan, being Syria (one competitor for diving), Columbia and Porto Rico, who will compete in track events, boxing and shooting. The three countries which have not so far accepted are Bolivia, Haiti and Monaco.

Four countries, El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay and Venezuela have stated that they will not be competing.

ALLOCATION OF TICKETS FOR INDIA

The Central Organising Committee of the Olympic Games has informed the Indian Olympic attache in London, Mr. Sunder Kabadi, that India's ticket allocation is 255 for the opening ceremony, 270 for athletics, 265 for football, 265 for the closing ceremony, 75 for Hockey, 32 for boxing and 39 for swimming, to name but some of the allocations for the numerous Olympic events.

MOTOR RACING

Fred Gerard, Leicestershire racing motorist, driving a British E. R. A. won the International Road Race over 176 miles in which 22 of the leading British and Continental drivers took part at St. Helier on April 29. Prince Birabongse of Siam, who races under the pseudonym of "B. Bira" finished fourth.

CHINNA DURAI FOR DAVIS CUP

Mr. Chinna Durai, who is the Foreign Secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association will be India's delegate at the annual general meeting of the Davis Cup nations to be held in London on July 1.

JOE LOUIS, WORLD HEAVY WEIGHT CHAMPION

Despite numerous reports to the contrary, Joe Louis, World Heavy-weight Champion, is in excellent condition and confident that he will knock out Jersey Joe Walcott in their return match at New York on June 23.

BAN ON BETTING IN EAST BENGAL

The East Bengal Legislative Assembly has passed the Public Gambling Amendment Bill prohibiting wagering or betting on races.

Science

ATOMIC ENERGY CONTROL

The Dominion Parliament passed a Bill for the development and control of atomic energy on April 6.

Speaking on the Bill which was passed by the House after a short discussion, Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that the destructive power of the atomic bomb would soon be forgotten and atomic energy utilised for constructive purposes. Pandit Nehru said that it was not from the point of view of the war that he was placing the Bill before the House, but for the future progress of India and the world at large.

Urging that India should take up without further delay the development of atomic energy, Pandit Nehru said that if India did not take it up now and join in the research conducted by world professors and scholars, India would be left behind. It would not be good for any country to be left behind. India had all the vast mineral resources necessary. All that was required was that we in India should put them together and the State should give every facility for its development.

RESEARCH WORK ON COSMIC RAYS

The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, which is one of the two research institutes in India selected for research in atomic and nuclear physics, has deputed Prof. P. S. Gill to the Carnegie Institution, Washington, for a period of six months for special research work on cosmic rays.

Prof. Gill worked under Prof. M. S. Vallarta, the well-known physicist.

INDIAN HONOURS FOR SOVIET SCIENTIST

Mr. Sergel Vavilov, President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has been made an honorary member of the Indian Academy of Sciences.

Mr. Vavilov has cabled his thanks to the Indian Academy for his election.

SIR C. V. RAMAN AT BORDEAUX

An international scientific Conference, devoted to the discovery by Sir C. V. Raman, of a new method of analysing chemical composition of substances by light rays, opened on April 5th at Bordeaux.

FILM OF GANDHIJI'S NOAKHALI TOUR

The documentary film of Mahatma Gandhi's historic pilgrimage in Noakhali presented by Mr. Suresh Chandra Mujumdar, Managing Director of the *Hindustan Standard* and the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* was shown to Pandit Nehru Prime Minister of India at the latter's residence in Delhi on April 7. The film which was taken by two staff-photographers, of these papers, is about 1,000 feet in length, a portion being in technicolour.

The film shows how the 78-year-old Mahatma trekked from village to village preaching the message of peace and communal harmony in riot-torn Noakhali District, crossing deep rivers through precarious bamboo-bridges, walking on foot through fields and thorny paths. The film recalls to one's mind how Mahatma Gandhi set out on his noble mission all alone undaunted by the impediments and hurdles that beset his path.

"RAM RAJYA" TO BE SHOWN IN NEW YORK

A special showing of the Indian-produced movie "Ram Rajya", directed by Vijay Bhatt of Prakash Films, Bombay, is scheduled to be held at New York, U. S. A. under the sponsorship of the East-West Association, which is also called the India Society of America.

This film is the first Indian production given by the organisation. According to a spokesman, "it exemplifies the best in Indian film production."

CENTRAL CENSORSHIP OF FILMS

Pandit Nehru said in answer to Dr. P. Deshmukh that the Government of India had under consideration a proposal for central censorship of films, imported or indigenous, through a Central Board of Censors, which had been approved by the Standing Advisory Committee. There were at present three boards, one each at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.

U. S. FILMS IN BRITAIN

American film production in Britain, with funds frozen under the recent film agreement, will be limited to about 12 pictures a year, owing to shortage of studio space.

MORE MOTOR VEHICLES FOR INDIA

India, Pakistan and Burma received during 1947, despite restrictions on import licences, 11,209 motor-car and 2,144 commercial vehicles from Britain. Subject to import restrictions, British car manufacturers hope to exceed these figures this year. The overall plan of the motor-car industry in Britain this year is the unprecedented export of nearly 1,000 cars a day. Seventy-five per cent. of the cars now being made are for export.

Some 58,000 cars are expected to leave for Australia during the year and increased orders are being placed from all parts of the British Commonwealth. Lord Nuffield has earmarked Rs. 1.33 crores for promoting the overseas sales of his products and substantial reductions in the export prices of Morris, Wolseley and Riley cars have been made.

AUTOMOBILE SPARE PARTS CONTROL TO GO

The Government of India have lifted the control over the distribution and prices of motor vehicles' spare parts with effect from March 1.

The Control Order was promulgated in April, 1944, under Rule 81 (23) of the Defence of India Rules and was later continued in force under Section 17 (2) of the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Act 1946. It controlled the distribution of 135 items as well as the prices of all spare parts. As a result of periodic reviews, the number of items under distribution control was reduced to 64. The Government of India have now completely removed the control over motor vehicle spare parts.

AMENDMENT TO MOTOR VEHICLES ACT

The Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Madras Motor Vehicles Act, it is understood, decided, at its meeting on April 4 to provide for three months' notice instead of one month for cancellation of a permit. The Committee also decided to change September 2, 1940, to July 10, 1947, as the date beyond which the holders of permits would not be entitled for compensation.

AIR INDIA INTERNATIONAL LIMITED

The formation of Air India International Ltd. with an authorised capital of Rs. 7 crores divided up into 7 lakh shares of Rs. 100 each is a landmark in India's aviation history; for with it India makes its debut in the field of international aviation. The Company has been floated to operate initially a service between India and the United Kingdom with a halt at Cairo and possibly other places. It is remarkable also in that it constitutes an innovation inasmuch as the company is a partnership between Government and a private firm. The Government of India is to take up 49 per cent. of the company's shares and has the right to call for the allotment of additional 2 per cent. so as to have a 51 per cent. share in the total capital of the company. The present issue is for Rs. 2 crores, comprised of Rs. 2 lakhs of ordinary shares of Rs. 100 each.

CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AIR SERVICE

The Government of India have appointed a departmental committee to select a route on which an air service may be operated by Government with an organisation directly under the control of the Government of India.

The committee will advise Government on the economic possibilities of the operation of the service and also on the details of the organisation for the purpose.

The appointment of this Committee was agreed to by the Standing Advisory Committee of the Parliament in February last.

INTERNATIONAL AIR AGREEMENT

The Government of India, it is learnt, will shortly initiate discussions with Egypt, Switzerland, China, Ceylon and Burma for arriving at bilateral air agreements with these countries.

The India Government are already negotiating with Pakistan and Sweden for concluding bilateral air agreements with them. Following the gesture shown by India in withdrawing her demand to run an air service to Moscow via Peshawar, the agreement with Pakistan has since been signed.

FINANCING OF INDUSTRIES

The Madras Government propose to establish an Industrial Finance Corporation the Province as a joint stock company, to be registered under the Indian Companies Act, for the financing of long-term loans to industry and for the making of advances to industry when such credit is not ordinarily available from the commercial banks.

The authorised share capital of the Corporation is to be Rs. two crores. The Government of Madras propose to take shares to the extent of 51 per cent of the share capital. The balance of the shares is to be offered to institutions such as societies registered under the Co-operative Societies Act or the Societies Registration Act, scheduled banks, insurance companies and investment corporations.

INDUSTRIALISATION OF FAR EAST

The Industrial Working Party of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East met at Shanghai.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, (India), the Commission's General Secretary, said it was the first time a body of international nominees had met to consider industrialisation of the Far East from a regional and international point of view. "The economic reconstructions and development of this region offers a challenge to the Working Party, which I am sure will be adequately met."

KEEPING DOWN PRICES OF TEXTILES

It is understood that the Government of India feel that the agreement between the Government and the representatives of the textile industry to keep down textile prices so as to benefit consumers has not proved successful. The Government are now considering what steps they should take to meet the situation.

INDUSTRIAL INDIA

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, India Government, appealed to Indian industrialists to use the talents and resources of the country when he opened at Delhi an exhibition of hand-made products of different training centres.

ELECTRICITY TO AGRICULTURISTS

It has always been the aim of the Government to give the highest priority to the extension of electric supply for agricultural pumping sets, and other agricultural and rural needs in the Province, and particular emphasis has been laid on this in recent years in view of the prevailing food shortage, says the Government of Madras in a Press Note.

The Government add that substantial progress has already been made in this direction, and over 1,100 villages are now receiving a supply of electricity. Over 8,000 pumping sets, and 1,000 rural industries are being run by electricity.

HIRAKUD DAM

Pundit Nehru laid the concrete foundation of the Hirakud Dam on April 12. He was of the view that the project would usher in a great future not only for the Province of Orissa, but to the entire Indian Union. He attributed greater importance to the river valley schemes than to the pressing political work of the day.

Estimated to cost Rs. 47.81 crores and six years for completion, the dam is part of a multi-purpose project intended to harness the waters of the Mahanadi River, in Orissa.

WORLD RICE COUNCIL

The Food and Agriculture Organisation Council at Washington has appointed a World Rice Council.

Speaking at the meeting, India's delegate, Mr. S. Y. Krishnaswamy, warned the FAO against shelving the rice problem. He urged that earnest measures be taken to overcome the shortage, as rice was important to the East.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

India needs, more than anything else at the present moment, a large increase in agricultural production within a minimum period and the nation's energies must be concentrated on this for years to come, declared Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, Dewan of Jaipur, presiding over the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference.

A SQUARE DEAL FOR LABOUR

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, India's Labour Minister, replying to an address presented by the Bihar Chamber of Commerce at Patna on April 10, said that the Government wanted the co-operation of capitalists for increasing production, but if capital felt shy, the Government would have to face the issue and devise other means to achieve their objectives.

The Minister asked the capitalists to change their outlook on labour and to reorient their labour policies. They should realise that the times had changed and they could no longer treat labour as a commodity to be purchased in the market at the lowest price. They should treat the people on whose sweat and toil they earned their profits as co-partners in their enterprise.

The capitalists frequently pointed out, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said, that labour was exploited by political groups and has become unruly. This was one of the reasons for a fall in production, according to them. Such arguments, he said, did not always hold good. The fact was that labour had not so long been treated well and shown the consideration they deserved and they did not feel the necessary incentive or enthusiasm because they knew they would not share the profits.

PROVIDENT FUND FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

The desirability of instituting compulsory provident funds for industrial workers was generally accepted by the Tripartite Indian Labour Conference held in Delhi on April 19. The Labour Minister presided.

It was, however, felt that the Central Labour Ministry should prepare a detailed scheme within about six months of the working of the compulsory provident fund scheme for coal miners and place it before the Standing Labour Committee.

The policy and administration of Central, Provincial and State Governments in respect of labour during the last year was also reviewed by the Conference.

General

NON-MUSLIMS EVACUATING PAKISTAN

On an average over three thousand non-Muslims are evacuated to India from Sind every day, says a Press Note. The total number of refugees who entered India from Sind from February 1 to March 18 is about 1,30,000. Of these, about 90,000 were evacuated by sea and about 40,000 by rail. In the second half of March the rate has been slightly higher.

It is estimated that about 6,00,000 of Hindus and Sikhs still remain in Sind. A large majority of these are awaiting evacuation. The permit system introduced by the Sind Government is proving a great impediment in the way of speedy evacuation.

RETURN OF MUSLIMS FROM PAKISTAN

The official estimate is that more than 45,000 Muslims, who, following the partition of India, went over to Pakistan have returned to India in the course of three weeks.

It is learnt that whereas non-Muslims have to obtain prior permission before they leave Pakistan, Muslims are free to leave that country whenever they like.

The main reason for Muslims desiring to return to India is reported to be lack of accommodation and occupation for them in Pakistan.

NEW CAPITAL OF ORISSA

Pundit Nehru explained at Bhubaneswar on Tuesday the 13th April the salient features required for a Provincial capital, and the fundamentals of township. The occasion was the laying of the foundation of the new Capital of Orissa. He said that, in the construction, they should think of the type of life they wanted to provide for the community. Anything that they built should be for beauty, and not costly.

H. M. I. S. "DELHI"

The Government of India have decided to rename H. M. S. Achilles, the first cruiser which has been acquired for the Royal Indian Navy, as H. M. I. S. "Delhi."

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OPINIONS

C. Rajagopalachari: A good weekly giving the news and presenting truthful objective pictures of situations arising from time to time ranks high in the instruments of public education. I wish the Saturday Mail every success. It is quite possible to be bright without losing one's accuracy or dignity of style. I am glad the Saturday Mail is striving in this field with considerable success and I wish it every success.

S. A. Brelvi, President, All India Newspaper Editors' Conference: I have made a point of reading your weekly when in Bombay. In the brief period of one year the Mail has made a place for itself in Indian Journalism and I wish that in the years to come it will become an increasingly useful and popular journal and a powerful force for promoting national progress.

Gopinath Bardoloi: It has indeed been a pleasure to me and some friends to read the Saturday Mail. The get-up and the manner of treatment of topical subjects have really been very good and I have not the least doubt that you are having increased number of customers everyday. I have also no doubt that your journal will be considered as an organ giving expression to real view-points of the Indian National Congress.

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I got weaker and weaker and the palpitation of heart increased. I felt constant dizziness and was worried to death. Friends would enquire about the cause of my sadness but how could I tell the cause of my own ruin? Privately, I consulted thousands of well-known doctors and hakims who boasted of their miraculous cure. I used their nectars and ambrosia but no avail. I preferred death to this living veritable hell.

Fortunately, I happened to go to Peshawar in connection with my services, where incidentally, I met a wandering Mahatma (Fakir) who, as the outset, inquired about the cause of my dismal and morose appearance. My troubled heart compelled me to narrate my whole story to the Mahatma so much so that I told him even my intention of committing suicide. The Fakir took pity upon me and gave two prescriptions *one for taking* and the *other for local application*. Accordingly, I collected the herbs and medicines, and prepared the prescription in his very presence. I then started the regular course.

DEAR READERS! I swear by Almighty that on the 7th day, I began to feel the effects of **Rejuvenation** and now I am proud of my **manly power**. Although I could not control myself after a few doses yet according to the instructions of the Fakir, I had to undergo this treatment for 21 days with the necessary precautions. I could easily digest 3 to 4 seers of milk daily. My eyes sparkled, a rosy glow of life came unto my cheeks and my body regained the lost vigour and vitality. On my return, I tested the rest of the medicine by giving it to some hopeless cases of impotency and found it to be an unparalleled tonic for spermatorrhoea.

On the suggestion of my far-sighted friends and for the benefit of the public, I am advertising it for those who might have become the victims of such dangerous diseases and lost their Manhood. Those who have spent a lot of money in unsuccessfully curing these diseases can have this instantaneous cure for practically nothing. The price is even insufficient to cover the expenses of publicity and the net cost of the medicines.

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