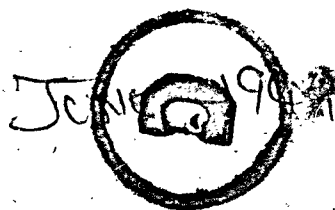


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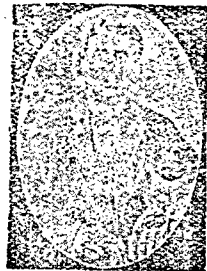
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JUNE 1949:— DETAILED CONTENTS

[No. 6.]

	PAGE		PAGE
THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN A SECULAR STATE By DR. P. K. ACHARYA ..	281	THE INFANT STATE OF INDONESIA By PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI ..	305
THE MINISTRY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE By DR. P. C. ALEXANDER, M.A., D.Litt. ..	286	ALONE (A POEM BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU) ..	308
THE GERMAN PHENOMENON By MR. A. F. THYAGARAJU, M.A., (Lond.)..	288	BRITISH JUSTICE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE ..	309
FOOD DEFICIT By MR. JAGAT JYOTI PAL, B.A. ..	291	TOPICAL CARTOONS ..	313
THE NORTH EAST FRONTIER By MR. P. S. CHAUHAN ..	292	HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST" ..	315
A CENTRAL INSTITUTE FOR DRUG RESEARCH. By DR. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA. ..	294	WORLD OF BOOKS ..	318
FINE PRINT AS AN AID TO EYESIGHT By DR. R. S. AGARWAL ..	297	DIARY OF THE MONTH ..	320
OUR PLANS FOR INDUSTRIALISATION By MR. K. G. MENON, I.C.S. ..	298	TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS ..	321
THE LEGACY THAT TOLSTOY LEFT By NIKOLAI RODINOV ..	301	INDIANS OVERSEAS ..	327
FROM MY NOTEBOOK By "BEE" ..	302	QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE ..	329
		UTTERANCES OF THE DAY ..	330
		POLITICAL & PERSONAL ..	331
		EDUCATIONAL ..	332
		LEGAL ..	333
		TRADE AND FINANCE ..	334
		WOMEN'S PAGE ..	335
		GENERAL ..	336

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS IN THE "INDIAN REVIEW"

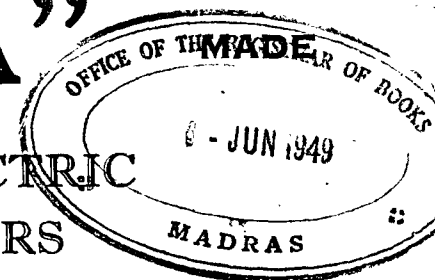
	PAGE		PAGE
Advaita Ashram ..	8	Jalal & Sons ..	17
Ajax Products ..	11	Jupiter Pictures ..	21
All-India Astrological Society ..	5	Lakshmi Ratans Ltd. ..	15
Anglo-Indian Drug and Chemical Co. ..	4TH COVER	Lexin ..	10
Astrological Bureau ..	12	M. & S. M. Railway ..	8
Bangalore Mills ..	13	"Madras Mail" ..	6
Bharat Insurance Co. ..	14	Madura Mills Co. ..	7
Binny & Co., (Engineering Dept.) ..	F. 1	"Mirror" ..	F. 20
Bose's Hosiery Factory ..	12	Mysore Govt. ..	9
Books of the World ..	11	Natyarani ..	F. 18
Brittania Publishers ..	10	New Democrat Weekly ..	15
Buckingham & Carnatic Mills ..	F. 17	Parry & Co. ..	7
Burmah Shell ..	17	"People" ..	14
Cement Marketing Co. ..	F. 5	Rowther & Co., K. P. V. S. ..	F. 4
Curzon & Co. ..	8	Saturday Mail ..	4
Daibabal Ashram ..	11	Saraswati Library ..	12
Daurala Sugar ..	F. 23	Sherman Dr. ..	11
Dietchre and Ward ..	F. 8	Smith, Stocking Co. ..	F. 15
Easun Engineering ..	F. 16	South Indian Export ..	F. 8
Free India Weekly ..	F. 12	Srinidhi Ltd. ..	15
Harrison & Co. ..	8	Sunday Times ..	F. 10
India School of Accountancy ..	11	T. V. Sundaram Iyengar & Sons ..	F. 18
"Indian Affairs" ..	16	"Thought" ..	10
Indian Bank Ltd. ..	F. 20	Times of India ..	F. 25
Indian Tea ..	F. 14	Umayal Textiles ..	F. 24
Indo-Commercial Bank ..	F. 22	Union Life Assurance Co. ..	F. 6
		United India Life Assurance Co. ..	2
		Yeshanand & Co. ..	24

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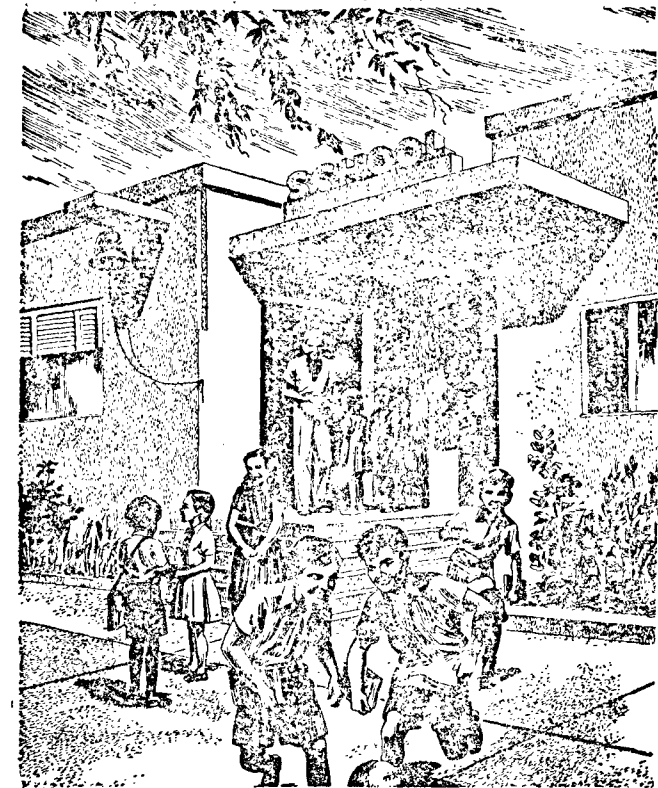
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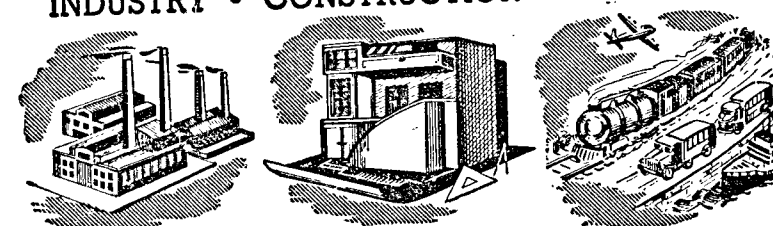
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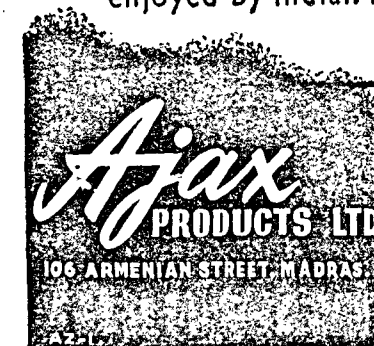


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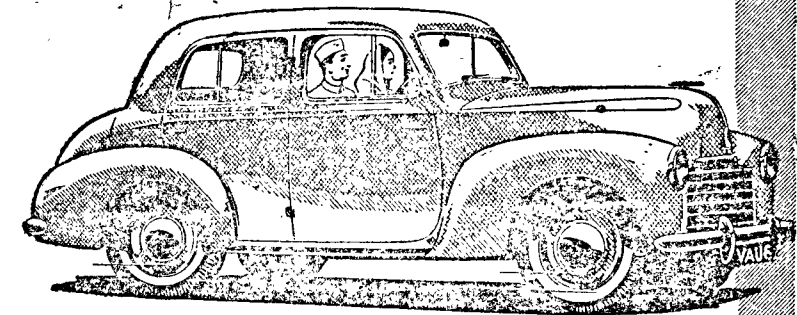
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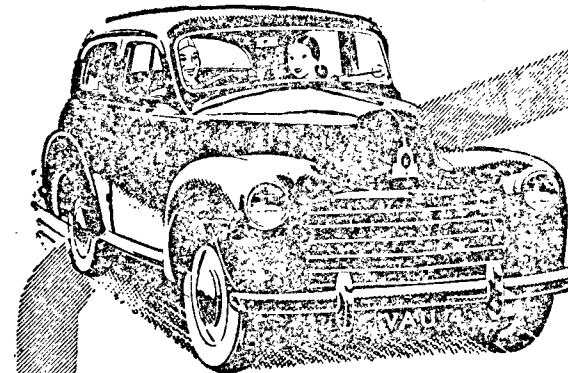
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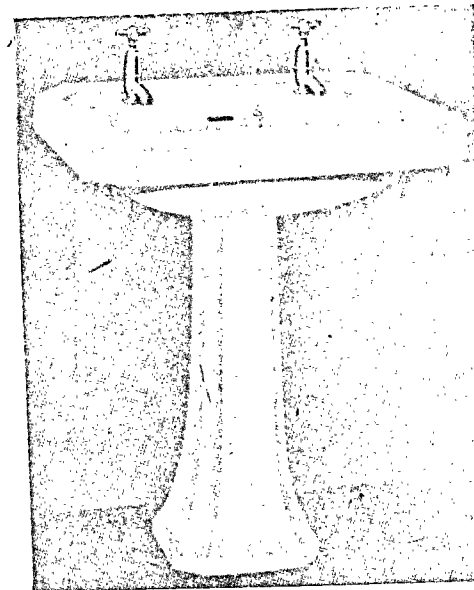
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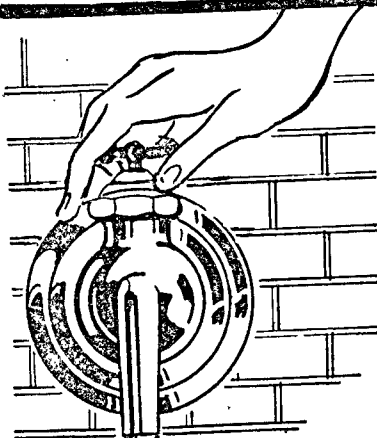
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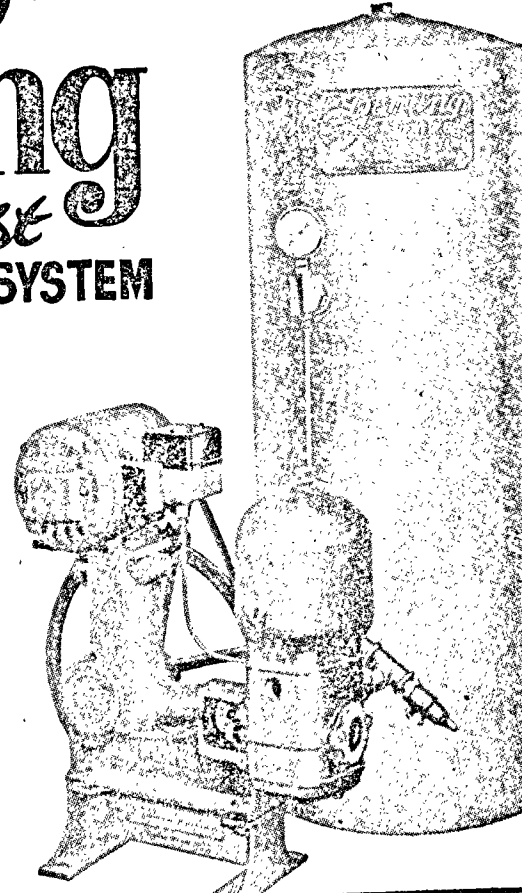
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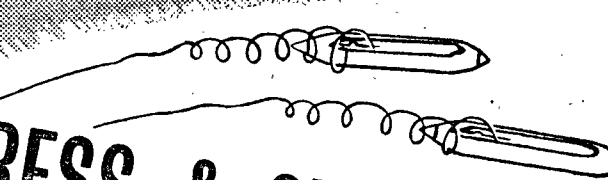
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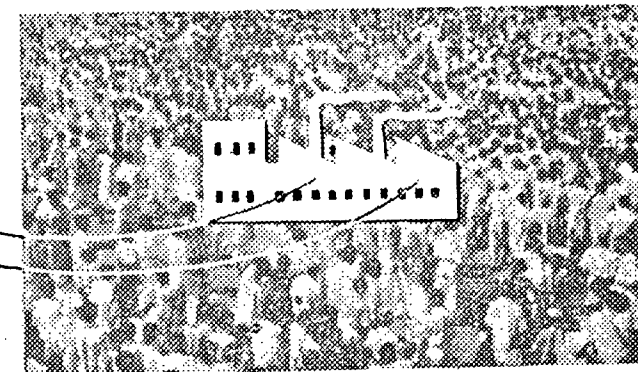
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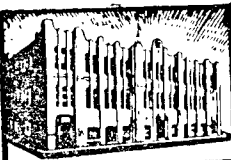
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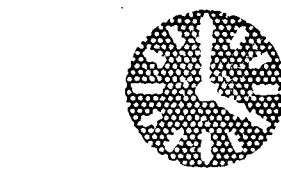
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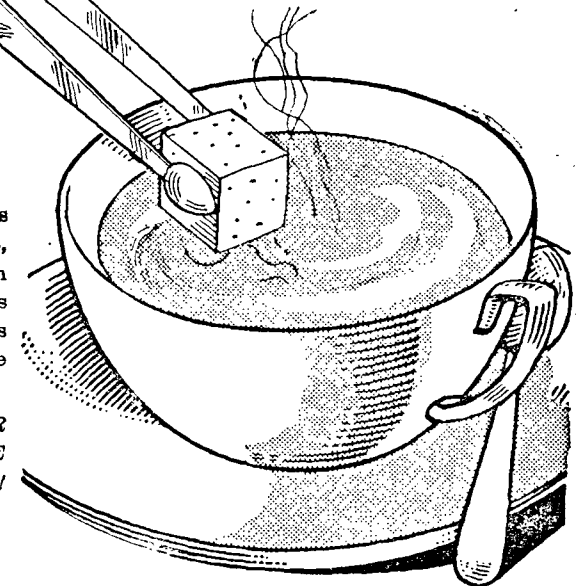
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The Place of Religion in a Secular State

BY MAHAMAHOPADYAYA DR. P. K. ACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.E.S.

—:o:—

A distinguished philosopher Dr. Radhakrishnap (as reported by the Associated Press and published in the *Leader*, March 14, page 6) has been taking pains to explain in all educational centres, the policy of the independent Indian Government to evolve a State wherein religion should not be the primary outlook of human life. A curious definition has been advanced: "Secularism means the adoption of the scientific (?) spirit. It means the absence of religious arrogance or dogmatism, an attitude of impartiality so far as different religions are concerned, equality of opportunity for all religions and not dogmatizing for any one religion. Again, secularism means that the world is not to be regarded as an illusion: it is not to be dismissed as a dream. It does not mean that one would be non-religious or dogmatically religious." Therefore, the learned thinker concludes that "the secular state is the most fertile ground for the material and spiritual progress of modern humanity."

The dictionary meaning of the term 'Secularism' is, however, the "supreme attention to the things of the present life." It is complete "worldliness." The atheis-

tic school of philosophers, known as the *Charvakas* (talkers of sweet words) asserts 'that soul is not different from body and that the phenomena of the world are spontaneously produced.' It follows, therefore, that everything ends with the mortal body and nothing remains after death, for the benefit of which anything has to be done in this life and in this world." Thus in the absence of any creator and any possibility of accounting for our deeds in this world before an infallible and all-knowing Supreme Judge in the next world one can indulge in eating and drinking or enjoying worldly pleasure at any cost without any fear of the consequences because life ends here completely. And these atheists reject all sources of true knowledge *viz.*, faith (*sabda*), inference (*anumana*) and analogy (*upamana*) and accept only sense perception (*pratyaksha*). The limit of sense perception, is, however, very short and defective. By this source of knowledge one cannot be sure that he was born of his own parents. Faith and belief in a supreme Creator are therefore superfluous. Indeed, Kanada advanced the doctrine of atoms which are uncaused and eternal. Thus godless scientists evolve

the creation of the world and all its creatures by the permutation and combination of these atoms which are further analysed into electrons.

The State which is determined to secularize its activities has, therefore, to endeavour "conversion from religious to materialistic progress." It follows logically and inevitably that one would be non-religious completely. The spiritual thinker of the Hindu creed does not regard the world "as an illusion" nor does he 'dismiss it as a dream.' To him the world is as real as he himself is. But the creator, God, is the real reality, the only truth, and the aim of intelligent humanity is to realize that truth and to be free from blindness and arrogance and self-conceit. It is a self-deception and subtle argument to say that while 'America to-day erects beautiful buildings devoted to education instead of the beautiful cathedrals or mosques or temples of medieval Europe and in Soviet Russia the biggest building is a factory or a college, the secular State of independent India, partitioned from Muslim Pakistan for the sake of a largely homogeneous Hindu population, would be able to balance its activities and avoid 'one particular aspect of life.' Despite the fact that 'India had realized, as shown by the Mohenjodaro monuments of 3000 B.C., the place of spiritual values,' it will be 'a dream and an illusion' to expect that in the new secular State of India, despite such an old tradition, 'it should not be difficult for us to pursue the scientific mind side by side with the quest of the spirit and not divorce the one from the other.' For such a laudable achievement,

however, it would not be enough to pass the Hindu Code Bill. The State will have to provide religious education and create an all round environment to instil in our minds a living faith in God and in the continuance of human existence after the disappearance of the mortal body.

The same fallacy appears to have been committed by a political thinker of the present age, the late Mr. Roosevelt, in conspiracy with Mr. Churchill, when they startled the world by announcing, as the world policy, the four freedoms for everybody, *viz.*, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom from fear of others and want of the necessities of life (food and clothes), and freedom of religion. Elsewhere* it has been shown that 'obviously these are contradictory ideals. Unless it is assumed that there is a uniformity in human culture and human civilization these high sounding elements of freedom cannot fit well together. If all peoples of the world do not think in the same way no freedom of thought can be ensured for all. Christian mission, fascism, socialism, communism, totalitarianism each imposes its own ideas upon others. It will suppress others by force if they speak against it. It will starve others by an economic blockade. It cannot allow sacrifice, for instance, in the name of religion. In the name of liberty of thought, if you do not care for the chastity and sacredness of single union between the sexes then there would be hardly any difference between man and beast. If in the name of free trade

* Writer's "Indian Culture, Civilization, Arts and Religion."

and commerce you rob, exploit, and starve others you are as selfish, as callous and as cruel as the primitives. If you allow free practice of various religious customs, which are repugnant to each other, the peace and harmony of society will be disturbed. And if all peoples living side by side are allowed to have their own freedom of thought and action there can be no harmonious society. The free animals of the jungles, have never prospered. The survival of the fittest is an inconvenient truth. Indians cannot forget so soon that the Indo-British Government forcibly stopped music before or in the hearing of a mosque. The R. S. S. movement is being mercilessly suppressed on the plea that they did not conform to the partition of Mother India for the appeasement of the Muslims and for the sake of securing power to rule by a certain group without any opposition.

The point under discussion is, however, not politics but an effort to understand the relation between a secular State and Religion, not in a dogmatic manner neither at the cost or the suppression of any one else's faith and belief. In the India of the past all forms of religion prospered side by side. Even King Asoka or Kanishka who made Buddhism the State religion did not openly persecute the followers of the Vedic Religion. On the other hand the Imperial Gupta Kings, Samudragupta, Chandragupta and Kumaragupta, who revived the Hindu religion with Horse-sacrifices, publicly attended at the ceremonies of the Jains and the Buddhists. The history of the country bears witness to the fact that India, of all the medieval and ancient countries of the

world, never indulged in religious warfare. There is no mention in her history of any fight between the followers of Vishnu, Siva, and Sakti. In fact even the Muslim saints like Satya Pir (Narayana) are still worshipped in orthodox Hindu families. The labourers in Madras fall flat before the Madonna. To the Hindu mind there is no distinction between one religion and another. There is, therefore, no ground for the propagandist of an ideal secular State to fear that if the State emphasizes the need for religious faith and belief equality of opportunity for all religions' will necessarily disappear and 'dogmatizing Hinduism' will disturb the peace of mind of our Ministers. Did the prayer meetings of Mahatma Gandhi produce any fanatics in any part of the country? His assassination was not caused by his mass practice of religion.

But what is that religion which a State must develop if peace, harmony, and material progress among the peoples of various faiths and creeds are to be aimed at? The problem concerns man's relation to society. The question is whether it should be determined 'by his right and not by his services.' According to one ideal "all that a man should demand is a fair field and no favour so that he can count on rising to the level to which his abilities and his attainments entitle him". According to the other ideal it is assumed that 'a man has a right to a comfortable living in virtue of his mere existence and without any regard to any return he may make to society, with the corollaries that the majority have a right to commandeer unusual ability and exact special service from it, and that no

man may receive more than a fixed maximum reward'. There can, however, be no question about which of these two ideals is 'more stimulating to the development of intelligence, or more acceptable to plain self respect'.

The Hindu tradition has ascribed the discrepancy between man and man, born and brought up without partiality to destiny or the consequences of one's own action in some previous birth. This destiny can however be altered only by the Almighty God if he is propitiated by our worship, prayer and good deeds. In any case an individual can build up a better destiny for the future by doing better in the present birth. The natural distinction between man and woman, and between man and man is based on individual instinct (guna) and ability (karma.) The forcible removal of such natural distinctions by exercise of political majority in the legislative councils cannot produce equality between the sexes and between workers and intellectuals. A frank recognition of such an unavoidable distinction has the advantage of offering an explanation and consequent justification of the otherwise obscure incongruities of human life. It reconciles the individual to his personal disadvantages and inferiority complex. But it encourages all to improve their lot by personal effort, and to build up a better future. It recognizes the original equality of all human beings, all being the progeny of the same God, despite the accidental distinction of sexes and classes and castes; as it prescribes for the ultimate achievement of equalization in the fulness of birth and rebirth. The individual advantages in the domestic, social, commercial, and political fields are intended to provide greater facilities

to improve through the limitations of one's birth. It is not correct to think that the Hindu Shastras and scriptures adopted an organised policy to exploit and keep suppressed the inferior groups or the women folk. There was in fact a real parental honesty in providing a restricted scope for gradual and steady development for the children so that they could improve quicker rather than in getting greater scope which suited better the more matured adult. A subaltern becomes a better commander-in-chief of an army when he gradually rises in rank. A woman becomes a better Judge of a court of law if she learns her own duties as the mistress of a household. Only Almighty God can turn a woman into a man in her next birth if the woman prefers to be so. No secular State can make the husband bear the child instead of the wife. Similarly no amount of equalizing efforts can give more brains to an unintelligent man. The Hindu legislators recognized these facts and formulated their laws for material progress in the family, community, society, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, for kings and rulers, along with moral and spiritual advancement. Thus was provided 'the most fertile ground for the spiritual and material progress of humanity'.

In which of the modern states of the world is the spiritual and material progress well balanced? Will the countries like Greece, Italy, Germany and Great Britain become spiritual minded by converting their beautiful churches into factories or colleges as in Russia and America? Do these advanced States make provision for instilling an active faith in God and immortality of the human

soul? Do they provide for the next life as they give old age pensions? They are no doubt anxious that the child should grow into a good citizen and that there should be no hardship in old age. Do they similarly think of the life hereafter? Should India blindly imitate the West and lose its unique heritage, for which alone Indian culture and civilization are still respected all over the world? We cannot retain that respect by the merely building factories and hospitals in place of temples or by giving shares of property equally to our daughters or making them free to change their husbands whenever they feel like doing so.

There has been a misapprehension in the relative natures, functions and relations of the Religion and the State on account of the surging tide of materialism following the overthrow of religious inspiration in European and American countries.

"The erroneous views have not only sabotaged the universal, primordial, divinely revealed religion and all the religious paths that have followed in its wake, but have put men on a wrong scent of libertinism in morals, unscrupulous power-hunting in politics, and anti-social or internecine class-war in social relations. And there has been under the materialistic rule of the new ideology an unusual progress in the scientific means of destruction. The way-out of these calamitous conditions is not in turning away from, but reverting to, the ideology, social systems and political conditions revealed and preached in the Vedic Shastras. In the proper amendment of these erroneous views lies the hope of human happiness, order, harmony and abiding peace, as well as the stabilization

of the disturbed equilibrium of world conditions".

The science of Theology treats of God and of man's duty to Him. While Natural Theology is based on reasoning, Positive and Revealed Theology deals with faith and belief more than reasoning. The inductive and experimental method of science is not applicable in matters of transcendental faith. The practical form of religion proper takes for granted the existence of some supernatural and Almighty Power which can regulate human destiny. Thus is recognized man's obligation to God who can be propitiated by obedience, love and worship through prayers, meditation and offerings according to the ability and opportunity of the worshippers.

The practice of such religion can safely be encouraged by any modern State without fear of interrupting the efforts at all material and ethical progress. The British King is still the defender of the faith. What would be the difficulty if the independent State of India instil a faith and belief in God and continuance of human existence after death in this life? What would be the harm if the Government makes it a law for every body in schools, colleges assemblies and other congregations to pray in the simplest language of Mahatma Gandhi—"Allah Ishwara ekai nam savkosumati deo Bhagvan?" Will there be anything wrong if we pray
Sarvepi Sukhinah Santu sarve santu niramayah
Sarve bhadrani pasyantu ma fiaahid dukkham
apnuyat.

"May everybody be happy; may all be free from disabilities, diseases; may all look for everybody's good; may none suffer from sorrow and disappointment."

The repetition of such slogans from our childhood and in all our activities may instil faith and belief, which are lacking in modern civilization.

THE MINISTRY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

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

THE civil services in India have a new role to play now. The transition from bureaucracy to parliamentary democracy has imposed on them many new responsibilities and duties. The introduction of responsible government has apparently reduced the importance of the civil services. They have now to work under "political heads" who are responsible to an elected legislature. They have to faithfully carry out the policies and programmes of the party in power, even if they may have no faith in any of them. They have to take note of public opinion as expressed in the press and from the platforms. But on clear examination we will find that even though the importance of the civil service has apparently declined, their responsibilities and duties have greatly increased.

Parliamentary government is the government of amateurs. One is chosen as a minister not because he is an expert in the subject allotted to him, but because of various other considerations. In parliamentary democracy it is not necessary that a minister should be an expert in the subject he administers. Neither is it possible to have only experts in a political executive. W. B. Munro says that in nine out of ten cases in Britain the minister will have no professional qualifications for the technical responsibility to which he is assigned. "The British war office" he says "has been headed at times by a philosopher or a journalist, the admiralty by a merchant or barrister, and the board of trade by a university professor."¹ Even the Chancellors of the Exchequer who are expected to be familiar with the intricacies

of public finance have been very often amateurs. "A youth must pass an examination in Arithmetic" says Sir Sidney Low, "before he can hold a second class clerkship in the Treasury; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be a middle aged man of the world who has forgotten what little he ever learned about figures."² Initial unfamiliarity with the work is no barrier to appointment as a minister. It is expected that he will get himself acquainted with the subject in course of time. The veteran Palmerston is said to have told his Assistant when he assumed charge of the Colonial Office "to come upstairs for half an hour and show him where those confounded Colonies were on the map." After all, as Bagehot says, the duty of the Minister is not to work his department, but to get it worked. Even if he is capable of doing it himself it will not be possible for him to do full justice to his task. A minister in parliamentary democracy, unlike in the presidential system, has to devote a good deal of his time and energies to parliamentary work. As a prominent member of the party, he has to spare some time for party work. As a popular leader, he has to tour the country, attend meetings, and explain to the people the policy and activities of the government. These are indispensable functions for a minister, and naturally he cannot spare all his time and energies for executive work. What is expected of him is to get the job done by the civil services. Ramsay Muir says: "Unless the minister is either a self-important ass or a man of quite exceptional

JUNE 1949]

THE MINISTRY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

287

grasp, power and courage (and both of these types are uncommon among successful politicians) he will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, simply accept their view and sign his name on the dotted line."³ This may sound like exaggeration, but this is the critical opinion of a well-balanced observer. Muir does not minimise the importance of the political executive; he only emphasises the importance of the role played by the civil service in a parliamentary type of government.

The question now is whether the civil services in India will prove themselves capable of discharging the heavy responsibilities expected of them. Independence and partition have brought about a great depletion in their ranks and their present strength is quite inadequate for our requirements. With the opening of embassies in foreign States, the integration and merger of native States and the expansion of the fields of governmental activities in general, India is feeling the difficulties of an inadequate civil service. The chief difficulty about the Indian civil service is that it never had any training in parliamentary democracy. Indian civil service had no doubt a great reputation for efficiency; but there was great truth in the popular jibe against it that it was neither Indian nor civil. Lord Morley had realised the incompatibility of a rigid civil service with popular administration many decades ago. "Our administration would be a great deal more popular" he observed "if it were a trifle more elastic. Our danger is the creation of a pure bureaucracy, competent, honourable, faithful, industrious,

3. How Britain is governed, Pp. 55-56.

but rather mechanical, rather lifeless, perhaps rather soulless". In spite of declarations like this, the main policy of the British administrators in India has been to keep the civil services as rigid and mechanical as possible. The Montford reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of 1935 made no attempts to establish healthy traditions in the relations between the ministry and the civil services. The partial transfer of power made in 1919 did not in any way affect the "mechanical, lifeless and soulless" character of the civil services. The ministers in the transferred half had practically no control or influence over them. Special provisions had been made in the Act to safeguard the privileges of the bureaucracy. The All India services and the higher branches of the central services were recruited exclusively by the Secretary of State in Council. They held office during the pleasure of the Crown, and they could not be dismissed from service by any authority subordinate to that which appointed them. An aggrieved officer had the right to complain to the Governor. Under the rules of executive business, cases in which the minister differed from the opinion of his subordinate civil servants had to be submitted to the Governor for final orders. The secretary in the departments had direct access to the Governor and the minister had to put up with the humiliation of seeing the Governor upholding the views of the civil servant as against his! Even the 1935 Act, which introduced full autonomy in the provinces and partial responsibility at the centre, did not introduce healthy traditions in the relations between the ministry and

1. Governments of Europe, p. 114.

2. The Governance of England, p. 201.

the civil services. The All India services continued to be under the responsibility of the Secretary of State in Council. The promotion of an officer, or any order suspending him from office, or punishing or formally censuring him had to be made by the Governor or Governor-General in his individual judgment. There are as many as forty-six sections in the 1935 Act elaborating the special privileges of the civil services. It is no wonder, if the civil services, with their statutory privileges and rights, failed to function in the traditions of popular administration⁴. What is required now is a thorough reorientation

4. Cases of conflict between the ministry and the civil service under Provincial Autonomy are not rare. A notable instance is the conduct of the Chief Secretary of Bihar. "In December 1937 it was published in the papers that Mr. W. B. Brett, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, had issued a circular directing district officers to disregard orders emanating from or purporting to come direct from

of the civil services to suit the new requirements, and a clean burial of their past traditions.

An honest and efficient civil service is the *sine qua non* for efficiency in a parliamentary type of government. We cannot always hope to have supermen as ministers. Ministers may be good, bad or indifferent, but the civil service cannot afford to be anything but good. If India can establish an efficient, honest and incorruptible civil service, uninfluenced by communal, caste or provincial considerations, that will be the best guarantee for our success in parliamentary democracy.

the ministers unless these were duly signed by one of the permanent secretaries. The prime Minister of Bihar, it was rumoured, was determined to resign if the Governor did not support him in taking a strong line of action in the matter. Subsequently, Mr. Brett explained that the circular had been issued by him in his private capacity.

THE GERMAN PHENOMENON

By MR. A. F. THYAGARAJU, M.A., (Lond)

THE periodical resurgence of Germany is a political portent which cannot be easily ignored. Since Bismarck presented a startled Europe with a unified Germany, the nations of the world have been blind to the meaning of this augury until it has been too late. Twice in living memory have they learnt what a potentially destructive force Germany is, and what a tremendous impact she can make on every part of the globe. But too often in the past has attention been directed to political and economic factors to the gross neglect of the psychological factor. It cannot be overemphasised that, in the ultimate analysis, a nation is not a

congeries of political, social or economic forces; it is a community of human beings who behave as reasonably or unreasonably as other human beings do. If we understood their character and appreciated their motives, we would be able to predict, with reasonable certainty how they would behave in a given set of circumstances. The study of economics and politics will enlighten the circumstances; only the study of national psychology will give us the clue to national behaviour.

If this is true generally, nowhere is it more true than of the German people. The German character has its roots in

history. The German is a sentimental person to whom race, blood, language, common sufferings and common triumphs mean much more than they do to the average European. Only in Germany has the concept of the German *Volk* been invested with a mystic glamour, and the heroes of the "Germanic past mean much more to the German youth than does Alfred or Nelson to the English school-boy. The tendency of German youth is to look backwards for inspiration, and to attempt to emulate in the present the doughty deeds of the past. Time and again have dictators, gaining easy ascendancy over a people with an instinct for obedience and lacking the highly-developed individuality of the Englishman, exploited this sentimental and romantic quality to the full. The world will not soon forget the Siegfried Line, with the memories of the *Nibelungenlied*, the Pagan movement of Baldur von Shirach with its munbo-jumbo resuscitated from Tacitus' *Germania*, and the Sieg Heil choruses of Black Guards marching under the Brandenburg Tor. There is nothing strange about all this, though it is a little comical, if not pathetic, that the most highly endowed people in Europe should be afflicted by such childishness.

Three recent books* throw much light on German character, and may be commended not only to the expert in foreign affairs, but also to the general reader. Prof. G. P. Gooch's *Frederick the Great* is a new study of the Patron Saint of Germany and the Father of Prussian militarism, if a saint can beget such offspring. It is not a substitute

* *Frederick the Great, the Ruler, the Writer, the Man.* By G. P. Gooch, D. Litt., F. B. A., Longmans, Diplomatic Prelude, 1938-1939. By L. B. Namier, F. B. A., Macmillans,

for Koser's great work, but largely through extracts from the talented rulers' writings, which were, incidentally, all in French, we get a vivid idea of his tastes and outlook, his self-dedication to the cause of his nation, his zeal and capacity for unremitting toil. In the hour of anxiety the modern German has turned to those inspiring words, written at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, in which he said that if he was killed the war should go on as if nothing had happened; if he was taken captive the slightest attention should not be paid to what he wrote from prison. From extracts such as these we can understand why he was adored by his people and why they need some of his great qualities today. But the hysterical nationalist should also remember that the king said to Thiebault, "You do not know German?" "No, Sir," replied the man who was to be in charge of Frederick's Academy, "but I hope soon to master it". "You are fortunate in your ignorance", rejoined Frederick, "Give me your word of honour that you will not learn our language".* Frederick laid the foundations of that tradition of hard work, of efficiency, of identification with a cause and of discipline which are the well-merited glories of the German people. Unfortunately, however, his seizure of Silesia from the Austrian domains gave rise to the impression that aggression pays, and the doctrine, that might is right, has infected German thought ever since. Not a single German historian of repute has condemned the Silesian outrage; many have sought to condone it.

* 1948, pp 503; *The Course of German History, a Survey of the Development of Germany since 1815.* By A. J. P. Taylor, Hamish Hamilton, 1946.

Prof. Namier's book deals with just one year, the most pregnant year within recent memory. It is a highly documented work which quotes at length from the blue (or other coloured) books published by the governments of the countries that took part in what Taylor calls the Four Years war. Chamberlain and the appeasers are held up to ridicule and Churchill treated as the one prophetic voice of the century. As a documentary of the hectic events that preceded the outbreak of the Second World War, and as a study of the unreliability of the most noted German of modern times, Namier's book is invaluable. But Taylor breaks entirely new ground in his brilliant and provocative study of the German phenomenon. The book bristles with dicta, any one of which is sufficient to produce a violent tempest in the academic teacups. One example must suffice: "In Luther, German sentiment first asserted itself and it asserted itself against reason, against civilisation, against the West. In the rest of Europe religious reform implied going forward; with Luther it meant going back, repudiating everything which was carrying civilised life beyond barbarism". Taylor regrets that the Germans, "the people of the middle", have never known the middle way of life. They have known only the extremes, and it is not uncommon to find in one and the same German the extremes of humanity and ruthlessness, of religious piety and class scepticism. There are, according to this authority, two problems—that of keeping Germany at peace with her neighbours, and that of giving the people a good and stable government. For the first his

solution is simple if cruel—keep Germany weak and her neighbours strong. For the second and more difficult question he cannot give a quick answer. Perhaps the revival of the old autonomous states, on modern democratic lines, and training in local self-government, will do the trick. Something of this sort is happening now with Germany broken up into British, American and Soviet zones.

It may, however, be doubted whether these remedies will be effective. An ancient and vigorous people, with a strong sense of racial and national unity, cannot be subdued by such methods. Perhaps the slow but sure way of political education and enlightenment, such as was inaugurated in President Ebert's republic, will enable Germany to take her rightful place in the world family, without shame and without offence.

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FOOD DEFICIT

BY MR. JAGAT JYOTI PAL, B.A.

INDIA'S food deficit is 6 to 7 per cent. It is a tragedy of facts that nearly 70 per cent. of her population being engaged in Agriculture, she cannot meet her own demands and is being dependent on foreign imports. If you look to the distribution of occupation of people in advanced countries, you will find that 50 per cent. of the population a country being engaged in Agriculture are able to meet their demands, whereas in India 70 per cent. of her population is engaged in Agriculture, yet she is not self-sufficient and her food problem has been the problem of problems.

To rectify this present state of affairs, the Government have been directing their attention to the development of Agriculture, from different fronts, such as reclamation of land, introduction of tractors, construction of fertilizer factories, improvement of animal husbandry etc. But the Government are not fully aware of other sources of food. Land is not the only sources of food. There is the sea where there is almost unlimited supply of protein food—I mean fish. A large section of Indian people are prejudicial to fish eating. People are to be educated in respect of fish. Protein value of fish is unquestionable and fish and rice together forms an ideal diet. Mahatma Gandhi though himself a vegetarian, while discussing food problems advocated the procurement of fish from sea. He also suggested introduction of dried fish as a rationed food. It is not known what his closest followers are doing in this respect and translating his ideas into action is in their power.

India has a vast sea coast, and India's climate is favourable to sea fishing. If

Government pay greater attention to sea fishing, I have no doubt that she will be self-sufficient in her food consumption. A liberal supply of fish along with rice will make the people healthier. I can say that the Government will insure the health of the people if they can make arrangements for a liberal supply of fish in their diet.

But fish is a very perishable item of food. It cannot be harvested at a time and stocked for future use like agricultural products. But steps can be taken to stock it to some extent for future use by such methods as drying it and tinning it. In these days of air-traffic fish can be transported by air and its perishableness will not stand much in the way of the development of this important commodity. The deteriorated or rotten fish is an important manure which can be utilized for the development of agriculture. For the development of fish industry, cold storage is to be provided at sea coast as well as drying and tinning methods are to be greatly resorted to. To solve India's food problems by development of agriculture, will require a long time. Its development requires all long terms plans and no short term plan can be adopted for its improvement, moreover our disease in the agricultural department has been a chronic one which can be remedied by a long term treatment. For fishing industry you have to purchase some trawlers from abroad and engage people in it. You will have simply to carry on. Sea is such a vast source of fish that you have not worry much for its supply. In agriculture you have to recoup and resuscitate the land to maintain its productivity, in case of sea no such question arises. Fish not only contains highly assi.

milable protein, its oil is physiologically superior to many oils of vegetable origin and is rich in Vitamins A and D. Some fish oils from fish of Indian origin have proved to be superior to imported Norweign Cod Liver oil.

If India's food potentiality is fully developed she will not only be self-sufficient herself but she will be a creditor country in the world in respect of food. During the

last world war a large amount of sterling balance had accumulated to India's credit but a large section of it has dwindled to meet her food shortage and she has not been able to make any headway in the industrialization of the country. Not only this, she has been negotiating for a loan from the World bank for the development of her Agriculture. What is wanted in the present context is a more rational outlook on the items of food.

THE NORTH EAST FRONTIER

By MR. P. S. CHAUHAN

—(O)—

VARIOUS new provinces have been created lately. While the creation of some has been forced by the pressure of popular demand on the Indian Union based on linguistic and cultural considerations, others have been necessitated by the merging in of several Princely States, that had remained away as the Indian-India. Formation of the provinces with an eye on Defence should have merited the foremost attention of our Communist-complexed leaders; who will do well to realize, that it will not be statesmanship to defer it any longer; since times are bad and Communism is on the march, challenging established forms and constitutions all over the world—China, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and now we hear them knocking at the gate of Assam, since the pest of Communism has been observed to thrive and flourish astoundingly fast in the neglected regions, where illiteracy, sloth and poverty lend nourishment. Communist select for their activity, areas wherein the people

are discontent and have a grudge against their rulers for certain reasons.

One such region well worth the attention of our administrators, is the belt at the foothill of the Himalyas adjacent to E. Nepal, and running through Sikkim, Darjeeling, Dooars, Bhutan, up to the borders of Assam. This may turn out to be the most dangerous spot, if the Central Government do not pay any heed to the tide of discontent growing among the hill folks inhabiting this belt. Due to Radcliffe having driven a wedge of strip in demarcating the Bengal; geopolitically, this region is now altogether cut off from the West-Bengal of which it is still claimed to be a part. What is still worse, the relation between the Bengalis and the hillfolks is much strained, specially after the Independance Day, when the outlook of the Bengali Officers and local Congressites suddenly changed and they took up a domineering attitude. This assertion of racial superiority antagonised the hill folks.

If the Central Government cannot retain their confidence and create a formidable wall of Defence on the borders, the enemy at home watching for an opportunity, will certainly plunge the country into chaos. Nepalese or the stocky Gorkhas, Bhutias, Lepchas, Sikkimese, Coches, Mechas and Mundas who speak more or less the same language and follow the same custom, usage by intermarrying freely among themselves, inhabit this strategic part. A typical Pardesh forming one homogeneous unit of administration which is the cherished ideal of the Congress is thus a possibility.

Since theoretical propositions are hardly satisfactory, the practical side of it must first show the economical possibility, thus convincing our high priests of Economical self sufficiency, and that the Centre in no case would be burdened. A thorough study of the economy of this unit is therefore indispensable by those who claim to be the Authorities; since to a casual observer, it appears to be in perfect order.

Sikkim, Bhutan and Coochbehar are all solvent States. Dooars is a rich revenue-yielding tract. Darjeeling may be slightly deficient, but this can be made up by developing a big tourist trade. Should this proposition stand the economic test, I feel, that food, clothes, fuel, rice, maize and pastoral products will be in abundant supply. Hydro-electricity can be easily generated, and being next door to Assam, transport of kerosine and petrol will be simple. Textiles certainly will have to come from Bombay, but it will be cheaper if it is brought to the 'Pradesh' via Cawnpore-Katihar-Silguri; than via Calcutta, after fattening the big trade interest of the city.

The 'Pradesh' is advantageously placed for the Rail and Road communications, forming a link as she does between Assam and Behar. Thus our powerful neighbours in Burma and China can be sure of the maxim, that 'the price of freedom is eternal vigilance', so far the interest of India is concerned. Without making Assam into a mighty arsenal, troops can certainly be rushed and kept in reserve, in time of emergency; and the 'Pradesh' will never betray as being the potential reserve for the Military strength of the Indian Dominion. With one landing Ground already existing at Bagdora, this 'Pradesh' can have the facilities of fast modern transport also.

DR. KESKAR ON "UNKNOWN" BRITISH PLAN

As the above article was in the Press Dr. B. V. Keskar, India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs in the course of a recorded broadcast stated that the North-eastern Frontier of India might become a very important factor in the over-all defence of the country.

Dr. Keskar said that it was the policy of Government of India to do everything possible to help the tribal areas of Assam to develop socially, educationally and otherwise. Government wanted these areas to come on a par with other parts of India and to make the tribal people feel one with the rest of the country.

At the same time, Government wanted to guard the tribal people's cultural autonomy as far as possible.

The recent events in China and Burma made it clear that this frontier of India might possibly become in the near future, a very important factor in the overall defence of the country.

A Central Institute for Drug Research

BY DR. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA

IN any scheme of medical relief to the nation, drugs which are the chief weapons in our attack against mal-nutrition, diseases and epidemics, would naturally form an important item for consideration. Next to the supply of food, the provision of drugs of good and dependable quality, at a price within the reach of the poorest masses of India is an urgent and imperative necessity. The question of drug supply is again intimately related with drug research on scientific lines, as only on the basis of up-to-date scientific knowledge, the medical profession would be able to utilize to the maximum the abundant sources of drugs that exist in this country. It is quite clear today that without research, the drug Industry in India cannot be improved and brought to the level of that existing in foreign countries. India today is still very largely an importing country in the matter of her present-day medical and surgical needs—spending from 3 to 4 crores each year on such imports—and it has been felt for a long time that attempts should be made to establish a National Institute for drug research, so that various enquiries in this direction could be studied and met. It is a pleasure to state that after all, this objective has now been fulfilled and we are able to initiate the establishment of a Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow,* thanks to the generosity of U. P. Government in handing over this imposing and historical building—Chattar Manzil Palace—with its spacious ground to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for the purpose.

* From an address delivered on the occasion of opening of the Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow.

A fair amount of research on indigenous drugs has been carried out in India during the last 30 years under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association and in such institutions as the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, the Central Drugs Laboratory, Calcutta, the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, the Chemical Laboratories of the various Indian Universities, some medical Colleges and lately under the auspices of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. These investigations, which have yielded valuable results, have indicated also the need for a central organisation for carrying on intensive research on drugs and for providing facilities for work between pure science and applied science and also between scientists and industrialists engaged in drug manufacture. Unlike researches in other fields of science, drug research is essentially a collaborative research between botanists, agriculturists, chemists, pharmacologists, micro-biologists and clinicians. There are very few, if any, individual workers who possess all the technical skill and the theoretical information required for the development of the whole field of drug and pharmaceutical research. This fact was realised in Germany in the first decade of this century and the German scientists were the first to develop drug research by this method of collaborative work. Later, the same method of collaborative research has been adopted in countries such as Great Britain, Switzerland and America, with the result that some pheno-

JUNE 1949]

A CENTRAL INSTITUTE FOR DRUG RESEARCH

295

menal discoveries (discovery of antimalarials, *e.g.* Plasmochin, Atebrin, Paludrine; discovery of anti-bacterials *e.g.* Sulpha drugs; discovery of insecticides, *e.g.* D.D.T. and Gammexane; discovery of antibiotics, *e.g.* Penicillin and Streptomycin, etc.) have been made in the field of therapeutics during the last 15 years, which was not possible in over 3,000 years, *i.e.* from 1500 B.C. to 1900 A.D. One of the major factors which has been responsible for the present unsatisfactory position of drug research and drug industry in India is this lack of collaborative work between different groups of scientists and between the various scientific groups of workers within the industries. The Central Drug Research Institute will be the first Institute of its kind, where this collaborative work would be brought in towards the development of drug resources of this country.

THE SCOPE OF WORK

The scope for research in drugs and pharmaceuticals in India is wide—ranging from systematic study of the crude drugs used in indigenous systems of medicine to the highly developed field of synthetics and antibiotics. Nearly 75 per cent. of the vegetable drugs listed in the British Pharmacopoeia are native to India and substitutes for a large number of others can be found among the rich and varied resources in this country. These resources have not been exhaustively explored or exploited. Researches in the fields of synthetics and antibiotics will have to be intensified, but in the immediate future special stress will have to be laid down on the *natural drugs*.

THE FUNCTIONS

The functions of the Institute will be:

1. Promotion of drug research in general, including botanical (pharmacognostical), chemical, pharmaceutical, pharmacological (standardisation, chemotherapy and toxicology,) bacteriological, microbiological and clinical aspects.

2. Testing and standardization of drugs according to approved methods and giving expert opinion thereon as a guide for further research, development and production. The Institute will naturally confine itself in this regard to testing and standardization in so far as they relate to the work of the Institute.

3. Offering facilities to and helping scientists in universities, special institutions industrial concerns and others who may not be in a position to carry out investigations by themselves.

4. Providing controlled clinical trials in hospitals, clinics etc., and

5. Dissemination of scientific knowledge and statistical information relating to drugs.

The ultimate object of the Institute would be to stimulate progress in the control and treatment of disease through facilitating investigations to establish the usefulness and limitations of diagnostic, preventive and therapeutic agents. This will involve not only the promotion of critical clinical investigations of new therapeutic agents but also the consideration of possible new uses for the old ones according to varying factors.

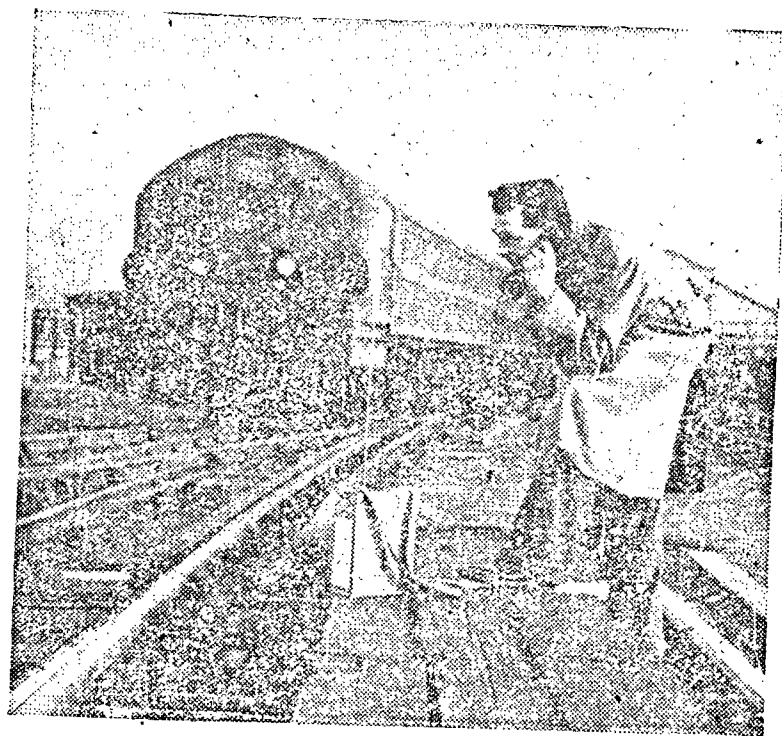
THE ORGANISATION OF THE INSTITUTE.

The Institute will consist of a number of chief Divisions, to begin with (1) Division of Chemistry, (2) Division of Pharmacology, (3) Division of Bio-chemistry and Microbiology and (4) Division of Clinical science and (5) Division of Pharmaceutical

Botany and Pharmacognosy. It has been recently decided at the January meeting of the Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Committee that it may be necessary to have a 6th Division from the very beginning—Division of Pharmaceutical Botany and Pharmacognosy which was otherwise formerly decided to be placed under the Division of Chemistry. In addition, there will be (i) a Central Library, (ii) an Information Service and

(iii) a workshop for fabrication of instruments, special glass apparatus and pilot plants.

The work of the various divisions would be under the overall supervision and guidance of a Director, who may be a specialist in any of the branches comprising the Divisions of the Institute and who could have leadership to integrate and correlate the work of the various divisions.



RADIO ON THE TUBE

V.H.F. (Very High Frequency) radio is extensively used by London Transport Executive engineers during their work in bringing new signalling installations into services on the railways and for reporting back to H.Q. during breakdowns. This radio communication is used between the signalling cabin and the points or signals for checking their correct operation. Previously the reports were made via the nearest telephone which caused considerable delay. It is proving highly valuable in cases of breakdowns, for the high intensity of the London Transport Services demands the minimum of time for repairs and the radio on the spot reports progress or calls for reinforcements, equipment, etc. A portable radio set used for reporting to a similar set in the Signal Cabin, on the operation of points.

FINE PRINT AS AN AID TO EYESIGHT

A NEW DISCOVERY

BY DR. R. S. AGARWAL

—: o :—

ASK a doctor and he will tell you that reading fine print is bad for the eyes. It causes shortsight and other eye discomforts. If you put a question, why? there is no satisfactory reply. Everyone knows that Chinese and Japanese use very large print and suffer most from shortsight (myopia) and I think there is no nation in the world that has so much myopia. Children and adults who read big print in the books or persons who do not know reading often suffer from shortsight. These facts puzzle one.

Recently a patient visited Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute at Delhi and complained of great eye strain. The use of glasses, instead of relieving the strain, had aggravated the trouble the moment he used them. He had several pairs of spectacles with him and was advised by the eye specialists to give up reading which was neither possible nor practical for him. His eyesight was fairly good. While he was just reading in the book 'Eye Troubles in Old Age' in the visitors' room, the following sentence, he was simply surprised:

FINE PRINT IS A BENEFIT TO THE EYE,
LARGE PRINT IS A MENACE.

For a long time he was afraid of reading thin type and always preferred to read large type.

The doctor, after a careful examination, told him to read fine print, as close to the eyes as comfortably possible, several times a day, and that this was his real remedy. The doctor's advice was a shock to him at first but as he had heard much about the efficacy of

his novel methods, he submitted himself completely to follow his instructions. When he began to read the booklet of fine print, he felt a sensation of discomfort at first but after a little encouragement and palming exercise it became quite comfortable for him to read the fine print at various distances, from 12 inches to 6 inches.

By palming is meant to close the eyes and cover them with the palms of the hands, avoiding any pressure on the eyeballs. In this way the outer light is shut and one sees a black field before the eyes because the retina of the eye is sensitive to light which is shut by palms. But when the mind and eyes are under strain one does not see black but some other colours or the black is faint. To see perfect black like that of printer's ink, is an indication of relaxation of the eyes and mind. If one can recall, the memory of a familiar black object or some other colour, or a sensation of touch, or a bar of music, while palming the blackness before the eyes, improves. There should be no effort to recall the memory of some object. A pillow may be put below the elbows so as to make the posture comfortable. Palming may be for about five minutes or more.

TOO LATE

The day after McFadzean's funeral, David McAllister called on the widow, and, after some hesitation, asked for her hand.

"I'm sorry, Dauvit," said she, "for I like ye well enough; but ye're late. If ye'd really wanted me ye could have spoke long ago; ye ken it was common knowledge in the village three weeks ago that McFadzean couldna get better again."

OUR PLANS FOR INDUSTRIALISATION

By MR. K. G. MENON, I.C.S.

[Mr. K. G. Menon, I.C.S., in the course of a talk broadcast from A. I. R. Madras, recounted the steps taken by the Government of Madras to prosecute their plans for industrialisation. He indicated some of the main lines which have engaged Government's attention but he did not hesitate to point out "that most industries can develop only on the basis of private initiative." Government, however, could render financial assistance to deserving industries and otherwise help them with expert advice where necessary. ED. I.R.]

TOWARDS the end of the war, the Government of India decided to work out a post-war development scheme, under which there would be an orderly and co-ordinated development of industries right through the country. Such co-ordination is essential to ensure rational and strategic regionalisation and the proper distribution of finished products. It is also essential to facilitate the import of capital goods, which are scarce all over the world. This scheme, as modified from time to time in the light of requirements, forms the basis of our development programme.

Now I am concerned only with our industrial development. Before any industry is established, we must have the power to set the machines in motion. Our production of electric power is of the order of 178,000 K. W. This is by no means sufficient and our programme contemplates both stepping up production in existing stations as also new production. New thermal stations will be put up at Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Mathurai producing 24,000 K. W. and new hydro-electric stations at Machkund, Nilgiris (Moyar Project) and expansion is contemplated at Pykara and Papanasam producing 112,000 K. W. Another source of power is coal. We know coal exists in the Godavery Valley, but intensive work has

not been undertaken in this area so far to recover the coal. But the Geological Survey of India will soon undertake this work. There are also known deposits of lignite or brown coal in South Arcot and Malabar. The South Arcot Deposits are now under active investigation and can be used not only for production of electric power, but also for fuel gas and many organic compounds like benzene, phenol, dyes etc. These deposits cover an area of over 100 square miles and vary in thickness from 25 to 90 feet.

Next we will consider some of our mineral resources. We are fortunate in this respect. We have extensive and excellent deposits of high quality haematite in Sandur. At the same site occurs good manganese ore. In the neighbourhood occur all the minerals like limestone, refractories and chrome ore required for the steel industry. The picture will be complete if suitable coal is available in the Province or near it. Even if we can use electricity for smelting—and that means a large block of cheap electricity—we would require considerable quantities of coal for reduction. The Government are in contact with foreign experts to evolve a sound and economic proposal for utilising their iron resources.

JUNE 1949]

OUR PLANS FOR INDUSTRIALISATION

299

In Salem, bauxite or aluminium ore and magnesite occur in large quantities. This bauxite is reported to be eminently suitable for the manufacture of aluminium. On aluminium can be based a number of industries. The latest we know is of its increasing use for electric transmission lines. Magnesite is essential in the manufacture of refractories, which will be required in increasing quantities when our industrial expansion proceeds apace. It is also valuable for making light alloys. Proposals for utilising these minerals are being discussed with experts.

Other important strategic minerals known to exist in this Province are antimony, copper and lead ores, ilmenite and monozite, barytes, asbestos, China clay, gypsum, mica, phosphatic nodules and soapstone. These have important industrial uses. Thus lead, ilmenite and barytes are essential for paints. Ilmenite and Monozite are associated with radio active elements, which are in great demand in certain parts of the World for atomic power. Ilmenite is the source of Titanium dioxide, which is claimed to be a better white paint than other known white pigments. The commercial manufacture of titanium metal, recently announced in the United States of America, may put at the disposal of the Chemical and Process engineer, a metal of great value. Gypsum is one of the basic requirements of the Fertilizer Factory at Alwaye. Fused phosphate from the nodules in Tiruchirapalli District will give a good phosphatic manure. Our mica has gone all over the world and a factory for the production of micanite has been put up in Gudur. China clay is an essential

ingredient of ceramics and the Government Ceramic Factory at Gudur is using it extensively.

Now we must turn to the chemical industry. We have some production of Sulphuric acid and Caustic soda, but have to depend largely on imports for our requirements. We have programmed to increase the production of both these basic compounds. Three new soda-ash plants have also been approved. Two superphosphate plants are likely to come into production before long. A large scale paint factory is about to start production. Along with a Caustic soda plant, there is scope for manufacturing many much-needed chlorine compounds including hydrochloric acid. Proposals for power alcohol production are also complete. A large glue factory is being set up. We may expect, as a result of these ventures, substantial increases in the production of pulp and paper, fertilisers and insecticides, paints and varnishes, soap, textiles and rayon, chemicals and drugs, glass and ceramics and tanned leather.

Some other industries included in our programme and worth mentioning should now be briefly examined. The textile industry had a spindleage in this Province of 1,311,125 when war broke out. The post-war development allotment is 352,000 spindles. One half of the yarn produced is to be reserved for the handloom industry. The sugar industry now produces 52,000 tons of sugar a year, which is less than 50 of our requirements. New allotments will produce about 96,000 tons more a year. 3,79,200 tons of cement were

produced annually until recently. A new factory of 150,000 tons is likely to commence operations in Tirunelveli in a month or two. Two more new plants with a total capacity of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of tons will be located at Kurnool and South Arcot. Existing plants have had their capacity increased. The total additional production will be 4,20,000 tons a year. Ten new hydrogenation plants have been sanctioned and they would not only facilitate the production of edible oils, but would help the soap industry and enable us to keep the valuable nitrogenous oil cake in the country. To facilitate studies of oils, the Government are setting up a hydrogenation factory and Oil Technological Institutes at Calicut and Anantapur. Arrangements are also being made to start a concern to supply fuel gas to Madras City.

Madras is one of the few Provinces in India where Sericulture has been developed on a large scale. This Province possesses many natural advantages and with effective organisation, the industry can thrive. The acreage under mulberry cultivation is about 21,000. During the war, the raw silk manufactured in the Government Silk Filature, Kollegal was supplied to the Government of India for war purposes. After the war, due to the loss of that demand, the industry is trying to readjust itself. Competition from cheap foreign silk is making this difficult.

A five-year scheme for the development of sericulture on the lines of the recommendations made by the panel on silk set up by the Government of India is under the active consideration of Government.

These proposals are intended to improve the quality and yield of cocoons and ultimately to place this Province in a position to resist foreign competition successfully. A considerable improvement in the general economic condition of the sericulturists is also anticipated. The total cost of the Scheme will be about Rs. 26.6 lakhs in a Five Year period.

Attempts are also being made to facilitate the industrialisation of agriculture. Substantial allotments of steel are given to factories producing agricultural implements. The two automobile assembly plants coming up near Madras can produce tractors, the demand for which exceeds supply.

To train up the men required in these enterprises, the Government have started eight Polytechnics. The Government of India and the Government of Madras have, with the munificent assistance of the industry and philanthropists, also embarked on a Leather and an Electrochemical Research Institutes. A Textile Research Institute is also contemplated. I should also mention here the Alagappa College of Technology and the Madras Institute of Technology which will turn out highly qualified technicians.

CHRIST PREFERRED TO WALK

A Scotman visiting the Holy Places asked for a boat to take him to the Sea of Galilee.

The boatman demanded 12 shilings for the trip.

"But that's too much," said the Scot. "In Edinburgh you can have it for a shilling or two."

"True," said the boatman. "But this is the Sea of Galilee on which Christ walked."

"No wonder," exclaimed the Scot, "Christ preferred to walk."

THE LEGACY THAT TOLSTOY LEFT

By NIKOLAI RODINOV

LEO TOLSTOY was born on September 9, 1828.

In his will, the great Russian writer, renounced all author's rights in the publication of his works and bequeathed them for the use of the people in general.

Tolstoy's friend Chertkov endeavoured to carry into effect the publication of a complete edition of Leo Tolstoy's writings, for a long time without success; no one would undertake this prodigious task in Tsarist Russia.

In the years 1910-1917 editions of some of the writer's works appeared separately, but did not form a complete edition.

After the October Revolution, Chertkov was received in 1918 by Vladimir Lenin, who pointed out the necessity for publishing all that Tolstoy had written. His initiative received practical realization in 1925, when the Council of People's Commissars issued a decision on the publication of a complete academic edition of Leo Tolstoy's works.

89 VOLUMES PLANNED

The legacy of manuscripts left by Leo Tolstoy comprised 1,500 authors' signatures. By the outbreak of the war 38 volumes of this edition, which was to be in 89 volumes, had been published. At the moment of writing, almost the entire edition has been prepared for the press. After the inevitable interruption caused by the war, the State Literary Publishing House of the USSR resumed work on the edition.

According to the evidence of the textologists, a task of such dimensions, both

as regards its bulk and the amount of research required, has never been known.

The State Editorial Committee of the edition includes the well-known writers Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexander Fadeyev, and A. Pankratov, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences.

The academic edition of Tolstoy is intended in the first place for philologists and those specializing in kindred branches, but it has also immense significance as a scholarly text of the writer's works. On the basis of this text the mass editions of separate books and of his selected works will be printed.

A Russian writer of genius, his books are popular and well-loved by the Soviet people. In Soviet years many editions have been brought out. In the first place it is necessary to point to several complete editions of his novels; for example, a 12-volume edition of fiction was published by the "Ogoniek" Publishing House, Moscow, in 1928, and 15 volumes were published in Leningrad the same year.

Printings of his works have increased year by year; the 12-volume edition that came from the Orgoniek Publishing House this year was printed in 75,000 copies. It should be mentioned that they have been bought up and it has been decided to increase the edition to 300,000 copies.

FOLLOW THE HUSBAND!

"You must love, honour, and obey your husband", said the parson advising the bride on her marital duties. "And you must follow him wherever he goes."

The wife looked aghast. "Fancy", she exclaimed, "and Jim a deepsea diver."

123782

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

BUDDHA AND SUPRIYA

"Who among you will take up the duty of feeding the hungry?" Lord Buddha asked his followers when famine raged at Shravasti.

Ratnakar, the banker, hung his head and said, "Much more is needed than all my wealth to feed the hungry."

Jaysen, the Chief of the King's army, said, "I would gladly give my life's blood, but there is not enough food in my house."

Dharmapal, who owned broad acres of land, said with a sigh: "The drought demon has sucked my fields dry. I know not how to pay the King's dues."

Then rose Supriya, the mendicant's daughter.

She bowed to all and meekly said, "I will feed the hungry."

"How!" they cried in surprise. "How can you hope to fulfil that vow?"

"I am the poorest of you all," said Supriya, "that is my strength, I have my coffer and my store at each of your houses."
—Rabindranath Tagore.

TREASURERS (FOR G.E.M.)

These are my treasures: just a word, a look,
A chiming sentence from his favourite book,
A large, blue, scented blossom that he found,
And plucked for me in some enchanted ground,
A joy he planned for us, a verse he made
Upon a birthday, the increasing shade.
Of trees he planted by the waterside,
The echo of a laugh, his tender pride
In those he loved, his hand upon my hair,
The dear voice lifted in his evening prayer.

How safe they must be kept! So dear, so few,
And all I have to last my whole life through.
A silver mesh of loving words entwining,
At every crossing thread of brittle words,
I'll make

A safer, humble hiding-place apart,
And lock them in the fastness of my heart.

—Mary Webb. (JONATHAN CAPE LTD.)

LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS

"I have seen cyclones in which thrones toppled over like ninepins, and sublime heads rolled in the dust like apples in an orchard. I have seen eclipses that seemed eternal, and the rivers, as in Egypt, turned to blood. I have seen life and death and glory chasing each other like shadows on a summer sea, and all has seemed to be vanity. But I remain in the conviction that, though individuals may suffer, when we take stock of a century at its end, we shall find that the world is better and happier than it was at the beginning. *Sursum corda*. Lift up your hearts, for the world is moving onward. Its chariot-wheel may crush for the moment, but it does not move to evil. It is guided from above, and guided we may be sure with wisdom and goodness which will not abandon us. That is the comfort which even in blackest darkness must afford light."
—Lord Rosebery (Address at St. Andrews' University, 1911).

CHLOE

Tell me no more I am deceived,
That Chloe's false and common,
I always knew, (at least believed),
She was a very woman:
As such I liked, as such caress'd,
She could do more for no man.

But Oh! her thoughts on others ran;
And that you think a hard thing!
Perhaps she fancied you the man:
And what care I one farthing?
You think she's false, I'm sure
she's kind,

I take her body, you her mind,—
Who has the better bargain?

—William Congreve.

JUNE 1949]

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

303

LAMB'S GIFT OF REPARTEE

Readiness and skill in retort form a part of Charles Lamb's fame. Some affected person was once boring Elia with praises of the English public schools and sneers at and deprecation of ordinary education. Every good thing came from the great schools. There was the case of the poets. Byron was a Harrow boy—"Yes," interrupted Lamb, with a pun that was a derisive repartee, "and Burns was a plough-boy." On another occasion a retired cheese-monger who had an intense and absurd dislike to any mention in his hearing of the source of his competence vexed Lamb by a harsh speech about the Poor Law and outcast men and women. "You must bear in mind, sir," he pompously observed, "that I have got rid of all that stuff which you poets call 'the milk of human kindness.'" Lamb looked at him blandly and steadily. "Yes, sir," he said, "I am aware of it. You turned it all into cheese several years ago."

SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Your worldly failure, if you have failed is to your credit rather than to your blame. Remember that the best and greatest among mankind are those who do themselves no worldly good. Every successful man is more or less a selfish man. The devoted fail . . . "charity seeketh not her own."

—Thomas Hardy (JUDE THE OBSCURE.)

THE USE OF ABILITIES

The knack of making good use of moderate abilities secures the esteem of men, and often raises to higher fame than real merit.

—La Rochefoucauld.

EVENING

It is a beauteous Evening, calm and free;
The holy time is quiet as a Nun
Breathless with adoration; the broad sun
Is sinking down in its tranquillity;
The gentleness of heaven is on the Sea:
Listen! the mighty Being is awake,
And doth with his eternal motion make
A sound like thunder—everlastingly.

—Wordsworth.

MAN

Man, so far as natural science by itself is able to teach us, is no longer the final cause of the Universe, the Heaven-descended heir of all the ages. His very existence is an accident, his story a brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets. Of the combination of causes which converted a dead organic compound into the living progenitors of humanity, science indeed as yet knows nothing. It is enough that from such beginnings—famine, disease, and mutual slaughter, fit nurses of the future lords of creation—has gradually evolved, after infinite travail, a race with conscience enough to face that it is vile, and intelligent enough to know that it is insignificant.

A. J. Balfour.

THE AGES OF MAN

At thirty man suspects himself a fool;
Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan;
At fifty chides his infamous delay;
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve,
Resolves and re-resolves, then dies the same.

—Shakespeare.

THE GAME OF POLITICS

No politician can make a situation. His skill consists in his well playing the game dealt to him by fortune, and following the indications given him by nature, times, and circumstances.

—Burke.

THE USE OF GOLD

[Lenin had no illusions about the necessity for capitalism of an objective money commodity such as gold. But he wrote:]

When we conquer on a world scale we shall, I think, use gold for making public lavatories in the streets of the great cities of the world. That would be the most "just" and graphically edifying use of gold for the generations which have not forgotten that for gold ten million people were massacred and thirty million crippled in the "great liberation" war of 1914-'18.

THE TIDE OF CONQUEST

Here, while the tide of conquest rolls
Against the distant golden shore,
The starved and stunted human souls
Are with us more and more.

Vain is your Science, vain your Art,
Your triumphs and your glories vain,
To feed the hunger of their heart
And famine of their brain.

—William Watson

SOLDIER'S SONG

[British patriotism is at bottom so sound that it can afford to be frivolous. This sort of gaiety comes of the very strength of British Character.]

Send for the boys of the girls' brigade
To set old England free:—

Send for my mother, and my sister and
my brother

But for heaven's sake don't send me.

AND REST IN THEE

And when thy death comes, Master let
us bear it

As if thy will, however hard to go;
Thy cross is infinite for us to share it
Thy help is infinite for us to know.

And when the long-trumpets of the
judgment blow

May our poor souls be glad and meet
again

And rest in Thee.

—Masefield

YOUTH AND AGE

It is good to have been young in youth
and, as years go on to grow older. Time
changes, opinions vary to their opposite, and
still this world appears a brave gymnasium,
full of sea-bathing and horse exercise, and
bracing manly virtues.....our affections
and beliefs are wiser than we; the best that
is in us is better than we can understand;
for it is grounded beyond experience, and
guides us, blindfold but safe, from one age
to another.

—R. L. S.

THE MIRACLE OF SPRING

Come, sweet-heart, listen, for I have a thing
Most wonderful to tell you—news of spring

Albeit winter still is in the air,
And the earth troubled, and the branches
bare,

Yet down the fields to-day I saw her pass—
The spring—her feet went shining through
the grass.

John Drinkwater.

EXPECT NOTHING IN RETURN

I ask little from most men; I try to
render them much, and to expect nothing
in return, and I get on very well out of
the bargain.

—Fenelon.

THE INFANT STATE OF INDONESIA

BY PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Principal, R. D. M. College, Sivaganga

IV

THE draft of the Cheribon (or Linggadjati) Agreement was initialled by both the parties (the Dutch Commission-General and the Indonesian Delegation) in November 1946; but unfortunately it was neither signed, nor implemented immediately. It stipulated that the King of the Netherlands should be the Head of the Netherlands and the Indonesian Union; and that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia should be recognised as the *de facto* Government over Java, Sumatra and Madura. The component States of the United States of Indonesia were Borneo and the Great East besides the Republic of Indonesia.

The constitution of the proposed Union was to be drafted by a Conference of the representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and of the future United States of Indonesia; and till that constitution should be framed, the Netherlands Government was to initiate and implement measures for adjusting the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation. Within five days after the initialling of the Draft Agreement, disputes began about the meaning and scope of the above article. Sjahrir desired that the Republic should have its own accredited representatives with foreign powers. To this demand the Dutch vigorously objected. Soekarno, with his usual determination, would not accept the headship of the Netherlands Indonesian Union as stipulated by Article 8. Sjahrir could never convert Soekarno to his posi-

tion; and his endeavour to do so, only ended in his resignation of the Premiership; and the Dutch chose to begin Police Action and what was, in substance a colonial civil war, began.

To outward appearances, Sjahrir was wholeheartedly for the Linggadjati Agreement; but soon he went over to the side of Soekarno when the latter's unwavering stand made the Linggadjati Agreement impossible.

Many of the intellectuals in Holland were not for accepting the Agreement, including Calvinists and University Professors. Some were for a summary rejection of it; while a few others, particularly the head of the National Union of Trade Unions, were for ratifying it. This manifestation of growing opposition in Holland made the Indonesian leaders lose confidence in the sincerity of Dutch promise of implementation of the Agreement. This attitude made it further difficult to win the confidence of Soekarno, Hatta and other Indonesian leaders who gave out that whatever the Dutch might assert, there was no trusting their *bona fides*. Soekarno would never agree to allow his Republic to remain in the proposed Union, except as a sovereign State voluntarily entering into association with the Netherlands.

V

Meanwhile Dutch effort actively encouraged the assertion of claims of autonomy and separate statehood by several other regions in the Archipelago. At a conference held in the Island of Bali, the State

of East Indonesia (or the Great East) was placed on a footing of full equality with the Republic of Indonesia. This new State was to comprise Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, all the islands between Celebes and New Guinea, and the Sunda Islands, and to have a President; and a preliminary Parliament was also to be summoned of whose members 75 per cent were elected, whereas, in the Indonesian Republic, there had never been any elections at all and all the cabinets that had functioned had been nominated by the President.

Sjahrir who went as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation for demanding the recognition of the complete sovereignty of his Republic, argued that East Indonesia was merely a puppet State set up by the Dutch to serve as a handy factor for bargaining for unfair advantages for the Dutch in open violation of the Linggadjati Agreement.

Soon West Borneo was also declared an autonomous State within the framework of the Union and recognised as such by the Netherlands Government. The four Sultans in East Borneo agreed to form a separate State, while South and Central Borneo, with a scanty population of less than one-third million, was to form yet another State with the ridiculous name of Great Siak. Several islands of the Archipelago like Timor, now demanded self-government and a status of independence, alike of the Republic of Indonesia and of the United Nations of Indonesia, while they expressed a willingness to remain within the framework of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In West Java the Soendanese who had a separate racial and linguistic heritage, were now induced to claim autonomy as a separate State under the name of *Pasundan*. The Dutch openly encouraged this move, the seriousness and sincerity of which were hotly denied by Sjahrir and other Indonesian leaders, because the entire island of Java was to be one and an indivisible State, and even Sumatra was to be only a province of Indonesia. Soon the Bataks, a proto-Malay people of Sumatra, were clamouring for the recognition of their own independence, raising the cry "Batak Land for the Bataks."

But Soekarno was not at all shaken by all these Dutch intrigues in creating the new States. Sjahrir characterised the Soendanese State as "a foolish and silly adventure"; and he condemned, in the strongest terms, the Dutch recognition of West Borneo as being an open violation of the Linggadjati Agreement. While atrocities continued on both sides, the Dutch troops in Java steadily increased and came to be concentrated in Batavia and Soerabaya; and Van Mook threatened to use force on those who refused to listen to reason.

In May 1947 Sjahrir declared that the fundamental questions to be solved by the Dutch were the following:

1. The withdrawal of all their troops from Indonesia;
2. The settlement of the procedure to be followed for incorporating the territories occupied then by the Dutch into the Republic; and
3. The incorporation of the whole of Indonesia into the United States of Indonesia.

Thus Sjahrir was, in spite of recent happenings, still willing to co-operate with the Dutch, and the rest of the Indies. The Republic's claim to the entire islands

of Java and Madura and Sumatra would make it not only a vastly bigger unit than the other States, but possessed of resources considerably more than those of the rest of the Archipelago; and in case the Republic opted out of the United States of Indonesia, the latter would become a mere symbolical unit of statehood and a shadow state. The Dutch Commission-General also held that the sovereignty of the Kingdom of the Netherlands should be maintained over all Indonesia *de jure*, during the period of transition and this condition was most essential to any implementation of the Linggadjati Agreement. Sjahrir held that the Dutch Note could only be regarded as an *ultimatum*, a negative reply to which could only mean war.

By this time (June 1947) the Dutch had as many as 90,000 armed troops in Sumatra and Java, much more than was necessary to put down terrorists and extremist elements and maintain internal security. The counter-proposals of Sjahrir were not acceptable to the Dutch. According to the proposals, the Union Government was to be composed exclusively of representatives of the Republic of East Indonesia and of Borneo in which the Republic should have one-half of the share in the composition of the Ministry and the decision was to be by a majority vote and the Representative of the Crown of the Netherlands should have only the right to refuse assent to any resolution of the Ministry which conflicted with the interests of the Netherlands, while representatives of the Republic were to be accredited on a basis of full sovereignty to Foreign Powers. These counter-proposals eliminated every

kind of Dutch influence, except the merest shadow and practically established the Republic as the Paramount Power in Indonesia. Further explanations and clarifications continued for a time between Sjahrir and Van Mook. But Soekarno and the solid Indonesian opinion behind him were not for any conciliation at all; and Sjahrir quietly resigned from his Premiership and from the Chairmanship of the Indonesian Delegation.

A new Indonesian Ministry was formed under the alternative leader, Sjariffoedin. Perhaps the Dutch might, by their military action, have easily split Java into two halves and also occupied all the important places in Sumatra, where, in reality, there were no effective rallying centres for the Republicans.

Dutch Military action in 1947 in Indonesia caused a flutter in many a foreign office; and Pandit Nehru at Delhi vigorously condemned it as "an astounding thing which the new spirit of Asia will not tolerate" and declared that if the U. N. O. tolerated such action, it would cease to be." It was only the persistent and vigorous calls to action and unyielding resistance from the Jogjakarta radio that gave a fillip to the resistance of the Republic.

Australian public opinion condemned Dutch action in the strongest terms. Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, openly regretted in Parliament the renewal of military operations by the Netherlands Government. Dutch air power was often misused in bombing non-military targets. From the U. S. A., and from Russia, voices issued condemning the Dutch action. Thus the Dutch found world opinion arrayed

against them and saw that any attempt on their part to settle the Indonesian question at their own discretion was effectively precluded.

In the course of the discussions in the Security Council of U.N.O. the Dutch Ambassador declared that his government had accepted an offer of mediation made by the U.S.A., but the Russian and Polish representatives called for an immediate cessation of hostilities. The British representative, Mr. Lawford, took his stand on an article of the Charter of the U.N.O. (Art. II, para 7) according to which the Council was not empowered to interfere in the domestic affairs of member-states, and any interference in Indonesia should be preceded by a pronouncement that the whole question was not a domestic issue. Finally, the Council decided by a good majority, that both the parties should be asked to cease hostilities forthwith and to settle their dispute by arbitration or by some other peaceful means. Russia even went so far as to call both sides to withdraw into the positions that they had occupied respectively before the beginning of hostilities.

The Dutch stopped their Military Action at midnight on the 4th of August 1947. The Indonesian Government announced that they would make every effort to obey the Security Council's order, but they were not certain whether they could straightway control all the extremist elements on their side and also whether the Dutch troops would abstain completely from provocations to such elements.

Thus the Dutch failed in this 1947 move of theirs and world opinion had clearly gone against them. Indonesia had gained

a notable victory. The Security Council of U.N.O. upheld the contention of Sjahrir that the States of West Borneo and East Indonesia had no right to be represented before the Council. And thus Soekarno won the last round in the critical two-year's struggle for his State's recognition (August 1945 to August 1947.) He had never wavered in his attitude nor given way even one inch from his stand, nor expressed any kind of difference in his own cause, and he openly cast aside the Linggadjati Agreement and demanded the complete withdrawal of the Dutch Troops from the entire Archipelago, claiming all Indonesia for his State. The battle is being fought over again.

(Concluded.)

ALONE

By MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

Alone, O Love! I tread the blossoming glades
The bright, accustomed alleys of delight,
Pomegranate-gardens of the mellowing dawn,
Serene and sumptuous orchards of the night.

Alone, O Love! I breast the glimmering
[waves,
The lustrous tides of life's familiar streams,
The seas of hope, the rivers of desire,
The moon-enchanted estuaries of dreams.

But no compassionate wind or comforting
[star
Brings me sweet word of thine abiding-
[place.....

In what predestined hour of joy or tears
Shall I attain the sanctuary of thy face?

—The Indian Review, May, 1912.

British Justice in Theory and Practice

[Viscount Jowitt, Lord Chancellor of England recently spoke of British Justice in Theory and Practice at the School of Oriental and African Studies on February 12. Addressing the members of the Indian Students' Union, London, he drew attention to the traditions of British legal methods which Free India has inherited: "The time is coming" said the Lord Chancellor, "when Indian appeals will no longer be heard by the Privy Council. But one legacy has been handed down to you, and I know you will guard it jealously and improve it: that is, our system of administration of justice. I have no fear at all that you in India in the future will preserve, maintain, and uphold our system of justice which is the best legacy we can give you in your new start in life."—ED. I.R.]

LOOKING back over a life which has become uncomfortably long, I regret I have never had the opportunity of visiting India. In 1930 I had the honour of being a member of the original Round Table Conference, I had the duty of presiding over all of the committees and everyone of them, at any rate, I succeeded in achieving a unanimous report—which was no mean achievement!

One of the consolations for losing the office I now hold, if such an event is at all possible, is that I shall then have the opportunity of visiting India. Whatever the future relationship in the form of legalities, may or may not be between India and Britain, there will ever be a sentimental affection and regard for the one people to the other, and it is quite certain we shall watch your destiny with profound interest, and we believe our own destiny will not be without its interest to you.

We shall do all we can to help you in the terrific experiment you are making, and you in your turn will do what you can to help us in the very real difficulties that beset us.

You are starting upon your constitution. Talleyrand used to say "A constitution should be short and obscure." We have got on rather well without one. There was once a distinguished French writer, Rousseau, who started writing a book on the British Constitution. After having studied the matter

very carefully, he came to the conclusion that there was no such thing. That, broadly speaking is true.

ENGLISHMEN LACK LOGICAL SENSE

English people are deficient in one quality, and that is, a logical sense. Our institutions do not bear the test of the most elementary logic. When an Englishman strives to become logical, he almost always becomes slightly ridiculous. The reason is not far to seek. We have never had, in our long history, such a complete upheaval as has taken place with other nations. We have never had to start again and to think out our institutions afresh.

We take an old institution handed down by our forefathers—we do not bother whether it is logical—and we say, Does it work? If it does not we alter and amend it and make it work. We have never pulled our institutions up by the roots and tried to reconstruct them on logical grounds. Always remember that the English approach to those problems is not, "Is it not logical? but, Does it work?"

If you want a simple illustration, you can have no better one than the office that I have the honour to hold. Who the first Lord Chancellor was, no one now knows for certain. Campbell, who used to write the lives of the Lord Chancellors (and is supposed by Lord Chancellors to have added a new

terror to death!) gives the distinction to Saint Augustine, who came here in the year 614 A.D. to preach the gospel and reform the laws, and although I do not do much in the way of preaching the gospel, I do what I can to reform the laws.

That was rather a long time ago. It is certainly a fact the Lord Chancellor's office existed before the Norman Conquest in 1066 (the one date and the only date that all Englishmen know!). Therefore, my office is second only in antiquity to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the only one which derives from Anglo-Saxon times, untouched by the logic which the French endeavoured to bring in, without much success.

JUDGES' INDEPENDENCE

My position is peculiar. I firmly believe that in any constitution which you are going to have in India, you must see that your judges are absolutely independent, free to express themselves as they like, and independent of the executive. Yet here am I, the head of the Judiciary, and also at the same time a member of the Executive and the Legislature.

When Mr. Bevin, who takes the same view as I do about the fundamental importance of the freedom of the Judiciary, sends me abroad to speak about it, they point the finger of scorn at me and say, You are all three? I am Speaker in the House of Lords, Keeper of the King's Conscience (which is much easier to keep than my own!) and the performer of all sorts of odd jobs.

But I have tried, since I have been Lord Chancellor, to see that any question of judicial patronage should be exercised absolutely without regard to politics at all. Never

mind what a man's politics are—if you want to get a judge, you want the best possible judge you can get. That is what I have tried to do. If you are going to have judges doing their work without interference from the Executive you must also have a free Bar—perfectly fearless in expressing opinions and doing the best for their clients, and letting nothing interfere except the rules of the game.

When we see some of these trials which go on in certain foreign countries, where the accused person can only have a nominated counsel who will get into frightful trouble with the authorities unless he is very careful, you see what impossible conditions arise.

The freedom of the citizens of Britain depends on a free judiciary which, in turn, depends on a free Bar, and that, as a last resort, depends on twelve good men and true, summoned into the jury box to try the case.

HARMONY AMID CONFLICTS

A great problem of the day which besets us, and which will beset you in India very much, is how to harmonise two conflicting ideas: first, the preservation of the freedom of the individual to say, to do, and to think what he likes and to work at what he prefers; and second, the difficulty that if we in this country or you in India, are going to get out of the perils which manifestly confront us, we have to have a planned economy, and and society has to be arranged accordingly.

I do not think we are going to maintain a population of 50 million people in this

country producing only one-third of the food we consume unless we do a great deal of thinking and planning, and ensuring that the right jobs are taken by our people in order that the food we eat can be produced. I do not think that can be achieved by haphazard methods which might have been good enough in the past.

But if you embark on a planned economy to get out of your economic difficulties, you are going to sacrifice individual freedom and make the workers of your country not independent and free but like a lot of ants obeying orders from a Fuehrer, or a Commissar. In those circumstances, everything which Britain has stood for and will stand for will go down the drain.

That is our colossal problem. That is why it is of fundamental importance that you should take the greatest care in your administration of justice to see that your courts are free. I wish some of you could see the working of the ordinary judicial machine, and have the opportunity to hear what a trial is like. If you only get your impressions from the films, then God help you!

AMOROUS SCENE IN COURT

I went to see a film showing a trial at the Old Bailey. I became so angered that I wanted to leave the cinema, but my wife restrained me. Everybody in the film was amorous. The judge caught hold of the hand of the counsel's wife, the defending counsel was accompanied by his wife wherever he went and eventually fell in love with his client and his conduct was so ridiculous that I could not believe he has ever passed his examinations. As a climax we saw the judge sitting down to

dinner, his wife dressed in an elaborate costume which must have come from Paris; the judge wearing dress clothes and smoking a cigar, obviously Havana, and drinking brandy. The truth, of course, would be that when the judge came back from the trial he and his wife would be sitting in the kitchen sharing a glass of beer and after dinner he would be doing the washing up?

So do not take your ideas of justice from the films.

It is essential, too, that trials must take place in public. I would not trust any judge I knew well enough to conduct cases in private. There is nothing like the full glare of publicity. There are very exceptional cases involving Official Secrets, where you must hold the case in camera, but these are very rare exceptions.

PRIVY COUNCIL

I preside over the Privy Council, a very great institution. It is quite wrong to think of it as a court of the United Kingdom. It has on it representatives of the various parts of the King's territories overseas.

The time is coming when Indian appeals will no longer be heard by the Privy Council. But one legacy has been handed down to you, and I know you will guard it jealously and improve it; that is, our system of administration of justice. I have no fear at all that you in India in the future will preserve, maintain and uphold our system of justice which is the best legacy we can give you in your new start in life.

I have also to appoint judges. I cannot remove a judge. He can only be removed by an Address of both Houses. No judge

has been removed in this fashion for over the past 200 years.

In addition, we have the County Court Judges of whom there are sixty in England. I appoint them and have the power to remove them. That power has never been exercised within living memory. You will see that in practice, if not in theory, our judges are completely free.

INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHT TO SUE

In regard to the Legal Aid Bill which has been introduced by the Government, I have felt there is no doubt that the possession of ample means has given people an advantage that others less well off do not possess in regard to litigation. That is wrong. A distinguished judge once said, "The courts are open to everybody. So is the Ritz Hotel". We must see that people are not precluded through lack of money from going to the courts in proper cases. Therefore, I have evolved a scheme to enable people, if they have a good case, to bring it at the public expense if they have not enough money to do it themselves.

Who will judge whether the case is good? Not the executive, not me—the Law Society, an absolutely independent body. Against whom can an action be brought? I was very happy recently to do away with the ancient rule, "The King can do no wrong." Now you can sue any Minister, any State Department just as you can sue Gamages Stores. In future we shall actually be allowing people who have a case against a minister or his Department to go to the Law Society and obtain public money in order to bring a case against a Minister of the Crown.

I think there is a danger to-day of these great Departments and institutions riding

roughshod over the little man like a juggernaut. Let us see that the little man has the right of redress and can bring an action in the courts.

This is a good practical illustration of what I mean when I say we must preserve the right of the individual. If I have done nothing else, I shall be thought not altogether unworthy because I have done away with the old rule that you cannot sue the Crown and have introduced the scheme under which a rich man shall have no undue legal advantage over the poor man.

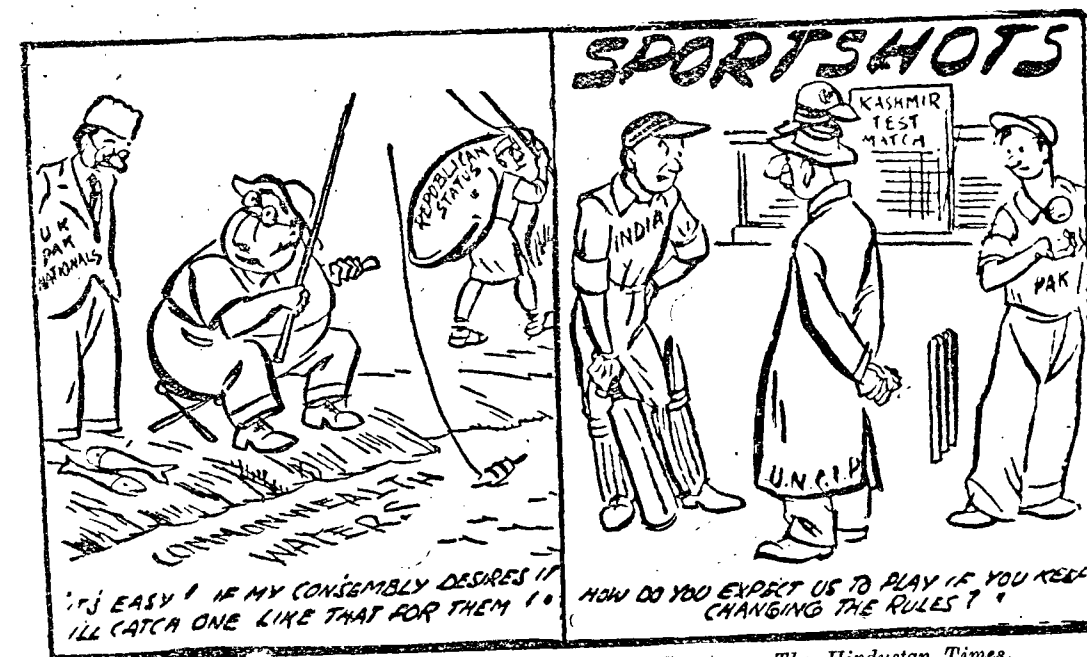
There is a great deal to be done to reform our Law. It is highly skilled work. It cannot be done without experience. If I had sufficient number of experts I could very soon reduce our Law to more manageable proportions.

HOUSE OF LORDS

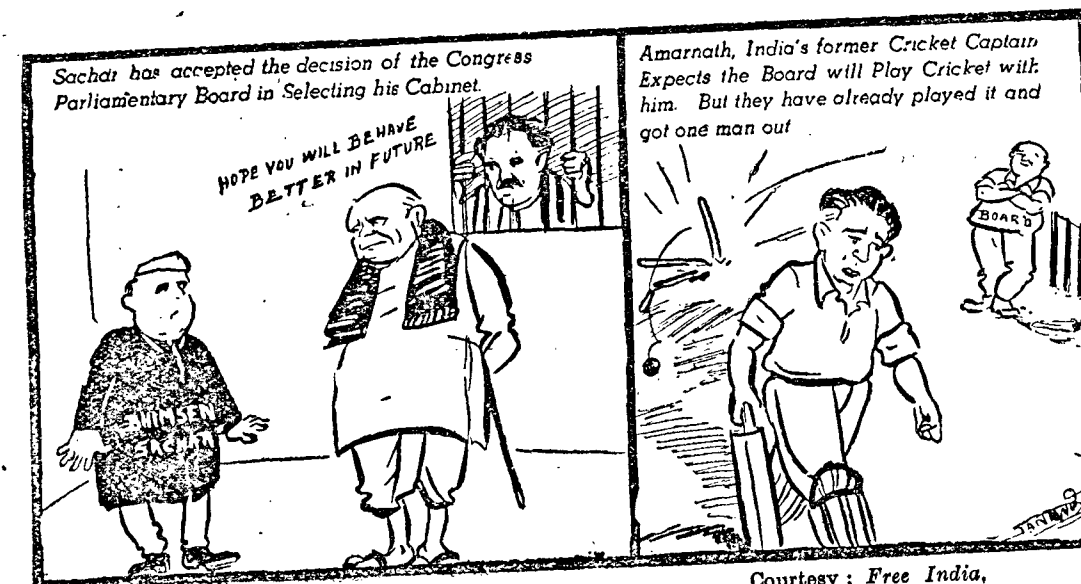
Finally, I have, in conjunction with my colleagues, my ordinary duties as a member of the Cabinet. I am first adviser to the Cabinet on all legal questions. There are very few questions to-day which do not involve some legal consideration. In addition I am speaker of the House of Lords. Unlike the Speaker in the House of Commons, the Speaker in the House of Lords is not king of the situation. In the Lords we have no rules of order at all. If some-one misbehaves himself and talks in an unseemly way, I cannot call him to order. Someone may raise a question that the member who is speaking "be no longer heard." After that, he can continue to speak!

In consequence of this absence of rules, we are by far the best behaved assembly in the world, which shows you what an awful lot there is to be said for free institutions. With all its rules and regulations, the House of Commons to-day behaves in a way we would never dream of behaving.

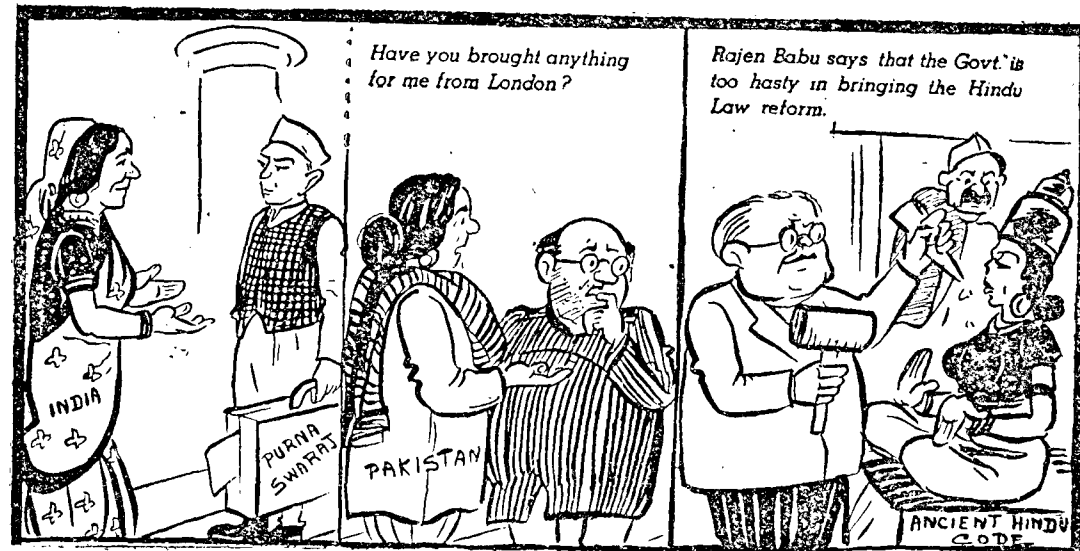
TOPICAL CARTOONS



Courtesy: The Hindustan Times.



Courtesy: Free India.



Courtesy : Free India.



Courtesy : The Hindustan Times.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Consamby and the London Decision

SINCE his return from the Commonwealth Conference in London, Pandit Nehru, India's Prime Minister, has had more than one occasion to speak out his mind in regard to India's position in the Commonwealth. He and his colleagues in the Government of India are convinced that the final decision as agreed to at the conference is one fully in accord with India's status and intentions since Independence Day. But even that agreement was subject to ratification by the Constituent Assembly.

Commending the London decision to the Constituent Assembly, the Prime Minister said that the declaration was in conformity with "our old pledges" and in no way limited India's freedom of sovereignty. He added that if India dissociated herself from the Commonwealth for the moment, she would be completely isolated and she could not remain like that. "The Commonwealth," he added, "does not come in the way of our co-operation (and friendship with other countries.)"

Referring to social discrimination practised against Indians, Pandit Nehru said: "When we have an alliance with a nation or a group of nations, it does not mean that we accept their other policies." He said it was a dangerous thing to bring such issues within the purview of the Commonwealth because we would then be treating the Commonwealth as a superior body, which principle, if accepted, would have meant diminution in our independence.

Aid to Burma

It will be recalled that on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference in London, Thakin Nu the Burmese Premier visited Delhi and Karachi with a view to seek Commonwealth help in restoring peace and order in Burma. As a result of the talks Britain, India, Pakistan and Ceylon which are closely allied to Burma, as near neigh-

bours and friends agreed to supply money and munitions. Steps are immediately taken to implement that decision and we are glad that Burma is in a fair way to get supplies in meeting the emergency. Experts in Rangoon will, it seems, work out details of the amount and scope of such assistance and the allocation of the respective contributions in cash and kind among the four Commonwealth Powers. The British Foreign Secretary made this position "perfectly clear" by stating that the British Government believed that

it was essential for South-East Asia that steps be taken to get order restored in the whole of that territory by a co-ordinated effort.

India's interest in seeing peace and order restored in her borders, is of course, paramount. It is hoped that Thakin Nu's Government would be able to put the aid to the best use.

Fall of Shanghai

With the fall of Shanghai the greatest city in China and the East, the victorious troops of Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader may be said to have swept away all Nationalist opposition. Militarily, the collapse of the Kuomintang forces was a forgone conclusion. The advancing Reds have had a good prize. But even more than the present success is the possible repercussion of this victory over the future of China. It is clear the victory is as much due to the superiority of the Red army in morale and numbers as to defections from the Government forces. Chiang's Government has definitely lost the people's support and much depends on the statesmanship of the Red leader in rallying together all Chinese elements and in facing the world with the united voice of China. Communist or Kuomintang, if China is one and indivisible its voice will prevail in the counsels of the world. The big powers will be forced to recognise the inevitable.

Editors in Conference

It was a happy choice they made when the A. I. N. Editors elected Mr. C. R. Srinivasan of the *Swadeshamitran* to preside over their deliberations at Bangalore. For, Mr. Srinivasan is undoubtedly the doyen of the vernacular press in India having been connected with his paper for over five and thirty years. Nationalist papers in India, irrespective of the language they employed, have always been the spearhead of Indian freedom, and it is quite in the fitness of things that this well known Editor of a popular newspaper with the reputation and traditions of the *Swadeshamitran* should have been unanimously chosen to guide the Conference at a time when more than ever, the press has need to reorientate its policy and method of work in free India. For apart from being a working journalist with a flair for news and popular writing, he has business acumen and tact which have abundantly been proved in the way he negotiated many a big deal, particularly in connection with the launching of the Press Trust of India—the great achievement of our time in the field of news service. Journalism was comparatively easy work in British India, though by no means less important, for the Indian Nationalist Press in those days, always patriotic and working with a mission, was mainly concerned with attacking and resisting the alien rule. Dexterity in evading 124A was the main thing in successful journalism. In a way it was irresponsible, though necessary, work in those days. But now the situation is different. The Government is ours and we cheerfully share with it the responsibility for the well being of the State. Hence Mr. Srinivasan in his speech dealt exhaustively with the problems confronting the newspaper profession and in particular referred to the relations of the Press with the Government. He said:

We shall stand behind the Government in all their efforts to control disruptive forces, establish peace and order and redeem national economy. Government, however, should not presume therefrom that whatever they do we shall always support them. That will cut at the very root of the responsibility we are expected to exercise in

public interest. Where we feel that a particular policy is misconceived or a particular action misdirected it is our duty to strike a note of caution. I am constrained to say this because I find in some quarters impatience and even intolerance of criticism.

It is no pleasure to criticise people who by their services and sacrifices have earned our respect; but many who hold high offices to-day are new to administrative responsibilities and if they err in ignorance or prejudice, it is our duty to pull them up. The absence of an effective opposition in the Assemblies to-day makes this task doubly necessary.

These are wise words and well conceived, as they express in a nutshell sober and responsible criticism which is as sensitive to the claims of the State as it is vigilant and watchful of the interests of the free Press in a free State.

As if to mark and emphasise the significance of the new change that has come over the press in India the Editors' Conference was inaugurated by the Governor-General himself—a thing that could not have been thought of under the old regime.

Four Freedoms of Information

Four freedoms of information have been set down in the proposed International Convention on Freedom of Information, drafted by the General Assembly's Social Committee.

The Committee approved by twenty-eight votes to six, with seven abstentions, a British article which in effect, guarantees everyone, the freedom to listen and to speak, the freedom to hear and to read; the freedom to seek information without Government interference; and the freedom of movement for those who are engaged in seeking the truth.

Maurice Maeterlinck

Maurice Maeterlinck of Belgium whose death was reported the other day is rated as one of the foremost dramatists of Europe. One of his finest works, a fantasia, "Bluebird," was rendered on the screen by Hollywood.

Maeterlinck touched life with the harp of an Ariel and had a few but fit audience among the intellectuals in the East and West. Poetic minds in India found a strange fascination for the cobwebs he wove in words.

The Minorities

What the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru described as "a historic turn in our destiny" was taken by the Constituent Assembly the other day when it passed with acclamation Sardar Patel's motion for the abolition of reservation for all minorities except the Scheduled Castes, as modified by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's amendment suggesting that reservation for Scheduled Castes should be only for a period of 10 years.

The House rejected by an overwhelming majority two other amendments, one moved by Mr. Mahomed Ismail (Madras) seeking to retain reservation, and the other by Mr. Z. H. Lari (U.P.) suggesting the introduction of the system of cumulative voting.

This is the welcome end of a disastrous experiment the lessons of which we have learnt at a terrible cost. The highlights of the occasion were the moving speech of the veteran Christian leader Dr. H. C. Mukherji and the Sardar's spirited reply to the debate.

The Sardar uttered a warning against continuance of separatist tendencies and said he would "respectfully appeal" to all those who still believed in the two-nation theory to go "and enjoy the fruits of their freedom and leave us in peace." There was no place in this country for people who claimed separate representation.

Pandit Krishna Ram

A link with the Old Guards of Journalism has snapped in the death of Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta of Allahabad. Only four years ago he retired from the *Leader* after having served the paper for five and thirty years in various capacities. He joined the *Leader* at the instance of Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the founder Editor, whom he served loyally to the end. Doubtless Chintamani's personality dominated the paper but the *Leader* owed not a little to the perseverance and devotion of Krishna Ram. His work was efficient and unostentatious.

Pak-India Relations

Sir Mahomed Zafrullah's attempt to dig up the Hyderabad issue in the U. N. and Pakistan's truce violation in Kashmir are evidences of the fruitlessness of India's one way traffic in good-will. As if these were not enough the true story of Liaquat Ali's outburst at the Commonwealth Conference in London reveals the mentality of men whose hearts are set on doing injury to India. It is reported that the Pak Prime Minister did his best to shut India out of the Commonwealth on the ground of her declaration of sovereign independence but was promptly pulled up by Mr. Attlee who is alive to the strength and value of India to the Commonwealth. It would be interesting to watch the kind of polity that Pakistan proposes to evolve to retain her place in the Commonwealth. India, it must be remembered, decided on the Republican status irrespective of the Commonwealth formula and she sticks to it, whether in or outside the Commonwealth.

Batavia Agreement

Dutch-Indonesian relationship has seen such frequent vicissitudes that it is perhaps premature to enthuse over the latest agreement entered into between the Dutch delegation headed by Van Royen and the Indonesian delegation headed by Muhammad Roem at Batavia. At any rate, this has been enough to impress the United Nations as proof of good faith on either side and on the motion of India and Australia the Indonesian question which was on the agenda for the current session has been postponed till the next. The Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, opposing postponement declared characteristically enough that the Batavia Agreement was a manoeuvre of the Netherlands Government and "its two protectors the United States and the United Kingdom."

Israel Admitted to U. N.

At long last Israel has become the 59th member of the United Nations. By a vote of 37 to 12, with nine abstentions, the General Assembly on May 11 decided to admit Israel immediately.



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. By William A. Robson. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green & Co.

This is a short outline of the British Governmental Institutions and describes the functions and status of the King, the Parliament, Political Parties, and the main functions of Parliament. The process of delegating the work of legislation from Parliament to Government Departments and other public institutions is noted. Parliament's efficiency, as an instrument of debate is stressed and the combination of power, leadership and responsibility in the Cabinet is explained. The formation of public Corporations, the traditional efficiency of Civil Service and the close connection between Local Self-Government and Democracy are all pointed out. The peculiar manner in which the citizen is guaranteed his liberties, and the temper which sustains the entire working of British Democracy are outlined in brief, but clear narrative.

COMPLETE INCOME-TAX READY RECKONER 1949. By Rusi C. Doodhmal, J.P., G.D.A.R.A., F.I.S.A., A.I.C.W.A., F.T.I.I. (Lond.) "Empire Terrace," Lamington Road, Bombay-7. Price Rs. 5.

This is the tenth edition of the ready-reckoner brought out to conform to the changes introduced into the income-tax structure of this country by the New Finance Act of 1949. The tables provided are comprehensive and have been prepared with reference to the needs of all varieties of income-tax payers. The book is therefore of value to all income-tax assessors, officers, practitioners, auditors and the like. But for the price, the book should be more popular.

THE FACTORIES ACT—1948. By P. Patwari. Indian Legal Publications, near Khadia Chowky, Ahmedabad.

One of the first Acts of the Nehru Government after August 1947, was to make Factory Legislation in India comprehensive. Since the passing of the previous Factory Act of 1934, the U. K. passed two subsequent legislations one in 1937 and another in 1948. The Government of India decided to keep pace and the Factory Act of 1948 is the result.

The latter containing nearly 120 sections has introduced many new features in the sphere of factory administration and therefore a complete knowledge of the Act, its provision and explanation of the latter is necessary for these concerned. Mr. Patwari's book is an annotation of the Act of 1948 and therefore fulfils this need.

The book contains useful references to case law, points of difference from previous legislation and a very useful subject index. Mr. Justice K. C. Sen, President, Industrial Court, Bombay has written a Foreword for the book.

THREE FAMOUS TALES. By A. S. P. Aiyar G. V. K. Swamy & Co., Price annas ten.

In Three Famous Tales we have the story of Harischandra and his promise to sacrifice to God Varuna a substitute boy Sunahasepa in the place of his own son. The moral taught is the wickedness and barbarity of human sacrifice. The second story is about Nala and Damayanti; and the last is about Bimbisara, the Saisunaga King of Maghada and his slow starvation by his own son Ajatasatru who was stung into penitence for his parricide action before the Buddha.

JUNE 1949]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

819

HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA: By Swami Sadananda (All India Arya Dharma Seva Sangha.) Price Rs. 2.

It is now fairly well known that Indian culture had flourished in many neighbouring countries during many centuries about the Christian era. Remains of various kinds found in Ceylon and Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Siam, Java, Sumatra and other islands show the high level of the varied forms of Indian culture that prevailed there. In various Indian books the cultural activities of these regime have found a place though they are referred to by other forms of their name, as Yava for Java, Suvarnadwipa for Sumatra, Champa for Annam, and Varunadwipa for Borneo. The magnificent architectural works of Borobudur are well known examples of Hindu religious art. The temples, the image of various gods, customs like swayamvara, stories of all kinds and a hundred other things attest the thorough way in which Hindu culture

had permeated the life of all those Eastern countries.

But as yet there is only a vague notion of this in the mind of even educated people. Swami Sadananda's book is very necessary and helpful for giving not only scholars but also general readers an excellent idea of the extent to which Hindu culture had spread into the neighbouring countries.

DISCOURSES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA. By the late Mangal Charan. With a foreword by S. Radhakrishnan, Publisher, Awadhesh Kumar Tewari, Patna.

The book under notice is the summary of the lectures of the author on the Gita. The author has not merely studied the Gita from the traditional point of view but has also reflected on it from the modern scientific standpoint. At places the interpretation is strained and ingenious. The book could have been compressed with profit to the reader.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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LETTERS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Advaita Ashram Mayavati, Almora.

THUS SPAKE THE MAHATMA. By M. K. Krishnan, Asoka Betel Nut Factory, Coimbatore.

AN EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL EDUCATION. By K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser to Bombay Government, Bombay.

A COMMUNITY AT THE CROSS-ROAD. By S. F. Desai. With Foreword by Sir H. P. Mody Kt, and introduction by Prof. J. J. Asana. M. A. New Book Co, Ltd., Bombay.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS. By S. Gopal, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

HANDBOOK OF INDO-AUSTRALIAN TRADE. Compiled by E. V. S. Maniam and M. C. Gupta. The Bureau of Economic Research, P. B. 45, Cawnpore.

THE BUDGET 1949-50 AND ITS ECONOMIC BACKGROUND. By The Sydenham College Group, Nalanda Publications, Bombay.

GRESH GHORE AND HIS DRAMAS. By Swami Jagadishwarananda, The Book House, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

BUILDING, CIVIL ENGINEERING AND PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE. International Labour Office, Geneva Indian Branch, Delhi.

MR. GANDHI THE MAN. By Milli Graham Polak, with Foreword by C. F. Andrews, Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

NEWSLETTERS OF THE MUGHAL COURT. Edited by Prof. B. D. Verma. M. A., Govt. Central Press, Bombay.

STUDIES IN RAMAYANA. By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Deptt. of Education Baroda, Rs. 7-8.

HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA. By Swami Sadananda All India Arya Dharma Seva Sangha P.O. Birla Lines, Sabzi Mandi, Delhi.

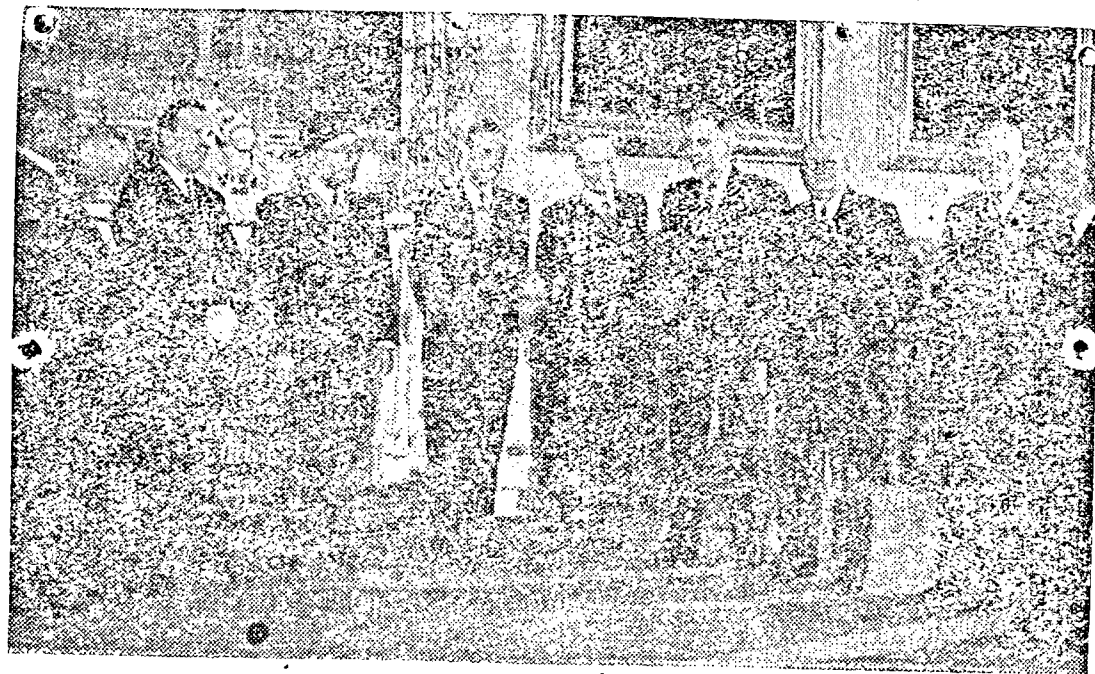
THE UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA. By Dr. G. S. Mahajain (Jaipur Pamphlets on Public Affairs) The Information Bureau, Jaipur.

THE UNIVERSITY: ITS FOUR PILLARS. By Dr. G. S. Mahajain, Vice Chancellor, Rajputana University. The Information Bureau, Jaipur.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES. International Labour Office, Geneva.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 1. Bombay Govt. takes over Baroda.
- May 2. Central Govt. to take over Bhopal.
- May 3. Exchange Bank suspends payment.
- May 4. Big Four, meeting in New York, agree to end the German blockade.
- May 5. Pandit Nehru returns to India.
- May 6. INTUC meets at Indore.
- May 7. Dutch-Republican talks at Batavia.
- May 8. Conference of Governors at Delhi.
- May 9. S. A. Indian question debated in U. N. Political Committee.
- May 10. Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador arrives in Washington.
- May 11. U. N. Political Committee rejects S. African resolution on India.
- May 12. Batavia pact endorsed by the Dutch.
- May 13. Reds close in on Shanghai.
- May 14. H. E. Rajaji opens the Patalalinga Temple at Tiruvannamalai.
- May 15. U. N. Assembly votes for R. T. C. in Indo-S. A. dispute.
- May 16. All India Newspaper Editors' Conference meets at Bangalore.
- May 17. India Govt. take over Rampur.
- May 18. U. N. Assembly rejects Anglo-Italian proposal for Italy's former colonies.
- May 19. Siege of Shanghai.
- May 20. Karens proclaim new State.
- May 21. A. I. C. C. meet at Dehra Dun.
- May 22. Nehru condemns Pak violations.
- May 23. West German constitution formally proclaimed at Bonn.
- May 24. Foreign Ministers meet at Paris.
- May 25. Fall of Shanghai to the Reds.
- May 26. Kashmir to have four representatives in the Constituent Assembly.
- May 27. Travancore Maharaja signs Covenant.
- May 28. Cochin ruler gives assent.
- May 29. Pandit Nehru, speaking at Srinagar, gives assurance to Kashmir.
- May 30. 17 S. A. Indians under Bonus Scheme arrive in Bombay.
- May 31. Constituent Assembly favours nomination of Governors.



THE KING AND THE PRIME MINISTERS



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



THE WORLD OF THE FREE

One hundred years hence the third Assembly of the United Nations will be remembered for the adoption of two documents, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention outlawing genocide. According to Louis Dolivet, International Editor of the *U. N. World* these two documents are such titanic achievements that they outweigh all the innumerable weaknesses of the United Nations.

What the UN has done is to provide for the extirpation of that which is the most evil in man and the exaltation of that which is noblest. The UN has dared to reach deep into the darkest recesses of bestial and homicidal instincts. It has taken into account all the horrible crimes committed throughout the centuries—in particular by the Axis powers in World War II—and proclaimed them to be what they always have been: crimes incompatible with the spirit of justice.

Had such a convention outlawing genocide been in existence and ratified by most of the governments of the earth, many of the unspeakable acts of torture and mass murder committed by the Nazis and Fascists would never have taken place. For had such a convention existed, every member of the Axis hierarchy—from the prime minister to the gauleiter, from concentration camp guard to intellectual accomplice or writer glorifying the Nazi concept—would have known that he was committing a crime against humanity and that he would be punished for it by an international court.

The important thing about the genocide convention is that it specifically puts the responsibility for the crime on the individual, and that once the convention is ratified, no one will be able to hide behind the pretext of "higher orders."

The Declaration of Human Rights contains the highest precepts of all religions and the common qualities of the great political bills of rights—written into the Magna Carta and into the basic law of the United States and France. It is now transformed into a universal proclamation of the immortal dignity of man.

The Assembly knew that it was setting such high standards of human behaviour that enforcement alone would not be sufficient. Therefore the declaration proclaims that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.

Enlarging upon the Charter and widening its scope, the Assembly has added to rights and freedoms due to every man without distinction as to race, color, sex, language and religion, the words "political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The declaration, not satisfied with proclaiming the right of every one to life, establishes the rights without which life is not worth living. In the same breath in which it states the right to live, it establishes the right to liberty and security of person. It forbids slavery in any form, torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 13 of the declaration sets new standards for human dignity when it proclaims:

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

The remnants of discrimination and prejudice in the U.S. and the colonial territories of the earth, the limitations on individual freedom in the Soviet Union and adjacent countries, and all the other remaining obstacles in the hearts and minds of almost every human being henceforth will become not only a violation of the human status, and of national constitutions, but crimes against the international community itself.

The Editor says in conclusion that new era is dawning upon mankind—an era so full of promise and so nearly within the reach of the world, because of the decision of the General Assembly, that every human being who wants to act in the interest of mankind has a task before him.

Make the convention against genocide and the Declaration of Human Rights a binding law within your countries, your communities, your homes. Only so will it become the law of all mankind.

CHINA'S COLLAPSE

The collapse of China's Nationalist regime is a long and sordid story of intrigue, treachery, bad leadership and corruption, writes W. M. Towler in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*.

After coming to power with Communist co-operation, Chiang Kai-shek struck at his temporary allies in 1927 and imprisoned and executed many of them. By doing so, he created a wave of bitterness that has never since subsided.

The survivors at first went underground; then they reorganized and from various strongholds in remote parts of the country waged guerilla war against the Government for ten years. Suddenly there came the remarkable episode when Chiang was kidnapped at Siam by one of his own generals and was persuaded or forced to call off the campaign against the Communists. This was in 1937.

Chiang then agreed to the formation of a united front in which all Chinese forces—Nationalist and Communist—would act together to resist Japanese aggression. This uneasy truce lasted until a few months before the end of the second World War, when it became obvious that Japan would soon go down in utter defeat under the blows delivered against her by the armed forces of the United Nations.

Soviet Russia played a big part in the background of all these moves—and played an even bigger one in the early days after Japan's downfall.

The Chinese Nationalist-Communist united front of 1937 came soon after the signing of the anti-Comintern pact by Germany and Japan. To ward off the Japanese threat to herself, Russia pushed the Chinese Communists into their bargain with Chiang.

With the civil war (temporarily) ended and Chinese forces united Japan was then kept busy enough in China, leaving the Russians unhindered in their task of building up the Far Eastern Army.

During the Second World War, the Chinese Communists infiltrated behind the Japanese lines in North China and the Japs were

defeated. The Communists were able immediately to take control of a very large area. Very soon they ignored all orders from the Nationalist Government and set up their own administration. The uneasy alliance was ended. As the Japanese left, the scramble began between the Communists and the Nationalists for the principal cities of North China.

With the help of American transport and supplies, Nationalist troops were able to take over Peiping, Tientsin and other cities, but they were unable to control much of the countryside. In no time at all the old civil war had broken out once more. The Russians, who, in the last few days of the war, had been able to march into Manchuria, now came into the picture again. As they left Manchuria they made sure that the Chinese Communist forces took over from them: And they handed over to them at the same time the vast quantities of arms and ammunition abandoned there by the Japanese.

With these Mao Tse-tung's armies have brought the American-trained, well-armed Nationalist forces to their knees. Only in recent months—after the fall of Peiping, Tientsin and Suchow to the Communists—did the Americans become tired of sending money and materials to help those who proved unable to help themselves.

In a two years' campaign the Communists crept slowly downwards from the North. The spectacular collapse of Chiang's forces came since the launching of the autumn offence in October. More than military causes have contributed, however, to the present defeat of the Nationalists.

A large section of Chiang's troops was in a very low state of morale. Pay was negligible, food and clothing poor, and general living and medical conditions deplorable. Many soldiers saw their officers living in comfort or even luxury. Some generals were known to boost the size of their armies by thousands of non-existent men, to draw pay and other supplies for them from the capital

and keep them for themselves. In spite of the execution of a number of officers found guilty of this charge, it is known that the evil was by no means eradicated.

Among the troops there has grown a general war weariness, emphasised by the fact that many of the men have been fighting far from their homes. These conditions have led to wholesale desertions to the Communists. Armies melted away and their excellent American equipment fell into the hands of their opponents.

In the territory at present held by the Communists, different areas are held by different Communist generals, independent of each other. Some have their own economic and military laws, their own currencies, their own brand of Communism.

So far, Mao Tse-tung has only a loose control over many of his generals and their untamed forces. It remains to be seen whether, in the end, he can really get their full co-operation if he tries to set up a firm Central Communist Government.

Mao has a rigid programme of reforms, many of which the country urgently needs. Some of these have been put into force ruthlessly in the provinces already under his domination. Opponents have been liquidated in the usual Communist manner. The familiar denunciatory "People's Courts", with their verdicts well known in advance, are in full operation. But the right family group system is such an age-old institution in China that it does not fit easily into the Marxist line.

Then, too, the Chinese are strong individualists and have always resented foreign interference or tutelage. Only time will show if Mao is prepared to go on knuckling under to Moscow, when and if he gets real power in his own hands.

FRIENDS EVERYWHERE

When asked his opinion of heaven and hell, Mark Twain remarked, "My dear lady, I can't say a word; I have friends in both places."

THE FAR EAST TURMOIL

United Asia is an international magazine of Asian affairs published in Bombay. The Special Chinese number which is on our table has many attractive features, all touching the life and history of China and the Chinese people, their country, politics, culture and art. In a survey of the Far East turmoil Mr. MacMahon Ball reviews the rise of Asian nationalism, and the resulting politico-economic problems.

The success of nationalism in East Asia, he says, has created new political problems.

Parties which were able to unite in resistance to outside control find it harder to unite on a positive programme. It is useless to exchange foreign tyrants for your own tyrants, for no war is so bitter as civil war. Much has been written of the inhumanity of Europeans to Asians, but I doubt if it has ever matched the inhumanity of Asians to Asians.

The first thing needed by the new national States of East Asia is internal political unity: governments whose authority is firmly based on the popular will and who do not need to exhaust their limited resources on the suppression of rebel groups. The second thing is economic progress. Most Asians live lives obsessed with the struggle for food. National independence does not automatically produce more rice, more bamboo and more tin.

These things need administrative experience and technical skill, both of which the new nations sorely lack through no fault of their own.

They will have to depend for a long time on the help of Western Powers who have achieved a much higher degree of economic development and are alone able to provide East Asia with indispensable help.

EXPLAINED

The reason why women make the most careful drivers is because they have so much practice at keeping under thirty.

BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

The real aim of basic education is to bring education as close to creative activity and real production as is possible, writes Mr. S. P. Shome in *Careers To-day*. It does not run counter to the growth and organization of industry. If properly directed, it can give as practical a turn to the learner's mind as would enable him to pick up the mechanism of industry easily. In any case, technical training of the most modern type has to be provided in the highest stages of secondary education. As to the undue stress on hand-work, the scheme regards hand-work and brain-work as aspects of the same process of learning.

Basic education is the foundation upon which the job-training methods for boys and girls should be built up. It takes into account the most up-to-date educational theory of learning in terms of experience and activity rather than in those of facts to be stored and knowledge to be acquired. It is also in direct relation to life and its needs, and is therefore socio-logically sound in principle. It aims at co-ordinating mental with manual labour and adds dignity to labour. Moreover, it stands for a complete reorganization of educational ideals in India which will solve the acute problem of unemployment of the masses with a corresponding increase in the social evils that have their roots in the human failing of trying to get something on the material side of life.

"Why do you refuse to let me marry your daughter?"

"Because you have no money."

"But I have intelligence."

"I doubt it."

"Why?"

"Because you want to marry my daughter."

AMERICAN METHODS IN INDIA

America has six per cent of the world's population and one-fifth of the cropland of the world whereas India, with its limited land, has to feed one fifth of the world's population.

This and other telling facts are contained in an article in the *Gramudyog Patrika* by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa wherein he points out the utter unsuitability of U. S. farming methods for Indian conditions. He writes:

In India, our land is considerably limited. It has to feed nearly one-fifth of the world in population. Hence we cannot afford to be wasteful in our methods. The recuperative power of land becomes a very important factor in our calculations. When we cultivate a piece of land, we are taking certain elements out of it and those elements go to enervate us. The land recuperates itself through various means within a certain time. We have to allow that time as well as rotate the crops grown, so as to fit into this cycle. This is a highly technical proposition, as this recuperation conditions the pace of our production from land. If we produce larger crops by more intensive cultivation we shall be reaching the stage of exhaustion sooner, after which the land will become fit only for jungle growth or will remain a desert. Hence it will be necessary for us to draw on our resources with considerable thought.

In some respects, says Mr. Kumarappa, America is in the position of a rich man's son who draws on his capital in addition to his income for his current requirements, while India is like a self-made person who is to equate his expenditure with his income.

Therefore, the rate of production in India has to be well balanced with the possibilities of the soil conditions. In America they are constantly converting cultivable land into grass land and forests with the depleting fertility, and drawing on better lands by reclamation. Lands that have been dislodged are open to the menace of erosion which washes away the cultivable soil. Because of their constantly drawing on virgin soil, it becomes increasingly important to use tractors. While they use tractors they also have access to the necessary fuel in their land. If we produce food on the basis of mechanization while the needed fuel for the motive power is not available in India, we shall be in a precarious condition. Our bullocks would have died out and at a time when fuel—crude oil and kerosene—is not available, we shall have to die like flies, as bullocks, for the needed power cannot be grown overnight.

EDUCATION IN SOVIET UNION

Despite exaggerated claims to the contrary there has been a marked decline in education throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. So serious has it become that pressure from the highest level is being brought to bear on those whose task it was to bring literacy to the masses under Communist rule. Reviewing the position, American educationalist, Dr. Benjamin Fine, writing in *The New York Times*, says, a scarcity of teachers, high rate of truancy and an inadequate number of school buildings are some of the reasons for the grave deterioration of the whole educational scheme of the Soviet Union.

Several recent editorials in *Pravda*, official Soviet newspaper, have sharply attacked the breakdown in school conditions. In some areas they say children do not go to school at all. Under Soviet law, seven years of schoolings is compulsory in the cities, and four years in the towns and rural areas.

Children start school at the age of 7. Between one-third and one-half of all Soviet children do not go beyond the fourth grade, although there are ten grades. The classes are arranged into three divisions: the lower, or primary, consists of four grades, attended by children from 7 to 11; the intermediary consists of classes from the fifth to the seventh grade, and the secondary, making up the grades from the eighth to the tenth.

At present, the Soviet reports show that primary and secondary schools have 32,000,000 pupils in 198,000 schools, taught by 1,250 000 teachers. There are

about 700,000 students in the 800 higher educational establishments.

A detailed *Pravda* editorial assails the poor operation of the Soviet school system. It holds that too many children are not attending school; that the rate of school building construction is far behind schedule and that the supply of clothes and shoes for school children is significantly below the plan. The editorial condemns the neglect of the schools in many areas.

GANDHIJI IN HIS LAST DAYS

An account of the last interview he had with Gandhiji twenty days before the assassination is given by Sriman Narayan Agarwal in the *Modern Review*.

Sriman Agarwal reports Gandhiji as saying to him during the interview:

"You do not know, Sriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through!" exclaimed Bapu looking towards me. "Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

Gandhiji paused for a while and then continued in a low voice:

"Delhi to-day is burning with communal hatred and violence. The Hindus and Sikhs seem to have lost all balance. My appeals to them are of no avail. There was a time when my voice wielded magic with the masses; to-day it appears to have lost all its power!"

We had been talking for about thirty minutes in the room, continues Sriman Agarwal. I had never intended to take so much of his valuable time. But that day Gandhiji poured out his agony in a tone which was altogether unfamiliar. Exactly at seven, Pandit Nehru entered

the room; this was his daily programme. So I hurried to take Bapu's leave and went into an adjoining room.

As I left Birla House that dark night, these words of Bapu continued to ring in my ears:

"You do not know, Sriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through! Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

I had been in close contact with Gandhiji for the last twelve years. But I had never found Bapu in such a pensive mood. Nevertheless, I could not even dream that the "heavy days" would end so suddenly and soon, only twenty days after my last meeting with Bapu.

Gandhiji was undoubtedly great in life. He is even greater in his death. But the world will remain poorer in his death for a thousand years.

VAISHNAVA LYRICISM

"The rich poetic output by the devotees of Medieval India, for all its influence in this country, has been comparatively little known outside," says Shri Lal Mohan Mookerjee writing in the *Aryan Path* for April on Vaishnava lyricism. A proper study of the Vaishnava poet reveals a poetic sensibility drenched deep in mysticism.

Poetic mysticism can be interpreted as that tendency to bore deep into the world of Infinitude, a disposition to prostrate the Mind before the Eternal Will and to bring the mysteries of faith close to the simplest facts of daily life. Inseparable from this was the creed of longing and of loss, which sought to spring from earth and to create its own heaven. The longing to have this sweet pulsation of feeling ever coursing through the human nature, constitutes the "lyrical cry." Again, as in Shelley, an intellectualised aspect of that desire shaped an eclectic idealism which

recoils from everything unattractive—a love of beauty which excludes the attribute of strength. So it was possible for the Vaishnava mind to conceive of Brindaban, an ideal world where "music and moonlight and feeling are one."

Now about the most inimitable loveliness of verse-music. Some of these poets at least, by instinct of verbal selection and charm of sound, come nearest to expressing the half-inexpressible—the secret harmonies of beauty.

We may define poetry as "the most intense expression of the dominant emotions and the higher ideals of an age"; yet we fail to convey any idea of the aesthetic bliss associated with the memories of the Vaishnava lyrics. These were actually sung. Their ineffable charm lies in the changing intonations and only awakes in the style of music which is wonderfully soft and melodious. And they were for the heart; so their exquisite lyric, charm and musical appeal filter down to the masses. Herein lies the secret of their popularity. Through the centuries they have claimed the sympathies and thrilled the imagination; they awaken a spirit of joyous abandon and tender sympathies in the masses wholly unconscious of the higher ideals of the age.

Yet this is not all. In these lyrics the thinker penetrates to knowledge through the reciter. At every instant, a calculated word which seems involuntary, opens up, beyond the veils of tradition, glimpses of philosophy.

"INDIAN AFFAIRS"

Indian Affairs is an attractive new monthly published by the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress. The April and May numbers that have been received are packed with notes and news of all-India interest. Every Province and all the States (such of those that have survived) are considered, while the position of our countrymen abroad is surveyed periodically in these pages. We welcome this informative journal and trust that it will serve as a handy journal of reference on all matters of Indian interest.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

S. A. INDIAN QUESTION

The U. N. General Assembly on May 14, adopted the French-Mexican resolution by more than two-thirds majority, calling on India, Pakistan and South Africa to meet in conference to discuss the Indian S. African dispute. The voting was 47 in favour, one (S. Africa) against and 10 abstentions including Britain, Soviet Union, Argentina and Yugoslavia.

Earlier, India had announced that she would not press her own resolution, suggesting the setting up of a Commission to enquire into the position of South African Indians, and would support the French-Mexican resolution which found more favour among the members.

This is the second time in four years the General Assembly passed by the necessary two-thirds majority a resolution calling upon South Africa to settle its difference with India over the treatment of its Indian minority, writes P.T.I. Representative at U. N. Headquarters.

On the first occasion, in December 1946, when a similar resolution was passed, India had obtained a bare two-thirds majority, but the new resolution won an overwhelming majority of 47 to one, the sole dissenting country being South Africa.

Another important change from the previous procedure was that Pakistan was associated with the talks the Assembly asked South Africa to hold with India.

Burma

BURMA REBELS AND INDIANS

The Indian Embassy in Rangoon broadcast a warning to the Burmese rebels on May 12 that any harm done to Indians in their hands would be considered a breach of International Law. The broadcast asked that Indians held captive anywhere in Burma should be released immediately.

The broadcast was particularly addressed to rebels in the Tharrawaddy area, 30 miles north of Rangoon, where according to the broadcast, Indian officials employed by the Burma Government are "being threatened with punishment because of the execution of their duties."

The broadcast said Indians were foreign nationals and were being discharged as such by the Burma Government.

INDIANS THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT

Some 750 Indian industrial workers have been thrown out of employment in recent weeks and another 5,000 are faced with a similar prospect as a result of large-scale disruption of Burmese economy due to country-wide fighting.

Those already retrenched include the employees of a dockyard and of a saw-mill which closed down outside Rangoon during April due to lack of materials.

Other Indians facing the possibility of being rendered idle include 2,700 workers in the petroleum industry, 1,000 in the mining industry, and another 600 in the river transport industry near Rangoon.

Madagascar

INDIAN TRADERS EXPELLED

Mr. Fiddaly Kaderbhai, an Indian merchant from the French colony of Madagascar, interviewed by the A.P.I. in Poona, stated that the Madagascar authorities were following "a systematic policy of expelling Indians from the island." He said:

The campaign of expelling Indians is now in full swing and during the last four months about 20 Indian traders have been compelled to leave the island for good.

Mr. Kaderbhai said that persons deported from the island were not told the reasons for this action. The deportees were also deprived of their valuables and property and compelled to leave by the first boat available with their families. They were not allowed to take more than a twelve to thirteen hundred rupees.

Appealing to the Government of India to safeguard the interests of Indians settled in the island—many of them for over 50 years—Mr. Kaderbhai, who arrived in India last month said he had already written to the Prime Minister on the matter.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP ACTS

The Ceylon Indian Congress meeting at Hatton recently rejected the Ceylon Citizenship Act and the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act, and asked Indians to ignore these Acts, and boycott registration under them.

The resolution characterised the provisions of these Acts as "humiliating, discriminatory, anti-social, impracticable, and ridiculous.

It demanded that full citizenship rights without any distinction between citizens by registration and citizens by descent, should be conferred on all Indians in Ceylon on their compliance of a simple and easily ascertainable factual test of residence, and a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon to acquire citizenship.

The resolution directed the Working Committee and the Ceylon Indian Congress Committee to take all the necessary or expedient steps in this connexion.

Malaya

INDIANS SENTENCED

If Mr. Ganapathy's execution under the Malayan Emergency Regulations has been denounced as a monstrous miscarriage of justice, the sentence of death passed on Sambasivan in Johore is, according to a contemporary, deliberate outrage on Indian sentiment. We are told that the British Colonial Secretary's justification for non-intervention is that the British Government as such have no jurisdiction over Johore, the latter being a protected State, and the Sultan being the final authority in the matter. Commenting on this a contemporary reminds us that "the British Government did not view it so recently when an American national was involved in an incident; which shows that while the Sultan of Johore might be the final authority in matters concerning Malays the ultimate jurisdiction in the case of non-Malays is the British Government's. Otherwise, why should the Indian representative be accredited to the Government of Federated Malay States alone and not concurrently to the constituent States as well?

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

CONSAMBLY RATIFIES LONDON DECLARATION

The Constituent Assembly on May 17 ratified the London declaration on India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of nations by an over-whelming majority. Of the two amendments under discussion, Mr. Lakshminarayan Sahu withdrew his, while Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena pressed his amendment which was rejected by the House. The only solitary voice heard in support of Mr. Shibbanlal Saxena's amendment was that of Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Of the 15 speakers only two, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Professor K. T. Shah opposed India's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar congratulated the Prime Minister on having solved one of the most knotty problems that faced India and the Dominions. He emphasised that the status and the position of the President of the Republic of India would remain entirely unaffected whether inside India or in any international gathering by reason of her accepting the King of England as the symbolic Head of the Commonwealth. It was a voluntary association which could be severed by India at will at any time.

Pandit Nehru in his brief reply reiterated his earlier observation that the London decision did not bind India for all time to come and that India could cut herself away from the Commonwealth if she found it impossible to pursue a policy consistent with her own ideas or disadvantages from the economic point of view.

THE FUTURE OF KASHMIR

Sheikh Abdullah, Premier of Kashmir State, has issued a statement clearing certain misunderstandings created by an interview he gave to a British correspondent some time ago. It may be expected that Sheikh Abdullah's statement would dispel all doubts created by the publication of the interview, first in a few British newspapers and then in a section of the Indian Press.

"The alliance between India and Kashmir," Sheikh Abdullah said "is not artificial nor based on any arbitrary consideration or on sentimental factors. It is the community of ideologies and the goal of having secular democracy established in our country and fighting with grim resolve exploitation of man by man that constitutes the corner-stone of our friendship and alliance with the people of India.

The steadfast adherence to our ideal always urged us to fight the Muslim League ideology and to stand up against Pakistan which represents a theocratic State.

Again, at the time of the Pakistan engineered attack on Kashmir, when the administration there had completely collapsed and when no power on earth could have stopped Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, if it so desired the National Conference resisted the attack, refused to go to Pakistan, and not only saved Kashmir from physical extermination and ideological suicide, but also vindicated the great ideal for which Mahatma Gandhi stood.

In view of what I have said before, it is absurd to say that Kashmir still thinks of any other alternative, so far as the question of accession is concerned. What we want is peace and prosperity for our people. Independence may be and is a charming idea. But, as I have said before is it practical too? Has it got the necessary sanctions and guarantees, and can a small country like Kashmir, with its limited resources, maintain it? Or are the countries concerned in a proper political temper at the present moment, to give their willing assent to it? By only a formal declaration of independence, shall we not be making Kashmir a victim of some unscrupulous and powerful country? That will be a gruesome betrayal of the cause we have stood for, for all those years, and therefore, these and similar other considerations make the alternative of independence, not only theoretical and academic but also meaningless."

THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE COMMONWEALTH ISSUE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, replying to the two-day debate in the Constituent Assembly on May 17 on the Commonwealth issue, appealed to his critics not to view the question in a party spirit.

"I think," said Pandit Nehru, "it should be possible for people who differ considerably in regard to internal policy to have more or less a unified foreign policy. It is exceedingly difficult to have any common approach about anything with those individuals or groups who think in terms of other countries and not of India at all as the primary thing. But with people who think in terms of India's independence and progress, there should be a great difference in our foreign policy."

Pandit Nehru said that the London decision fulfilled and did not go against "any pledges of ours." That is to say, it did not come in the way of India going forward to her natural destiny of a Sovereign Independent Republic.

Indian freedom and independence were in no way affected. The Republic that the House had decided upon would come into existence without any commitment which might tie it down in any way.

"We would have achieved that, of course, in any event," said Pandit Nehru, "but we have achieved that with the goodwill of many others. To achieve it with the goodwill of others who perhaps are hit by it is some achievement. It shows that the manner of doing things is a manner which does not leave a trace of evil, hatred, bitterness or ill-will behind. On the other hand, it starts with a fund of goodwill and goodwill is always precious from any quarter. Therefore, I had the sensation, when I was considering this matter in London, that in a small measure perhaps I had done something that would have met with the approval of Gandhiji. I am thinking more of the manner of it than of the thing done."

"MUST MAKE GOOD ECONOMICALLY"

One of the tests by which the decision should be judged was whether it helped or hindered India in making rapid progress. India had in a sense solved the political problem but was faced by many economic difficulties. They were her domestic concern, no doubt, but the world could help or hinder any policy that she might adopt.

"I am prepared to go ahead even without external help," he went on "but obviously it will be a far more difficult task and it will take a much longer time. During these critical years that face us, it is important that made good economically, as we have done politically. We have to see whether this (the London decision) generally helps us to gain strength and to build ourselves up in the near future or not."

Another test Pandit Nehru said, was whether in the world as it was to-day, it helped in the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. No Government dare allow its country to be unprepared for contingencies. "We have to prepare ourselves unfortunately," he added,

unless we are brave enough to follow completely the policy that the Mahatma laid down. But it is not so much a question of my being brave or your being brave, but of the country being brave enough to follow and understand that policy. I do not think we have been brought up to that level of understanding and behaviour and, indeed, we talk about that great level when, in the last year and a half, we have seen the lowest depths of behaviour in this country. So let us not invoke his name in vain in this connection.

"FUTURE NOT BOUND DOWN"

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the London decision in no way bound "this or any other country. It was open to the present House or the next Parliament at any time to break the link if it chose—not that he wanted that link to be broken, but he was merely pointing out that the future had not been bound down in the slightest degree,

THE HINDU MAHASABHA

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its two prolonged sitting held at New Delhi in the second week of May, adopted an eight-point political and economic programme of nationalisation of land and all key industries in India.

In a number of resolutions, the Working Committee disapproved India's entry into the Commonwealth, and urged the Government of India to withdraw all restrictions on opposition parties and allow them full scope for free expression and free association.

The Committee held that there was no longer any justification for holding a plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir state.

The Working Committee reiterated that the Mahasabha would function as a political party on its platform and with its own programme.

The political and economic programme which the Working Committee adopted after three hours discussion covered subjects including land, industries, labour, administration, defence and education.

A.I.C.C. MEETING

By an overwhelming majority, the All-India Congress Committee, meeting at Dehra Dun in the 3rd week of May, ratified the London declaration of India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and declared that the London decision was entirely in accordance with the directive contained in the foreign policy resolution of the Jaipur Congress.

While the A-I.C.C.'s endorsement of the London agreement was a foregone conclusion the absence of any effective opposition to the resolution was unexpected.

I.N.T.U.C. SESSION

The three-day Session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress concluded at Indore after a five-hour sitting on May 8 during which it passed seventeen resolutions, including one expressing gratification at the agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, which made it possible to India to become an independent Sovereign Republic, and yet remaining in the Commonwealth.

Another resolution on "Objectives" stated that it was

a special mission of the I.N.T.U.C. to help in building up a new life in India on the basis of Gandhiji's ideology, which seeks to create a just and happy social order, in which exploitation in any form and anti-social concentration of power or wealth will not exist.

The I.N.T.U.C. therefore recommended to the affiliated Unions to take up activities for raising the character, intelligence and capacity of the working class, instilling in them devotion to work and a sense of responsibility for the social group, and consideration for dependents and those weaker, especially women and children.

DR. MANOHAR LAL

We deeply regret to record the death of Dr. Manohar Lal, former Finance Minister of the united Punjab and a well-known economist, at Ambala. He was aged 70.

In his death, as the Punjab Premier Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar said, India has lost one of her foremost economists. He had a deep knowledge of economics and financial problems. He was undoubtedly a man of versatile ability and his passion for knowledge was amongst his outstanding traits of character.

He tried to serve his province to the best of his ability first as Education Minister and later as Finance Minister for a number of years.

ACHARYA BHAVE ON BASIC EDUCATION

Inaugurating the All-India Basic Education Conference at Perinaickenpalayam on May 8, Acharya Bhave said that basic education must be made self-supporting.

India is a poor country and unless education becomes self-sufficient, it is not possible to make it universal. The paper schemes will not help it. Our Governments have not enough money to make education universal and we have got to see it is self-sufficient. If worked out properly, the basic scheme of education would not be costly and could be made self-supporting.

Only through basic education, Acharya Bhave said, could a Sarvodaya Samaj be created. Appealing to provinces, who have not done so to pay attention to the scheme, Acharya Bhave said he had one fear that the scheme when taken up by the Government might change its original form and prove quite contrary to expectations. Opposing the suggestion that the settlement should be made a four or five year course, instead of the seven year course as proposed by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Acharya Bhave said, "education was a perfect thing in itself and could not be cut into pieces like that."

ENGLISH IN SCHOOLS

English will be taught in all Secondary schools in the Madras Province from Form I, instead of Form II as at present, from the next school year commencing in June, 1949.

This decision was taken by the Government last month, in response to representations by several Teachers' Association and public and parents' organisations.

KERALA UNIVERSITY

With the integration of Cochin and Travancore, the Travancore University will be developed into a Kerala University and all colleges in Cochin will have to be affiliated to it. This question was considered at length at a meeting of the representatives of Cochin and Travancore held recently at Trivandrum. There is a strong section of opinion in Cochin that no hasty step should be taken in this direction and that it will be prudent to wait for the report of the University Commission appointed by the Government of India before any change is effected in the existing relationship of the colleges there with the Madras University.

HINDI IN OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The Academic Council of the Osmania University has approved a proposal that the University should henceforth be an affiliating University and should recognise private colleges under certain rules and conditions. The proposal is subject to the approval of the University Council.

The Academic Council also accorded sanction to the opening of a new department of Hindi in the Faculty of Arts, and approved the courses of studies proposed for it.

FINE ARTS COLLEGE IN MYSORE

The question of starting a College of Fine Arts in Mysore is under the active consideration of the Mysore Government and a Committee has been constituted to work out details, it is authoritatively learnt.

SYDNEY COTTON'S GUN-RUNNING EXPLOITS

Frederick Sidney Cotton, Chairman of the Aeronautical and Industrial Research Corporation of London, was fined £200 at Bow Street Magistrate's Court on a charge of gun-running to Hyderabad last year. He was further ordered to pay £300 costs.

The Corporation was also fined £200 with £300 costs on a similar summons.

The summonses alleged contravention of Air Navigation Orders relating to the carrying of arms and ammunition. Both Cotton and the firm pleaded guilty. Two similar summonses adjourned from January 12 were withdrawn on application by Mr. Stephenson on behalf of the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Sir B. N. Rau and Mr. V. Koretzky (U.S.S.R.) have been elected Vice-Chairmen of the International Law Commission. The Chairman of the Commission is Mr. Manley Hudson (America).

India has been elected to the eleven-man sub-committee which was formed to scrutinise the representative character of organisations or parties in the former Italian colonies requesting a hearing.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF ASSAM

The Governor-General has been pleased to appoint Mr. Justice Thakurdas Vasanmal Thadani, a Judge of the Assam High Court, to act, until further orders, as Chief Justice of that Court in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice R. F. Lodge.

FEDERAL COURT'S REPORT

The Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, accepting a report of the Federal Court, has ordered the removal of Mr. Shiva Prasad Sinha from his office of a Judge of the Allahabad High Court.

The Federal Court to whom a reference was made by the Governor-General at the instance of the United Provinces Government in respect of certain charges made against Mr. Sinha held that the charge of judicial misconduct against him was established in respect of his decision and conduct in what are known as the Padruana Case and Murarilal's case.

There were four other charges against Mr. Sinha, namely improper exercise of judicial functions: judicial indiscretion, indecorum and impropriety, and incorrect declaration of his birth date.

The Federal Court held that these four charges had not been established and much of the court's time was unnecessarily spent in investigating them.

THE NEW ADVOCATE-GENERAL

The Gazette of India announces the appointment of Mr. M. C. Setalvad, leader of the Indian delegation to the U. N. Assembly, as Advocate-General for the Dominion, *vice* Sir N. P. Engineer granted leave.

Mr. Setalvad, a well-known advocate of Bombay, who took office on May 29, would be allowed private chamber practice and he would not stay in Delhi.

Besides appearing for Government before the Federal Court, the Advocate General gives legal opinion on many knotty problems facing the Central Government and its Ministries.

PROVINCIAL FINANCES

A suggestion that the Government of India should have exclusive control on all import duties levied on commodities of all-India importance like food-grains and industrial raw materials has been made by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

It suggests that a percentage of the taxes levied by the Central Government on goods of all-India importance should be handed over to the Provinces on the basis of their production and consumption.

Entitled "Trends of provincial finance," the memorandum draws attention to "the overlapping and conflicting taxation measures and the fissiparous and even anarchic tendencies that are developing in the field of provincial finance."

A CENTRAL TRIBUNAL

An ordinance giving powers to the Government of India to refer all industrial disputes concerning banking and insurance companies having branches or other establishments in more than one province in India to Industrial Tribunal constituted under the Industrial Tribunal Act was promulgated by the Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, last month. The Ordinance came into force at once.

The ordinance, which is called, the Industrial Disputes (Banking and Insurance Companies) Ordinance 1949, also prohibits references by Provincial Governments of industrial disputes concerning banking and insurance companies to any tribunal or other authority for adjudication, inquiry or settlement.

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE UNION

The eighth All-India Co-operative Conference, which met at Bangalore on May 15, has decided to form an Indian Co-operative Union which will in future control and guide the co-operative movement in the country. The general body of the Union will devote its attention to the promotion and propagation of the co-operative movement in the Indian Union including the acceding States. It will organise co-operative education and training and conduct researches in the field of Co-operation. All future All-India Co-operative Conferences will be held under its auspices.

INDIA'S DOLLAR CREDIT

India has exhausted, at least temporarily, its Dollar purchasing authority with the International Monetary Fund.

It is learned that it drew a further 75,00,000 Dollars in exchange for rupees in March, leaving a mere 20,000 Dollars of the 100 million Dollars originally available to it.

India's was the only currency transaction with the Fund in March, and the country thus sustained its reputation as the most consistent operator of all members.

3 P. C. LOAN TO BE REPAYED

The Government of India have decided to repay the whole of the three per cent rupee loan 1949-52, at par on August 1, 1949, with all interest due up-to-date, according to a notification issued by the Finance Ministry. Interest will not accrue on the loan after August, 1.

GUJERAT COMMERCE CHAMBER

Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai has been unanimously elected President of the newly formed Gujarat Chamber of Commerce.

MRS. V. L. PANDIT ON INDIA'S POLICY

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to the United States, at Washington reaffirmed that India intends to "steer clear of any alignment with any Power Bloc."

Mrs. Pandit in her first Press Conference since assuming her office, expressed the firm belief that it would be possible for India to live together with the Eastern and Western worlds. It was demonstrated in the face of mutual danger in the second world war, she declared. "I believe it could be demonstrated again."

Mrs. Pandit said she regarded the U. S. and Russia as the world's "two Power blocs."

Asked whether she would not include Britain, she declared: "It is inevitable that the U. S. and Russia should be regarded as the two Power Blocs. The power resided in the U. S. Europe counts for little, because the U. S. gives backing even to Britain."

India, she added, looked upon herself as an advocate of world peace. She strongly opposed to racial discrimination and the subjugation of peoples.

WOMEN POLICE OFFICERS

Calcutta's first batch of women police officers, numbering 24, received their appointments on May 14. They include seven graduates and one M.A. Seven of the new recruits have been appointed Sub-Inspectors and the others, Assistant Sub-Inspectors. They will undergo a year's training, commencing from June 1 this year.

Sixty-one posts for women have been sanctioned in the Calcutta Police. There were about 130 applicants out of which 24 were selected.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

The women of the world decided that women should get equal pay for equal work, but could not decide who should urge their claim. The decision was taken by the United Nations Commission on the Status of women.

Three separate regulations tabled by the United States, Russia and China, were merged into one urging equal pay for equal work, which was adopted paragraph by paragraph without an overall vote.

Miss Mary Sutherland (Britain) wanted the demand for "the rate for the job" to go to the International Labour Office, but Dr. Cecilia Sieu Ling Zung (China) protested, and said it was a matter for the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation. Then Miss Dorothy Henyon (United States) backed up the British plan.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon (India) said reference to the ILO. would weaken the resolution. Then the Chinese delegate changed her mind and agreed to the British American suggestion of referring it to the ILO.

The Soviet delegate then advised Dr. Sieu Ling "not to listen to the advice of others since it might lead you into trouble". The Chinese delegate retorted that she was "not being ordered about," "I take my orders from no one" she said spiritedly.

Peace was restored with a compromise addressing the resolution to both UNESCO and ILO.

WOMEN CONVICTS IN U. P.

The United Provinces Government is transferring all women convicts of the province to one jail, it being considered desirable to keep them together, watch their psychological reactions in jail.

GENERAL

C. R. AT THIRUVANNAMALAI

Declaring open the Patalalingam Temple, consecrating the spot where the well-known saint Shri Ramana Maharshi performed his "tapas" in his early days, the Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, said that Shri Ramana Maharshi had kept "India's spiritual glory alive in our generation."

"He has in his own way made the name of India respected by wise and enlightened men spread all over the world, even as Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and other saints did it in former times," Mr. Rajagopalachari added.

"Ramana Maharshi's meditation took early shape in this temple. Let us tender our tribute of reverence and homage to the enlightened soul, and may his prayers on our behalf bear fruit. Let us be worthy of him."

The Governor-General thanked at the outset Mrs. Feroza Taleyarkhan, kinswoman of the late Justice Taleyarkhan, who took the initiative in constructing the temple, and in organising the opening ceremony.

NEHRU STADIUM

A magnificent sports stadium, befitting the grandeur of the capital of India, and named after the Prime Minister, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, is to come into being in New Delhi before November 1950. This was one of the decisions reached at a recent meeting of the Working Committee of the National Sports Club of India.

It will be recalled that the National Sports Club of India had decided to construct a Nehru stadium in New Delhi

and a Vallabhai Patel stadium at Bombay. At the first meeting of the Working Committee of the club held on April 19, it was decided to give priority to the Delhi stadium so that it might be ready before the Asian Olympic meet in 1950.

At its last meeting the Working Committee decided to build the stadium on the Ferozeshan Kotla site, providing for cricket, football, hockey and tennis. The Olympic section to accommodate athletics and cycling and swimming is to be in the Irwin Amphitheatre, which will be located inside the Nehru Park.

MILLION HOMELESS IN BOMBAY

About one and a half million people in Bombay are either homeless or ill-housed and nearly half a million of them live on the pavements, according to a team of A. P. I. staff reporters who have just concluded a study of the city's housing problem.

In this connection it is learnt that the Government of India is negotiating with a Swedish firm to set up a factory at Thana in Bombay to build timber houses on a large scale to supplement Government's housing programme, it is learnt. The Houses which this factory will manufacture will be constructed to suit the climate and habits of the people of India.

FOOD SUBSIDY

A subsidy of Rs. 26,52,00,000 is estimated to be paid by the Government of India during the financial year 1948-49, for providing the sale of imported food grains to the public at rates lower than cost price.

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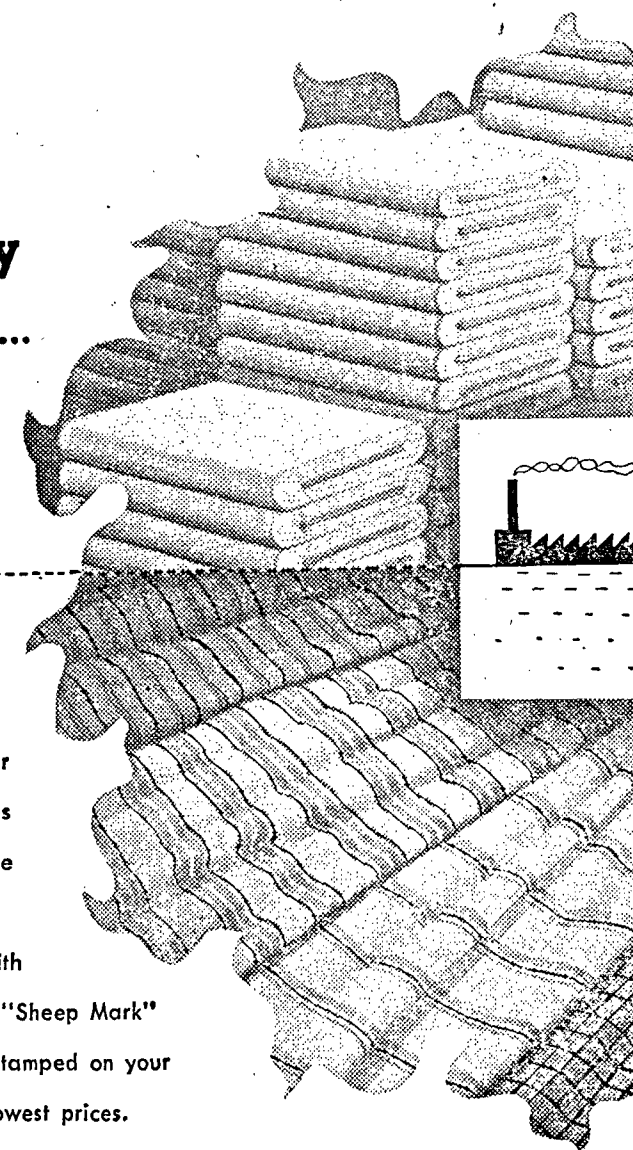
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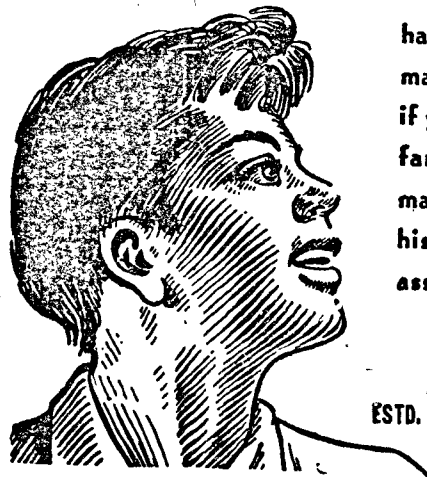
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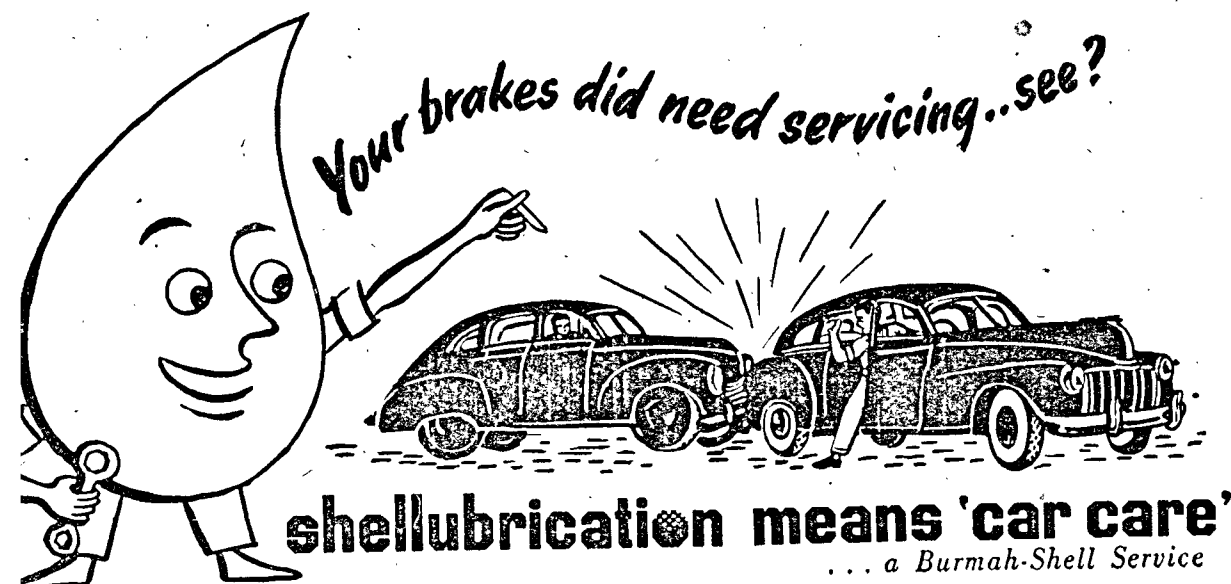
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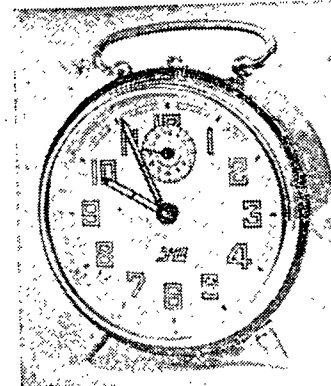
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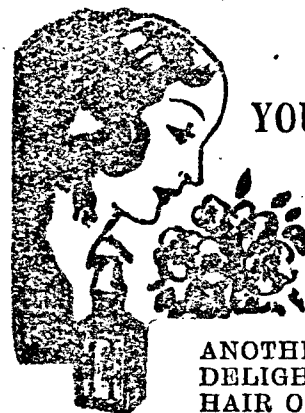
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