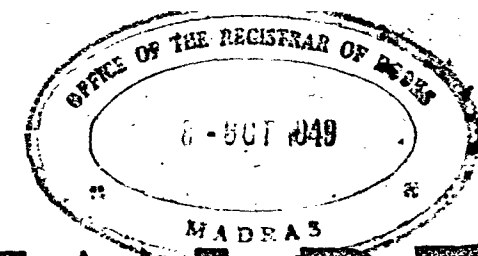


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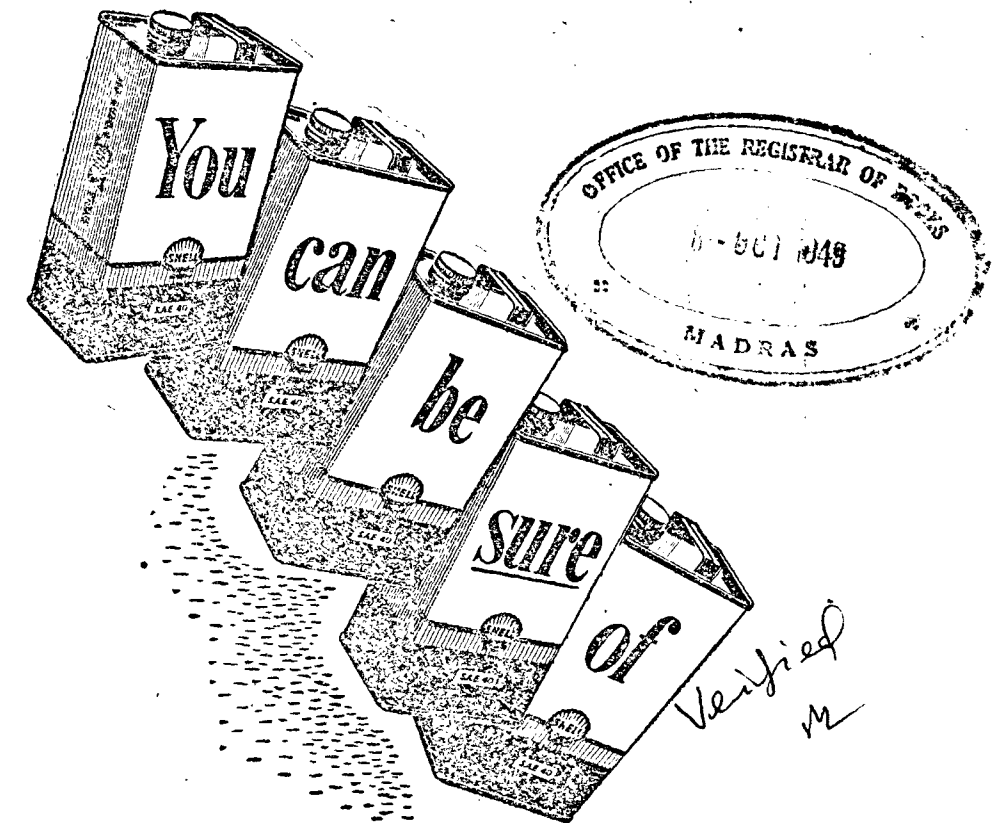
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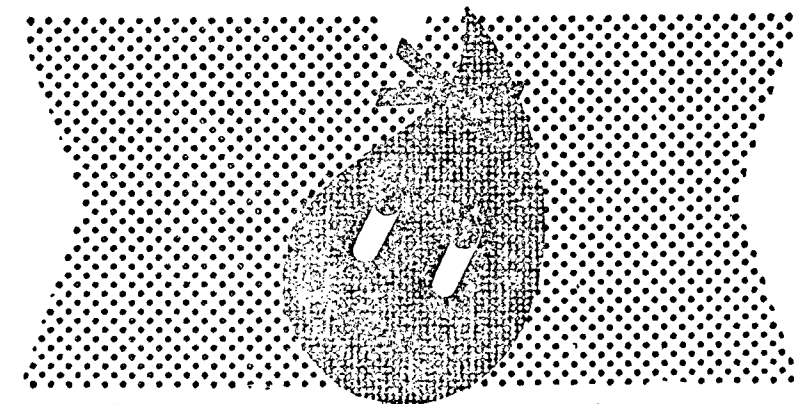
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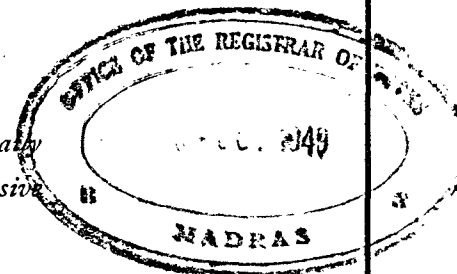
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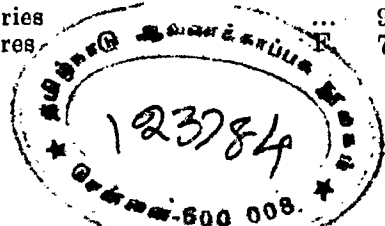
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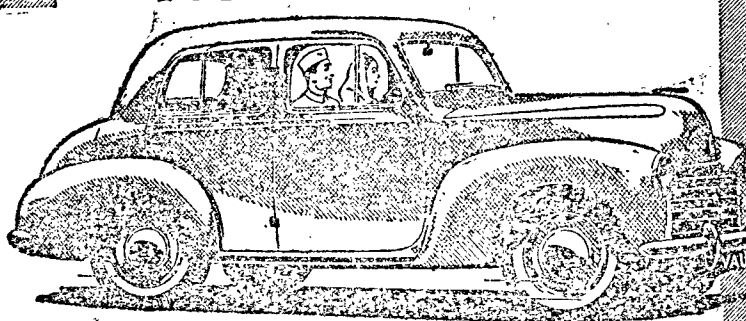
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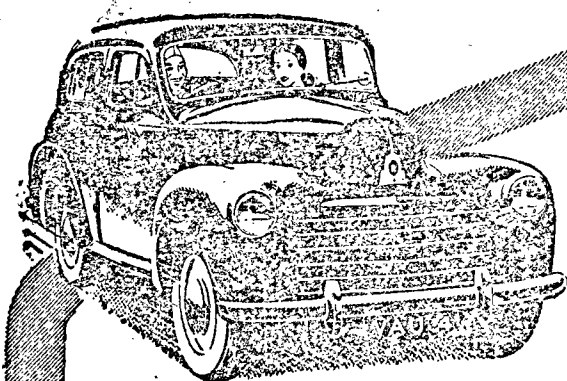
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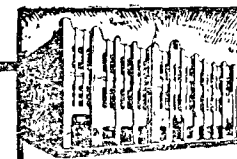
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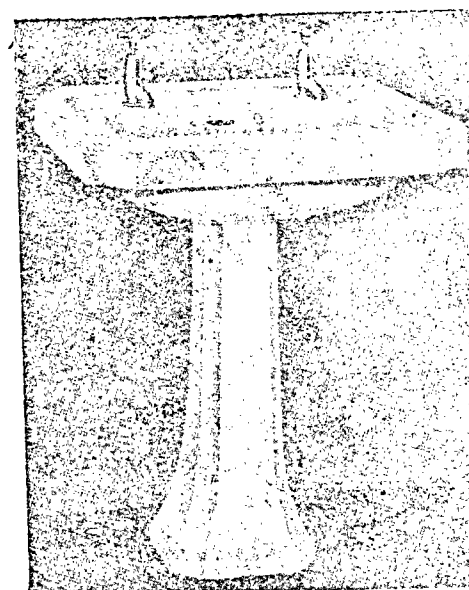
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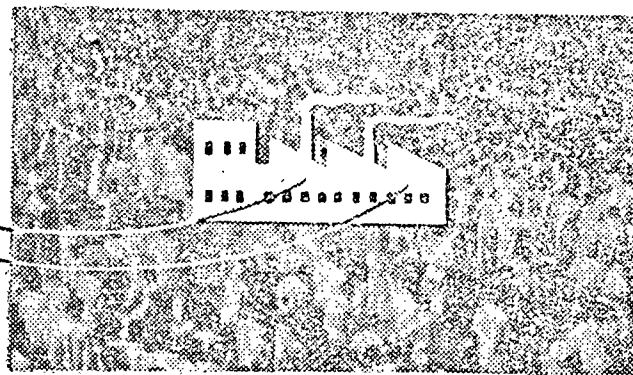
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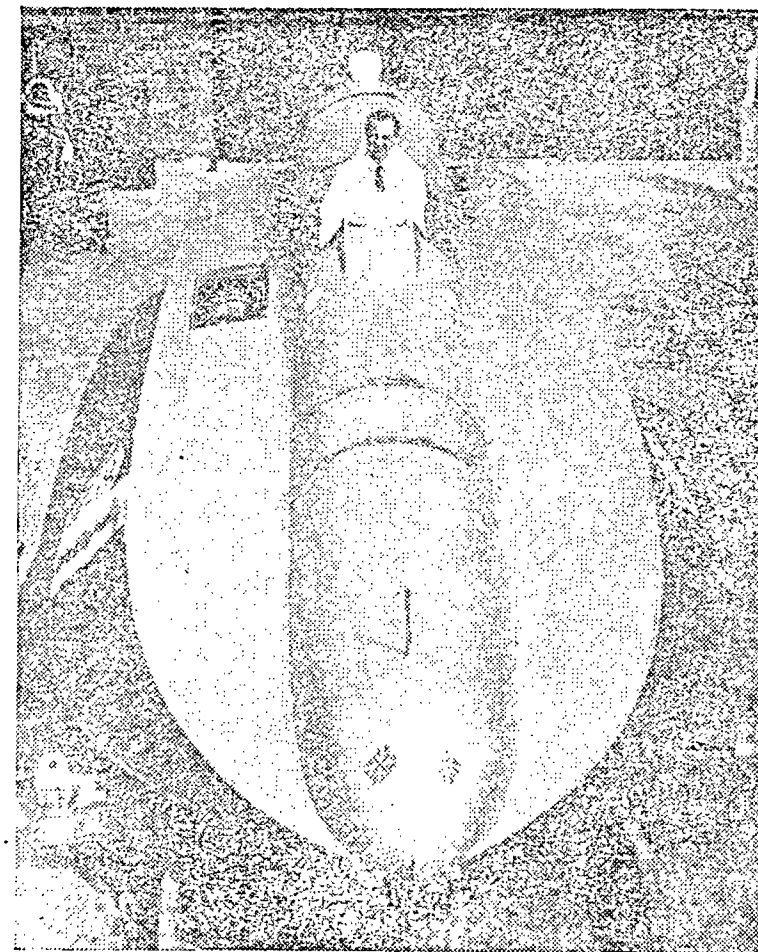
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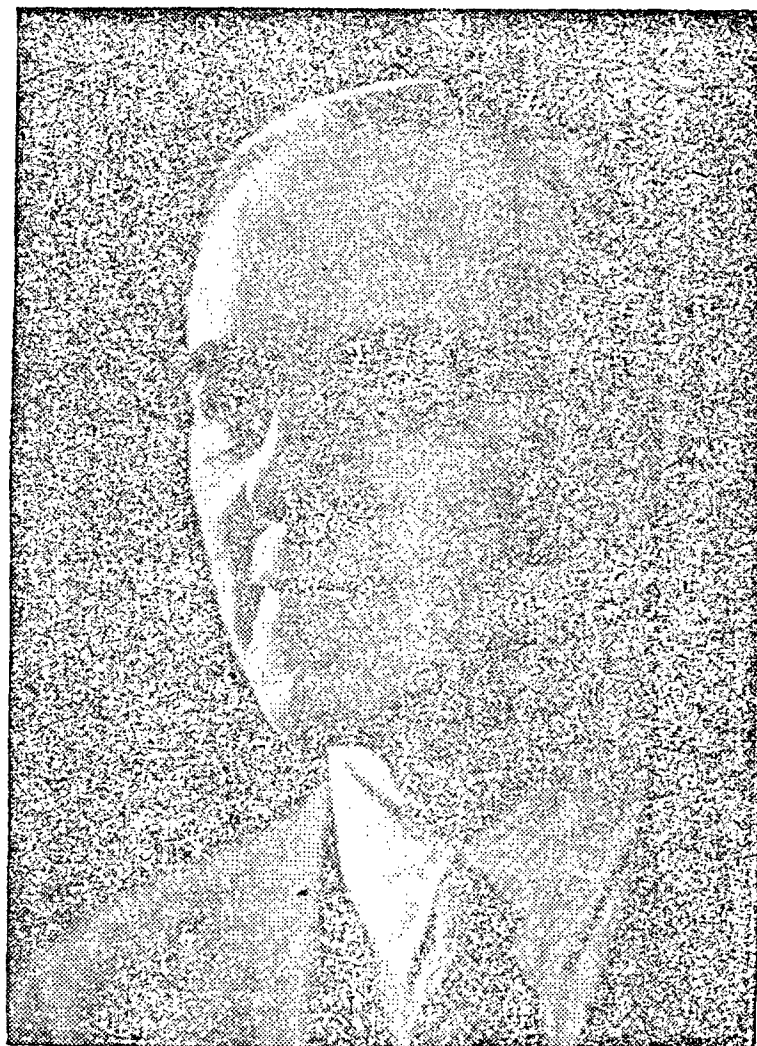


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the present financial crisis.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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THE AMERICAN WAY

BY THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE P. V. RAJAMANNAR

Chief Justice, High Court of Judicature, Madras

THE conclusion of the Second World War left America at the zenith of political power in the world. It is impossible to deny the importance of America in world affairs at the present moment. In the economical sphere America is the decisive factor. America wields to-day and will continue to wield for many years an influence in international politics such as no nation has ever wielded before. Industrially, it is at the summit of its fortunes, with resources almost unlimited. Financially, it controls the world's monetary destiny. It behoves, therefore, every thinking man in any part of the globe to gain a knowledge of America, the historical background of its development, its ideals, its problems and activities.

No one could be better equipped than Professor Laski for undertaking this big task of giving an insight into American life and culture. Bryce was the first man who made a study of America with sympathy and for its own sake. Tocqueville's primary concern was not with America but with the future of France. Professor Laski has all the erudition of Bryce and Tocqueville but he has also an intimacy with American affairs and people which neither of them had. He has been

Professor at Harvard for over thirty years. He has made a life-long study of every aspect of American public life. He has had opportunities of seeing the working of the political system of the United States from within. He had the privilege of intimacy with great Judges like Louis Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes and political leaders like the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. All the knowledge that he has acquired has gone to make his great work "The American Democracy,"* but as he points out in his preface, it is not only great public men but also countless others, students, taxi-drivers, railroad conductors, lawyers and doctors, engineers and business men who have helped him. The book was a generation in the making. It is true that there is much more in America than any man can know but Professor Laski knows much more of America than any other man. It is a book which reveals "an unsurpassed knowledge of American constitutional, social and cultural history", but it is also a book "written out of deep love of America."

Professor Laski has covered the entire life of the American nation in all its

* "The American Democracy" by Harold J. Laski, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. London, 25sh.

multifariousness. The treatment is on the grand scale and does not consist in a mere narration of facts. It is 'a commentary and an interpretation.' It suffices to run over the main subjects he has dealt with to realize how comprehensive is his study of America—American political institutions, federal, State and local; American business enterprise, American labour, religion in America, American education, American culture, America's minority problems, the professions, the Press, the cinema and the radio in America and America as a world power. The generalisations, in the opening chapters of the book and in its last chapter are indeed the most valuable parts of the book. They furnish the correct historical and psychological perspective for a survey of American life and conditions.

The traditional foundation of American civilization is the concept of the pioneer. The reason for this is not difficult to find. The very nature of the process of settlement and expansion provides the explanation. In the beginning of American history the idea which most naturally prevailed was the idea of expansionism and that is why the tradition which America has inherited is that of a dynamic civilization. It is this feature which has developed in the American a zeal for material well-being, a zest for accumulation and the element of pragmatism in his philosophy. The qualities of the practical man are more valued than those of the theorist. The American always admires the concrete and the practical man, the man who can do things. Adaptability is inherent in the personality of the American.

America is the inheritor of the past civilizations of Europe but its civilization has not been fettered by old ideas and old methods. In certain essential features American civilization differs from the civilization of Europe. For instance, America has no feudal traditions, no permanent ruling class, no military caste. No other nation has placed less emphasis upon birth.

There is an epigram of Oscar Wilde which emphasises the fact that the American nation is a young nation. A character in one of his plays says: "The youth of America is their oldest tradition. It has been going on for 300 years". A far more serious minded man, one of America's greatest men of letters, Emerson described America as "a country of young men". It is this youth that accounts for the "inner ethos of the American spirit—To be is to do." Americans, like most young persons, are always doing things or trying things. The Americans have an attraction for what is new merely because it is new. They are, like most young people, optimistic, friendly, inquisitive and active.

The peculiar circumstances of American history and the values it inevitably fostered and the qualities it developed have elevated the business men over every other class of men in the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that in no other country in the world does the business man enjoy the power and prestige which he enjoys in the United States. "The business man dominates American civilization. His function is so to organize American society that he has the easiest

possible run of profitable adventure". Professor Laski admirably analyses this domination in the different spheres of national activity. Because of the business man American democracy engenders an aristocracy of its own. The business man controls the State power. "He sets the boundaries within which scientific discovery may be used. The Churches and the Press and the Movies, all operate within a framework he approves as most likely to make his symbolism acceptable and effective". The American churches have, according to him, "made the philosophy of the American business man an ideal to which they have lent the immense prestige they possess". The business man has a control likewise of the educational system of America. Its minority problems which are grave and growing are difficult of solution so long as its citizens worship the business man as the idol in its market places.

Because of this exaltation of the business man American culture has become expressive of values which the business man imposes to preserve his power and prestige. That is why American culture is less contemplative than practical. It has no concern with the ultimate, absolute and permanent values of life. There is no room for either a passionately ascetic life or a sublime mysticism. The American spirit is always active. To the average American contemplation is a luxury for old men. "The energy of Americanism

sometimes lacks that power of repose which alone makes for profundity of mind and heart and in the absence of repose Americanism too easily tends to exalt success over wisdom and thus to mistake prosperity for insight". It is in this respect that America has need of Asia and of India in particular. India can satisfy the spiritual necessity of America to find the rhythm of repose, the depth of experience and the calmness of detachment. Not that America should embrace any Indian faith. But America should learn those virtues which above all others the soul of America needs today "Tranquillity, patience, manly hope, unruffled joy like a lamp in a windless place that does not flicker" (Romain Rolland). America is sure to respond to India's message embodying the essence of its experience which is to be found in a constant intuition of the unity of all life.

The destiny of America is still in the melting pot. If America is to redeem the greatness of its historic promise there should be a revitalisation of Americanism. A new level of spiritual integration, an insistence on the elevation and fulfilment of the ordinary man, an alteration in the values of the American way of life, a passionate impulse to transcend the Self—all these are necessary.

"The American Democracy" is an enthralling book on a fascinating subject by a brilliant scholar.



DICTATORSHIP AND THE CONGRESS

BY PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

A dictatorship as it exists in the modern world is different from the dictatorship that obtained in ancient Greece and Rome. In ancient times when the state was confronted with some severe national calamity, the normal democratic constitution was suspended and all the powers of the government were given to one leader. That leader had absolute right over the life, liberty, and property of all persons within the state and could do anything he considered best in the interest of the state without consulting any body. The dictator was an individual of proved merit and competence and it lasted for a fixed period. In the modern world the dictatorial form of government obtained in Italy under the Fascist party of Mussolini, in Germany under the Nazi party of Hitler before the war and it still obtains in Russia under the Communist party of Stalin. In Spain and in some states in Latin America in some form or other the dictatorial form of government prevails. In all these countries the dictatorship came into existence as a result of some abnormal causes. But once it is established it continues indefinitely and there is no chance of the normal democratic constitution being restored. In fact, in some of these countries there is no democratic tradition at all.

Nevertheless dictatorship is not absolute monarchy. Had the dictator ruled the state simply with the help of a standing army and had he made the office of the dictator hereditary in his family we would have called it absolute monarchy. But it is not so. Dictatorship is based on the party system supported by some form of public opinion. In fact there is less fundamental

difference between a democracy run by a majority party and the dictatorship. Democracy does not necessarily mean weak government or greater liberty for the people; nor does dictatorship necessarily mean oppression or less liberty for the people. The Prime Minister in a modern democracy so long as he continues to be the leader of the majority party in the legislature is as powerful as any dictator. Mr. Churchill during the war ruled England with as strong a hand as did Hitler or Stalin. But of course there was a possibility of some members not supporting the Prime Minister in which case he might have lost his majority. Whether such a thing can actually happen depends on party discipline and in democracies like Great Britain and America the party discipline is fairly strong. Actually Mr. Churchill had at his disposal the sovereign powers of the British Parliament and could do whatever the sovereign legislature in a state is capable of doing. The only difference—and this is the most important feature that distinguishes a democracy from a dictatorship—is that the majority party in the legislature is allowed to exist and continue its function of criticising the government openly and publicly. The majority party, because it is a majority rules the state but the minority party though incapable of ruling or sharing the powers of the government so long as it is a minority, can criticise and oppose the party in office, expose its follies and mistakes and thereby create an opinion favourable to itself so that at the time of the next election the voters may vote for it and thus through a change in the public opinion can make

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itself a majority. The main function of the majority party is to criticise the party in power by publicity and propaganda with the ultimate object of capturing a majority of seats in the legislature in the next election. This is a very important function and no democracy can work properly without a well-organised opposition party. In England and Canada the opposition party is legally recognised and appreciated. The leader of the opposition party has a distinct status and position and he is paid a salary from the treasury. It is the position of the opposition by the minority party that makes all the difference between democracy and dictatorship.

A dictator denies this right of the opposition party to function. A dictatorship is based on the ideology of one nation, one party and one leader. An opposition to the party in power means opposition to the nation and hence it is to be crushed ruthlessly. Not only one party representing the nation, there must be one leader of that party and alternate leadership is unknown. For this a dictatorship is also known as totalitarianism. An individual has no separate existence politically, apart from the party to which he may belong and he cannot hold or propagate an opinion opposed to the opinion of the leader.

It does not necessarily mean that a dictator has no popular or national support. When he came to power, Hitler had undoubtedly the support of the majority of the Germans and it is difficult to hold that Stalin today has not the support of the majority of the Russians. A dictator cannot ignore public opinion but the public opinion in a dictatorship is not free and voluntary. It is more or

less controlled and artificially managed. The people, in the absence of any organised opposition party, know only what the party in power tells them; they cannot know the other side. Under such circumstances the opinion held in a dictatorship is an individual opinion or partisan opinion.

A dictatorship at least for sometime and particularly if there is some national calamity, functions well. The government has not to bother about any political opposition; so with singleness of purpose it can devote all its energies without dissipation and without obstruction to the pursuit of its policy. It is often characterised by strength, vigour and efficiency in the formulation and execution of its policy. Fighting an enemy or introducing improvement in the social or the industrial sphere it can act promptly if it likes. This is a feature which has attracted attention from so many people the world over and many an ardent social reformer would honestly sigh for such a system. But the greatest defect of the system is that as no criticism or opposition is allowed it is seldom careful of its follies. "Power always corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" said Lord Acton and no truer saying is applicable to dictatorship. While parliamentary democracy provides a legal and constitutional machinery for criticism and alternate leadership and policy, there is less scope for corruption and degeneration. In a dictatorship no open and constitutional criticism is allowed; hence seething discontent goes underground. There is a perennial danger of some secret and violent movement against the dictator and for the prevention of this the dictator has to maintain a large police and detective

force. People cannot enjoy full liberty under such a chronic rule by spies. To get support from the public the dictator appeals to the passions and prejudices of the people, follows a policy of military conquest and imperialism holding out prospects of national glory and expansion. All these ultimately lead to disaster.

A dictatorship cannot continue permanently. It may degenerate into the establishment of some ruling dynasty or if it is based on some ideology as it is in Russia it is likely to become a democracy in the long run. In Russia the dictatorial form of government is transitional. The Communist party cannot allow any other party to function politically as its opposition, so long as Communism is not well established. If it is allowed and if some day this opposition party can make itself the majority party, everything done by the Communist party will be undone. In England or in America this is not likely. Parties in these countries are not so diametrically opposed. If the Labour party is ousted today, the Conservative party to-morrow will not undo everything done by the Labour party. In fact the Labour party and the Conservative party are more united in most fundamental and vital things. They differ on minor issues only. If one is a little radical, the other is a little cautious; if one emphasises on one point, the other does on another point. Except on emphasis and speed and details, substantially both the parties have greater agreement on most issues. But if any party or individual holds opinion diametrically opposite, that party will be crushed as is done in a dictatorship. Thus during the war opinion against the war-

policy was suppressed and leaders interned. However, this is an exception rather than the rule. In the case of Russia, however, she cannot afford to take any risk so long as communism is not well established. But when the new order in Russia is well established and there is no chance of Communism being replaced, within the Communist party itself there will grow two wings—one more sober, cautious and conservative and the other more radical and extreme and public opinion within the party will swing sometimes for this wing and sometimes for the other. So long as criticism is loyal to the Communist party and is reasonable and constructive it will be allowed and some form of a constitutional opposition will evolve.

In India where is the opposition party? Can we call our government democratic when there is no well organised opposition party? (So long as the British ruled, the Congress was on the dictatorial basis. Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress in the Second Round Table Conference claimed that the Congress alone represented the nation and Pandit Nehru held that there were only two parties in India—one supporting the British imperialism and the other fighting against it. Any opinion must support either of the two and there could not be any third party. Before independence, circumstances in India justified this position because any opposition to the Congress virtually amounted to supporting the British raj. However one differed from the method and policy of the Congress every nationalist Indian had to support the Congress as otherwise it would lead to the perpetuation of our slavery.) But the totalitarian character

of the Congress—one nation, one party and one leader—cannot be justified any more. Today nobody will seriously mean that criticising and opposing the Congress would mean that the British would come back. Any body can oppose the Congress and remain loyal to the nation. The democratic system provides the machinery by which one can oppose the Nehru Government and yet remain loyal to him. That machinery is the political opposition which is not only useful and necessary but absolutely essential. Without a well-organised opposition party democratic government would be a misnomer.

To suppress the Communist and the R.S.S. for their extreme views is technically undemocratic. They can be prosecuted for their violent and criminal action by the ordinary law courts but they cannot be suppressed for their opinion however one differs from them. The recent action of the Government in lifting the ban on the R. S. S. shows they are alive to this.

A party in power can contest another party by appealing to the voters and the ballot is the final verdict. The party in power cannot be a contestant and the judge at the same time. The voters alone can judge whose case is right. It may be that these parties do not themselves believe in democracy and once they come to power they will be the first to set up their own dictatorship.

The Socialist party has severed its connexion with the Congress. That party is not based on devotion to any personality or on race, language and religion. It is based on social and economic ideology and its method has been thoroughly democratic. Some day the Socialist party with better organisation and leadership may develop into a full fledged opposition party which modern India so badly needs now. Such opposition may prove a corrective to the party in office. The future of India lies in that direction.

The Scientist & His Social Responsibility

BY MR. P. J. CHOUDHURY, M.A., M.Sc.

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

WITH the explosion of the first atomic bomb started a new era, the atomic age. We are now at the cross roads. The atomic energy may be used either to destroy our civilization or to improve it beyond all expectations. Never did the problem of with-holding knowledge for the good of society appear before man. And never did scientists feel so poignantly their social responsibility. The talk of physical science being ethically neutral,

value-free, and motivated by intellectual curiosity only, is now idle gossip and dangerous. The scientists who dare to indulge in such exploded old-world shams and shibboleths are held in pity and contempt. Certainly, the spectacle of an emotionally castrated scientist, a cold fish who lights a fuse and disclaims responsibility for the explosion, who is technically omnipotent but socially helpless, is pitiable. He is a miserable product of extreme

division of labour, a split personality, one who would only use certain data to produce something and will leave out of consideration the immediate logical implications or social consequences of his work. If questioned he will innocently reply that he is but a physical scientist and not a sociologist. The intimate relation between science and society, between machinery and man, must be impressed upon him. In other words, 'sociology of science' as an important discipline must be made compulsory for him.

So it is not physical science but the physical scientist considered as a human being who is to blame. To blame physical science for the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and for the present political unrest is to over-simplify the issue. If we follow such a line of reasoning we have to condemn all scientific-inventions on the ground of their actual or possible misuse, inventions like aeroplane, radio, dynamite etc. And we have to stop marriages to root out divorce and withdraw laws to eradicate crime. Knowledge itself is never harmful to man, rather it is a powerful help.

Then what is the cause of the present troubles and what is the solution? As already suggested the cause lies in man, in his cultural make-up. Division of labour is very good but a total divorce, in the mind of man, of one kind of knowledge from another is dangerous. The cleavage between the sciences is the cause of our present-day chaos, it is a real crisis in culture. The physical scientist and the social scientist are *two* men, and what is more, they are strangers who do

not understand each other. The physical scientist is supremely innocent of the social aspects of his discipline while the social scientist is equally unconcerned about the physical basis of his science. Over-specialisation is now yielding its bad results. Yet, we maintain, man could have checked these unwholesome consequences if, along with the progress in each science he had made strong efforts at co-operation and intercommunication between them. In other words, if he had not allowed science to grow in an un-self-conscious automatism it finds itself to-day and had provided for a kind of philosophical criticism which would have checked their fissiparous tendencies and worked for unity. Such a philosophical criticism would be a task within science conducted by scientists themselves. This implies that the scientist should have a more comprehensive mind than what he, *as a scientist*, usually thinks to be enough for his scientific purposes. A physical scientist of to-day cannot be a true man of science if he is not actively concerned with the socio-ethical aspects of his science. He cannot remain in a false value-free realm and cannot dodge his social responsibilities. The latter are implied in his own special science. Never before was science so multifarious in its branches and sub-branches and never before was the need for recognising their unity in diversity felt so imperative. The two antithetical movements in knowledge, specialisation and unification, are now providing the dynamism for the onward movement of science which is synthetic knowledge of nature. Knowledge is one, and if any branch of it, as for

instance physical science, advances far ahead of any other, for instance sociology, there will be a cleavage and resultant chaos and confusion. So, as had been urged before, there should be two opposite movements side by side within science, one for detailed and specialised knowledge and another for broad synthesis. The former can be achieved very easily through division of labour but for the latter a scientist has to be both versatile and profound. This ultimately leads to a revision of our conventional view of a scientist as one who is best when let alone in his laboratory, scooped out of the vast world without and engaged with a thin slice of reality. We now painfully recognise that the scientist should not be

engaged merely with his thin slice of reality, but he should, for the sake of science itself and in order to be a better scientist, be concerned with the rich and intimate relations which his particular subject-matter bear to the rest of reality. An analysis of the present-day knowledge-situation and culture-conditions of man inevitably points to such a revision of our idea of scientist's mind and work. Sociologically, it is a demand for the integral man with full social awareness, and logically, it is an affirmation of the coherence theory of knowledge and truth. Deeper issues may be sensed. These are metaphysical, such as, the relation between thing and thought, knowledge and enjoyment, 'is' and 'ought'. But we need not go into these.

Union Finance Under the Draft Constitution

BY MR. P. C. JAIN

University of Allahabad

ALTHOUGH the set-up of federal finance envisaged by the Draft Constitution, the relevant articles of which have already been passed by the Constituent Assembly, is very much on the lines of the Government of India Act 1935, it has been made less rigid and more favourable to the provinces. The problem of financial relations between the Union Centre and the federating units has offered difficulty in all the federal constitutions. Everywhere the problem has been to safeguard the financial stability of the Centre without depriving the federating units of adequate finances. In India the difficulty has been greater because of past practices. Although it would have been desirable to assign completely separate

sources of revenue to the centre and the provinces (and states) to avoid friction and to stabilise the revenues of the provincial and state Governments, the existing conditions in India do not make it possible. The Draft Constitution, therefore, maintains the salient features of the existing system under which the central Government would continue to collect income tax including corporation tax, central excise duties, customs revenue, and revenue from commercial services run by the Central Government and the provinces would derive their revenue from land revenue and tax on agricultural income, provincial excise duties, stamps, registration, forests, and "other Taxes and Duties" including taxes on professions, trades, callings and

employment, sales tax, entertainment and betting taxes, taxes on immovable urban property. In spite of the fact that the provinces have got many more sources of revenue than the Centre, their finances have proved inadequate and inelastic as the Centre levies the income tax and customs duties, which are two of the major sources of revenue in India. To overcome this lopsidedness it has become necessary to give the provinces a share in the income tax and central excise duties and to provide for central grants-in-aid and subsidies to meet the financial needs of the provinces. The provincial Governments have strongly protested against their dependence on, what have been called, central doles and charity. But under the existing conditions this cannot be helped and the Draft Constitution recognises this fact.

The chief bone of contention in the recent controversy on federal finance has been the distribution of income tax between the Centre and the provinces. On the basis of the Otto Niyemer formula the Government of India (Distribution of Revenue) Order 1936 lays down that the net proceeds of income tax, excluding corporation tax, surcharge, and taxes on federal emoluments, will be shared between the centre and the province on a fifty-fifty basis subject to the condition that the Central Government in addition to its own share shall retain during the first five-year period beginning with 1937-38 either the whole of the province's share or such part of it as will, together with the Railway's contribution to general revenues, bring the central government's share to Rs. 13 crores. This method proved too rigid when war conditions increased the

railway contribution to central revenues as well as the yield of income tax and also the central Government's expenditure. The formula was altered in February 1940 to enable the Central Government to keep from the provincial share a fixed sum of Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores. This was at first enforced for three years but was subsequently extended. It was only after 1946-47 that gradually the amount kept back by the Centre from the provincial share was reduced. It amounts to Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores for 1949-50 when out of the 'divisible pool' of income tax amounting to Rs. 84.30 crores the provinces would get Rs. 40.65 crores and the centre a sum of Rs. 43.65 crores.

The provinces have demanded a greater share in the 'divisible pool', a share not only in the income-tax but also in the corporation tax, and a change in the basis of distribution of the provincial share between the different provinces. These demands have found favour with the Sarkar Committee which has recommended that the provinces should be given a 60 per cent share in the 'divisible pool' of income tax to which should also be credited the net proceeds of the corporation tax and taxes on federal emoluments. The basis of distribution of the provincial share should be changed and greater importance should be given to the source of collection. Out of the net proceeds 20 per cent should be distributed on the basis of population, 35 per cent on the basis of collection, and 5 per cent as an adjusting factor. Bombay, West Bengal and U. P. have demanded a greater share on the basis of collection while Assam, Orissa, and East Punjab have demanded a greater share on the basis of population. All of them have

demand that the percentage of provincial share and the basis of distribution should be included in the Draft Constitution. The Drafting Committee has justly rejected these proposals and the article about the distribution of income tax has been kept purposely flexible. It provides that at first the President of the Union will fix the share of each province by an executive order in his own discretion. When the Finance Commission is constituted within two years of the coming into operation of the Constitution the President shall do so on the basis of its recommendations. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. It would enable the case of each province to be examined on its merits and while safeguarding the financial stability of the centre it would be possible to give the provinces the greatest possible share in the proceeds of income tax. The Finance Commission being an impartial body of experts would be able to decide the matter without partisan feeling and without leading to rancour or ill-will. The Constituent Assembly wisely rejected the amendment moved by one member that the matter should be decided by Parliament and not by an executive order of the President. Such a course would have defeated the object of the article in the Draft Constitution.

The Otto Niyemer formula had introduced a vicious principle in India's federal finance of giving four provinces, Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa, a share in the jute export duty on a pre-determined basis. In the revised figures for 1948-49 the share of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa in the jute export duty amounts respectively to Rs. 54.70 lakhs, Rs. 44.37 lakhs, Rs. 38.72

lakhs, and Rs. 5.36 lakhs. In 1949-50 the total share of all these provinces in this duty is expected to be Rs. 1.46 crores as against Rs. 1.43 crores in 1948-49 (revised.) One of the objects of this provision was to help these provinces financially as they very much depended on this crop. But this could have been done better by providing for a special grant as subsequent experience has amply demonstrated. This principle of dividing an export duty has proved vicious because other provinces have begun demanding a share in other export duties. Assam has put forward a strong claim for a share in the export duty on tea. Some provinces have also demanded a share in the central excise revenue and Madras has claimed a big share in the excise duty on tobacco. The Sarkar Committee also has recommended that not less than 50 per cent of the net proceeds of central excise duty on tobacco, which in 1949-50 is expected to amount to Rs. 26 crores, should be distributed among the provinces. There is no doubt that the provincial need for finances gives some justification to all these claims. But such a course is bound to inflict a serious loss on central revenues. This would not be in the best interests of the nation. In the Draft Constitution the vicious principle of distribution of export duty on jute has been removed. In the future all the customs revenue will accrue to the Central Government. But in order to avoid disturbing the finances of the four provinces which were so far sharing the export duty on jute it has been provided that for a period of ten years they should be given a special grant in lieu of this share. This is a healthy principle. As the provinces have

their own sources of revenue the customs revenue will remain the exclusive source of Central revenue in the future. The Krishnamachari Committee on integration of States' finances has also recommended that all the states should cease to levy internal customs duties. In this way only the Central Government will levy these duties in the future. There is much in common between provincial and central excise duties. But, as was suggested by some, the central excise duties have not been transferred to the provinces. But it is provided in the Draft Constitution that stamp duties and such excise duties on medical and toilet preparations as are mentioned in the Union list shall be levied by the centre but shall be collected by and assigned to the provinces and states. So far as the other central excise duties are concerned the Draft Constitution has accepted the principle of division between the centre and the provinces and states. But wisely no definite proportions or the basis of division have been laid down in the Draft Constitution. The matter is left to be determined by rules made by Parliament. This also gives a certain degree of flexibility to the system of federal finance.

The provincial sources of taxation have been left intact. The Draft Constitution empowers the states and provinces to levy taxes on profession, trades, callings and employments for their own benefit or that of local bodies. The provinces could levy such taxes under the existing arrangement but with a limit of Rs. 50 per annum on any one person. This limit has now been raised to Rs. 250 per annum. This

is calculated to increase the revenue of local bodies. The Constituent Assembly rejected the amendment of one member that the limit should be increased to Rs 1,000. The chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, characterised these taxes as 'invasion' on income tax and pointed out that they have been allowed as an exception to the principle that income tax should be levied only by the central Government because of the prevailing practice. In conformity with the existing practice the Draft Constitution provides for the levy and collection by the centre of succession duties on other than agricultural property, estate duty, terminal taxes and taxes on railway fares and freights for the benefit of the provinces and states. These are provincial sources of revenue but it would give rise to many complications if they are levied and collected by the provinces themselves, hence the need for such a round about procedure.

The Otto Niyemer formula provided for the grant of cash subventions to some provinces on a graduated scale for a number of years. In 1949-50 the amount of subventions to be paid to East Punjab, West Bengal, Orissa and Assam would be Rs. 175 lakhs, Rs. 50 lakhs, Rs. 40 lakhs and Rs. 30 lakhs respectively. These provinces have demanded a larger subvention. In 1946 it was agreed that the centre would meet 50 per cent of the cost of post-war reconstruction schemes of provincial Governments approved by it subject to an over-all maximum. The basis of distribution of these grants-in-aid was subsequently changed and the four provinces of West Bengal, East Punjab,

Assam and Orissa are allowed by the centre the full cost of approved developmental schemes, including grow-more-food schemes within the maximum amount fixed for this purpose while the other provinces get 50 per cent. of the cost. The provision for such grants was reduced from Rs. 30 crores in the 1948-49 Budget to a figure of Rs. 18 crores in the revised figures in pursuance of the anti-inflationary programme. A provision of Rs. 26.81 crores has been made in the 1949-50 Budget for such grants.

GRANTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS
FOR DEVELOPMENT INCLUDING GROW-
MORE-FOOD SCHEMES AND EXCLUDING
CERTAIN ITEMS (IN CRORES OF Rs)

	1948-49 (Revised)	1949-50 (Budget)
Madras	.. 3.10	5.00
Bombay	.. 1.36	2.27
West Bengal	.. 2.00	2.70
U. P.	.. 3.40	5.17
East Punjab	.. 1.00	1.50
Bihar	.. 1.10	4.00
C. P. and Berar	.. 1.50	1.80
Assam	.. 1.60	1.60
Orissa	.. 1.20	1.35
Rs.	16.26	25.39 crores

These grants-in-aid are vital for meeting the financial needs of the provincial Governments. The Draft Constitution lays down that such sum as Parliament may provide shall be charged on the consolidated fund of India each year as grants-in-aid to the provinces and states. Different sums may be fixed for different provinces. The basis of giving such grants may be changed from time to time. The provision in the Draft Constitution has been kept flexible. The principle of giving such grants is clearly recognised and that is the most important consideration. Under the prevailing conditions such grants are vital for the financial stability of the provincial and state finances.

The Draft Constitution has not been burdened with details about the proportion in which the different taxes will be shared between the centre union and the federating units. The basis of distribution has also not be laid down. The work has been left either to the President in his discretion in the transitional period or to rules to be made by Parliament. In this transitional period an expert committee will be appointed to enquire into these matters and advise the President. Within two years of the Constitution coming into operation a five man Finance Commission will be appointed by the President. This Commission has long been overdue and its appointment will be an important event in India's financial history. This Finance Commission will perform the fourfold task of making recommendations with regard to (1) the distribution of taxes between the Union and the states and provinces, determination of the net amount to be distributed, the basis of distribution and the share of each province and state; (2) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid to the states out of the Indian revenues; (3) the continuance or modification of the terms of any agreement entered into by the Union with the provinces and states in respect of federal taxes; (4) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President in the interests of sound finance. The Finance Commission will have a comprehensive scope and would be able to do justice to the conflicting claims of the centre and the provinces in the difficult task of distributing the tax resources. It would be a permanent body of great significance in smoothing the course of federal finance in India.

Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi

By MR. B. SRINIVASA RAO, M.A., B.L.,

EASILY the most remarkable contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to Modern Civilization, is his decided elevation of Political struggle to Ethical heights. There were, no doubt prior to him, stray efforts to purify prevalent political conditions. But they were too feeble and spasmodic to make any distinct impression. Equally, there had been, prior to him, dis-interested social workers, but their services and energy lacked canalisation and direction. It was given to Mahatmaji, as to none before him, to blend Politics and Ethics, in a manner as efficacious as unobjectionable.

From very early times men were equally impelled by political pull and religious zeal. The two however operated in different directions and it was more or less taken for granted that each suffered by association with the other. The former concerns the State and the latter, the individual. By mixing up the two a double disadvantage was apprehended—neither personal advantage nor state policy stood to gain.

To disabuse us of such deep-seated prejudice was the specific mission of Mahatmaji and the national redemption of India owes exclusively to his political philosophy. To him the precepts of the sages and the examples of statesmen were of equal consequence. Indeed he refused to isolate one branch of life from another; they are one and indivisible. He further held humanity all over the globe is the same and if one is sufficiently true to himself, he can arouse in his seeming "opponent" feelings of love and brotherliness and these can be harnessed as much to National as Individual advantage.

As in other sciences so in philosophic theory of the State, certain postulates furnish the starting point and provide the necessary back-ground from which to follow the further argument. It therefore behoves us to examine what he considered axiomatic: as a failure to appreciate the same has impelled some of his critics to doubt if there is any consistency of purpose or clarity of thought in his life and teachings.

Briefly, he postulated the fundamental goodness of man and the feasibility of harnessing the same to our collective good. He cautions us against understating the contribution of Ethics to fulfilment of Political ends. In the midst of so many at variance with his stand-point, his convictions never wavered: they became more and more his articles of faith, vicissitude after vicissitude. Failure did not impel him to doubt his dogma or deny his doctrine.

Three distinct stages can be noticed in the development of his thought:

First—when he was "mobbed" by Boers in South Africa, early in his political career.

Second—When he started his historic march to Dandi.

Third—When he finally sought Muslim co-operation in overthrowing the British.

At the outset it has to be borne in mind when he decided on his campaign of passive resistance in South Africa, he had neither the advantage of earlier precedents, nor active direction from any person in high political advantage. His movement generated prejudice; he was considered

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public enemy No. 1 by the people and Government of South Africa. At one stage of his campaign he was "mobbed" by hostile Boers and with great difficulty extricated and removed to the nearest Police Station for fear of further recrudescence of mob fury.

A humanitarian-minded member of the House of Commons, addressed an Interpellation to the then Colonial Secretary—the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, regarding the same and desiring to know what action had been taken to punish the delinquents. To the astonishment of the whole House, a written reply from "the victim" was read out desiring no action be taken against them as they were evidently labouring under a misapprehension that he was their enemy, and he trusted in due course they would find him to be their true friend and change their ways, *themselves*. The rest of the story is familiar to every student of our struggle over-seas. Suffice it to note that the entire Indian and English press acclaimed him as a new Political Messiah—and notable among his English admirers, Rev. C. F. Andrews and Mr. H. S. L. Polak stuck to him to the very last.

Laurels, however, in South Africa, did not mean laurels nearer home. As soon as he landed in Porebunder he was advised by his friends and admirers not to attempt his experiment, in the complicated political conditions of India, and notable among them was his political guru Mr. G. K. Gokhale. He could not, however, be untrue to himself, and it was not long before he launched on giving battle to the British bureaucracy by

breaking the salt laws. On the eve of his march to Dandi, where the salt monopoly had to be first challenged, an enterprising Press-reporter drew his attention to the fact that the bulk of Muslims were not with him. Mahatmaji's reaction was quick and characteristic: "If God is with him, he is bound to succeed, Muslim or no Muslim. If, however, God is not with him, no amount of Muslim support can avail him."

Very soon, however, he reconsidered his whole stand-point, and found he made three assumptions, neither safe to make, nor warranted by facts. For one thing, why should God take sides: for another, why need he take his side; finally who can demonstrate His existence to the satisfaction of all his followers?

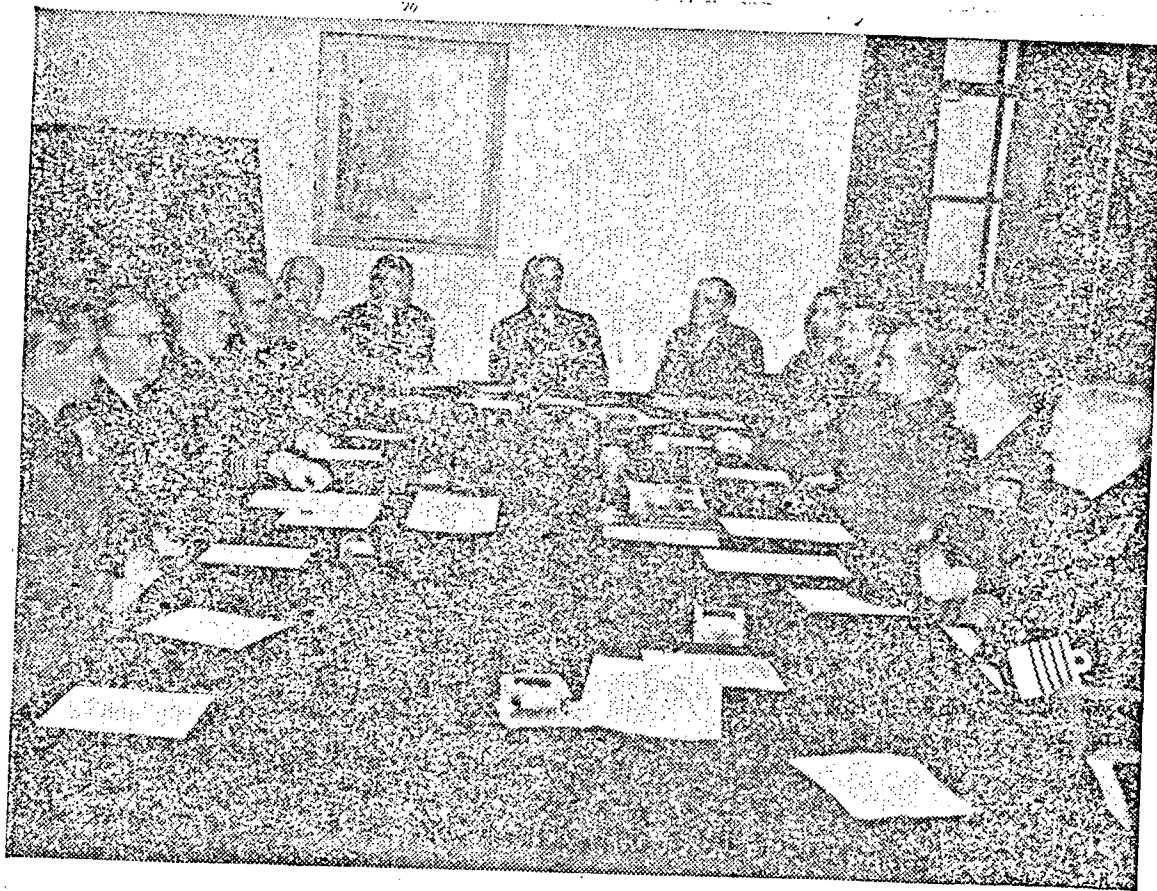
We thus see in the final phase of his political career he was keen on securing Muslim support at any cost. He was so much depressed with the havoc done to our country by the continued presence of a third party, and decided to resolve the tangle by pressing into service a harmless deduction in Geometry,—any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third. If the Congress and the Muslim League agreed on a common political programme, the Britisher is nowhere in the picture.

Unfortunately the "political" triangle was not so obvious as the Euclidean: politics makes strange bedfellows: and a considerable section of the Muslims openly conspired with the third party, to sabotage the Congress cause; and within the Congress there were dissidents, doubting the efficacy of his doctrine, against

soulless people; and a mis-guided militant Brutus rung the curtain down on his life, though not his teachings.

Mahatmajee was always of the view that the political implement, chiselled in South Africa, sharpened at Wardha, and appreciated at Whitehall (by the decision to withdraw from India) may be given a chance of application in a yet wider sphere to resolve the ever-widening problems of men and Nations.

If at any future time World Government is to be an accomplished fact, it can be reared on no surer foundations than his tenets. Alone among the nations of the World he attempted to impart a moral tone to their political aims and demonstrated the feasibility of blending Ethics and Politics to the obvious advantage of both. Its application in International problems ought surely to lay low the spectre of World War No. III.



ANGLO-U.S. CHIEFS OF STAFF CONFERENCE

The United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, who arrived in Britain from Germany recently, met their British counter-parts at Westminster to discuss defence problems connected with the North Atlantic Treaty.

THE VATICAN AND COMMUNISM

BY THE RT. REV. DR. L. RAYMOND

Bishop of Allahabad

[When the first Indian Ambassador to the Holy See presented his credentials at the Vatican on July 6, the Pope said to him: 'It is a sorry characteristic of our times that there prevails in not a few places a concept of life and society that is vitiated by an excess of materialism or perverted by the outright denial of spiritual values. The essential element in India's spiritual heritage is the earnestness and respect of religious sentiment and the profound awareness of dependence on the Divine.' It is against this background, says the Bishop of Allahabad in a communication to the Press, that the recent Papal Decree, condemning practising Communists as "heretics against the Catholic Faith and liable to excommunication", must be understood.—ED. I. R.]

PEOPLE in India are surprised at the fierce resentment this measure* has aroused, and at the storm of obloquy with which it has been greeted, both of which have been expressed at length in the daily press. Many Indians argue: Well, if the Pope gives directions to those who are ready to accept them, why should the organs of publicity, chiefly behind the Iron Curtain, shriek in execration against him? Why should the Communists take umbrage at what does not affect them but only the believing Catholic? And why should the Pope be accused of publishing this measure at the suggestion of the Anglo-Saxon block, when it is well known that the majority of that block is not Catholic?

These questions are puzzling not a few, and it will be useful to attempt an answer.

FORMER VATICAN PRONOUNCEMENTS

It is extremely important to remember that the recent measure represents no innovation in Catholic doctrine; it is merely the last step, one cannot even call it a climax, in the long series of pronouncements which the Vatican has made on Communism. Already in 1846, more than a hundred years ago therefore, Pope Pius IX spoke of 'that infamous doctrine of so-called Communism which is absolutely contrary to the natural law itself, and if once accepted would utterly destroy the rights, property and possessions of all men, even society itself'.

In 1878, Pope Leo XIII defined Communism as 'that plague which insinuates itself into the very marrow of human society only to bring about its ruin.'

* Papal decree against Communists.

These are only two pronouncements among the many of the Vatican, made long before the names of Lenin and Stalin were heard of; in fact the social legislation of the Popes during the final quarter of the last century is riddled with adverse references to Communism. The late Pope Pius XI was only reiterating what his predecessors said when he described Communism as 'this modern revolution, which has actually broken out and threatens everywhere, exceeding in amplitude and violence anything yet experienced in the preceding persecutions launched against the Church.'

The suggestion therefore, that the recent Papal decree has been dictated by political expedience, that it is a mere tactic in the cold war in which the great powers are engaged, that it is an obvious attempt to lean on the capitalist powers, is too ridiculous to be entertained. On the tactical level, it is the last step that should have been taken; because it will merely expose the Catholic Church, and her bishops and priests chiefly, to an intensification of the persecution under which they are already suffering. If human considerations be alone taken into account, surely this was the worst moment to choose, when Communism sits securely in the Balkans, and behind the Iron Curtain the dictate of Stalin holds sway. It is crass stupidity to butt one's head against a stone-wall.

But if in the midst of a crass materialism spiritual values are to be insisted upon, if guidance has to be given at a moment of spiritual crisis, if principles are more important than considerations of expediency, then the Papal decree is justified. For this decree,

while it has a general import, is chiefly addressed to the countries behind the Iron Curtain, to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, where there is a Catholic population of nearly 100 millions, whose faith is in jeopardy because of fierce persecution, who are overwhelmed by a spiritual crisis, and who therefore are sorely in need of direction. Already the Primate of Yugoslavia, Archbishop Sceptinac, has been sentenced to 16 years' jail; the Cardinal of Hungary has been condemned to life imprisonment; the Primate of Czecho-Slovakia is under house surveillance, and expecting arrest at any moment.

Events in each of these countries are moving in the same pattern, the sequestration of Church property, the confiscation of Church schools, the suppression of Catholic organs of publicity, the imprisonment of bishops and priests. Inevitably, spiritual values are threatened; should a Catholic abandon his ideals and bow to the prevailing pressure, or should he be loyal to his faith and face the consequences, imprisonment and death? If at such a moment the Pope were to refrain from giving directions, clear and unequivocal, he must abandon his claim to be a spiritual leader.

THE TOTALITARIAN STATE AND RELIGION

The claim of the totalitarian State is to be not merely omnipotent but omni-competent. It professes of direct every department of man's life, therefore his religious life as well. Religion must be a department of the State, under a ministry, just as health or agriculture, for then the State can use religion to its own purposes. A national Church is the only one that will serve the purpose of a totalitarian State; an international Church, with roots outside the State, acknowledging submission to a spiritual power not under the control of the Government, is a danger; for then there is a department of life not amenable to State pressure, and that militates against the basic principle of the totalitarian State.

Now the Roman Catholic Church is essentially international; she has her roots in every country of the globe; she

acknowledges submission to a spiritual head outside the control of any Government. Inevitably, the Roman Catholic Church is the Enemy No. 1 of the totalitarian State. Those who have read Count Ciano's Diary will recall Mussolini's exasperation at the Church which stood in the way of his complete domination of the Italian people. Hitler wiser than Mussolini in some ways would not carry his principles to their logical end, because he feared to divide the country on the eve of his schemes for the aggrandisement of Germany.

The Communist State is essentially totalitarian; for the first 20 years it was essentially also irreligious, but during the war it realised that religion must be wooed, not ostracised, because it is a potent force in building morale. During the war, therefore, the Orthodox Church was revived in Russia as a national Church, completely subservient to the interests of the Russian Government, it aptly serves the purpose of the Communist State, for on the one hand it removes the reproach of Communism being anti-religious, and on the other it has no rights other than those given to it by the State. But Communism remains, in principle, anti-religious.

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

True to Communist principles, the Governments of Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, as true totalitarian States, are endeavouring to found national Churches. This they can only do if they first destroy the Roman Catholic Church. They began that work of destruction slowly, first confiscating the property of the Church, then suppressing the schools and the organs of publicity. Next they turned their attention to the leaders, the Primates: two have been imprisoned, and with the Archbishop of Prague, arrest and imprisonment is only a question of time; hundreds of the best priests have been jailed and a few executed on trumped-up charges.

Now they are trying to form national Churches. In Prague they have found a few renegade priests, with whose help they have started 'Catholic' papers and 'Catholic Action Societies' throughout the country;

thus they hope to drive a wedge between the religious leaders and the people, and seduce the latter to their own schemes. Because they have confused the loyalties of many humble Catholics who may not know where their duty lies, the Pope has declared all Communists to be apostates from the Faith. The people will thus be helped to discern between their real leaders and these Government tools, and will not give to a modern Caesar the things that are God's.

One can understand, therefore, the wrath of these Communists behind the Iron Curtain; the Pope has queered their pitch, has prejudiced their chances of building up national Churches, and of seducing the people from their old loyalties. Naturally, they accuse the Vatican of mixing in politics at the dictate of the capitalist powers; whereas actually the Vatican has given the same directions as she has given for the past century, adding to them only a turn which fits them for the present crisis.

RESULTS OF THE DECREE

The Pope must realise that the result of his decree will be an intensification of the persecution in the countries behind the

Iron Curtain; to this result he cannot be indifferent, no more than Pandit Nehru, could be indifferent were India's Ambassadors submitted to indignities.

The Bishops are men appointed by the Pope, men whom he values and trusts; with some of them he has been on intimate terms; their torture and imprisonment must affect him deeply. He must realise what this decree will mean in terms of suffering for the simple people. If he has nevertheless acted as he has it is because he feels that spiritual values must be upheld despite sufferings, that tyrannous Governments must be faced when they go beyond their limits that the things of God are of greater import than the laws of Caesar. In defence of these values persecution must be faced.

In Spain the Communists massacred 10 bishops, 15,000 priests and nuns, and 300,000 common people in the name of democracy; in reality it was only out of hatred for religion. That hatred will find more victims before its day is done. But in our country this bold stand for spiritual values at a time when men are absorbed in material things must win support and admiration.

MERGER AND INTEGRATION*

By MR. P. RAJESWARA RAO

SARDAR PATEL had the vision to foresee forces which insisted on a speedy attainment of unity and uniformity of Political Practice throughout India. The States Ministry under his guidance applied four different schemes in pursuing the programme of unification and merger each being applied according to size, geography and other factors relating to each state. The first is the merger of States in the

* A Chapter from the Author's forthcoming Book entitled "A Survey of Indian Constitutionalism."

adjoining Provinces. The second is the consolidation of certain States into Centrally administered areas. Third is the Union of the States and fourth is to leave some States at any rate for the time being to continue their separate existence. The role of Mr. V. P. Menon, the Secretary of the States Ministry and later its Adviser deserves to be mentioned. This wizard from Kerala, a place noted for its charms, redrew the map of India and literally succeeded in equating Princely India to the Provinces.

The time spirit was irresistible and the drama of history unrolled itself. Even after Partition there were 566 States of all categories within the borders of India. Under this process 214 States with a population of 175 lakhs and covering an area of 1,06,085 square miles merged in the various Provinces. With respect to the representation of merged States in the Provincial Legislatures, Governor-General of India authorised the nomination of members to the various Provincial legislatures thus:— Madras—2, Bihar—1, C. P. and Berar—17, East Punjab—1, Orissa—31 and Bombay—61 to the Legislative Assembly and 10 to the Legislative Council. Besides, Bombay added two Ministers to the Cabinet from the merged States. 25 States with a population of 28 lakhs and covering an area of 27,329 square miles are Centrally administered necessitating the creation of five chief commissioners' Provinces namely Cutch, Himachal Pradesh, Bhopal, Rampur and Bilaspur. 304 States with a population of 376 lakhs and covering an area of 2,36,360 square miles are integrated into six States Unions *viz.*, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Vindhya-pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Sourashtra and the United State of Travancore and Cochin. Lately the administration of Cooch-Bihar is taken over by Government of India. Linguistic considerations may ultimately bring about its merger with West Bengal. Banaras State has to be merged in the United Provinces sooner or latter. Access to Tripura State over land has till recently been possible only through Pakistan territory. Work on the 125 mile long road connecting Assam with Agartala the Capital of the State is completed. This has become necessary as a portion of the Shillong-Sylhet road falls within Pakistan. Hence there has been delay in tackling the States on the Eastern Frontier. Manipur and the sixteen Khasi hill States remain to be merged in Assam. Leaving Kashmir and Hyderabad for the time being we find that even the only other State of Mysore has to make way to facilitate the unification of Karnataka. The State of

Sikkim also is now administered by a Dewan nominated by the Government of India.

Thanks to the willing consent and patriotic co-operation of the Rulers as well as the people of the States the difficult task of merger and unification has been brought to a successful close within a short period of two years. The Rulers of the States, which had been formed into Unions retained their hereditary rights. The Privy Purse is fixed on a sliding scale. On the first lakh of the annual income of the State concerned it is 15 per cent.; between two to five lakhs it is 10 per cent.; and anything above 5 lakhs $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; subject to a top limit of 10 lakhs of rupees. This limit has been exceeded only in case of certain major States that have been declared as viable Units. The amount fixed in access of this figure is payable to the present rulers alone. In the case of the next generation of the Rulers none of them would be entitled to draw a Privy Purse of more than 10 lakhs of Rupees. In addition to that the Princes are entitled to keep two palaces, jewels and private lands. The Private properties of the Sourashtra Union Maharajahs were estimated at 120 crores of Rupees. Their palaces at Bombay alone were estimated at $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Rupees. But the most surprising fact is that when some of the States were merged into Provinces or formed into Unions the balance in their State treasuries was only a few annas.

Some obvious defects are apparent in the various schemes of merger. Provinces were consulted for the absorption of the States. But the people of the States were not consulted. For all intents and purposes the people were transferred as a conquered race. In some quarters the mergers and integrations were styled as *coups d'etat* and not the fulfilment of people's mandate constitutionally expressed. Nomination of the representatives of the States merged in the Provinces, to the respective Provincial Legislatures is the very antithesis of democracy. The Governments that came

to be set up in most of the Unions are made up of men with no experience of leadership, no tradition of Parliamentary Government. They are often involved in local factions. They are loosely geared to the administrative machinery which is not efficient.

The relationship between the Centre and the States Unions is governed by the covenants and the agreements entered into between the Centre and the Rajapramukhs. Owing to backward conditions of these States the lack of a well-defined constitutional relationship between them and the Centre and due to inadequate arrangements for administration, the Government of India found it necessary to exercise general control over the Governments of the various Unions which according to the provisions inserted in the covenants are required to comply with instructions issued by the Government of India. Thus the control over the Union Governments by the Centre is greater than over the Provincial Governments.

Barring a few advanced States the others are so backward that the task of raising the standard of administration present formidable difficulties. Their financial systems developed in isolation. Many of them were dependent on Octroi and the internal customs duties as their mainstay. These sources of income are entirely out of place, in an India politically integrated. States adversely affected financially are helped by the Centre to tide over the difficulties in a transitory period, which may be ten or fifteen years. Measures are being set afoot to remove other forms of feudalism from the States such as Jagirdari tenure, forced labour, etc. Steps have already been taken to integrate the armed forces maintained in the merged States with the Indian army. Indian State forces maintained in the units which form parts of States Unions are at present under the responsibility of the Rajapramukhs of the Unions (except in Travancore-Cochin, where they are under Ministry) subject of course to the directions of the Government of India. There has been agreement

that they must be so organised and maintained that they will together with the armed forces of India fit into one overall pattern for the defence of the country. What Dalhousie and Canning were able to do during many years Sardar Patel achieved within two years. He proved to be the architect of the Indian Union and he could do all at once what Bismark did during his life time for the consolidation of Germany.

In this connection the question of the French and the Portuguese possessions cannot be ignored. No Sovereign Independent State permits the perpetuation of foreign pockets within its borders. These anachronisms were tolerated as long as India was in bondage. Wise men must learn from the experiences of others. Chandranagore already showed the way. In fact no referendum is necessary to vindicate the simple truism that blood is thicker than water. The promise of autonomy made by Pandit Nehru to these areas within the Union in order to preserve their particular features and heritage is more generous than just.

JUST OUT

A TIMELY PUBLICATION

LECTURES ON INDIAN HISTORY

BY

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HINDU INDIA
MUSLIM INDIA
AND
BRITISH INDIA
IN ONE VOLUME

WITH A FOREWORD BY

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.
Principal, R. D. M. College, Sivaganga

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LABOUR AND LIQUOR

By MR. ABRAHAM PANAKAL, B.A., D.S.S.A.

UNTIL comparatively recent times alcoholic beverages were looked upon as a matter of course. They were considered as a regular part of meal just as tea in China and Japan and coffee among the Arabs and Turks. However, with the large scale production of alcoholic liquors and the organisation of liquor traffic along modern commercial lines, with the aid of high pressure salesmanship, the evil consequences of alcoholism became more apparent. Moreover, the development of commercial life and the introduction of machinery into industry, the possession of a clear and alert brain and a steady hand has become an imperative necessity. It is with this end in view that organised agitation for temperance has become an important public movement in many progressive countries.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically speaking, narcotic drugs have been known to human race since ages. The Chinese Emperor Shen Nung in the Twentieth Century B.C., taught the people to cultivate hemp to prepare "hashish," a narcotic substance out of its fibre. There are several records to show that Egyptians and Persians used narcotic drugs from a very early date. Virgil refers to opium-poppy in "Aeneid." But, with the advancement of science and the subsequent manufacture of alcoholic liquors on a commercial scale, the demand for narcotic drugs began to decline. The replacement was so rapid that in 1919 there were 2,000,000 addicts to alcohol in the city of New York.

DIFFERENT THEORIES OF ALCOHOLISM

Dr. Archdall's theory of craving for alcohol as an instinct has not yet received universal acceptance. For, if it is an instinct, it should have a universality and should also be present among lower animals. This is not the case. Similarly, alcoholism explained in terms of climate and of race has no foundation. The theory states that the per capita consumption of

alcoholic liquors will be more in cold countries and vice versa in hot ones. This theory has not yet been confirmed. A recent study of chronic alcoholics made in the United States of America reveals that a certain percentage of the inebriates are pathological individuals whose nervous organisation is such that alcohol provides satisfaction not attainable under ordinary circumstances. But details regarding this theory are not yet available.

EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL ON LIVING TISSUES

The origin of alcohol, as we all know, is in the decay or decomposition of sugar by the action of certain microscopic plants like moulds and yeasts. These little plants feed on sugar in the grain and in return give out alcohol. This alcohol when drunk produces four distinct effects on our living tissues. Firstly, alcohol as an intoxicant quickly affects our nervous system. The Alcohol Committee of the Medical Research Department of the United States of America state that the system suddenly stops functioning if it is taken in large quantities and makes the function retard when taken in small doses. Dr. Rush, who has done pioneer work in this field, points out that alcoholism affects the nervous system and tends to inhabit higher centres of control. This reduces the power for judgement, concentration and estimation of risks. This also makes the five senses less acute and one sees, hears and tastes less than usual. Secondly, alcohol is detrimental to body functioning. It slows down the function of stomach, kidneys, liver and brain. The third effect of alcohol is that it is habit forming. When a person is, once, addicted to alcohol, it is very difficult to overcome that habit. Lastly, alcohol is a protoplasmic poison which is destructive and degenerating to human system.

USES OF ALCOHOL

Alcohol has been variously regarded as a drug, a food and a narcotic poison. As a drug it is very seldom used in medicine

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now-a-days. The village quacks still administer alcohol to patients suffering from certain chronic diseases. But the belief in the specific action of alcohol in acute infectious diseases like influenza and pneumonia has been confused. As a food, liquor is very popular among the working classes. In India they believe that country liquors are the cheapest substances containing Vitamin B. Labourers who cannot afford to have this form of nourishing food consume country liquors as a substitute. But the effect of alcohol as a food is just the reverse. According to the Report of the Central Board (Liquor Traffic) of 1938 the food value of alcohol is considered to be the most liberal that can be taken into consideration. Again, after working hard for eight hours or more, workers in India relieve or try to relieve by drinking country liquors, the fatigue of long hours of hard work. As a narcotic, it is still effective when taken in sufficient quantities.

ALCOHOLISM AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Coming to the problem of alcoholism among industrial workers, we find that until a few decades ago, in some of the Western countries, it was an established custom among the employers to pass out a regular ration of liquor to their employees. If the employers showed some unwillingness in this respect, the workers used to feel dissatisfied. In some places liquor was a part of wages. In the "Economic History of England" by Bland and Brown we find that an allowance for drink was a part of wage bargain in England. When in 1817, Thacker Magoum, a ship-builder in Medford, built a ship without giving liquor to the workers, it was considered as an achievement. Moreover, early trade unions of America and England recognised the use of liquor in their periodical meetings held in public houses. In the statements of finance and accounts published by these unions, during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, expenditure on drink ranked as one of the major items of expenditure. But by the middle of the

Nineteenth Century, this practice was completely abolished and the union meetings were found to be more calm and orderly instead of being violent and chaotic.

By this time employers also began to realise the undesirability of workers indulging in drinks. They found that alcoholism among the employees at work had far reaching effects on their business. This idea was shared in general and later on crystallised into tangible rules and regulations. But no serious attempt was made to put an end to the evil of drinking after working hours, with the result that it is spreading on an alarming scale among industrial workers. A study of working class family budgets reveals that the expenses for drink form at least 4 per cent of the total family expenditure. The percentage is as high as 10 per cent in the case of workers belonging to the lower strata of life.

AFTER-EFFECTS OF ALCOHOLISM

By chronic alcoholism of a worker, it is the family that has to suffer most. A study of Prof. Legrain proves that the third generation of a chronic alcoholic will be weak-minded, imbecile and idiotic children suffering from hysteria or epilepsy. "The use of alcohol" says President Ray of the American Hygiene Society "increases the rate of social diseases". Medical and actuarial evidences make it clear that the excessive drinker generally damages his health. On analysis of the data available from certain Insurance Companies, it is found that even moderate drinking has an injurious effect upon health by weakening the resistive power of the body and thereby shortening life. Alcohol also reduces the power to work and undermines the earning capacity. This causes serious loss to the nation's productive power. Poor work leads to poor production and especially in the case of India where production has not advanced enough to meet the demands of consumption, reduction in output will lessen the economic prosperity of the nation. Prof. H. E. Hinwich of the Yale University after experimenting

upon the effects of alcohol on working efficiency states "work of precision suffers either in accuracy or in time required for its accomplishment." The results are depressive in effect. Again Prof. Fisher of the same university says "a glass of beer reduces the efficiency of a worker by 20 per cent." The ill-effect on a nation's efficiency due to excessive indulgence in alcohol is not disputed. China is a concrete example to this effect. Moreover, the consumption of alcoholic liquors increases accident proneness, even if the quantity taken is insufficient to produce intoxication. It is stated that chronic drinkers sustain nearly three times as many accidents as the whole body of workers in a factory. Moreover, the period of recovery from an illness for a man who drinks will be three times that of a normal man for the same illness. Besides, they are more susceptible to diseases like pneumonia and influenza. A study of accidents sustained by seamen made in Sweden reveals that 50 per cent. of the cases studied were due to alcoholic indulgences. Alcoholism also reduces the capacity for judgement, attention and concentration, which should be at their best among modern industrial workers. This is nowhere more dangerous than in motor driving. The precisions for co-ordinating foot work and hand work with sight and hearing is appreciably disturbed by even a small dose of alcohol. This leads to many an accident that can be avoided.

Poverty is the handmaid of alcohol. Prof. A.L. Bowley says that 25 to 30 per cent. of the poverty in a working class area is caused wholly or partly by drink. When the Government of Bihar inaugurated prohibition in the district of Saran on 1st April 1939, there was a marked improvement in the family budgets of the workers. 78 per cent. of the workers utilised the excess money for payment of debts. Many spent money on milk, ghee, sweets and vegetables and increased the nutritive value of their food. The Bombay Prohibition Research Advisory Board after

making a study on the economic effects of prohibition on the working class in Ahmedabad observes that no less than 86 per cent. of the ex-addicts were enjoying better food both in quality and quantity. Efficiency of 72 per cent. of them had increased as was obvious from the production figures available at the mills. Where formerly more than 68 per cent. could not balance their family budgets, after prohibition came, 90 per cent. of them could not only do so but some showed a basic surplus for saving. The survey revealed that in 26 per cent. of the cases studied there were actual saving and purchase of ornaments for women and children. Ford, the great industrialist, believed that prohibition increased the economic prosperity of the worker.

A significant fact about alcoholism is domestic discord. Street brawls, family quarrels and bickering among neighbours, in many cases, originate from alcoholism and they create a lot of inconvenience to the public. Moreover, the family life of a worker who is addicted to drinks is generally unhappy. In many cases this results in a broken home. The increase of crime in industrial cities is generally explained by an equal increase in the consumption of alcoholic drinks by workers.

Realising the all round after-effects of alcoholism, many progressive countries have passed Prohibition Acts. Without entering into the oft repeated arguments showing the advantages and disadvantages of prohibition any one can confidently say that interested liquor men are almost the only group who have cried hoarse against prohibition as an invasion of the liberties of the common man. The masses of India have always hailed prohibition as "A friend of the poor." Special investigators appointed by the Government of Bombay to study the economic effects of Alcoholism in the city of Ahmedabad report that not a single woman is willing to revert to pre-prohibition days and some are even prepared to resort to picketing if ever the drink shops are thrown open again.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

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

THERE is a fashion for our politicians to ask our students not to take to politics. There was a time when these very men and women asked them to give up their studies for the sake of politics. I think they were right and they are right. That was a time of emergency. It was a long drawn-out war and there could be no other place for the youths than that of politics. Now things have changed. They have improved in the sense that we have done away with the foreign rule and we are our own masters. If we are not our own masters, it is our leaders, who are our masters and they are supposed to do no wrong, nothing that would go against our interest and prosperity of future. Politics is for them, not for our youths, whose right place is where there is real and constructive education. Think of these words that I have used for education—real and constructive. Education has to be real and constructive; for without that education will be simply for chaos and destruction, something which we cannot cherish in these days of re-construction after the war, after that greater war that was fought between ourselves and the English people, who wanted to prolong their stay in India, not in our interest but in their own interest. That phase is over and with that the excitement of politics should also be over. If our youths do not concentrate upon their preparation for right living all our hopes of future will be broken. Hence the great emphasis on real and constructive education or study for future.

But this should never mean that our youths have not to take a living interest in day-to-day politics. If they don't take, who else will? They have to be aware of daily progress in politics. They have to move with times. But there is one thing. It is not necessary for them to belong to any political party. Their time is to be passed in dispassionate discussions so that they may have that preparation which they must have to be successful

citizens of to-morrow. That is what I mean when I ask them not to take part in politics. Let our leaders think that our youths cannot forget their right of discussing things. And if they do so, if they desire them to do so, that is not in the interest of our country's march to greatness and power. You cannot think of book-worms suddenly switching on to the successful politics.

CONTINUOUS EDUCATION

Education is to be continuous. If our youths have to be active politicians of future their present education should be such, political, cultural and social. I have added "cultural" and "social" because "political" should cover these aspects or man's growth as well. We want culture for ourselves. What is culture? It has to be perfection in all walks of life. Such a consummation we desire. Our political education (in fact, our education in general) should give us this culture. It must give us perfection in all activities of life. So our present education (I mean the education of our youths) has to be all-sided. It has to be political also. How can you, in all your wisdom, ask your students to desist from politics? Simply you cannot. And yet I say that our students have not to take part in politics. I should say "active politics" is not their sphere when they are in the process of disciplining themselves by their studies. When they are studying let them concentrate upon education. Education, to be complete, will not desist from politics. They will run over all aspects of life; they will cover them and prepare themselves for them. But they will have to remember one thing. And that is they have to be above politics. But in what sense? They have to discuss politics like pure students, not like politicians, who find nothing in common with virtue in themselves, who have some special party to serve. Such a thing is not to be allowed for our youths.

Our aim is fellowship and brotherhood. Let these youths, while under education

formally, try to be above party-spirit and feeling. This they can do when they don't belong to any party. This is what we mean. And that way lies wisdom. That way our experience points. When they will grow up, grow up into full men and full women, active citizens, they will have those feelings of fellowship and brotherhood that we need so urgently if we want to build up our new Brave World of joy and comfort and power. Our hope of future is in youths. They alone can shape the future as we want it to be shaped. It is, therefore, so very necessary that they should be properly educated. They have to be properly educated and they have not to waste their precious time in politics for which they will have ample opportunities when they grow up.

STUDENTS—FUTURE POLITICIANS

One thing is very disappointing about us. We have had not great political thinkers, as they had and they have in the West. You might say that our long

political slavery was the cause. I quite agree. But what provisions are you going to make for future in this respect? If you ask people to shun politics, if you ask our youths to shun politics, altogether, if you want to shut up all free thinking in India because India is free and is now governed by her own people, our future is dangerously dark. You seem to say that in a free country there is no scope for political parties. There is danger in this attitude. True, we have not to fight against any foreign foe. But what about our greatest enemy? That enemy of sloth and security, in the absence of active and critical attitude, is our greatest enemy. We have to fight against it. We have to fight against corrupting influence of power. And all this we can do, we can fight our battle successfully against these foes, if we are politically advanced and conscious. There is no wisdom in asking people to shun politics. Also there is no wisdom in asking our youths to shun real political study.

ON SOLVING UNEMPLOYMENT

BY MR. JAGATJYOTI PAL, B.A.

OF all the assets of a country, the greatest asset is her man-power. Viewed from this point, China stands first, India second. And our poet has sung too, "No truth is higher than Man." But so far as India is concerned, her administrators cannot view this truth as an asset with equanimity, because they have to go to foreign countries with a begging bowl for maintaining this man power. This man power instead of becoming an asset has been a liability to the perplexed administrators. What's to be done in converting this liability into an asset? The processes which have brought about this present state of affairs are to be undone. How is a nation made or unmade? It is how its children are cared for. Whenever a new administrator addresses himself to the task of administration, he gives education an important place in the

programme of his activities. The past administrators paid that much attention to education which served their purpose. If a Rabindranath, Gandhi or Raman has come out in the processes, it was due to the loopholes in their processes. Or, it may be said that India's genius flowered even in adverse circumstances.

The present administration has not given education the place it deserves, though it has appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan.* Its lack of interest is evident from its neglect of Primary Education which is the very basis of the whole edifice. What do we mean by unemployment? Is it absence of work or absence of income on the part of those who are termed "unemployed"? George Bernard Shaw has said that a man works

* The Commission has since published its report.

more when unemployed than when employed, because during unemployment he has to think more. This statement will not be contradicted by those who are to eke out their own living and have passed through periods of 'unemployment' and 'employment.' So it is absence of income and not absence of work that is viewed as unemployment. I need not illustrate this point as everybody knows that a tourist without money is a vagabond and a vagabond with money is a tourist. A Philosopher, Poet or Scientist without an income is a madman. Milton during his blindness consoled himself with saying

"His state is kingly.

They also work who only stand and wait."

Can we not view unemployment in the same strain? Also employment does not necessarily involve work. In peace time a good portion of the militia has no work.

To my mind, unemployment is closely associated with the machineries of distribution of a Nation's wealth. To find employment for all is not an easy task, nor a pleasant one. Industrialization of a country could not solve unemployment. U. K. and U. S. A., though highly industrialized, could not solve unemployment. The two countries *viz.*, Russia and Germany liquidated their unemployment by methods which are not approved of, in democratic countries. To solve unemployment is almost trying to reach Utopia. But what's to be done in the present context of India? To bring a change in the economy of India her industries are to be developed to the extent of twice the present outturn. Roughly we may say 70 per cent. of India's population is dependent on agriculture, 10 per cent. on Government service and 20 per cent. on commerce and Industries. We have to make 50 per cent. dependent on Agriculture to reach normality. That is we have to share 20 per cent. from Agriculture to Industry. That means we have to double the present scale of industrialization.

At present a tug of war is going on between the capitalists and the labour.

Both are incriminating each other with "being less patriotic." The Government have to bring about a truce between the two parties. An adjudication board consisting of labour, capitalist and Government should be formed to assess wages in different categories of work. Success or failure of a country depends on the assessment of incomes, on the provision of security for all.

We have had long complaint against our foreign rulers in respect of their wages. But now though the administration has come to our hands we do not see any appreciable improvement in this respect. Should we not follow a ratio between per capita income and the salaries of Government servants that is being followed in advanced countries? Our Government have to place their workers under the same income group as the Government servants of other countries are placed in comparison with their respective per capita incomes. The remarkable disparity between the highest and the lowest income in India should be brought in a line with advanced countries. It is in removing the disparity, the solution lies.

From the activities of the capitalists of our country one may rightly conclude that they refuse to work, except for personal profit. It is a sorry picture of their mind. Men are imbued with instinct for work. A civilized Government's first duty is to nurture this instinct, regulate this instinct and direct it to useful activities which will add to the sum total of human happiness. If a man does not get scope for his activity, his energy is dissipated which means loss to the society.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 ss.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This Review is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat. . . . Readers who appreciate an unbiased survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—Illustrated Weekly of India.

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

THE GETTYSBURG ORATION

Lincoln's Gettysburg Oration is still considered one of the greatest ever made by a statesman. The President rose to the full height of the occasion. When he gave utterance to words and sentiments unmatched for brevity and aptness. The occasion (Nov. 17, 1863) marking one of the most important victories of the American Civil War was in a way historic. The speech itself consists of no more than ten sentences and took barely five minutes to deliver. It sums up however in a few simple yet stirring words all the aims of liberty and equality for which the American peoples had fought. Here is the text.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have

a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The words strike to our ears a solemn note befitting the greatness of the occasion and the man. Yet strangely enough, contemporary reaction to the speech was by no means complimentary. It was definitely critical; nay even condemnatory. When Lincoln sat down he remarked: "The speech is a flat failure."

Fancy THE CHICAGO TIMES saying that Mr. Lincoln had foully traduced the men who died at Gettysburg! THE HARRISBURG PATRIOT said the meeting was arranged for the benefit of the President's political party and that it was going to pass over the silly remarks of the President; that for the credit of the nation the veil of oblivion should be dropped over them. THE CHICAGO TIMES inquired if Mr. Lincoln was less refined than a savage. THE 'LONDON TIMES', sagely opined that "anything more dull and commonplace it would not be easy to produce."

The rest is history; more important to Lincoln than its inscription on a thousand monuments is its repetition by millions of school-children to-day.

THE NEW JERUSALEM

Bring me my Bow of burning gold;
Bring me my Arrows of desire;
Bring me my Spear; O clouds unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire,
I will not cease from Mental Fight,
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land,
—William Blake.

THE RIGHT

I disagree with every word you say, but
I will defend to the death your right to
say it.

—Voltaire.

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FROM MY NOTEBOOK

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"PROGRESS"

Who can sit by an English mainroad on a holiday, watching the endless caterpillar of motor cars wriggling past the petrol-pumps that suckle it—those nurseries of red and yellow Robots that beset with their garish arrogance mile after mile of English country—and pronounce with carefree confidence the name of "Progress"? What fills the minds of this triumphal procession of charioteers? Science has equipped each of them with a magic engine such as the kings of the past would have given provinces to possess. And now what use do they make of it? What go they out to see? Perhaps for a moment in that long array the dreaming eye may discern the spectre of a distant age—the Roman noble of Lucretius driving desperately down the Appian Way, from town to country and from country back to town again, tortured ten thousand years ago by the same feverish futility.

No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours.

—F. L. Lucas.

A LAMENT

"[Verses written when G W Steevens,
"Daily Mail" correspondent, died at Ladysmith during the Boer War]"

Brave heart, where you lie at rest
In the long beleagured town,
Do you hear the night wind lift the flag
Where the southern stars look down?
You have passed beyond the door
To which no key we find.
Do you look backward to the earth,
Or is it dark behind?

Where you lie in your grave, brave heart
Do you hear the war-drum beat?
Do you feel the throb of the trampled

earth

To the tread of victorious feet?

The message goes from the hill,
And near and far is read
The living know it overseas,
—But who shall tell the dead?

WAR AND PEACE

Ruskin was an art critic and a man of peace. Strangely enough he held that all great art is the product of war and war—like nations, and peace so often proclaimed as necessary for any genuine creative work is in fact the grave of all arts. Addressing the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich in 1865 John Ruskin* said:

It is very strange to me to discover this; and very dreadful—but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact. The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the vices of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, and of peace and plenty, and of peace and civilization; but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that, on her lips, the words were peace, and sensuality—peace, and selfishness—peace, and death. I found in brief that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war and betrayed by peace;—in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace.

—(The Crown of Wild Olive.)

EPITAPH

"Here lies one,
Who meant well,
Tried a little,
Failed much."

—R. L. S.

*Morley in his *Recollections* has a curious story about Ruskin. The latter used to attend Mr. Gladstone's break-fasts, and at one of them the host pronounced three grand things to be done to the ways of the world by mankind. First, the introduction of more lenient and humane practice with prisoners; second, a general sentiment against war; and third, the abolition of slaves. "Yes," said Ruskin in his mild tones "but then I don't think prisons ought to be made humane; and I am not against slavery; and I'm not against war." One wonders if it was merely the spirit or contradiction that urged him to this position of the duty of following his "great father Carlyle"!

THE DREAM

The pictorial quality of some modern verse and the use of sharp contrast and anti climax are never more admirably revealed than in these verses of Wilfrid Gibson where in the poet dreaming beautiful dreams, is suddenly awakened to the stark realities of every day life

Snug in my easy chair,
I stirred the fire to flame,
Fantastically fair
The flickering fancies came,

Born of heart's desire—
Amber woodlands streaming;
Topaz islands dreaming;
Sunset cities gleaming,
Spire on burning spire;
Ruddy-windowed taverns;
Sunshine-spilling wines;
Crystal lighted caverns
Of Golconda's mines.

Till dazed by the drowzy glare,
I shut my eyes to heat and light,
And saw in sudden night,
Crouched in the dripping dark
With steaming shoulders stark,
The man who hews the coal to feed my fire.

—Wilfrid Gibson.

THE PASTOR'S ELOQUENCE

"The pastor is the most eloquent speaker I have ever heard," said Mark Twain once after the service, "he painted such a tragic picture of the benighted Heathen that I was induced to offer one dollar for the study of gospel. The speaker went on and I was tempted to offer 5 dollars and then 10 dollars. I finally made up my mind to offer everything I had in my pocket—20 dollars. Later I thought of borrowing 20 dollars from a friend seated in the pen and offer them also. That was the time for collection.

The speaker proceeded on, interest flagged, I grew drowsy and when at a late hour the churchman woke me with a knock of the collection plate, I not only did not offer anything but stole 15 cents from the dish."

CARLYLE ON ROUSSEAU

Carlyle once attended a London dinner party, and for a time took no part in the conversation. A young Liberal was talking 'theory' with a fat Conservative who despised the youth and his ideas. "The British people, Sir," pompously declared the latter, "can afford to laugh at Theories." Then spoke Carlyle: "Sir, the French nobility of 100 years ago said they could afford to laugh at theories. Then came a man and wrote a book called 'The social contract.' The man was Jean Jacques Rousseau, and his book was a theory, nothing but a theory. The nobles could afford to laugh at his theory, but their skins went to bind the second edition of his book."

HIGH AND LOW

That low man seeks a little thing to do.
Sees it and does it:

This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.

That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit:

This high man, aiming at a million
Misses an unit.

—Browning.

ALL IS VANITY AND VEXATION OF SPIRIT
I made me great works, I builded me
houses; I planted me vineyards; * * * *

I gathered me also silver and gold, and the
peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces.
I got me men-singers and women-singers, and
the delights of the sons of men, as musical
instruments, and that of all sorts. * * * *

Then I looked on all the works that my
hands had wrought, and on the labour that
I had laboured to do: and, behold, all
was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there
was no profit under the sun.

—Ecclesiastes.

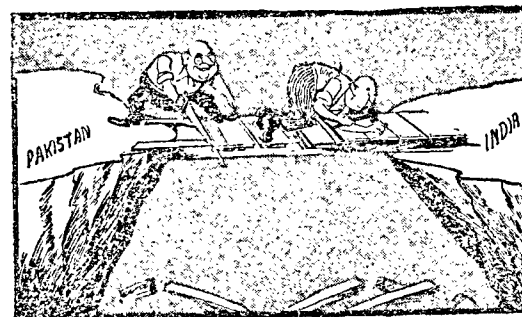
LIBERTY

The ends of liberty are the true ends of
politics.

—Lord Acton.

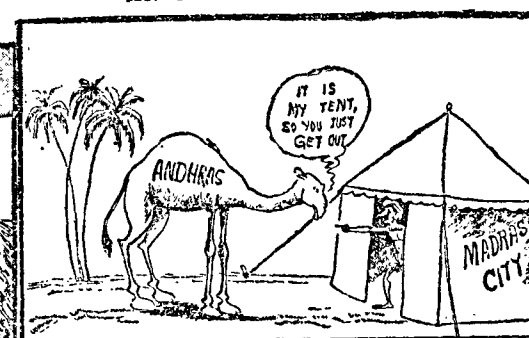
TOPICAL CARTOONS

THE BRIDGE-MAKER'S ORDEAL



The UNCIP is making the fifth attempt
for a truce in Kashmir.

AN UNTENABLE CLAIM



The claim of the Andhras to any part of the
Madras City is preposterous and untenable, they
are less than 20 per cent. of the city's population,
says a statement of ten Madras members of the
Constituent Assembly.

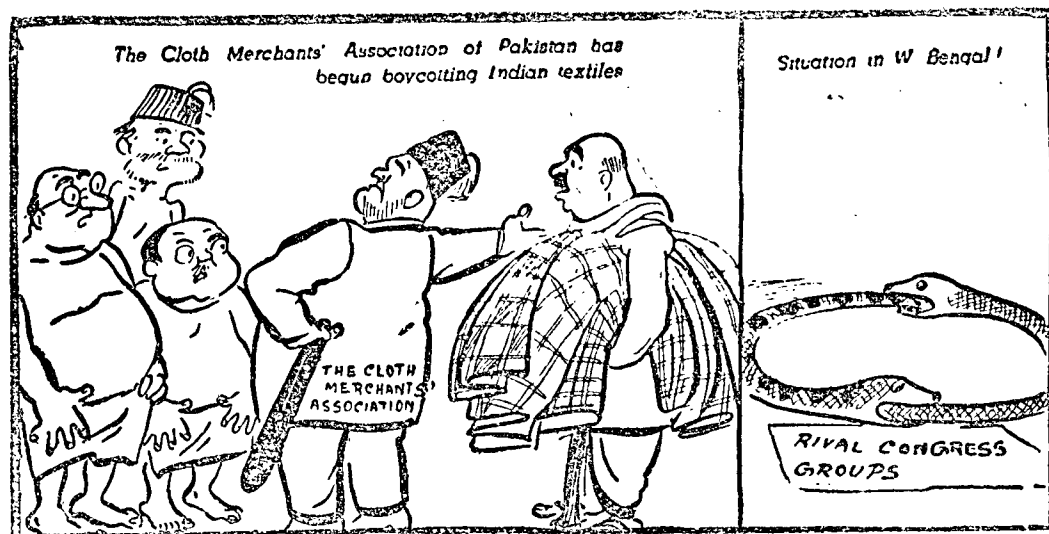
Courtesy: The Leader.



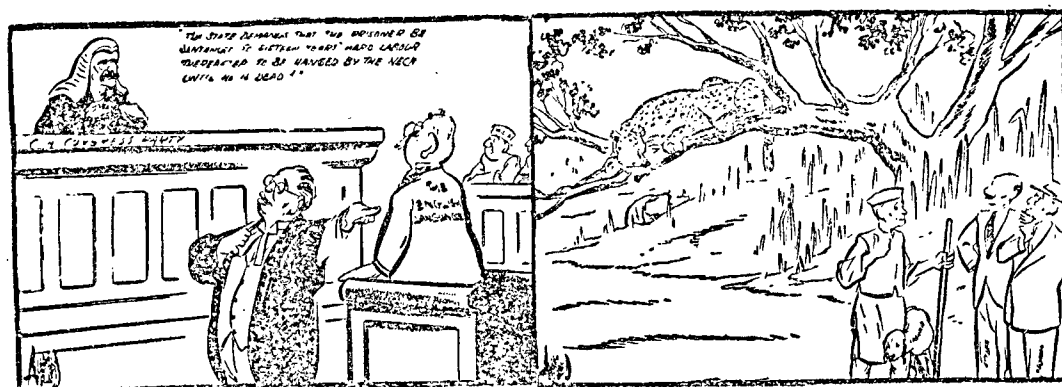
COMEDY ON THE HIGH SEAS

LINGO BY JINGO!

Courtesy: The Pioneer



Courtesy : Free India.



THE OLD LAG!

"WHAT D'YOU EXPECT WITH THAT PROWLING AROUND!"

Courtesy : The Hindustan Times.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

Devaluation of Sterling and Rupee

FOR months past Britain has been faced with a financial crisis which no half-hearted or halting palliative could retrieve her from that plight. Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as all the world knows, was making herculean efforts to face up to the situation; and doubtless he came to the irresistible conclusion that unless something drastic and revolutionary was done, and done quickly, the situation would go out of hand. And now as a result of his talks at Washington the startling announcement of a drastic cut in the pound's value was made on Sept. 19—a cut which has well nigh amazed Wall Street and all the world. Sir Stafford had probably no alternative. "It was just one of those things which had to be done," said Prime Minister Attlee.

Britain has devalued the Sterling by 30½ per cent to 2 Dollars 80 Cents instead of 4 Dollars 3 Cents. This had worldwide reaction resulting in the devaluation of the Rupee in India, and also the currencies of South Africa, and Australia in the Commonwealth, and Denmark and Norway in Europe.

The new exchange rate of the Indian Rupee in relation to Dollar is 21 U. S. Cents, as announced by the International Monetary Fund.

This is the second time in eighteen years that Britain has had to devalue the pound sterling. Sir Stafford Cripps, said it was done to increase Britain's power to earn more dollars. "Our present Sterling-Dollar difficulties are otherwise insoluble", he added.

Pakistan, a member of the Commonwealth, whose economy is so closely linked with India, has, however, preferred to retain her old rates so as to be able to buy cheap and sell dear. She probably waited to see what India would do and then straightway did a different thing! Time will show how far she is wise in this, but it is clear that the drift between India and Pakistan is widening. For no doubt India will have to take appropriate action to protect her economic interests in a way that Pakistan may not like.

India's Reaction to the Devaluation

It is too soon to say how far India will be affected for good or ill by this change. Apart from immediate repercussions which may not signify anything in particular we must look at the matter from a long range perspective. Broadly speaking, as Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Director of the Reserve Bank of India, points out, the effect will be to make imports from U.S.A. more costly and exports to U.S.A. more advantageous. It is true that in future the export trade of India to Dollar countries such as America in goods such as jute and jute products, oil seeds, tanned and raw goat-skins for which commodities India has been a prominent supplier might receive a considerable fillip.

But at a time when food grains and capital goods like machinery have to be imported the advantage is more than offset by the drastic cut in the Rupee value. There is a feeling, however, that the forbidding price of foodstuffs may give a fillip to home production, which if realised, will be no small boon for a country greatly in need of self-sufficiency in the matter of food. As our contemporary, the *Hindu* observes:

That the short-term consequences of devaluation of the rupee will be largely adverse it is easy to see. It will immediately raise the prices of American goods by 30½ per cent. Devaluation amounts, in fact, to the raising of the tariff on all American goods by 30½ per cent and unlike the tariff, where the Government can make a discrimination between essential and non-essential goods, devaluation will affect all goods equally. The prices of American machinery, equipment, spare parts, etc., will go up by a third and what this will mean to our present efforts to start new industries can be easily imagined. The position of those who have already placed orders in the United States on the basis of the old exchange rate must be safeguarded, as a sudden and wholly unexpected increase in their commitments might well be ruinous in the case of most concerns, especially the smaller ones. What effects devaluation will have on the Government's finances and development plans—food imports, to the extent they have to come from the dollar area, will cost more and the machinery, tractors, etc., which the Government are buying in the States will call for increased rupee outlay—remains to be seen. There is no certain prospect that the country will gain on the swings what she loses on the roundabouts.

Sir Zafrullah at large

Readers in India may well wonder how a sedate Judge of the Federal Court in the late British regime, should have so far forgotten himself as to turn out a mere propagandist—and a propagandist of bad causes at that. At Lake Success Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, the Pak Foreign Minister evidently finds an audience courteous enough to listen to his tall stories against India and the ways of the Nehru Government. Some at least of those who attended the Press Conference would have done well to remind the Foreign Minister that much of what he regaled at a previous session of the U.N. was discovered by the Kashmir Commission to be no more than a tissue of falsehoods, though the Commission itself chose to use a mild term.^{*} Was there none in that gathering of pressmen to tell him straight to his face that the erstwhile learned judge was not telling the truth when he disclaimed Pak participation in the Kashmir raids? At a later session the Foreign Minister owned Pak help to the raiders but he certainly knew—none better than he—that Pak troops were actually participating in the loot of the area devastated by the unholy alliance of Paks and tribesmen.

Now the strangest thing is the way the Commission chose to treat the marauders not as aggressors to be dealt with as such but as high contracting parties to an international dispute. The raiders who had originally no status and the abettors whose guilt is so openly admitted, are suddenly lifted to a plane of equal standing with those who preferred the charges that have since been proved to the hilt. This is what the Commission has done in its wisdom!

We all know the sort of propaganda that Pakistan is carrying on against India for foreign consumption, and the Prime Minister and Mr. Gopalaswami Iyengar and Sir B. N.

^{*} The Commission in its report said that the fact that all forces fighting on the Azad side were under the overall command and the tactical direction of the Pakistan Army as admitted by the Pakistan Government, had "confronted the Commission with an unforeseen and entirely new situation."

Rau have done well to expose the stuff and lay bare the truth behind this campaign of calumny. It is right that the Zafrullah bubble should be pricked in time.

But if Sir Zafrullah should have his way there is no doubt the United Nations will have material enough for debate and discussion for endless time. Lest the U. N. should cease to function for want of occupation Sir Mahomed promises a heavy agenda that will feed the Assembly with work for many decades. The Kashmir issue will be followed by the affair of the Punjab canals, in turn to be quickly succeeded by the problem of Evacuee properties. Then Junagad will be resurrected and Hyderabad will not be forgotten. Thanks to Sir Mahomed Zafrullah, the U.N. will be fully employed.

The Pak Minister doesn't realise what a lack of self-reliance and shirking of responsibilities all this betokens. It is so easy to be mud-slinging your neighbour and throw the burden on the U. N. to save you from your own follies!

Not to be out-done by the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister of Pakistan took up the thread and spun out such alarming yarns that it must have taxed the credulity of his audience considerably. Without mincing words he went so far as to say that India was arming against Pakistan! Those who know anything of Pakistan's so-called Defence allotment in the recent Budget and its ratio to the total income of Pakistan will be tempted to give a different version. However it is Pakistan's affair and we can afford to leave it at that. But Mr. Ghulam Mahomed's innuendo that some countries are attempting at the leadership of Asia, which Pakistan would not tolerate, would be treated as a piece of childish jealousy just as her opposition to India's election to the U. N. Council. Leadership is not a thing that can be easily claimed. It comes gracefully as a reward for work done and you cannot deny it where it is deserved. If India deserves it by virtue of her position and her efforts in the cause of peace and progress Pakistan can no more stop it than India herself can decline. We shall be equally pleased if Pakistan by her efforts in good causes, proves her capacity for leadership,

The National Language

At last the battle of the languages has ended peacefully and amicably and an agreed formula evolved which has set at rest all the passion and excitement which the controversy provoked even among the sanest of legislators in the Constituent Assembly. From the heat and dust that rose out of the debate many even felt that any solution—right or wrong—would be preferable to the tragic comedy of a Chamber at war with itself. For hours together angry and indignant speeches were made, charges and counter-charges bandied about and uproarious scenes enacted.

From the look of things an agreed solution was more remote than ever before, but an eleventh hour meeting of the Congress Party achieved what appeared to be rarely possible. The final adoption of the entire chapter providing for the replacement of English by Hindi marked the end of one of the most crowded days in the Constituent Assembly.

The House was in a jubilant mood, says the Delhi correspondent, when after a 45 minute recess it was informed that for the first 15 years the President would have power to allow use of the Hindi numerals along with the international form of numerals and that after that period the same power would be vested in the Parliament.

The survival of Hindi numerals was thus assured. At the same time the Hindi provinces have been given freedom to use Hindi in high courts as well as in legislatures even during the interim period of 15 years.

No wonder that the Sardar and the President have endorsed the decision with a sense of relief not unmingled with enthusiastic approbation.

Congratulating the House for adopting the article on the official language of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assembly, paid a tribute to the way Hindi had developed in South India. This deserved congratulation, recognition and gratitude from the people of the North, he added.

Apartheid

Dr. Malan, the South African Premier, is determined to carry out his Fascist policy of racial segregation to the bitter end. In another page will be found his plea for *apartheid*, in the sense in which he wants his countrymen to follow the lead of his Government. Apart from Indian opinion, British and Liberal reaction to this crude form of racial superstition is pronounced. Dr. Malan says he is trying to save his country from communism. As a matter of fact he is actively playing into the hands of Moscow; that at any rate is the reading of the *News Chronicle* which says

Dr. Malan seems bent on creating ruin in South Africa and calling it white supremacy.

"He seems to be utterly blind to the political paradox of his two proposals. He is going to force every citizen to carry a document certifying his race. He is going to deprive coloured people of their votes in Cape Province. He is going to stop them mingling with white students in the universities.

"He is going to do all that a man can do to push Indians and Africans into the Communist fold. Then he is going to fight the Communists.

"There is no reason behind such a policy as this: only hatred and fear can spring. If ever there was a useless scrap of paper, it will be Dr. Malan's identity card, and if ever there was cause of rejoicing in Moscow it will be the speech in which he introduced it."

The Atomic Weapon

When a couple of years ago, Molotov hinted that Russia had perfected the Atomic weapon, Britain and America thought that it was another piece of Soviet bluff. On September, 28, Mr. Harry Truman, President of the United States announced that according to data of the Government of the U. S. A., during a recent week there had occurred in the U.S.S.R. an atomic explosion. Simultaneously a similar statement was made by the British and Canadian Governments.

The official Soviet News Agency, *Tass*, has since confirmed that Russia had an atomic weapon, and said it had had the secret since 1947. It said, however, that there were "not the slightest grounds for alarm," and that Russia still favoured prohibiting the use of the atomic bomb

Foreign Press in India

So the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore has changed hands again—this time to American interests. It is further disclosed that this is only the beginning of a chain of newspapers in Eastern countries to be brought under American control. We are assured that the aim is to promote goodwill between U.S.A. and Asia. Thankful for such assurances and "the more extensive featuring of news from U.S.A." promised by the New York Corporation, we would rather like to be let alone. Now the Press is one of the essential services of the nation and more so of a nation in building. Except at its peril no country can afford to barter its essential services for any consideration—services like the police or the military. What is called "freedom of information" is not to be confused with Press control by a foreign agency. Half the trouble in the world and most of the wars and misunderstandings among the States arise out of wilful manoueuering and propaganda. India has had enough of it under foreign domination. We cannot tolerate such interference in *Free India*.

Is not the Press, like broadcasting, one of the main instruments of popular Government? How then could the spokesmen of our Government be so complacent as to say that we should not get into a panic if some foreign papers are started in India? We are chary of allowing foreign businessmen and manufacturers to own their plants in India but we seem to be lukewarm when it comes to the Press—a much more important factor in the country. It is true the U. N. Assembly adopted a long draft convention making it easy for pressmen to gather news and transmit it from all countries without fear of censorship or other interference. But then they were sufficiently aware of the danger when they added:

"Nothing in the Convention shall limit the power of a contracting State to preserve to its nationals the right to establish and direct in its territory newspapers, periodicals, and radio broadcasting and television organisations."

This ought to dispose of any false notion that India or any other country has accepted the right of foreigners to own papers on their soil.

The Kashmir Failure

The full text of the correspondence between the United Nations Commission and the Government of India on the question of submitting the Truce Declaration in Kashmir to arbitration has been published in the papers. The Government of India's stand has been definite from the beginning. While India reiterates its acceptance of arbitration in principle, as one of the methods of achieving a peaceful solution of a dispute, she is convinced that the outstanding issue of the large-scale disbanding and disarming of the "Azad Kashmir" forces is not a matter for arbitration, but "of affirmative and immediate decision."

The Commission, in its previous negotiations, had committed itself to the large-scale disarmament and disbandment of the Azad Kashmir forces. This issue, the Government of India holds, is one which cannot be settled by arbitration.

Dutch-Indonesian Agreement

A wide measure of agreement on the statute for a Netherlands-Indonesian Union was reached at a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Round Table Conference on Indonesia. The main points of the agreement were:

(1) Position and function of the "head of the Union". (2) Duties and composition of "Conferences of Ministers", which are to be held regularly. (3) A court of arbitration for the Union. (4) Regular co-operation between the Parliaments of the Union partners.

It is expected that negotiations will proceed more rapidly, now that a political agreement—the hard core of which was the Netherlands-Indonesian Union—has been reached.

Cyrenaica

Cyrenaica, a fertile green strip on the North African Mediterranean coast which lies in the north-eastern corner of Libya which Britain administers as part of the former Italian Colony of Libya, took her second step on the road to independence with the issue of a British Proclamation on September 16 empowering its Chief, Emir Sayid Idris el Senussi, to enact a Constitution giving the country its own independent Government.

De Valera on the Partition of Ireland

The partition of Ireland is the greatest question facing the Irish people to-day; the majority views that peace with Britain can never be an accomplished fact until it is settled. One of the chief fighters against a divided Ireland is Mr. Eamon de Valera. He has spent many years of his life trying to unite Belfast with Dublin. In a special article to the *Hindustan Times*, De Valera traces the history of the partition of his country and demands that it should come to an end.

To us in India who are also smarting under a similar tragedy of separation his words carry a special emphasis and poignancy. We were divided against our will. It is true we accepted the decision and are bound to abide by it until both parties come to an agreed understanding. But then it should not be forgotten that it was, in a way, forced on the leaders as the only alternative to perpetual serfdom. It is astonishing how we have reacted to this colossal wrong. But for the spirit of Gandhi that is still brooding over the hearts of our leaders the full fury of the country would have been turned against England and Englishmen who perpetrated this crime. There are still Indians who feel "God may forgive them but we will not."

Evacuee Property

Addressing the Conference on Evacuee Property which met at Delhi last month at the invitation of the Ministry of Evacuation two Ministers of the Government of India, Mr. Gopalswaswami Ayyangar and Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, Minister for Rehabilitation charged the Pakistan Government with breaches of the Karachi Agreement.

Mr. Ayyangar described as the "biggest falsehood" Pakistan's accusation that in taking up the attitude it did at the last Inter-Dominion Conference at Karachi the Government of India had committed a breach of the January Agreement. "If there is any party which committed a breach of that Agreement," he said, "it is Pakistan, and instances are numerous in which Pakistan has not implemented that particular agreement in the spirit in which it was entered into."

Leftist Unity

The so-called Leftists do not seem to be united in anything except their common hatred of the Congress. They do not seem to be able to evolve a common plan or programme to take the place of the Congress. We are told that the proposals for Leftist unity have taken two definite alternative shapes. One is that all the Leftist parties, including the Socialist Party, should dissolve and form one party. Mr. Jaiprakash Narain suggested this course and offered to dissolve his own party if the other Leftist parties would do the same simultaneously. The reaction of this offer on other Leftist parties does not appear to be favourable. Sri Sarat Chandra Bose who has been taking a leading part in the projected unity, recognises the importance of having only one party, but says that this is not "practical politics" at the present moment. He hopes that after working together for some time the parties would agree to merge, having realised the importance of closer unity. It was therefore, proposed to constitute a Co-ordination Committee of all the Leftist parties on the basis of a common policy and programme. Here, again, the parties concerned are not agreed. Mr. Narain suggests that the Co-ordination Committee thus constituted should confine its function to the purposes of the general election only if one is held in West Bengal or in any other province. The opposite view is that the Co-ordination Committee should be a permanent body and exercise its function for all purposes. One does not know if these differences can be ironed out. For the present they seem to be unbridgeable. It is something that Mr. Jai Prakash has realised at last that a loose consolidation of Leftist parties and groups, having anti-Congressism as the only platform, would not achieve anything positive, but would ultimately result in complete disillusionment with the Left.

LAW OF GRAVITY

Boy: What keeps us from falling off the earth even when we are upside down.

Teacher: Law of gravity.

Boy: But how did people stay on before the law was passed.

The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

MAHATMA GANDHI. Essays and Reflections on his life and work. Revised Edition with a new Memorial Section Edited by Radhakrishnan. Pp. 557s. Price 15s. net. Publication by George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

The present book is a revised edition of a commemoration volume presented to Gandhiji on his 70th Birthday in 1939. The original volume consisted of contributions from well known world personalities among whom are Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Horace Alexander, C. F. Andrews, Earnest Baker, Lawrence Binyon, Pearl Buck, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Albert Einstein, J. H. Holmes; Lawrence Houseman; C. E. M. Joad; Barreidale Keith, Kyeserling; George Lansbury; Gilbert Murray, Yone Noguchi; Rajendra Prasad, Romain Rolland, Lord Samuel, Lord Sankey, General Smuts, Rabindranath Tagore, Edward Thomson, Sir Francis Younghusband etc. etc.,

The second edition now offered has been brought out after the Mahatma's assassination and so a memorial section has been very appropriately added. When the memorial section came to be published many of the great ones who had contributed to the 1939 volume had passed away but on account of the great changes of 1946 and 1947 the Mahatma had attracted many new admirers even from among old political opponents. Thus the memorial section contains contributions not only from persons like Radhakrishnan, Vere Brittain, Gaze Catlin, G. D. M. Cole, Jawaharlal Nehru etc., but also from persons like Lord Halifax in the main section and people like L. S. Amery, M. S. Subramanyam and the like.

The second section is provided with two appendices, the first one being extracts from some of the well known speeches and writings of Gandhiji while the second is a compilation of important ones from the countless messages received on the death of Gandhiji.

The book will be a proud possession in the hands, not only of every Indian

but every thinking man in the world who respects the nobler things in life. It shows how in spite of the devouring march of hatred over love, of war over peace and untruths over truth, the world always seeks and respects the one who has the courage to resort to eternal truths.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE U.S.A. Pasupaleti Gopalakrishnayya. New York, 1949. An Orient and World publication. Price \$ 1.

This booklet is a collection of the messages given by well known persons and institutions on the demise of Gandhiji. The messages include many from Washington notables, Governors, well known newspapers and periodicals and public men. The little volume provides a cross-section of American homage to the Mahatma.

SECRETARIAL PRACTICE by Prof. S. A. Sherlekar, Padmaja Publications, Baroda. Pp. 232, price Rs. 4.

This book should be useful for students preparing for the Diploma in Secretarial Practice. It gives full information about company, shares, management, meetings, proceedings, borrowing power, correspondence, and the winding up of companies. Table A of the first schedule of the Companies Act should have been fully included. With a little more care the book could have been free of printing errors.

THE TEACHING OF CIVICS by L. B. Harollikar, Padma Publications, Bombay. Pp. 142 price. Re. 1-12 as.

This is rather an abstract treatment of the subject, referring to the way in which the mind of the student may be developed from stage to stage so that it may imbibe the civic sense. The choosing of the actual material of teaching is left to the resources of the teacher. The subject cannot receive too much attention in independent India.

IN THE GREEN TREE by Alun Lewis, with a Preface by A. L. Rowse, a postscript by Gwyn Jones, a sonnet by Vernon Watkins, and drawings by John Petts, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Pp. 141, price. 8s. 6d. net.

This is a collection of letters and short stories by a Welsh officer in India during the last war. He was only twenty-eight when he died in 1944, and he had produced before then a surprising quantity of excellent literary work. The beautiful delicate, character of Alun Lewis, peeps out in his work. Though there is very little of India in the letters written from that country his sensitive nature is unmistakable. He would have felt happy if the relations between India and England had been friendly. Unluckily, he is not alive after August 1947!

MALAVIYAJI. An outline life by B. J. Akkad, B.A., S.T.C. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. 2. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

While there are a number of accounts dealing with the lives of the great lime-light personalities like Gandhiji and Nehru it is a defect of our political life that authoritative accounts of great personalities like Malaviyaji who belonged to the class of founders of the new India are not readily available. Therefore this little volume of sixty pages is to be welcomed. The pages contain a representative bird's eye view of the great man's life. There are accounts of biographical and political incidents as well as references to the work of the great man in the legislature, the platform in the educational, religious and cultural fields. The book will prove to be of great inspiration to all, particularly to the younger generation to whom Malaviyaji will be only a name.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE DIVINE LIGHT. Extracted from Shrimad Mahabagvat. Ed. with a translation into English. By D. A. Gangolli, Bombay Medical Service, Popular Book Depot. Bombay.

LEST I FORGET. Experiences of a newspaper man, By K. D. Umrigar. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. By G. S. Bhartiya. Navprabhat Prakashan Mandir, Kymore, C. P.

WORLD PEACE. By Swami Madhavtirtha, Sandesh Karyalaya. Gree Kanta Road, Ahmedabad.

DIET AND DIET REFORM. By M. K. Gandhi. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

MIGRATION FOR EMPLOYMENT (32nd Session, Geneva) Report XI (1) and (2) International Labour Office Geneva.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL (32nd Session 1949) International Labour Office, Geneva.

A BAHAI'S DECLARATION OF HUMAN OBLIGATIONS & RIGHTS. Presented to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. February 1947, Bahai Public Relations, Post Box 19, New Delhi.

INSURANCE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE. By R. S. Sharma, M.Com., L.L.B., Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd. Bombay 2.

THE ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By M. Hiriyanna, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS: A Narrative by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjori Sykes. With a Foreword by M. K. Gandhi, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM. (Report) U.S.I.S., Madras.

FOR THINKERS ON EDUCATION. By Swami Ramakrishnananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore.

WHO SHALL LEAD US NOW? By Vithaldas Bodani, Pradyumna Nagar, Rajkot.

ZINDAGI. (English Short Stories.) By M. R. Ahmad, Madina Printing Press, Ganpat Road, Lahore.

MINIMUM WAGE FIXING MACHINERY IN AGRICULTURE. Report VII, International Labour Office, Geneva.

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY IN AGRICULTURE. Report VIII (1) International Labour Office, Geneva.

HINDU CODE BILL (1) Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (2) Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad in the Indian Parliament. All-India Anti Hindu Code Committee, Krishna Niketan, Delhi Gate, Delhi.

HINDU CODE BILL (criticised in the C. A.) By Pandit Lakshmikanta Maitra. Published by Ghanshyamdas Jalan, Gorakhpur.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE. By Richard B. Gregg, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

OUR COUNTRY: ITS WEALTH AND POPULATION. By Barkar Rao Vidwans and Rasiklal Parikh, Vora & Co., Publishers, Bombay.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By S. N. Das Gupta, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

THE BLADE: Life and work of Brahmabandhab Upadhyay. By B. Animananda Roy and Son 79/25 D. Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

COMMUNAL UNITY. By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- Sept. 1. Admiral Nimitz proposes U. N. Arbitration for Kashmir.
- Sept. 2. Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, returns to India.
- Centre gives directive to Provinces to reduce expenditure.
- Sept. 3. Greater Rajasthan High Court inaugurated at Jaipur.
- Sept. 4. Cultural Mission to East Africa returns to India.
- Government freezes sugar.
- Sept. 5. Indo-Australian Trade agreement signed at Canberra.
- Sept. 6. Communists attack Hankow-Canton Railway.
- Sept. 7. Madras Government takes over 83 Zamins.
- U. N. C. I. P. releases letters with India and Pakistan.
- Sept. 8. India rejects arbitration plan for Kashmir.
- Russia using the veto for 31st time bars Nepal's admission to U. N.
- Sept. 9. Pakistan accepts arbitration on Kashmir issue.
- Sept. 10. Yunnan Governor pledges loyalty to nationalists, following Chiang's talks with Governor Lu.
- Sept. 11. Hindu Mahasabha decides to contest the Bengal Elections.
- Sept. 12. Administration of Cooch Behar taken over by India Government.
- Sept. 13. U. S. Senate approves Gandhi Memorial to be erected in five years.
- Sept. 14. Consambly decides Hindi to be State language with retention of English for 15 years.
- Sept. 15. Mr. P. Tandan resigns from Assembly party.
- Consambly passes article on jurisdiction of Supreme Court.
- Sept. 16. Tamil M. C. A.'s present Memorandum to Prime Minister opposing Andhra claim to Madras.
- Sept. 17. English or Hindi allowed as language in Parliament.
- Sterling devalued by 30.5 per cent.
- Sept. 18. Advisor regime proposed for West Punjab.
- Sept. 19. Consambly adjourns to meet on October 6.
- Banks and Exchanges closed for three days from today.
- Sept. 20. Pandit Nehru explains Government's decision on devaluation.
- Sept. 21. Pakistan not to devalue her rupee.
- Mao proclaims People's Republic of China.
- Sept. 22. Maj. Gen. Atma Singh killed in jeep accident near Srinagar.
- Sept. 23. Military Government ends in W. Germany.
- M. Vyshinsky calls on U. N. to ban Atomic weapons while U. S. President discloses recent atom explosion in Russia!
- Sept. 24. Nehru reiterates offer to Pakistan for joint declaration.
- Sept. 25. "Tass" confirms report of atomic explosion in Russia.
- Kashmir Commission explains its findings.
- Sept. 26. Kashmir National Conference urges withdrawal of case from U. N.
- Communist party in Madras declared illegal.
- Sept. 27. Delhi talks on Export-Import policy conclude.
- Sept. 28. President Truman signs Bill to create Gandhi memorial in Washington.
- Govt. Motion on Devaluation policy defeated in the Lords by 93 votes to 24.
- Sept. 29. Vote of confidence in Govt's devaluation policy passed in the Commons by 342 to 5.
- Tory censure motion defeated by 350 votes to 212.
- Sept. 30. Kashmir Govt. release correspondence charging Gen. Delvoie of the U. N. Commission with breach of privilege in respect of transport of jewels to Pakistan without Govt's knowledge.



TOPICS From PERIODICALS



THE JUDICIARY IN A FREE DEMOCRATIC STATE

Writing on the Judiciary in Free India, the Hon. Mr. H. V. Divatia, Chief Justice of the High Court of Saurashtra at Rajkot, says in the *Aryan Path* for July that

the independence of the judiciary requires to be preserved in a more vigilant manner in a republic than in a constitutional monarchy. The King is generally above party politics while, in the case of a republic, the President is a party man and when he becomes the head of the State there is great danger of the interests of the judiciary being subordinated, as has happened in the United States, where the President is the head of the Executive also. In order to guard against this result, it is necessary that the fundamental rights of the subject should be safeguarded in the Constitution, and that the Supreme Court of the judiciary should be empowered to adjudicate on these rights.

A democracy without an enlightened democratic spirit in the people is apt to degenerate into totalitarianism.

We have seen what has happened in Italy, Germany and Russia. A democracy which is run on the elective method in all departments of administration does not promote that impartial and independent outlook which is of the essence of a sound judiciary. The judiciary has to deal with disputes not merely between subjects and subjects, but also between subjects and the State. This is the greatest danger of a democracy, especially in its formative stages. There is a tendency for a weak democracy to assume the form of State Socialism which, if not checked by enlightened public opinion, is likely to develop into a totalitarian Government.

So far as the judiciary is concerned, it should be left free from the turmoil of party polemics and power politics.

Its supreme function, viz., to protect the people from the excesses of the executive can be dis-

charged effectively only if it is kept above political pressure, and occasional pin pricks from executive authority. The recruitment, promotion and transfer of judges and magistrates should be left with the High Courts under the supervision of the Supreme Court only, and the Judges of the High Court and the Supreme Court should be appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Any violation of the fundamental rights of the people as embodied in the Constitution should be adjudicated upon by the Supreme Court.

The highest judicial tribunal of the country should, therefore, be not only the highest law-administering authority, but also the Constitutional rights-preserving authority in the country, to be invoked by due process of law.

When all is said, the success of the judiciary in discharging its functions effectively and maintaining its prestige among the people depends largely on its personnel. A democratic country should produce men who are not only learned in law but also possessed of sound common-sense and moral integrity.

Very often the public blames the judges for decisions which are correct on the law as it stands but the law is either harsh or queer. The Legislature makes laws which may be good, bad, sometimes stupid, and judges have to take the law as it is. But a good judiciary can give a lead to the Legislature in many respects by commenting on the law while administering it. In a new democracy, its elected representatives in the Legislature are prone to sanction all sorts of legal enactments in a spirit of excessive zeal for the public welfare. The Courts have to respect the law whether they like it or not, but they can indirectly help the public by exposing its defects and suggesting improvements. After all, the judiciary in a free State is also one of the voices—quiet yet considerate—through which the Demos speaks.

THE SUN'S ENERGY

Every second the sun sends out five million tons of energy! How long can the sun afford to spend its energy on such a lavish scale?

This and other absorbing questions about the sun, the giver of life, were answered by Dr. Cecilia Payne Gaposchkin, astronomer of Harvard College Observatory, in a lecture. Below are a few excerpts as reported in *Science Digest*:

"If we were to receive from the sun one-half of the current energy supply, the average temperature of the earth would fall lower than ten degrees below zero; if twice as much energy came from the sun, the earth's temperature would average 180 degrees. Life would obviously be uncomfortable, and probably impossible, under such conditions. But the sun's temperature would have to fall or rise only ten per cent. to produce them, and an interval of only a few months would be enough to extinguish life on our terms.

Actually the heat and light that we receive are extraordinarily steady. A lifetime of measurements made at the Smithsonian Institution with the most accurate instruments that can be devised has shown that the changes in the sun's radiation during the interval have been exceedingly small. Some part of the variation is certainly a result of changes in the transparency of the air, by dust and other things: and the doctors are still disagreeing about the significance, and even the reality, of the remaining changes.

A lifetime of research is, however, a mere twinkling of an eye in the life of our planet. Paleontology carries back the unbroken record of a procession of living things, the surface of the earth must

have been under much the same conditions as exist today. Twice the energy from the sun, or half the energy, and the fossil record would have been interrupted, or could never have begun at all. The evidence of the rocks assures us that the sun has been shining, with nearly the same light as today, for tens of millions, probably hundreds of millions, of years.

The sun pours out an incredibly large amount of energy. The earth is receiving about two horsepower per square meter (1.196 sq. yds.). Oddly enough despite the resources of modern science, we make very little direct use of this huge supply of energy, but leave it to the plants and the clouds and the rivers to convert it to our purposes. The earth only uses what hits it, and the earth is a very tiny target—the rest streams off into space in all directions.

In every second the sun loses five million tons of energy in the form of heat and light. Perhaps it may seem odd to hear heat and light thus measured, but a pound of heat is just as definite a quantity as a pound of rock. To give you an idea of the amount of energy contained in a pound of heat I will say that it would be great enough to change 20 million tons of rock into liquid, incandescent lava.

PURITY IN PUBLIC LIFE

In the course of an open letter to the members of the public services, exhorting them to strive for and set up higher standards of purity Mr. K. G. Mashruwala writes in *Harijan*:

"Unless you improve, you cannot make the people happy and an unhappy people will not spare you when your oppression becomes unbearable. Remember that when everything is ready for taking fire, a little spark is quite sufficient to see it.

You stand between the government and the people. The government is judged through you and succeeds or fails through you. People necessarily assume that the government controls you fully, and so if your administration is unsatisfactory, they justifiably blame the government for your defects. If the Congress appears to control the government, every corruption in you is necessarily transferred to the Congress. Of course, you will be able to say, and justifiably so, that there is corruption in Congressmen themselves, and you are not the only offenders. For that, if the Congress does not improve, it might have to pay by walking out of the government when its time is ripe.

But the consequences of the present demoralization and corruption will not stop by the dismissal of the Congress government. They are bound also to react on your heads. Except in case a second Gandhi rises to lead the nation to ways of non-violent resistance, a semi-awakened humanity reacts against oppression in only one way, namely by a re-enactment of the scenes of the French revolution. France is a small country compared to ours. We are bigger than about half a dozen Frances put together. Our tragedies will be far greater than those of any other country except China. We had a foretaste of it during the Killings of 1946-47. Do you wish these to repeat themselves?

STRANGE

A Lawyer named Strange lay dying. A friend asked him what he would like inscribed on his tombstone.

"Just put 'Here Lies an Honest Lawyer,'" he said.

"But," said the friend, "that doesn't tell who it is."

"Oh, yes," replied the lawyer, "many a passer-by will say: 'That's Strange.'"

USE OF SPIRITUAL FORCE

Under the heading "An hour with Sri Aurobindo," the eighth annual number of the "*Aurobindo Padamandir*" publishes for the first time an interview which an inmate of the Ashram, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, had with the "seer-philosopher" six years ago, on February 4, 1943, on the prospects of his coming out of seclusion.

Dealing with Spiritual Force, Sri Aurobindo said: "Spiritual force has its own concreteness. It can take a form—like a stream for instance—of which one is aware and can send quite concretely on whatever object one chooses. This is a statement of fact about the power inherent in spiritual consciousness. But there is also such a thing as a willed use of any subtle force—it may be spiritual, mental or vital—to secure a particular result at some point in the world. Just as there are waves of unseen physical forces (cosmic waves, etc.) or currents of electricity, so there are mind-waves, thought-currents, waves, of emotion—for example, anger, sorrow—which go out and affect others without their knowing whence they come or that they come at all. They only feel them coming and invading them. Influences, good or bad, may propagate themselves in that way. That can happen without intention and naturally, but deliberate use can also be made of them. There can also be a purposeful generation of force, spiritual or other. There can be, too, the use of the effective will or idea, acting directly without the aid of anything concrete in that sense, but all the same effective. These things are not imagination or delusion or humbug, but true phenomena."

"Yesterday Biren asked me to marry him and make him the happiest man in the world."
"Which have you decided to?"

GOVERNMENT BY FEAR

In the series of articles on "Empire in Africa" appearing in the *Manchester Guardian* Mr. J. H. Huizinga points out that it is fear that is driving the whites to their desperate stand. Fear, he says, is the real ruler of this unhappy land, the fear of a hereditary ruling class which sees itself threatened by the rise of the masses, identifies its survival with that of the nation as a whole, and seeks its self-preservation in a policy of repression that in its heart of hearts it knows is powerless to stem the tide.

It is this fear, he continues, which has driven South Africa ever farther to the Right while the rest of the human family to which it belongs—that is to say, the Western world—has continuously moved to the Left. "During forty years in which the political emancipation of the masses all over the world, and regardless of their colour, has progressed by leaps and bounds, the black people of South Africa have seen their civil liberties and political rights steadily reduced. Throughout the rest of Africa the native populations, some of which have only enjoyed the benefits of European schooling for half a century, are taking an increasing part in government. In the Union, where they have had no less than three centuries of European example to guide them and where they have known, moreover, because of the much larger numbers of Europeans in their midst, a much more intensive contact with Western civilisation, the process of progressive disenfranchisement has now reached the point where they are very nearly voiceless in the councils of the nation."

Thus the South African Dominion is moving in the opposite direction to that

of the Commonwealth of which it forms part and whose democratic principles it professes. Thus Dr. Malan's policy of "Apartheid" for the non-Europeans, which is only the Dutch word for Field Marshal Smuts's policy of "segregation," which in turn is only a pretty word for repression, is achieving a position of "Apartheid," in the literal sense of isolation, for the nation as a whole.

IN DEFENCE OF LIBERALISM

Dr. Gilbert Murray, speaking the other day on the meaning of liberalism and its relation to liberty, reminded us that the spread of liberalism is, in the long run, the real defeater of tyranny. "Inevitably so" says Rose Macaulay in *Time and Tide* 'since no other mode of thought in history has stood for tolerance and for general freedom. Many, of course, have stood for freedom for themselves and their own group or party; but how seldom have they demanded freedom (whatever that difficult word may mean) for everyone?'

It may be assumed that the passion for personal liberty is primeval; it has its roots in the most primitive human and animal nature. Freedom has been the eternal quest. Milton thought that "none can love freedom heartily but good men," but bad men love it just as heartily, for themselves."

The only weapon against tyranny that cannot be perverted, she says, is true liberalism, since tolerance is of its very nature; directly it becomes intolerant, it is no longer liberalism. "It is in the spread of real liberalism over the world that the only hope seems to lie. It is a late growth in history, this tolerance, this realisation of the human right to differ. Perhaps it is too late, too rare, too frail and civilised a plant to defeat

the poison-weed. But it seems we all have to fight it with.

Against actual aggression, liberalism is, of course, useless; it is in counteracting the poison that corrupts the field of conflict before aggression blows it up that its work lies. It is a liberalism that has nothing to do with party politics or slogans.

We are faced to-day with tyranny firmly established over much of the world, and with the possibility of the conquest by force of the rest of it, and our intellectual and spiritual weapon against the weapon of the tyrant is this struggling, emergent, civilising spirit, of Liberalism which has to run a race against time. Can it win, in the brief time left?"

THE MIRROR

It is a pleasure to handle a magazine like the *Mirror* the Monthly international Review issued by the Central Office of Information, London. The current issue fully sustains its reputation for variety and interest, both in its articles and its illustrations. Attractive in size and format it presents to its readers illustrated articles and essays reflecting the best in current western thought on important political, scientific social and economic problems. In the issue before us we have a wealth of reading matter culled from leading international sources. We may draw special attention to the lively portrait of Marshal Sir William Skim by Frank Owen and Megan Lloyd George's fine tribute to women as Legislators. Altogether we have a pocketful of wisdom and entertainment in this handy and well got up booklet.

SCOTCH VACATIONS

Two men were talking and one said, "Did you take a vacation?"

"Yes," answered the other, "a Scotch vacation—I stayed at home and let mind wander."

PUBLIC OPINION POLL ON HOME LIFE

News Review has an interesting article on Home Life culled from the French Press. Fortified by the authority of a public poll, the article is of interest to a wider circle of readers than those familiar with the French language.

Should a husband have a secret girl friend? And conversely should a wife have a clandestine boy friend?

These were two of the twelve questions put by the Paris newspaper *France Soir* to its readers in a public opinion poll.

"Though 172,743 women firmly answered "no," no fewer than 75,100 said they had no objection to their husbands having a bit of fun on the side,

Similarly, 195,845 husbands took the straight and narrow view about their wives, but 48,000 were all for freedom in such matters."

Here are the other questions and the answers:

"What are the principal qualities you look for in a husband: energy, strength: intelligence, thrift, goodness, honesty, love, sobriety, virility?"

Intelligence topped the answers, with 28'54 per cent of votes. Next came energy (23,60 per cent), Fidelity was a poor third with 8'32 per cent, while virility scored only 2'89 per cent and strength a mere 1.01 per cent.

What is the worst fault a man can possess? To this one, 39'89 per cent answered, Intoxication, Laziness came next, with 29'19 per cent. Only 1.90 per cent voted for impotence, 0'94 percent for frivolity, and 0'20 per cent for ugliness.

Given all the essential qualities, would you care whether he was handsome or ugly? "Yes," answered 71'49 per cent.

THE IMPROVING WORLD

Sidney A. Cook writing in the "Watch tower" comments in the current issue of the *Theosophist*, discusses the credit and debit side of our progress through the centuries.

Opponents of evolution point to two world wars within the century, to the cruelty of concentration camps, the competition encountered by retiring soldiers who fought for a better way of life, the fatalistic attitude of modern youth and its supposed lack of initiative, the break-up of family life, the demands of labour for more and more for less and less, etc. So runs the argument. Wars, they say, are more extensive; more devastatingly costly and increasingly destructive of life and property than ever before. The organized coldblooded killing, not in battle, but in concentration camps, surpassed any previous human devilment. Youth has less opportunity and therefore less initiative under the competitive conditions and restrictions of modern industrialism. The world and mankind are hard, cruel and selfish as never before. So it seems to some.

But what are the facts supporting the evolutionary theory? Never has the social conscience of man achieved so high a standard.

Wars for conquest alone are condemned by all, whereas at one stage of history they constituted the generally accepted procedure of powerful tribes and nations. The cruelty of the camps strikes horror to all mankind. No longer are prisoners fed to lions. There are conventions observed by most, regarding the treatment of military prisoners. Pestilence is fought, and starvation and disaster relieved regardless of intervening borders. Poverty is a human problem now, not an accepted state. The League of Nations was a response to consciousness of the error of war. Though unsuccessful, the nations are attempting again to solve their mutual problems and national antagonisms.

Innumerable and manifest on every thing hard are signs of mankind's awakened social conscience, his interdependence and mutual helpfulness. The advance is general on a very broad front.

The fact is that humanity as a whole is on the march.

In the past its advance found an occasional champion, who in the field of thought or action gave himself and often his life for progress and decency. Gradually these desperate causes, sustained by vanguard action, have become full battle-fronts for freedom and right, and now nations and groups of nations stand for principles for which the few once stood apart. A paragraph

in a recent economic bulletin recognizes the movement in this question:

Could it be that, in the inscrutable workings of Providence, the general world situation at long last now is such, that His ageless, indefatigable searching is meeting an epochal human response?

Though much remains, and these are days of travail, evil is being overcome. Humanity moves on an evolutionary, an upward way.

GANDHI MEMORIAL IN EGYPT

A suggestion that Egypt should take immediate steps for the commemoration of Mahatma Gandhi, was made editorially by "Al Misri" of Cairo, the largest circulated Arab newspaper.

"As a token of recognition by the civilised world of the great man's spiritual message, which conquered a great empire through fasting and civil disobedience, America is now installing two memorials for Gandhi," the paper adds. In London a hall is reserved for prayers for the peace of Gandhi's soul. The same spirit also animates the Asian countries where societies are established for the purpose.

"But Egypt, which, as India's sister in her struggle for liberty and independence should have been the first to commemorate the great leader, unfortunately gives no attention to such an act of courtesy towards India and has thus allowed Americans and other peoples to precede her in that field."

IRRIGATED AREA IN INDIA

The current issue of *Foreign Commerce*, publication of the United States Department of Commerce, carries a story of the Government of India's efforts to utilize the country's potential hydro-electric capacities.

The publication says that India to-day is irrigating 70,000,000 acres, which is nearly equal to the combined irrigated area in all other countries of the world. With cheap power generated from water, the report says, India may be able to look forward to immense industrial and agricultural development.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

South Africa

ENFORCEMENT OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

Dr. Daniel Malan, South Africa's Prime Minister, announced on September 6, that "to protect the European race" every citizen in the Union would have to carry an identity card classifying him as European, "native", "coloured" or "Indian."

He told the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party that his Party was determined to enforce *apartheid* (racial segregation).

The Government also planned at least to create machinery in the next session of Parliament to make it possible to enforce *apartheid* in living areas.

As it had abolished the representation of Indians in Parliament, the Government was now resolved to abolish the direct vote of coloured people in Cape Province.

Referring to plans to fight the Communist menace, he said South Africa would maintain contact with all other anti-Communist countries of the world. He was of the opinion that non-Europeans in the Union were a fruitful field for Communist propaganda, and Russia as she had done in other parts of the world, might call for their support.

DR. DADOO'S APPEAL TO MR. NEHRU

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, South African Indian leader, appealed to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to "treat the South African issue as a question of major importance." Dr. Dadoo, who was addressing a Press Conference in Bombay on Sept. 9, referred to the serious implications of the situation in South Africa as indicated by

the speech of Dr. Malan, South African Prime Minister.

"The South African issue," Dr. Dadoo said, "no longer remains merely a question of racialism but presents a live danger to the very existence of the suppressed nationalities of South Africa, an affront to Asia's honour and a real threat to the people of the world."

In an "urgent appeal" to the Prime Minister, Dr. Dadoo outlined the following measures and suggested their adoption.

Firstly, to instruct the Indian delegation at the United Nations to raise the South African issue on the Assembly's agenda as a question meriting priority and calling upon the U. N. Assembly for drastic sanctions against South Africa. The question whether such a resolution will receive the necessary majority or not should not be allowed to influence the demand for timely action, and

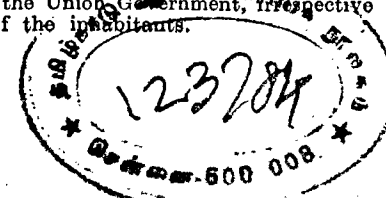
Secondly, to make the South African issue a matter of first class Commonwealth importance on the basis of racial discrimination in South Africa and the exploitation of the peoples of the colonial territories.

Dr. Dadoo said:

Commonwealth ties and the support of Britain and the White Dominions give added strength to the Malan Government in the prosecution of its nefarious policy. These powers have been in the main responsible for rendering all United Nations decisions on the South African and South-West African issues ineffective. The British Government's policy in the British Protectorates in the Union of South Africa and in the neighbouring colonial territories, is one of acquiescing in the racial and reactionary demands of the South African Government.

Dr. Dadoo added:

For the sake of retaining the adherence of South Africa to the Commonwealth, the British Government is prepared to accept the extension of racist policies of the Union to the Protectorates and beyond. In fact, the British Government is already paving the way for handing over the Protectorates to the Union Government, irrespective of the wishes of the inhabitants.



Malaya

INDIANS EJECTED FROM MALAYA

Between May and September of this year, 25 persons who came out to Malaya from Indian Ports were sent back to India on the ground that they were not persons with means of livelihood, although they possessed valid travel documents.

This action was taken by the Malayan Authorities under the Passengers' Restrictions Ordinance.

Objection was taken by the Malayan Authorities to the entry of about 180 Indians during this period, but on guarantees being furnished by their friends' over 150 of them were permitted entry. 25 were sent back to India.

The Government of India's representative in Malaya has played an important part in getting matters smoothened for these Indians.

DETENTIONS IN MALAYA

Two hundred and thirty Indians are included among the 6,203 persons who have been detained in Malaya under the Emergency Regulations in force in connection with the Communist bandit situation.

These figures are for the Federation of Malaya, and figures for Singapore are not included in them. The statistics, as at the end of August, 1949, have been released by the Government of Malaya. By race groups, the largest number of detainees are Chinese. They number 5,548. Malay detainees number 718. One European has also been under detention under the Mergench Regulations.

This year 4,545 aliens and 66 British subjects have been deported from Malaya under the Emergency Regulations.

East Africa

CULTURAL MISSION TO EAST AFRICA

The Indian Cultural Mission which has returned to Bombay from its 14 months' tour of East Africa received messages of greetings and congratulations from Mr. M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar and Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay.

The Governor of Bihar in the course of his message said:

The efforts that are being made by politicians to bring into existence bodies like the U. N. O. require moral support and spiritual foundation for its ultimate success: and this can be had only from the propagation of the teachings which we find in the ancient scriptures like Vedas and Upanishads revealed to the Rishis in India and also of the truths revealed to the founders of the various religions.

The Premier of Bombay in his message has expressed appreciation of the work done by the mission in East Africa.

The members of the mission headed by Swami Advaitanandji were given a public reception by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on September 8. Mr. S. K. Patil, President, welcoming them said they represented the rich philosophic treasures of India.

Swami Advaitanandji giving an account of the mission's tour said that Indians overseas could maintain their self-respect only if they drew spiritually close to their motherland and nurtured the culture, philosophy and tradition of India.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

A total of 168,363 Indians were living last year in the three East Africa territories of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, according to the first report of the East African High Commission published in London. The report said that 90,285 Indians were in Kenya, 44,248 in Tanganyika and 83,820 in Uganda.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY AND COMPENSATION

Article 24 of the Constitution dealing with acquisition of property by the State and compensation, as amended and adopted by the Constituent Assembly, reads:

1. No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

2. No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorizing the taking of such possession or such acquisition unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which the compensation is to be determined, and given.

3. No such law as is referred to in Clause 2 of this Article made by the legislature of a State shall have effect unless such law, having, been reserved for the consideration of the President, has received his assent.

4. If any Bill pending before the legislature of a State at the commencement of this Constitution has, after it has been passed by such legislature, received the assent of the President, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause 2 of this Article.

5. Nothing in Clause 2 of this Article shall affect.

(a) the provisions of any existing law other than a law to which the provisions of Clause 6 of this Article apply, or

(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty or for the promotion of public health or the provision of danger to life or property, or

(c) the provisions of any existing law made or of any law which the State may hereafter make in pursuance of any agreement arrived at with a foreign State or otherwise with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property.

6. Any law of a State enacted, not more than 18 months before the commencement of this Constitution, may within three months from such commencement be submitted by the Governor of the State to the President for his certification; and thereupon, if the President by public notification so certifies, it shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause 2 of this Article or subsection 2 of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1925.

REDUCING GOVT. EXPENDITURE

The Government of India have advised the Provincial Governments to reduce their expenditure by at least 20 per cent on new schemes which are dependent on the Central Government for finances, the Government of India have also asked all Provinces to strive for utmost economy in housing schemes.

The Government of India while asking the Provinces to "work within reduced grants" as far as the refugees are concerned, have suggested that displaced persons should be accommodated by making maximum use of evacuee property for housing purpose. They have also asked the Provinces to spend as little as possible on ambitious programmes keeping in mind the urgency of the new projects.

The question of ending doles to refugees after March 31, 1950, was also discussed at a conference of representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments. Most of the Provinces, it was stated, told the Government of India that it would be difficult for them to rehabilitate the refugees by that time. Bombay, U.P., West Bengal and East Punjab are stated to have pointed out the difficulties they were confronted with in the refugee problem.

SIR B. N. RAU ON THE KASHMIR ISSUE

Replying to the wild charges made by Sir Zafrullah Khan at Lake Success, Sir B. N. Rau, Permanent Indian Representative to the U. N., said at a Press Conference on September 16:

(1) India is not opposed to arbitration in principle, but what she contends is that any reference to arbitration should be on precise and defined issues.

(2) The main difference between India and Pakistan is about the disbanding and disarming of the "Azad Kashmir" forces. The Commission has given India an assurance that there is to be large-scale disbanding and disarming of these forces.

Whenever there is any hitch or delay in regard to the settlement of the Kashmir problem, there is a tendency to blame India. I should, therefore, like to give a brief summary of the events, so that you may judge for yourselves who has been responsible for the delay.

Uncip arrived in India in July 1948 in accordance with the instructions of the Security Council.

What did the Commission find? Let me quote the Commission's own words:

The situation that confronted the Commission upon its arrival was different from that which had been envisaged by the Security Council . . . inasmuch as regular Pakistan troops were within the frontiers of the State of Jammu and Kashmir participating in the fighting.

The statement of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to the effect that Pakistan troops had entered the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, and later his reply to the Commission's questionnaire that all forces fighting on the "Azad Kashmir" side were under the overall command and tactical control of the Pakistan Army confronted the Commission with an unforeseen and entirely new situation.

This was the first difficulty which delayed the Commission's work and it was obviously not of India's creation. You will remember that throughout the proceedings in the Security Council, Pakistan denied the presence of her troops in Kashmir. The first definite proposals of the Commission were made on August 18, 1948. They were presented simultaneously to India and Pakistan. The Government of India accepted the proposal and the Commission wrote:

The Commission wishes to express to Your Excellency its sincere satisfaction that the Government of India has accepted the resolution and appreciates the spirit, in which this decision has been taken.

Pakistan however was unable to accept the resolution and the matter came before the Security Council in November 1948.

The Security Council asked the Commission to continue its efforts to bring the two countries together. On December 19, 1948, the Commission drew up proposals for a plebiscite, supplementary to the proposals of August 18, 1948. India accepted the supplementary proposals on December 23, 1948. At this stage Pakistan had not yet accepted either the original or the supplementary proposals. You can judge for yourselves whether India was the delaying party.

Ultimately Pakistan also accepted the proposals and a cease-fire order came into effect from January 1, 1949. This was a very creditable achievement for which the Commission deserves the fullest praise. The Commission then attempted to establish a cease-fire line and get the parties to sign a truce agreement. After a good deal of preliminary discussion the Commission sent up proposals for this purpose both to India and Pakistan on April 29, 1949. Neither country found itself able to accept these proposals.

The Commission, however, went on with its efforts and in July 1949, succeeded in establishing a cease-fire line as the result of a joint conference with India and Pakistan. On August 9, 1949, the Commission invited both countries to a joint conference for a truce agreement and sent a provisional agenda with the letter of invitation. The provisional agenda contained an item called 'Related Questions'. On August 12, India agreed to the joint conference and sent a list of three related questions for discussion at the conference. On August 16, 1949, Pakistan objected to two of the three 'related questions' being included at all in the agenda.

On August 1, 1949, the Commission abandoned the idea of a joint meeting. Once again, I leave it to you to judge whether India was the delaying party."

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

The Constituent Assembly passed on September 14, Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's Articles on the official language of the Indian Union with the amendments agreed to earlier by the Congress Assembly Party.

The acceptance of the resolution, which marked the happy conclusion of a tense 3 day debate on what was considered to be the most controversial subject, was the result of a compromise reached between the two opposing groups on the question of numerals.

The amendments provide that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. The form of numerals to be used for official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

Parliament may, after the 15 year period, provide for the use of English language or the Devanagari form of numerals for such purposes as may be specified.

The amendments permit a State to prescribe with the consent of the President the use of the Hindi language or any other language recognised for official purposes in the State for proceedings in the High Court of the State other than judgments, decrees and orders.

MR. TANDON'S RESIGNATION

Babu Pursothamdas Tandon has resigned from the Congress Assembly Party as a protest against the Party mandate asking members to support Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar's amendment on the language issue.

Mr. Tandon, it is learnt, did not accept the proposition in regard to the substitution of international numerals for Devanagari numerals for the purpose of Devanagari script.

It is understood that Mr. Tandon felt that the Party Whip curtailed the freedom of vote for members of the Congress Party which was contrary to the earlier decision.

ELECTIONS IN W. BENGAL

"The West Bengal Government have accepted the proposition of having a general election sometime in January next soon after the harvesting season is over in Bengal," declared Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, at a Press Conference in Delhi.

The intervening period of three months from now until January would be necessary to make all the preliminary arrangements for the election. "I doubt not", he said, "if we all pull together, as I hope we will, the Congress is bound to succeed."

About the details of the arrangements for the general election Dr. Roy said that the general indication was that it would be held under joint electorate with reservation of seats for Muslims and Scheduled Castes.

"We have", he said, "started the work of preparing the electoral rolls and we hope it would be finished by the middle of December. So far as the electoral rolls of West Bengal are concerned, there is not to be much change except that there is to be joint electorate in place of separate electorate."

As regards electoral rolls for the people from East Bengal who had come over to West Bengal, Dr. Roy said, "Those names which were included in the register of 1945 in the East Bengal constituencies would be included in the new rolls if they give proof that they have been in West Bengal for six months."

MADRAS ZAMIN ESTATES

The Madras Government on September 7, took under their control 83 Zamindari Estates, thus ending the 150-year-old Permanent Settlement Regulations of 1802 in respect of these areas.

The major Estates taken over include Vizianagaram, Bobbili, Pithapuram, Devarakottah, Venkatagiri, Ramnad and Sivaganza.

These areas form the first batch to be taken over. The rest of the Zamindaris will be brought under Government control by stages.

REVIEW OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

Considerable progress has been achieved in the field of education in the year 1948-49, according to a review submitted by the Government of India to the twelfth International Conference on Public Education held in Geneva.

Giving an account of the progress in different spheres, such as basic and social education, training of teachers, secondary education, technical and military education, etc., the report records that four provinces, namely, Assam, Bihar, Bombay and U.P. have already introduced compulsory primary education in different areas, while other provinces are taking energetic measures for the spread of basic and social education in their respective areas.

In Assam compulsory education has been introduced in 30 areas since February this year-bringing one-fifth of the entire province under compulsion.

In Bihar simultaneously with the introduction of compulsory primary education on basic lines in different areas, the number of primary schools has been increased by over 500 to nearly 21,000 this year.

In Bombay along with compulsory primary education, a social education programme has also been launched in the city of Bombay and other rural areas.

In U.P. 43 municipal areas have been brought under compulsory primary education which is now being extended to other areas. An intensive campaign of social education also has been launched.

In C.P. the spread of adult education made further progress and 451 social education camps were organised which issued certificates to 41,274 men and 20,924 women.

In Madras, out of the 75 lakh children of school-going age in the province, 35 lakhs are already attending elementary schools and the remaining 35 lakhs will be brought under compulsory education by two five-year plans. A scheme of citizenship schools for adult education has been drawn up and six rural colleges and 100 citizenship schools for adult education are being opened.

In Orissa all primary schools have been taken over by the Government which are now being improved.

In West Bengal an 8% increase in literacy during the last seven years has been recorded. Reform of secondary education also has been taken in hand.

To remove the shortage of trained teachers steps have been taken to provide increased facilities for their training as also improve their scales of pay. Over 40 training centres were opened in different provinces for training in basic education.

PANDIT NEHRU ON STUDENTS AND POLITICS

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is of the view that students in their individual capacity could take part in politics and join any political party of their liking, but the student movement as a whole should be kept aloof from politics and confined to cultural and educational activities.

Pandit Nehru who was addressing the sixth annual conference of the Delhi Provincial Students Congress added that one's education was not complete after receiving a couple of degrees. As a matter of fact his real training began only when he entered life and faced its realities. University education, he said laid the necessary foundation for future development of an individual.

Pandit Nehru deplored that students of this country lacked "mental adventure." They were confined to their lecture notes or a few books recommended by their professors. This could not help them in becoming responsible citizens of an independent country. They must have a craze for knowledge. They should always be in search of something new. Only then could they be students in the true sense of the word.

UNIVERSITIES TO BE CENTRAL SUBJECT

A suggestion that Universities should form a Central subject or at least be put on the Concurrent List, was made by Dr. M.R. Jayakar, Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, while presiding over a function held at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

After two and a half hours' discussion, the Constituent Assembly on September 17, passed the Abolition of Privy Council Jurisdiction Bill which seeks to end India's 175-year-old judicial connection with Britain's highest tribunal.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee and Law Minister, said that the Privy Council would have no jurisdiction to entertain any Indian appeal or petition after January 26, 1950, assuming that the new constitution became operative from that date.

The Bill provides that with effect from October 10, 1949, the Federal Court should as an interim measure, be invested with the same jurisdiction to entertain and dispose of appeals and petitions as the Privy Council had at present. The jurisdiction of the Privy Council to entertain any new appeals and petitions and to dispose of any pending appeals except those set down for hearing during the next sittings of the Judicial Committee, due to commence on October 12, will cease on the same date. All other pending appeals will be transferred to the Federal Court on October 10 next.

Dr. Ambedkar mentioned that there were at present seventy civil appeals and ten criminal appeals pending before the Privy Council, of which twenty appeals had been set down for hearing and disposal at its next session.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, member of the Drafting Committee, said: "The British Parliament and the Privy Council have been the two great institutions which the Anglo-Saxon race has given to mankind. On January 26 our Supreme Court will come into existence and join the family of the supreme courts of the democratic world, of which the Privy Council is the oldest and perhaps the greatest, and I can only hope and trust that our Supreme Court will carry forward the Privy Council's traditions of judicial detachment, unflinching independence, subordination of everything to the rule of law and conscientious regard for the rights and justice not only between subject and subject but between the State and subjects."

THE SUPREME COURT

The Constituent Assembly on September 15, passed a new Article, making it clear that the Supreme Court of the Indian Union would have jurisdiction in respect of Income-tax and acquisition proceedings.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, explained that the Privy Council had held that proceedings regarding Income-tax and acquisition of property did not lie within the purview of civil proceedings and it might, therefore, be held that unless a special provision was made, the powers of the Supreme Court were confined to civil proceedings. The Article would remove any doubt on that point.

Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena (United Provinces) moved, and later withdrew, an amendment saying, "The Supreme Court shall also have jurisdiction to hear appeals against sentences of death passed by Courts Martial."

SYSTEM OF TRIAL BY JURY

The suggestion that the system of trial by jury now in vogue in Madras High Court Sessions could well be extended throughout the Province and also in respect of all cases, was made by His Lordship Mr. Justice E. E. Mack while speaking at the special general body meeting of the Honorary Presidency Magistrates' Association at the Madras Law College on September 14.

His Lordship also added that the members of the jury should be made to realise fully that their verdict was the final decision about the guilt of the accused so far as the facts of the case were concerned. Once the jury are impressed that they are responsible and are made to realise that they are the final arbiters of the fact and that verdict would be accepted unless it happens to be perverse and the judge without trying to impose his own will on them sums up the case in a rational manner I have found in the course of my experience of nearly 20 years as a Sessions Judge that the verdict returned by them are quite satisfactory, declared His Lordship.

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE

A Finance Ministry communique issued on September 19 said that the general price level or the cost of production should not increase and the internal prices of commodities would not be affected by devaluation of the rupee in relation to the dollar. At the same time, the communique added: "Government are taking and will take such measures as may be necessary to counteract any tendency to bring about speculative rise in prices." The communique goes on to add that

the Government of India's proposal to devalue the rupee to the same extent as the pound sterling has been accepted by the International Monetary Fund. "The rupee will now be equivalent to 21 United States cents as against 30.2250 cents and its par value in grammes of fine gold per rupee will be 9.186621 giving value of Rs. 168.6666 per fine ounce of gold. This value will come into effect immediately. The exchange rate between the pound sterling and the rupee remains unchanged at 1s. 6d. a rupee.

Devaluation as a corrective to the balance of payments difficulties in regard to dollars has been urged for some time. The Government of India did not favour such a course at it was felt that in view of the general conditions of Indian economy devaluation was not likely to solve India's problem of dollar shortage. India's imports are regulated by controls and the deterrent effect of high prices resulting from devaluation is therefore neither necessary nor desirable. Since the supply of India's exports is inelastic, her aggregate export earnings are not likely to increase by reducing export prices through devaluation. However, the decision of the United Kingdom to devalue sterling followed by similar devaluation by other countries, created a situation in which it became impossible for India to avoid similar action without detriment to her economy. India's trade, both export and import, being so largely a trade with sterling area countries and the price level being already high, it was clear that the rupee could not be allowed to appreciate against sterling without undermining India's competitive position and endangering the markets for most of her exports and ultimately being compelled to reduce the volume of imports still further.

Over and above the pure economic factors of relative competitive positions, current expectation that India would not be able to avoid devaluation in the face of the action taken by other countries would have acted as a powerful psychological barrier to any transactions at the old rate of exchange, and trade might have been brought to a standstill. There was thus no alternative for India but to follow the other sterling area countries and devalue the rupee as a defensive measure.

THE DEVALUATION TABLE

The following table, given in *The Mail*, shows at a glance the old and new rates of currencies in terms of dollars and sterling:

	Old rate	New rate
Britain, dollars to the £	4.03	2.80
India, Rupees to the dollar	3.309	4.76
Rupees to the £	13.33	13.33
Burma, Rupees to the dollar	3.309	4.76
Rupees to the £	13.33	13.33
New Zealand, dollars to the £	4.03	2.80
Australia, dollars to the £ A	3.22	2.24
S. Africa, dollars to the £	4.03	2.80
Eire, dollars to the £	4.03	2.80
Ceylon, Rupees to the dollar	3.30	4.75
Israel, dollars to the £	3.00	2.80
Norway, kroner to the dollar	4.96	7.14
Denmark, kroner to the dollar	4.81	6.692
France, francs to the dollar	330	350
francs to the £	1097	980
Straits Dollar (cents)	46.75	32.5
Canada, dollars to the £	4.03	3.08
dollar to dollar	1.00	1.10
Czechoslovakia, crowns to the £	210	139.5
crowns to the dollar	50	50
Sweden, crowns to the dollar	3.60	5.18
crowns to the £	14.50	14.50

FOREIGN CAPITAL FOR INDIA

If India needed foreign capital and if it was to be encouraged to come in, it must be given an assurance of non-discrimination, without which it was inconceivable that any foreign capital would come in. The need of the hour was to have more and more production and the Government of India had no reason to believe that the growth of foreign-controlled concerns, even with the assistance of some protection that may be given to any particular industry in general, would be detrimental to the interests of the nation. On the other hand, this was bound to be advantageous to the country at large and also would be in the interest of Indian industrialists in the long run.

In these words the Government of India have replied to the memorandum submitted by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry on the subject of foreign capital.

WOMEN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME

Governor Mody who describes himself as "a bit old fashioned, does not like women taking part in the rough and tumble of political activities.

He does not fancy their receiving physical training either—"it gives me positive fright."

He sighs for the good old days when women confined themselves to their proper sphere—home.

"What would happen if you turned on your husbands some day and gave them a taste of your quality?" he asks and adds sympathetically: "I can imagine a young man thinking hard before he contemplated matrimony with a girl who could drill, box and wield a lathi with deadly effect."

The Governor was addressing a large gathering on the occasion of a physical training demonstration by 1,200 girls of Eahila Vyayamshala on the police grounds at Kanpur.

RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

Ten-thousand nine-hundred and nineteen Muslim women and children were recovered in India Union as against 5,801 non-Muslim women and children in Pakistan territory upto the end of May, 1949, according to figures available to the Government of India.

During seven months' upto July, 1948, non-Muslim women and children recovered in Pakistan territory numbered 5,510. In the subsequent nine months only 265 recoveries were registered.

On the other hand, 9,423 Muslim women and children were recovered before August 1948 in Indian dominion. Since then upto the end of April, 1949 the number of recoveries increased to 10,083.

It is stated that there are over 50,000 names on the missing list of the Enquiry and Search Service organisation of the Government of India. According to an official review, recovery from Pakistan in the past few months had been "very slow".

INDIAN LADY ADDRESSES OHIO LEGISLATURE

A young Indian lady, Mrs. Rajammal Devadas, has become the first foreign student to address the Ohio State legislature.

At the invitation of the Speaker of the House she spoke on social and economic conditions in India and afterwards the House passed a resolution of appreciation.

Mrs. Devadas, who is studying for a Degree in nutrition at Ohio State University, has addressed several American associations and recently spoke at the National Convention of the Home Economics Association in San Francisco.

"TEN MODEL WOMEN OF THE WORLD"

Princess Margaret Rose, for her "social poise", was named as one of the ten model women of the world, chosen by the Vogue School of Fashion-building.

India's Ambassador to the United States, Srimati Vijayalakshmi was named for her "intelligence" and Madame Henri Bonnet, wife of the French Ambassador to the United States, for being "helpmate and fashion-wise." The others were Americans.

PURDAH DISAPPEARS IN PAKISTAN!

Hardly one per cent. of the women of Pakistan observe purdah, said Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, President of the Pakistan Women's Association, when she and two other office-bearers of the Association held informal discussions with the women members of the World Town Hall Seminar at the Prime Minister's house in Karachi.

The remainder, she added, living in villages, worked shoulder to shoulder with men in the fields and were an economic asset to their men.

GENERAL

U. S. MEMORIAL FOR GANDHIJI

The United States Senate, on Sept. 14, approved the erection of a memorial in Washington to Mahatma Gandhi.

The Senate passed without objection the Mahatma Gandbi Memorial Bill to erect a memorial within five years without expense to the United States Government.

The Bill had already been approved by the House of Representatives and now only requires President Truman's signature to become law.

It gives authority to the India League of America or any other group, organised for the purpose, to erect a memorial and provide the funds necessary for its construction and maintenance.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, wrote last June to a joint Senate-House Committee considering the Bill, expressing his approval.

The memorial will take the form of a building, containing the works of Mahatma Gandhi and exhibits of Indian culture.

DRAMA COUNCIL FOR INDIA

To co-ordinate dramatic activities in the country, an association called the Indian drama Council was formed at a meeting of representatives of a number of Dramatic Associations on Sept. 4. Mr. G. D. Sondhi was elected Chairman.

The organisers of the Council propose to run it on the lines of the British Drama League to foster the theatre movement, to supervise and encourage dramatic activities, and to work for the establishment of open air theatres and a national theatre in India.

U. S. AID TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The United States Government, during the post-war period, had lent over 10,000 million dollars to various foreign countries and had made outright gifts or grants of thousands of millions of dollars more, the Commerce Department announced.

It added that 4,704 millions of the money lent, consisted of aid to Britain and the additional 2,120 million dollars credits went to France.

PUBLICITY CONFERENCE

The necessity of employing India's national and regional languages in Government publicity so that it could reach the masses was stressed by Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Minister, Government of Bombay, in the course of his inaugural address at the conference of provincial Directors of Publicity.

"It is not enough," Mr. Desai said, "that various schemes are undertaken and executed by Governments. It is necessary that people should know about them and know correctly. If we wish to harness the co-operation of the people, it is very essential that the people should know exactly what they are to co-operate with."

"Unless and until the people know the schemes thoroughly and know what is expected of them, it is not possible to harness any effective co-operation between the activities of the Government departments and the people," he added.

Mr. P. C. Choudhary, Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, presided.

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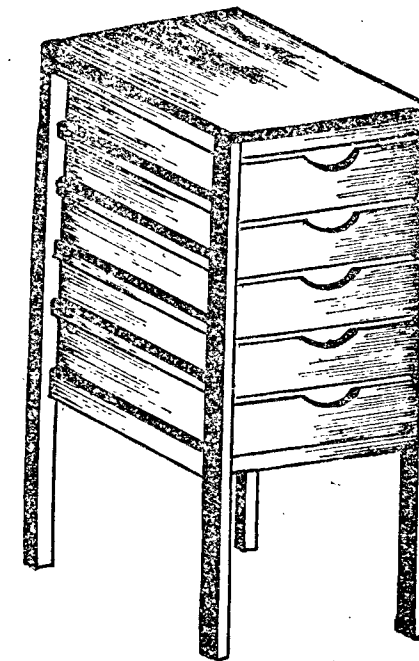
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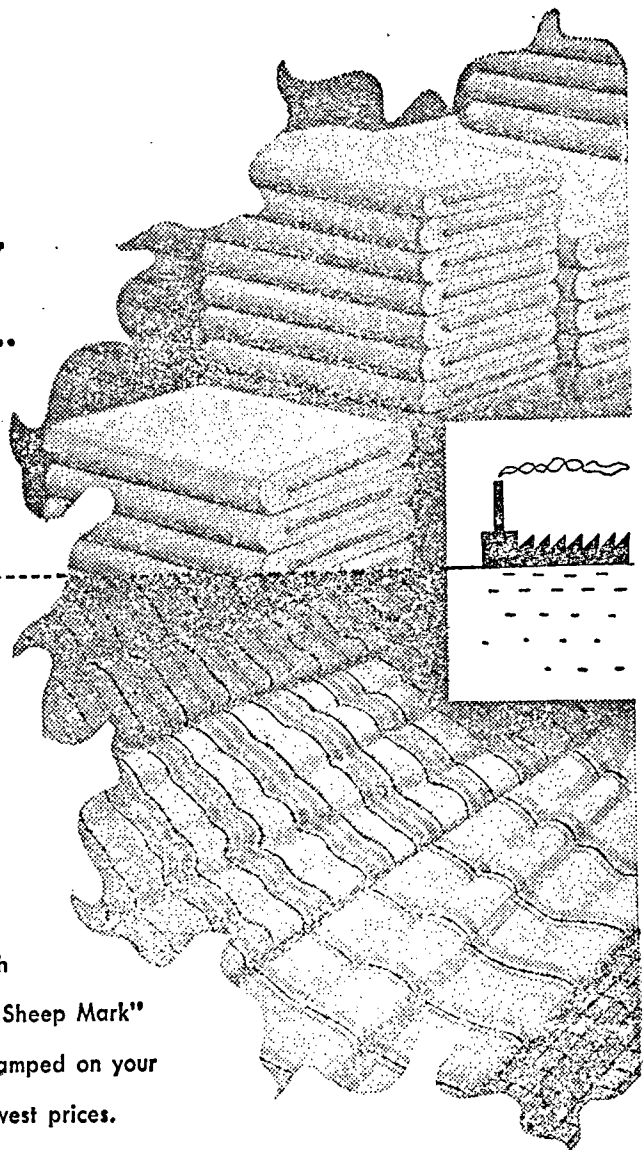
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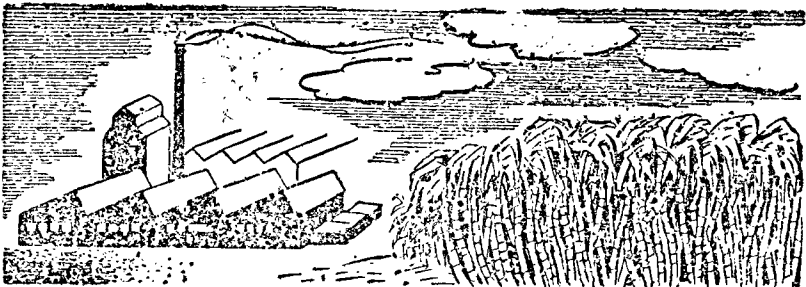
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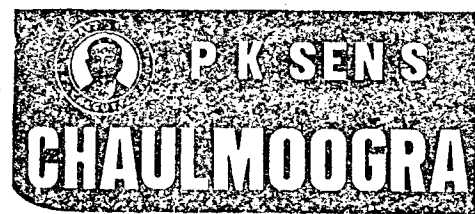
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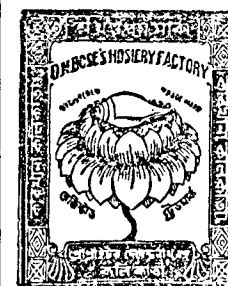
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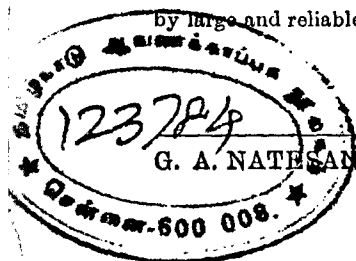
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