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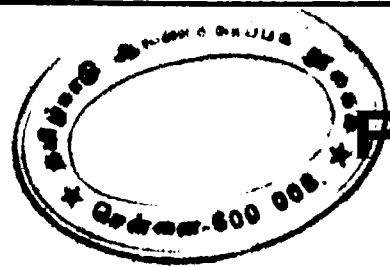
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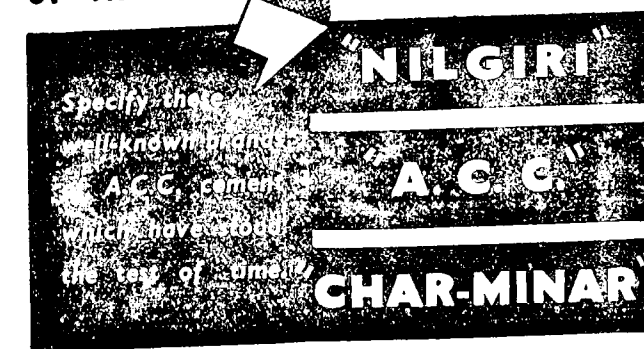
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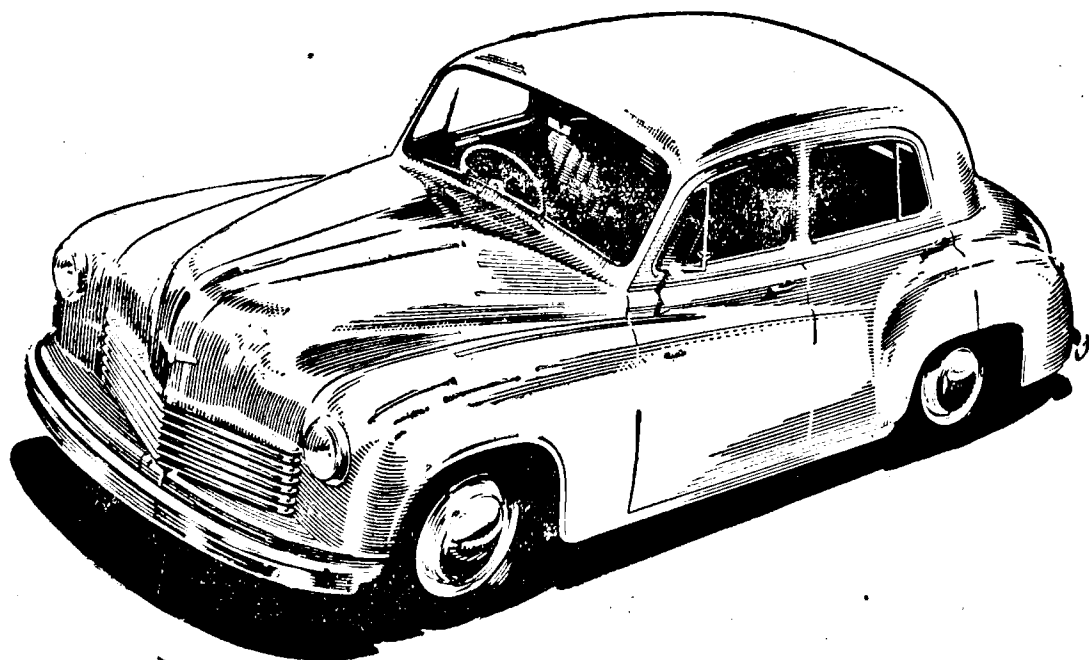
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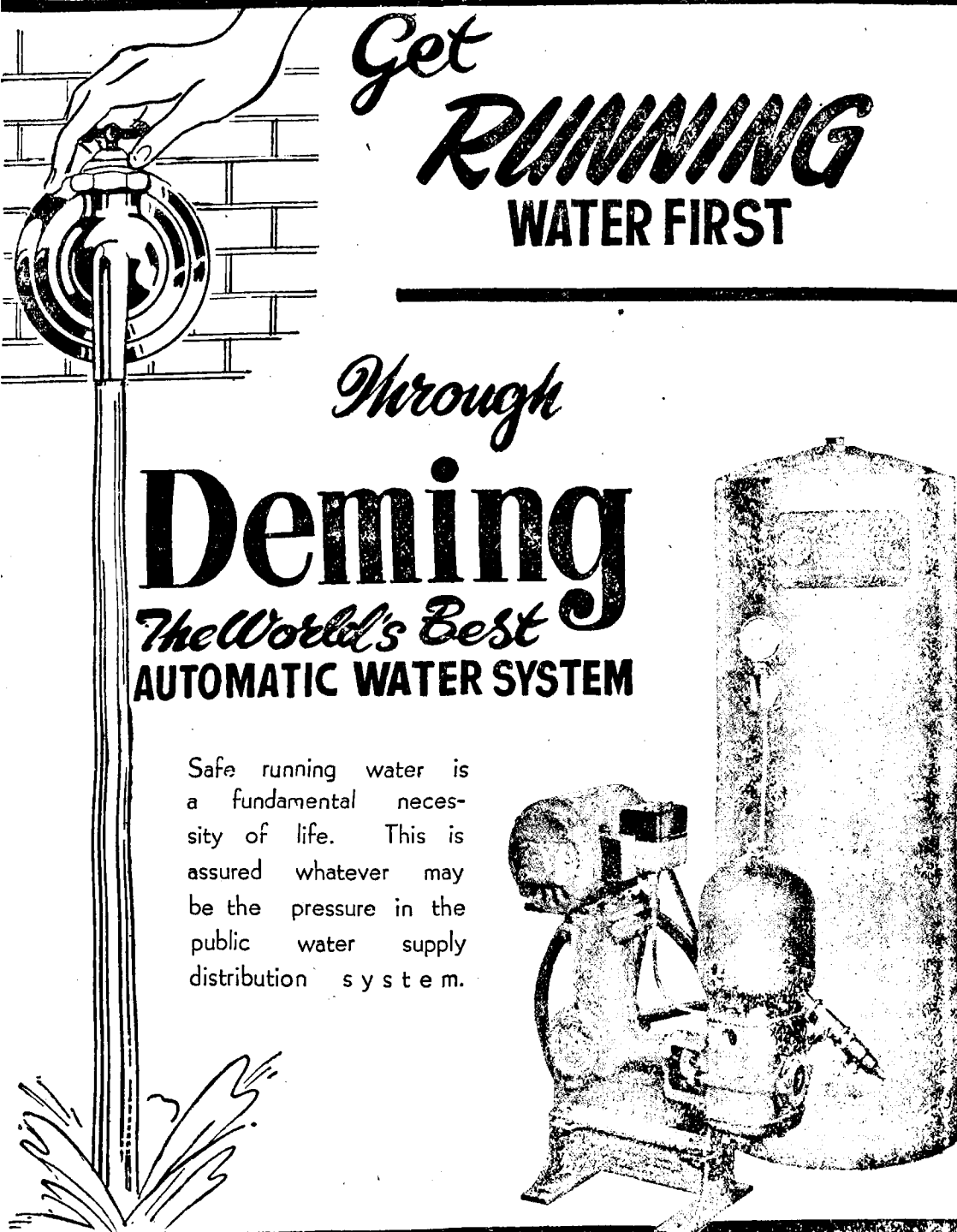
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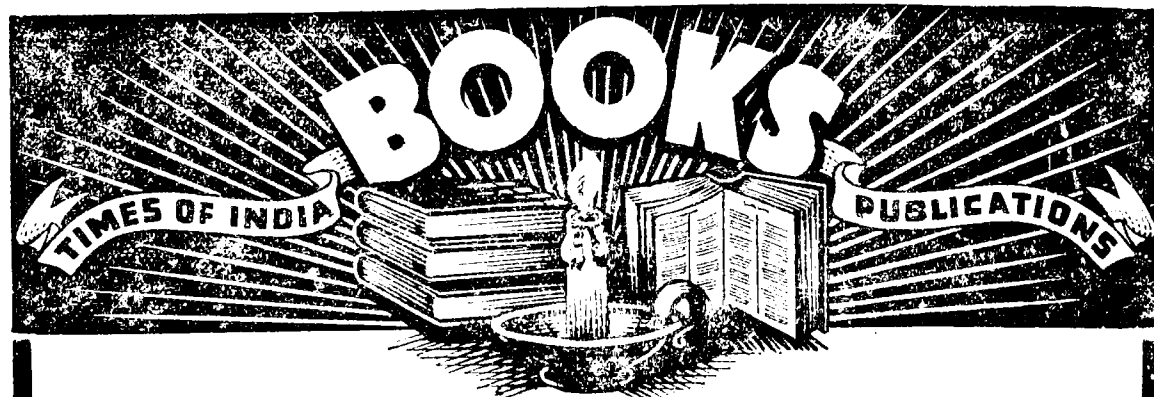
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MARCH 1950

[No. 3.

Round the World in Seventy-Five Days

BY SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

—:O:—

MANY friends have asked me why I took it into my head to fly round the World at an age when I should rest in my own home and near my own fireside. Other friends warned me against travelling to unknown places unattended by even a Secretary. To use the language of distinguished public speakers, I had more reasons than one for undertaking the adventure. What might have really deterred me was the numerous reports in the daily newspapers of aeroplane accidents. I have a natural objection to being cremated in advance of the due date. I got over that hurdle by insuring my life against accidents for a large sum. I even insured my baggage for its full replacement value. But luck was against me. I finished the trip without accident and the only people who made a profit out of it were the Insurance companies. I seem to be fated never to win in a race, or an Irish lottery or in an *Illustrated Weekly* cross-word puzzle. At a time when I was a resident of Delhi and burglaries were rife and the local



Police never detected a theft, I thought it wise to insure my house and property against fire and burglary. After that I felt so secure that I kept my doors and windows open day and night, but sad to say, nothing was stolen and the only thing lost was my insurance premium. The only occasion on which I lost anything was many years ago in my favourite country of Italy. Warned by precedents that I was never lucky in my baggage insurances, on one occasion I deliberately refrained from insuring it. That was just the occasion when my hotel maid, tempted by open suit-cases, stole a valuable overcoat. It was a cold winter. Rome can be very cold, and I got no compensation from the hotel keeper. In those days the British Government of India had no embassies abroad, and I knew that the English Ambassador in Rome would not lose a night's sleep over my losses, and any complaint made direct to the Italian Government would be returned with a request to fill up in the Italian language a large form in quadruplicate which asked such relevant questions as my mother-in-law's age and what was the exact reason which made me leave my own country for Italy.

But I have not yet told my impatient reader what were the reasons (more than

one) that inspired my flight round the World. *Number one*—The Indian Council of World Affairs was good enough to elect me as a delegate to a Commonwealth Conference in Canada, and as a delegate had to bear his own expenses, I knew there was no risk of competing claimants. *Number two*—On a previous occasion the Government of India nearly chose me as one of its delegates to an Agricultural Conference, but at the last moment, I was turned down because I was not a member of the Central Legislative Assembly. I was not even a member of the Congress party. The demi-official reason vouchsafed to me was that a Joint Secretary in the relevant Ministry had assured the Minister, that I was physically and mentally feeble and it would be an act of kindness to me not to send me. That made me keen on proving to the satisfaction of the Minister that I had sufficient vigour left despite office notes to the contrary. *Number three*—I discovered that a return air ticket to Canada cost me only Rs. 600 less than a Round the World ticket.

In spite of the official solicitude for my physical and mental welfare, I undertook the journey and I was not sorry that I went. I enjoyed every minute of my Journey, my fellow passengers, mostly Americans, were very helpful and the trip was wholly without accident or incident. The gods were kind to the Insurance Company and postponed the accident till I returned home to the bosom of my family.

My plane was the Pan-American Airways and I have no hesitation in recommending it to anybody who undertakes a long flight involving several days of continuous travel by day or night. To my surprise

the fact that I was a vegetarian did not trouble the air people. The stewards and hostesses did their best to see that I got good food. It was a surprise to me as my experience was that whether on the Indian railways or on the P. and O. steamers, any Indian who insists on vegetarian food was treated as an inferior citizen and even the Indian waiters seemed to feel it derogatory to their dignity to serve a man with such low tastes. I recall the case of the first Indian Governor of a Province who asked his English Military Secretary to order Bengali style food for him and was told that gubernatorial dignity forbade it. Thank God for Indian independence. We can now eat what food we like. We can forbid liquor from entering our household and wear what clothes suit us and our climate.

The most outstanding impression left on me by my recent world tour is the respect shown to an Indian *qua* Indian. Political freedom has made it easy for us, whether in India or outside, to hold our heads high and walk about the streets with the consciousness that we are as good as any white man. It is not so very long ago that an Indian in Indian clothes was ordered by the Police off the Simla Mall in the afternoon and evening hours. One would imagine that in a Scientific Research Institute racial distinctions would not be tolerated. Those who know Pusa before December 1929 will be able to testify how the English agricultural officers forbade their Indian colleagues from using the grand stair case reserved for Europeans, and how every Indian who ventured to ride on horseback in the streets of the Institute was ordered to dismount and respectfully salute an Englishman.

The second most outstanding impression I got was what a marvellous change had occurred even in the free country of England in the social relations between Englishmen and Indians. I have known every High Commissioner for India from the time the office was first instituted and Sir William Meyer became the first holder of that office. Even though an Indian felt more free in that office than he ever felt in that lordly office in Whitehall misnamed the India Office, still many Indians were made to feel that they were a lower order of human beings. Particularly it was the Indian students who felt humiliated and unless there was an official necessity for a visit to the Adviser to Indian students, they carefully avoided going to this official who was paid from Indian funds to look after them. The feeling continued even after Indians became High Commissioners. It was reserved to Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the present incumbent of that office to break down the distinction and to impress on every subordinate that there was no place there for a man who did not treat an Indian with consideration.

Almost simultaneously there has been a similar transformation in other public offices in London. The BBC was till recently a preserve for non-nationals and it was rare for an Indian visitor, however eminent, to be invited to give a talk there. All this has changed. There is now a large Indian Staff conversant with every important regional language of India and the authorities are on the look-out to catch any well-known Indian visitor for a talk. Thanks to the recent fusion between the Indian Press and Reuter, quite a number of Indians are now employed on Indian publicity work. It will interest

your readers to learn that there is a large colony of educated Indians now employed in London. I got into close touch with them and those of them who live with their families find London a cheaper and more comfortable town to live in than New Delhi. For one thing house accommodation is more easily available and on less extortionate terms, food including Indian food-stuffs, such as dhall, asafoetida, vegetables, and chillies is plentiful and cheap, and above all the rationing officers are more human and honest and the womenfolk of Indian households are able to do their marketing and procure rationed articles without delay, bribe-giving and red-tape. London experience corresponds to what I heard from Indian business men in Manila and HongKong. There are important Indian men of business in both the Philippines and China and I felt ashamed when they told me that all grades of officers in those countries, are easily accessible and prompt to redress grievances, while on their visits to India they found corresponding officers in India less courteous and more eager to put them off on some technical rule or other. When I asked them "why don't you see the higher Secretariat officers in New Delhi", they said they had sometimes to wait a whole day before they could get at the Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under-Secretaries at the Secretariat. When I suggested that probably the officers were busy and could not see visitors promptly and that they should make previous appointments by letter or telephone, they replied that that did not improve matters. The Secretariats were over-staffed, and the only result was that they were handed over from one officer to another, and nobody seemed anxious to tackle the subject on hand.

The impression that the Indian business community left on my mind was that controls in India had become so many and so complicated that it was easier for them to resort to the black markets and pay their price than to dance attendance on Government officials.

'AN HOUR WITH PROF. JOHN DEWEY'

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

A FEW Indian students at the International House informed me that Prof. John Dewey, the well-known American educationist and philosopher was in New York and it may be possible for me to meet him. Prof. Kilpatrick whom I had seen a few days earlier agreed to contact Prof. Dewey and fix an interview for me.

And so we did get the opportunity of meeting Prof. Dewey a day before leaving for London. Although the learned Professor was not keeping good health, he was kind enough to spare full one hour for us. Even at the age of ninety, Prof. Dewey showed a freshness of outlook and keenness of intellect which have always characterised his educational literature.

I had with me a few books regarding the system of Basic education in India as outlined by Mahatma Gandhi. I presented those books to Prof. Dewey and asked him whether he knew about Gandhiji's educational scheme based on learning through a productive craft.

"Yes, I have heard about Gandhi's scheme of Basic education", answered Prof. Dewey, "although, I confess I do not have a very clear idea about it."

Within a few minutes, I tried to explain to him how Gandhiji's Plan of education was different from combining work with education. On the other hand, it was education *through* the medium of productive activity. In this system, academic subjects like History, Geography, Civics, and Mathematics are taught to the students while they are working at their different crafts like spinning, weaving

gardening and agriculture by exploiting the different processes of handwork for educative purposes. It is this integration of work with education, or the correlation of hand-culture and mind-culture, which distinguishes Gandhiji's Plan of education from other "methods".

Prof. Dewey was glad to know these details and observed: "Gandhi's system of education is, I am sure, one step ahead of all the other systems. It is full of immense potentialities, and we all hope to learn much from India in this revolutionary educational effort."

Prof. Dewey, then referred to the Chinese system of education as it existed several years ago when he had been to that vast and ancient country. "I was so sorry to find in China that the professors and students imitated the American manners and modes of thought, instead of trying to evolve their own indigenous culture and traditions," remarked Prof. Dewey.

"The same thing is happening in Japan now," I said.

"Yes, I am glad you mentioned about Japan" observed the Professor; "I will be thankful if you give me some idea of the changes that are being introduced in the Japanese educational system after "occupation" by the SCAP authorities."

"The American system of education is being foisted on Japan in the name of Democracy. Co-education and greater importance to the English language are some of the new trends," I informed Prof. Dewey. "But the worst feature of the "Occupational forces" is that plans are being prepared for wholesale conversions of the Japanese to Christianity.

The Americans seem to think that only Christians can be real democrats."

"This is very sad, indeed," remarked Prof. Dewey.

"I did try to raise my voice against this cultural domination and conversion while I was in Tokio," I added.

"I have no doubt in my mind that Western impact is liable to prove more disintegrating than helpful to the Eastern countries," said Prof. Dewey, in a serious tone.

"What are your views regarding education in India?" I asked. "So far, India had to suffer all kinds of cultural humiliations under the British rule," stated the Professor. "She could not develop her educational system in accordance with her own genius. But now, after regaining her lost freedom, India must try to build up her educational structure on the basis of her ancient culture and traditions."

"What is your message to India?" Mrs. Agarwal asked the learned Professor.

"What message can I give to India?" remarked Prof. Dewey in an admirable tone of humility which is so characteristic of all great men. "We have to learn much from an ancient country like yours!"

Later, the Professor was kind enough to write down his thoughts in Mrs. Agarwal's Album. He wrote the following remarkable sentence:

"We look to India to elicit from its old history and culture that which will give help in the guidance of newer and younger peoples."

Prof. Dewey, then, walked down with us to the adjoining room and showed us his Library and Study Corner. He was very kind to present to me a copy of

his latest book entitled "Reconstruction of Philosophy."

Mrs. Dewey and her two adopted children were extremely hospitable and evinced keen interest in India. She herself drove us back to our Hotel in that fairly hot afternoon.

It was, indeed, a great privilege to have spent an hour with, perhaps, the greatest living educationist of the West in modern times. And what a penetrating intellect and a spirit of humility at this ripe age of ninety!



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

(From Editorial Notes)
THE TRANSVAAL WAR

The capitulation of Commandant Cronje with 4000 men at Paardeberg on Tuesday the 27th of February is the crowning stroke in the first stage of Lord Roberts' operations. It is the first important, perhaps even decisive, turn in the tide of war which had hitherto run against the British, and reviving the glory of the British arms, fully justifies the confidence of the nation in Generals Roberts and Kitchener. If the credit of conceiving the combined and exactly dovetailing movements be due to these veterans, the honour of executing them with pluck and gallantry must be given to General French.

For nine days from Sunday the 18th, Cronje held out against a force ten times as large as his own, enduring the fiercest bombardment and repelling by the accuracy of his rifle fire all attempts to take his position by assault. The marvellous heroism that he displayed against such odds fixed the eyes of the whole world on him, and most people must have wondered what could be 'the cause of humanity and civilisation' that demanded the sacrifice of so many brave and generous souls. Hard must be the heart that is not touched at the thought of the proud and fierce Boer commander walking with his wife, grandson, aid-de-camp, secretary, and servants to the camp of the foe, and humbly, suing for kind treatment.

WHAT IS CIVIL LIBERTY?

BY MR. P. C. GHOSH

Advocate, High Court, Calcutta

THE feeling of civil liberty is implanted in man's nature from his birth and from such feeling of civil liberty arises all our civil rights which belong to individuals as citizens, or members of some social group. In the formation of regular human society, individuals have had to abandon some of their rights in favour of some head or leader, in order to establish a connection between the force of the State and the order of life. Such transfer of power to a chief or head has come to be known as Social Contract in Political Philosophy.

Civil liberty, as commonly understood, consists mainly of three things:

(1) Freedom in regard to personal action and property;

(2) Freedom in regard to religious belief and worship and expression of opinion; and

(3) Free participation in the government of the country. But civil liberty gets circumscribed under certain conditions. Those conditions arise, either for some emergent political cause, such as, national safety during a war, or for some social necessity, such as, some internal revolutionary movement. In those conditions individuals come to forfeit their normal civil liberty.

Civil liberty, as accepted in the West in the modern age, was unknown to the ancient world, and was till recently unknown in many places, such as, China, Japan, Burma, and India, where the individual was even the other day regarded as unimportant and insignificant; even in the West, in Fascist Italy, Communistic Russia and Franco's Spain, the idea of

civil liberty was more or less discouraged, nay sometimes suppressed, although there existed in those places the urge for it from before the last Great War. But after the termination of the last War, an unusual urge for civil liberty has sprung up throughout the Middle and Far East, the winding up of the far-flung British Empire affording an impetus to the movement and threatening liquidation of the other European Colonial Empires.

There have been four stages in the evolution of civil liberty. The first stage came about long before Christ, with the advent in Greece of the Stoic Philosopher Zeno, who laid down in his teachings special emphasis on assertion of the individual self. The spread of Christianity developed further that individual conception of civil liberty by causing revolt against unreasonable control of the individual, or the family by the head, or chief, as well as of the state by the Sovereign thus recognising the inalienable rights of the individual, or the sacredness of human personality.

The second stage in the growth of civil liberty synchronized with the birth of that medieval land-system, known as Feudalism; for Feudalism developed the individual proprietary instinct, inasmuch as personal liberty is essentially bound with the possession of property. Again that great European social catastrophe, known as the Black Death, which brought about almost a total annihilation of the then labouring classes, converted the surviving serfs into small property-owners implanting in them through force of circumstances a distinct idea of civil liberty.

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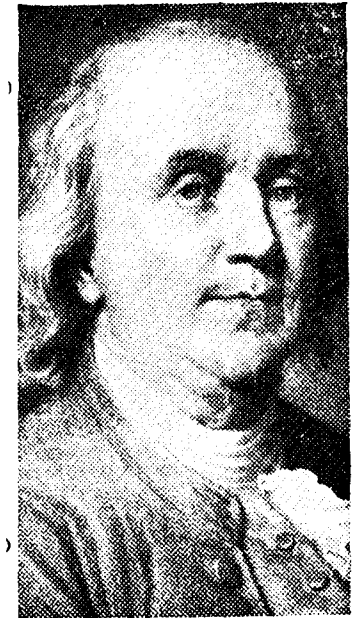
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The third stage in the evolution of civil liberty was brought about by the conflict for supremacy that raged between the Church and the State caused by the bold and novel teachings of Martin Luther in the fifteenth century, known as the Reformation, heralding an era of further advance of personal liberty. Because gradually, as a result of those teachings, status gave way to contract, thus 'hatching the egg of modern democracy', as one great thinker has so ably put it, and leading the dissenting people to set at naught papal control and refusing to submit any longer to the old Inquisitional methods and to the fetish of the Divine Right of Kings by which the Kings were a law unto themselves.

The fourth stage of the advance of civil liberty arose with the Renaissance, or the Revival of learning in Europe, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, when through greater intercourse with distant peoples and by larger expansion of trade and commerce as well as by free interchange of thoughts and cultures, the idea of individuality already in existence, came too much in evidence and prevailed all over Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and in countries, like Italy and Germany, up to the time of the last Great War of 1914-1918.

Thus in modern times the respect for civil liberty is the touchstone of everything for which civilization worth the name stands for. Civil liberty is as essential for our political growth as are light and air for our physical growth. The recent movement regarding Human Rights in the Councils of Nations, or the agitation for the incorporation of Fundamental Rights in the draft con-

stitutions in the different countries is all the outcome of an insistent feeling of civil liberty. Most of our political conflicts arise from a desire for vindicating civil liberty, or the rights that emanate from it. The State through the criminal Courts defends civil liberty of individuals when such is violated criminally; while individuals themselves safeguard civil infringements of it through actions for damages in civil Courts.



Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), United States publisher, philosopher, statesman, and scientist, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on Jan. 17, 1706.

Benjamin Franklin's contributions to the cultural advancement and civic improvement of Philadelphia, where he lived most of his life, and to the entire Nation, were many and varied. He helped found the American Philosophical Society; a public academy which later became the University of Pennsylvania; the first public library in North America; and the country's first hospital. He initiated a postal service, fire-fighting companies, and a police system.

LITERATURE IN FREE INDIA

BY PROF. JAGDISH CHANDER M.A.,

D. A. V. College, Ambala

LITERATURE—THE MIRROR OF THE AGE—

LITERATURE is the expression of life. It is the sum-total of the emotional reactions of the artist to the world outside. Apparently unrelated and in-coherent events of life crystallized through the imagination of the artist assume a shape and a form replete with the history of the times in which the artist lived and experienced them. Literature thus is a mirror reflecting the variegated facets of life manifest in a particular age. In very primitive times when Science had not revealed the mysteries of the universe, man deified every object that seemed to him beyond the powers of his imagination. Hence we have epics with gods and demi-gods as their characters, moving about in the world and doing supernatural things. As time went on and Science began to explain the phenomena of nature literature tended to become more and more realistic. From the stories of gods and goddesses, of kings, queens and extraordinary human beings to those of the common Man as the main character is a long process through which literature has passed up to the present day. "Why write about kings and queens?" challenged the artist, "why not about you and me—the man-in-the street?" The thrill of joy felt by a potentate over his new conquest is in no way greater than that felt by a waitress over her first kiss. Why then to discriminate between man and man when the intensity of emotions felt by each one of us is the same? So much so that realism at one stage became an obsession with the artists. Beginning from the photographic transcription of life the realists came down to depicting only its

seamy and shabby aspects. In spite of this reaction, however, the conception remained that the artist was like a man with a lantern going about in the world and showing life as it exists with both its beauty and ugliness. The most important function of literature, therefore, is to record the essence of a nation's real life. India has just emerged from a dark period of slavery. The literature of Free India must reflect all the cross-currents of Indian life as it is to develop in the changed atmosphere of today.

LITERATURE—EMBODIMENT OF CULTURE:—

Let us analyse what those cross-currents will be. Culture is the essence of literature. Just as politics without ethical basis becomes partisanship, literature without the background of culture becomes journalism. English literature would lose its value if it is not regarded as the embodiment of English culture. Literature of New India too must be the exponent of Indian culture.

India is at the cross-roads. In its long and chequered history never was our culture threatened with such a grave crisis as it is to-day with the death of Gandhi, "the greatest challenge of the East to the West" this crisis has deepened all the more. There are two distinct but conflicting ways open before us now. Either we go West and relegate all our past culture to the background or to the East, discarding all that we have assimilated by the impact of the West. If we adopt the former course, it means we disown our treasure, our heritage, our glory. The Western culture with so much stress on the material aspects of life develops a morbid possessive instinct and it is

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essentially alien to Indian mind. The geography and climate of our country have instilled in us that accommodating spirit which we have shown for centuries together even to invaders. The Western culture is a 'discipline of the machine leading humanity to a mechanical process.' The ordinary Westerner is like a motor-cyclist going at full speed but not knowing where to go. This culture has done nothing to alleviate human restlessness; on the other hand it has placed man under constant dread of extermination every moment in an atmosphere of ever-recurring wars. In striking contrast to it the East can give a message to the West—the message of cultivating the spiritual values of life. We have always believed in the mortification of flesh for the glorification of soul. In addition to this, with that virility which is ours, our culture has withstood several vicissitudes. It has lived through famine and pestilence; it has overcome political revolutions and natural convulsions. People of conflicting cultures have fought and fraternised on this soil'. If the verdict of history is true, our culture will withstand even the crisis that we are facing to-day. It will emerge again as the superior-most culture of the world after at the most synthesising with all that is best in the Western culture. It is the duty of the literary artist to hasten that synthesis and then clothe it in a beautiful language, when it has been achieved. The *litterateur* should carry our cultural values not only to every hearth and home in this country but he should also give a message of spiritual regeneration to the war-tired peoples of the West.

With this cultural background should our literature come forward and help to bring that world into existence in which

there will be no wars, no poverty, no inequality and no exploitation. It should emphasise the dignity of man as man. Our artists should strive to bring about an atmosphere in which man freed from economic bondage will be able to develop his spiritual potentialities. That soul-force is the only effective answer to the atom should be the key-note of our literature. The artist of Free India has to bring together the warring communities not only in India but by widening his sphere, he should strive to knit the whole world into vibrant brotherhood. Such writings will not be only the pipe—dreams of wishful thinkers but those who are aware of the vast potentialities of literature know that by its appeal to the nobler and higher self of man it can make ideals ripe for immediate materialization.

LITERATURE OF FREEDOM

From an atmosphere of darkness and disappointment we have come into that of light and life. Under the British rule we felt suffocated. In all the activities of life we felt 'cribbed, cabined and confined.' Our energies, both national and individual, under a constant restraint found no outlet. Our national self-respect was seriously injured, opportunities were denied to us, birth counted more than worth. But to-day liberty has come and with it the responsibilities too that follow in its wake. The start has rather disillusioned us but at the same time sobered us. There has been so much barbarity and inhumanness. Man stooped to the level of beasts and human life became so cheap and insignificant. To this was added another national calamity of great magnitude. A leader whose influence pervaded the life of every Indian, the

focus of all our national aspirations was taken away by the hand of an assassin. A faint streak of frustration, therefore, has been manifest in our recent writings. But inspite of all these the mind of every Indian is bristling with aspirations and hopes about the future. The ploughman in the field, the labourer in his factory, the clerk in his office—in fact everybody is anxiously waiting for the day when India will be a glorious land and our nation will be strong, united, properly fed, housed and clothed. Our literature should be the embodiment of these aspirations. It should depict the pangs of an age which is dying and the hopes of an era which is being born. There are so many evil legacies of slavery that we have inherited—corruption, nepotism, red-tape, to mention only a few. There are so many social evils which we have not been able to eradicate inspite of our persistent efforts. No more should our artist be a helpless spectator of these evils now. He should expose them to public gaze and by making them contemptible should inspire us to root them out. Our artist must be a crusader.

INDEPENDENCE—THE NURSE OF LETTERS

India today stands on the threshold of a new era when old values of life are giving place to new. Literature of Free India will not only be the literature of freedom, it will be the literature of a new outlook, a new way of life. Our literary artists should realise the important role they are to play in the building up of a new and glorious India. With the advent of freedom our literature will surely come into its own. Literary geniuses have all in one way or the other been the products of some kind of independence

—may be religious, social or political. The Declaration of the Rights of Man ushered in the golden age of French Literature which we call 'le grand siecle'. Victorian literature in England followed the all-round independence which the English nation symbolised in the Reform Bills of 1832. Goethe, Tolstoy, Shakespeare were all the literary manifestations of one or the other kind of Independence. Wherever freedom has been denied or suppressed, literature has suffered. Independence has been like the kind nurse of letters. Duff Cooper aptly observed: "Wherever heresy or Totalitarianism existed, art and literature decayed. Few countries have produced more creative works and literature than Italy during her long history, but not one important book appeared during Mussolini's rule. Hitler's regime began with the burning of books."

That cramping influence of slavery has vanished and with that the darkness in the minds of the people will also begin to be dispelled. With the dawn of a new era on the political horizon of India, we are sure to witness around us a phenomenal efflorescence of our art and literature too.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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

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

THE PUBLISHERS REGRETTED

BY MR. DAVID GUNSTON

ASPIRING writers are always advised to be persistent in their work, to keep sending rejected manuscripts the rounds of publishers and editors until they are accepted and published. This is easy advice to give if not to follow, but the fact that it is well worth taking in all cases is borne out by the experience of a great many famous writers. The number of well-known books which were originally refused by the publishers to whom they were first sent is as surprising as it is interesting. It might be said, in fact, that almost all authors have to endure seeing their books rejected before they achieve print and subsequent success.

This is not the experience only of present day writers. Dickens was a most notable exception to this, his career being an unbroken line of success. But Thackeray had to hawk *Vanity Fair* round to many publishers before it eventually appeared in the popular green-covered parts. The Bronte sisters were met by persistent refusals from publishers for many years before their novels were printed. Charlotte had to send *The Professor* to dozens of firms before she had the happy notion of trying Smith, Elder & Co. They turned down the novel submitted but asked to see a three volume work. Thus *Jane Eyre* was born. Emily's novel *Wuthering Heights* went through many similar journeys to and from dusty publishers' offices and grey Yorkshire parsonage. Even Jane Austen had great difficulty in getting a firm to bring out *Pride and Prejudice*. Her father offered it first to Messrs. Cadell, but negotiations fell through at once and the book was not published for another sixteen years. Perhaps even more surprising was the

continual rejection by one publisher after another of Thomas Carlyle's great work on the French Revolution, as proved by his own notebook.

Kinglake's masterpiece *Eothen*, now an admitted classic, was rewritten many times, turned down unanimously by all the London publishers and eventually brought out by a firm of booksellers into whose shop in Pall Mall the author had walked in desperation, offering them the manuscript as a gift. The book hung fire at first, but after being well reviewed in the old *Quarterly Review*, it sold like hot cakes. Arnold Bennett's great *The Old Wives' Tale* was hotly condemned by the first American publisher to whom it was sent. Jeffery Farnol had long given up hope of ever becoming a writer after having *The Broad Highway*, his first book, returned endlessly from publishers, and went to America and earned his living as a theatrical scene-painter. It was only when his wife found the soiled manuscript hidden away in a drawer and sent it, still confident of its worth, to Sampson Low, it was published at all. It was a great success and made Farnol a popular romantic author.

Thomas Burke, who died not long ago, is best known as the author of *Limehouse Nights*, and on his own admission he was always only on the fringe of the literary world. Many of his books were rejected out of hand, only to be published later. *Limehouse Nights* itself met with twelve refusals and Burke kept it in a cupboard for over a year without submitting it further. Then one day walking from Charing Cross to the Haymarket in London he passed the publishing office of the enterprising Grant Richards. Burke

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY TO-DAY

BY PROF. S. RAMASWAMI, M.A.

counted the letters in the name Grant Richards: there were thirteen. "Supposing thirteen is my lucky number," he thought, and sending the manuscript on its thirteenth journey to Richards, he paved the way for its lasting success.

When Compton Mackenzie set up as a professional writer his novel *The Passionate Elopement* was sent back within a week or two by one well-known firm which said they could not make head or tail of it. It went the usual rounds for over two years and was at last published by Martin Secker, then just setting up himself as a publisher, who felt it was worth taking a chance on. It was indeed, and established its author.

Best-sellers and masterpieces may not always be the same thing, but they both get widely rejected by publishers who somehow fail to see anything in them. It seems hard to believe that J. B. Priestley's *The Good Companions*, which assuredly falls into both categories, was turned down by a publisher before it was printed, but it was. How that inefficient firm must have kicked themselves when they saw the great and continuing success the book achieved, going on as a play and a film as well, to say nothing of losing a potentially valuable author. Bernard Shaw's early immature novels were returned with a monotonous regularity by every publisher to whom the youthful Irishman sent them; some were published at all only long after their author had become famous as a playwright. Somerset Maugham tried for years to become a dramatist, enduring many a harsh refusal from theatrical managers, but he succeeded, almost overnight, having the record number of three plays on in London at the same time. John Galsworthy wrote

solidly for eleven years without seeing a single word in print, and the experience is that of many other writers of all kinds, in all ages. When he was unknown to the enormous fame which later overtook him, Sir James Barrie offered the manuscript of *Auld Licht Idylls* (mostly a collection of already rejected stories) to any publisher who cared to accept them for nothing.

Edgar Wallace at the height of his fame could not get one of his detective thrillers taken by any firm at all, for some inexplicable reason. Determined to be independent of the whims and fancies of publishers and their readers, he brought the novel out at his own expense. This step was of course fully justified for the public were always eager to buy his books whoever published them, and it sold in hundreds of thousands and repaid its undaunted author.

The trouble is partly in the dull, lifeless appearance of books when in manuscript compared with their appearance when printed and bound, and partly also, we must assume, the fallibility of publishers to pick the winners. But on every hand there is evidence that it doesn't do to be disheartened by any rejections of one's work. If many an established author had been, we should not be reading his work today.

SHORT FOR THOUGHT

Those who advocate a time-limit for speeches at Westminster would do well to ponder over a comment by Gladstone when asked how long he took over preparation of his addresses. "If," he said, "I am allowed only 15 minutes I need a week's preparation, if for half an hour, three days will be necessary, but if I am to speak at unlimited length I am ready to begin here and now."

—Scotsman

WHAT would an Indian of Upanishadic times or of the times of the Buddha or even of Kalidasa think of the India of to-day, asked Sri Arabindo a long while ago, when in the pages of *Arya* he was replying to William Archer's rather ill-informed attack on Indian thought and culture. Proposing an answer himself, he suggested that our ancestor, if set down in our times, would experience profound and painful disillusionment. He would be depressed by widespread evidence of moral, intellectual and spiritual frustration and failure. He would find his descendants clinging pathetically to the shreds and patches of their heritage, to the dead wood, the decaying forms and shells and rags of the past, missing nine-tenths of its nobler meaning. He would compare the spiritual light and energy of the heroic ages of the Upanishads, when the sages of India voyaged through strange seas of thought alone with the mental poverty, the immobility, the static repetition, the cessation of science, the long sterility of art, the comparative feebleness of the creative intuition. So wrote Sri Arabindo, in 1918-19.

The picture then drawn, so dismal, so sombre, so unpromising, is, it must be confessed, largely true. Whatever the factors which contributed to the condition pictured—and a variety of factors political and economic, internal and external contributed to it—it is unfortunately only too true that contemporary India still answers to Sri Arabindo's description. Gandhiji has doubtless wrought in many spheres a tremendous change and his influence, whatever the narrow-minded among both his admirers and detractors might say has functioned beneficently over a very wide range. Gandhi was continuative, not innovative, of the Upanishadic tradition. When in memorable words he declared in London that he would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived, he spoke in terms which perfectly expressed the spirit of the great seers of India who invariably exalted the spirit over the letter and who proclaimed Ahimsa and Satya as

the twin principles of the highest Dharma of man. The modern parody of caste thanks to Gandhi is doomed, though it is dying by inches. But Himsa and Asatya, in numerous alluring and apparently inevitable forms are still evident in many aspects of our social and political life. Gandhiji's castigation of the centuries-old perversion of our Arya Dharma has not been without effect but there is still too much mental sloth, too much religious formalism, too much sheer materialism in our outlook to justify our claim to be the true heirs and lineal descendants of the great sages of old and disciples of the no less great sages of our own times. It is tragic indeed but it is true that, in particular, the Brahmanas of our time claim to be Vedantins and some of them even Advaitins, while at the same time cherishing and even justifying practices and beliefs wholly inconsistent with the Upanishadic teaching. They condemn, themselves to a static, utterly soulless routine of duties performed without the faintest trace of the *sraddha* which they praise with their lips even to-day as essential to the efficacy of even the noblest acts. But this is a familiar phenomenon, and is by no means peculiar to India. Toynbee, in his *Study of History* points out how the aggressive growth of a creative minority into a dominant minority presages that failure of a civilization to respond to the challenge of changed times which spells its inevitable collapse and disappearance from the stage of life into history. The latter-day evolution of the great creative minority of the Brahmanas of ancient India into the absurdly uncreative, almost feeble-minded collection of grievance-mongering individuals, concerned more with securing their secular rights and equities than with their hereditary task of spiritual and moral leadership is one of the most heart-rending spectacles of our times. It threatens to end in tragedy. Indeed it will, unless we bestir ourselves betimes.

Without minimizing the role either of militant Islam or of missionaries of Christianity or even of the moral

degradation wrought by a century and a half of foreign rule, I would say that the main cause of our cultural debacle to-day, is the *trahison de cleres* of the Brahmanas of to-day. Theirs was the wisdom, theirs the task of leadership. If they had played their part aright, neither the disintegrating force of armed Islam, nor the far more heavily armed and aggressive forces which the incursion of the West into India brought with it, would have availed to bring about that dynamic ignorance and indifference, and worse still, that apathetic, ignorant contempt of the so-called educated Hindu of to-day towards the richest part of his incalculably precious heritage.

It has sometimes been a matter of wonder to me that people to-day, even among the highest 'educated' classes, fail to remember that the victory of the protagonists of Western education over the Orientalists over a century ago was an accident, and not perhaps altogether a beneficent accident. What the political consequences would have been if the Orientalists had won, it is difficult to say, but at least it would have prevented the century-old cultural denationalization which Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Gandhiji have striven so hard to arrest and correct in recent times. And perhaps it is well to remember also, however hurtful it may be to our pride, that Max Muller, Paul Deussen and Schopenhauer had first to assure us of to-day that our ancients were by no means such nit-wits as the more 'anglicised' among the educated classes thought for a long time. It is only comparatively recently that Indian scholars (and they had to write in English, the real *lingua franca* of the educated classes of Hindu India)—like Ganganath Jha, Radhakrishnan, Sri Aravinda, and Hirianna have entered the field of first hand study and exposition of ancient Indian thought. And it is a melancholy fact that even to-day, in many "Indian" universities and higher centres of learning, there is either no provision at all or only very inadequate provision for the advanced study of Indian Philosophy. And whenever financial stringency necessitates retrenchment, the

axe seems usually to fall first on whatever slender provision exists for the study of Indian Philosophy. There is besides in South India, a curious, uninstructed hostility to the study of Indian Philosophy among certain large sections of the Hindu public, or at any rate among those who claim to be their spokesmen. The provision for Indian Philosophical studies in some of these universities in the South is more meagre than that in universities of the West. And if the scheme for the proposed reorganization of Presidency College, Madras as a centre of advanced study is any guide, there does not seem to be any chance of improvement in the near future, in this regard. And yet it is the plainest truth as Dr. Radhakrishnan said once, that the study of our ancient heritage is the food we should feed on, if we would live!

It is therefore a matter for gratitude that, utterly undismayed by current apathy, Professor Hirianna one of the very greatest of our modern Acharyas in the field of Indian Philosophical studies, and possibly the *doyen* of that very small but distinguished band of scholars who are masters of ancient Indian thought as of European thought has written this book.*

This book is the second book on Indian Philosophy from his pen. His first book, modestly entitled *OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*, is one of the classics of Indian philosophical literature. It was conceived as a text book for university students of Indian Philosophy, but it has proved to be more than a text book. Indeed, on the field it covers, it is absolutely the best book altogether. Dr. Radhakrishnan's *INDIAN PHILOSOPHY* in two volumes, was conceived for a wider audience and was more elaborately, as well as very differently designed. It was among Dr. Radhakrishnan's objects to assert on behalf of Indian philosophy a claim, to absolute equality with the Philosophies of the West. Dr. Radhakrishnan succeeded admirably, as we all know, in his object. Prof. Hirianna's

* THE ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By Prof. M. Hirianna. Allen & Unwin & Co., Ltd., London. 12s. 6d.

OUTLINES followed it and the masterly terseness and precision with which it covered nearly the same field as Dr. Radhakrishnan's two sumptuous volumes won for it high and deserved praise. Of Dr. Das Gupta's great *HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*, four volumes have already come out but it is still incomplete. And Dr. Das Gupta's scheme is on lines very different from that of both Professors Radhakrishnan and Hirianna. Readers of Prof. Hirianna's *OUTLINES* felt deeply grateful indeed, when it appeared, but there were quite a large number of them, and a far vaster body among the general public, who felt the need for a rather shorter and more 'popular' account of the subject, Prof. Hirianna's latest volume, is designed to meet this need.

And most admirably does it meet this need. Seldom has a book been so correctly entitled as Prof. Hirianna's *ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*. It is a masterpiece of concision and precision and a model of clarity. And it does more, within its limited scope, than his larger *OUTLINES* in that it gives also a short and critical account of the philosophy of Sri Madhwa. A slight reduction in price might make it even 'a best-seller' in India.

Prof. Hirianna in the first two chapters on early Indian thought reviews the beginnings of Vedic Religion and Philosophy, tracing the gradual evolution of monotheism, monism therefrom, and the subsequent transition to "the systems."

The treatment of the topics which arise is far more concise than in his *OUTLINES* and involves, necessarily, considerable omissions but what one notes with pleasure is the stimulating freshness and unhackneyed quality of the approach achieved here. The discussion of the Karma doctrine is in particular a marvel of compression and clarity and is one of the most impressive restatements of that much misrepresented doctrine. Prof. Hirianna points out very clearly that the law of Karma is not a blind mechanical law but a law of ethical and moral responsibility. Incidentally, it is instructive to note Prof. Hirianna's definition of the scope of Indian

philosophic speculation. As conceived in India, Prof. Hirianna says rightly on p. 50, "Philosophy is a criticism of values and its final aim is to determine what the *ultimate* value is." Further, Prof. Hirianna defends Indian philosophy against the charge frequently brought in, rather lightheartedly by some western critics, of being other-worldly and pessimistic. He points out that Indian thinkers proceeded on the basis that ultimate values were not mere ideals not relevant to the world of fact but that to them 'ought' implied 'can' and that they believed in the ultimate goodness and rationality of the world though they sought ever higher levels of realization. The section on the Bhagavad Gita here, as in the *OUTLINES*, is one of the very best discussions of its teaching. We venture to suggest that Prof. Hirianna should bring out, for the benefit of those to whom his discussion of the Gita and in particular of the meaning of disinterested activity in his two books has been so stimulating, a volume of studies in the Gita, elaborating many of the ideas expressed so concisely herein. Prof. Hirianna's reconciliation of the absolutistic and theistic interpretation of the teaching of the Gita, in essence sound and convincing would, in our opinion gain by a fuller statement of the theistic position. The accounts which follow of the Non-Vedic schools, of Nyaya Vaisesika, Sankhya-Yoga, Purva Mimamsa in Chapters III, IV, V and VI of the present volume are extremely skilful condensations of the relative chapters in the *OUTLINES*, except that the language herein is somewhat simpler and less technical.

The two chapters on Vedanta, one dealing with the Absolutistic school and the other with the theistic are perhaps the best in the book. Alike in their comprehensiveness and in their clarity and brevity, they are unsurpassable. In particular Prof. Hirianna's terse clarification of Sankara's position is valuable. Sankara was too conscientious a scholar to twist texts or to ignore or invent them to suit the needs of his argument. Sankara clearly recognizes two strands in the Upanishads but thinks the recognition of

duality therein merely a concession to empirical thought. He doesn't teach a bare unity. He only denies the many. He doesn't affirm the One. Instructive also is Prof. Hiriyantha's refutation of the current description of Sankara as a mere illusionist and his reaffirmation of Sankara's essential role in Indian life as a great moral reformer as well as being the originator of a new movement in philosophy.

Dealing with other schools of Vedanta Prof. Hiriyantha does justice to Ramanuja and Madhwa giving succinct accounts of their points of view. Although he is an Advaitin of the school of Sankara, there is an objectivity, an intellectual honesty, in the statement of their positions and a conscientiousness in criticism which we wish were more widely evident in current expositions of these views by followers of Sri Ramanuja and Sri Madhwa. Incidentally Prof. Hiriyantha points out that it is quite mistaken to regard Sri Ramanuja's point of view as

'qualified' monism, when it is not, strictly speaking, monism at all, but more nearly a qualified 'dualism.'

As is only proper the section on Buddhism takes account of the more recent views of the actual teaching of the Buddha and in particular the view presented by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her advanced *MANUAL OF BUDDHISM*. Prof. Hiriyantha accepts the current view that Buddhism represents a new expansion not against but within Brahmanism involving less esotericism. But is Prof. Hiriyantha entirely right to imply that Brahmanism lays less stress than Buddhism does on self-realization and in knowing the truth? It is very temerarious on the part of any one to call in question any view on any field of Indian Philosophical studies held by Prof. Hiriyantha. But as Prof. Hiriyantha himself says elsewhere the stress is, always, in all ancient Indian thought not on mere intellectual knowledge, but on spiritual realization.



The photo shows the living room of a typical farm house in the United States. As a result of the rural electrification program, farmers and their families enjoy electric lights, radios, cooking stoves, refrigerators, and other conveniences as an accepted part of their home life.

18th Century Indian Diplomatic Missions

II—TIPPU SULTAN'S EMBASSIES TO THE FRENCH

By "LIBRA."

TIPPU Sultan sent two embassies to France and in each case, Mysorean envoys sailed to France. The first was sent from India in 1788. It consisted of five Mysore officials, Muhamad Dervish Khan, Aga Khan, Akbar Ali Khan, Muhamad Usman Khan and Ghulam Sahib. Forty of Tippu's picked soldiers consisted the escort of the mission.

Muhamad Dervish Khan, as leader of the envoys, carried Tippu Sultan's letter to Louis XVI, "the Rajah of the French." The letter, after requesting French help, went on to say:

"I acknowledge the sublimity of your constitution and as a proof of my sincerity I propose a treaty of alliance and fraternity which shall be for ever indissoluble and shall be founded on the principles of sincerity and good faith; to the end that you and your nation with myself and my people may become one family; that your enemies may be mine and those of my people and that my enemies may be considered as yours. Happy moment! The time has come when I can deposit in the bosom of my friends the hatred which I bear against those oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India. You have the power and the means of effecting it by your free Negroes. With these citizens much dreaded by the English, joined by your troops of the line, we will purge India of these villains. Now you are apprised of my designs, delay not to inform me of yours; but make no promises which you cannot perform."

The letter was written in French with the help of a Frenchman who was in Seringapatam at that time.

After many months in the high seas, the envoys of Tippu reached Toulon safely in a French vessel. Louis had ordered his foreign secretary to receive them

with all due pomp and ceremony befitting a king of France.

It was indeed a royal welcome that these Mysoreans got at the port of their arrival. French troops were drawn at the quay for their escort into the town and amidst the booming of guns and the cheerings of the crowd, they were led to their residences. On that and the following evenings, excellent entertainment was provided for them in the shape of fireworks, balls, ballets, folk-dances, operas and sham fights.

From Toulon the ambassadors of Tippu were taken in state to Paris. Dervish Khan, the chief was reclining on the cushioned seat of a coach of six, resplendent with his gorgeous silken robes and diamond-set jewels. The four others were in a coach drawn by four horses while the whole Mysore retinue followed on horseback.

On August 3, 1788, the King of France gave them an audience. Tippu's envoys sent to the King's secretary the Sultan's gifts. The gifts did not make much impression on Louis as the following account will reveal. It is from a French book 'Memoires De Betrand de Molleville':

"King Louis' portion (of Tippu Sultan's presents) consisted of some gold gauze, some crimson silk stuff flowered with gold, some Persian linen, partly plain and partly printed, an aigrette of bad diamonds, flat yellow and ill-set, with a clasp of the same kind. The queen's (Marie Antoinette's) consisted of only three bottles, partially filled with essence, a box of perfumed powder-balls, some scented matches and nothing more!

When Bertrand de Molleville (French Minister of State) presented these shabby eastern offerings, King Louis said to him laughing,

"What can I do with all this trumpery? It seems fit only to dress dolls! But you have little girls who may be pleased with such; give it all to them."

'But the diamonds, sire?' urged Bertrand.

'Oh, they are mighty fine!' replied Louis in a tone of mockery. 'Perhaps you would like them placed among the jewels of the crown? But you may take them too and wear them in your hat, if you like.'

Eventually the queen would accept from the baffled minister of state only a bottle of otto of roses and some of the fine linen which had been sent for King Louis."

The King of France, though not pleased with Tippu's cheap gifts, gave the Mysore envoys a patient hearing. He, however could not give them any help, because he himself was in trouble. He promised to do something later on, but only a few years afterwards the French Revolution came.

The envoys returned to Mysore after an year in France. According to "The History of the Mysore Empire," a French Book, they were assassinated by the Sultan's servants on their return because they began to compare Seringapatam with the splendours of Paris.

The second mission of Tippu Sultan to France was no premeditated affair. It was the outcome of an accident to a French privateer. The privateer got damaged in a storm and put to Mangalore for repairs. It was under the command of a Frenchman named Ripaud, who hailed from the French island of Mauritius.

Ripaud, when conversing with Mir Ghulam Ali (the legless ambassador to Turkey) boasted that he was an influential officer at Mauritius and that he had voyaged to Mangalore to learn the wishes of Tippu and arrange for the transport of French soldiers who were ready to sail and help the Sultan in driving out their common enemy from India.

Ghulam Ali introduced Ripaud to Tippu and the latter had a talk with him. Though the Sultan at once knew that this Frenchman of rude manners was no officer of rank but an imposter, he thought of obtaining some sort of service from him. Accordingly he arranged to purchase the ship and sending it with merchandise and some of his envoys to the Isle of France (Mauritius) to ascertain the truth of Ripaud's statements.

Ripaud was retained at Tippu's court as a "French Ambassador" and his ship was bought from him for Rs. 17,000. It was put in charge of a French captain named Pernaud and was ordered to sail for Mauritius with Indian merchandise and five of Tippu's envoys disguised as merchants. Two of these were to return to Mysore with the land and sea forces that Ripaud had spoken of, while the others were directed to proceed to Paris and convey the Sultan's greetings to the Executive Directory.

The five envoys and Pernaud, the captain of the ship, started from Seringapatam and reached Mangalore—but on the night before the ship was to sail, Pernaud ran away from Mangalore and was never heard of again. The reason was the Rs. 17,000 which the Sultan had given for the ship was still in Pernaud's hands for that night.

Tippu Sultan, when he heard of this absconding, ordered Ripaud to take the place of Pernaud and proceed with the envoys to Mauritius.

The Sultan's ship sailed in October 1797. The moment it left the shores of Mangalore, Ripaud, backed by all the members of the crew, surprised the Mysoreans and at the point of the pistol demanded from them Tippu's letter to the authorities at Mauritius. When these letters were surrendered, Ripaud opened them and seeing that there was no complaint against him, safely returned them to the envoys and though he had treated them with the utmost barbarity, he landed them safely on January 19, 1798 at Port Louis. General Malarite, the Governor of that island, on learning that these were envoys to him from the court of the great Sultan of Mysore, received them with all republican courtesy and had them conveyed to his house under a salute of 150 guns.

The despatches of Tippu Sultan revealed the terms of a treaty to be concluded between the government of Mysore and the administration of Mauritius. Tippu, on hearing Ripaud's story, had assumed though with a great deal of doubt, that Mauritius contained an army of 30,000 Africans and 10,000 Europeans who were ready to sail to India. This army of 40,000 soldiers was to be joined with Tippu's 60,000 and the combined armies were "to take Goa from the Portuguese, Bombay from the British, to raze Madras to the ground, and to conquer Bengal, the Mahrattas and the Deccan." But the envoys were bitterly disappointed to learn that no force of Africans and Europeans was ready to sail to India and fight the British.

General Malarite, on seeing the Sultan's envoys so sorely disappointed, agreed to do his best for them. Accordingly, he decided to send two frigates to Paris to convey the Sultan's envoys to that place. Meanwhile he issued a proclamation for enlisting volunteers for the Sultan's service.

The envoys of Tippu personally assisted in recruiting volunteers for Tippu, but not with any success. On the day previous to the sailing of their ship to India, only 99 persons enrolled themselves and with them the two envoys returned to Mangalore.

The three other envoys of the Sultan, accompanied by Dubec, a sea-captain, proceeded from Mauritius to Paris where they were received well by the Executive Directory, who forwarded their plan for a French alliance with Tippu to Napoleon. Napoleon, in reply to the embassy's proposals, sent this letter to Tippu:

"Liberty! Equality!—Bonaparte, Member of the National Convention, General-in-Chief, to the most magnificent Sultan, our greatest friend, Tipu Sahib. Head-quarters at Cairo, 7th Pluviose, 7th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an invincible army, full of the desire of relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

I would even wish that you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I might confer.

May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies.

Bonaparte."

But this letter did nothing at all and brought to Tippu no French assistance. Napoleon was forced to go back to France after the total annihilation of his fleet by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile.

QUESTION TIME IN THE COMMONS

BY MR. WILSON HARRIS, M.P.

Editor of "The Spectator" (London)

THERE is, I believe, nothing in any Parliament of the world comparable to Question Time in the British House of Commons. In several national Chambers formal interpellations on some question of immediate importance can be addressed to the Head of the Government or to a particular Minister. But these are comparatively rare, and stand outside the normal order of business. Something closely resembling this happens in the British House of Lords.

But in the House of Commons questions are an essential feature, and a highly important feature, of each sitting on four out of five Parliamentary days a week. (There is only a short sitting on Fridays, and questions are not included). On every other day a full hour—or to be precise some 55 minutes, because the first five minutes are occupied by prayers—is devoted to questions to Ministers, questions on subjects important and unimportant, local and national, or for that matter international, which any Member, whatever his party, has the right to put.

The questions vary in character. Sometimes the questioner is genuinely seeking information. Sometimes he is trying to make party capital, sometimes to draw attention to a real or imagined grievance. Sometimes it is an opportunity for importing a touch of humour into normally dull or serious proceedings. The institution as a whole is regarded by everyone, even by the Ministers who sometimes suffer under it, as being of immense value. It enables Members to inform themselves on the reasons for executive action. It is an effective

safeguard against any arbitrary proceedings by Ministers. It has, in fact, been described by a foremost British historian as a fifth freedom to be added to the four popularized by President Roosevelt.

GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT

Like most British institutions, Question Time developed gradually. Till about a hundred and fifteen years ago questions in the House of Commons were as infrequent as interpellations in various European Parliaments.

It was in 1835 that notice of a question was first printed, and in 1849 that questions were first given a regular place on what is called the Order Paper—the daily programme of business in the House. But questions at that time were not numerous. For a while they only averaged about one a day. In 1880, the average was 13 a day; in 1900 the number had risen to 41. Now they are nearly three times as many.

How, it may naturally be asked, can over a hundred questions be dealt with in less than an hour, particularly as a principal question is almost always followed by "supplementaries," about which a word more in a moment? The answer is that of course they cannot. On the particular day on which I am writing this the last question reached out of a total of 109 on the paper was No. 52. The remainder are all answered in writing, and the replies circulated with the printed report of the day's proceedings. The author of a question which will clearly not be reached can, if he chooses, hold it over in the hope that it will appear higher on the list

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another day and be answered orally, but as a rule he is content with a written reply.

RULES

There have, of course, to be rules governing Question Time. In order to ensure that the appropriate Ministers will be in thier places to give answers, questions to particular Departments are allotted to particular days. On Wednesdays, for example, questions may be addressed to the Foreign Secretary, the Colonial Secretary, the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Food, the representative of the Admiralty (the First Lord of the Admiralty is in the House of Lords) or the Postmaster-General; on Thursdays to the Minister of Education, the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, the President of the Board of Trade, the Home Secretary, the Minister of Agriculture, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister of Health and the Minister of National Insurance; and so on.

Questions to the Prime Minister, on the general policy of the Government, as distinct from purely departmental activities, appear (if there are any) every day, and the Prime Minister is expected to be there to answer them. In recent years questions have become so numerous that they are rationed; no one may have more than three questions on the paper on any particular day; but there is nothing to prevent a Member from putting three on each day of a whole Parliament.

Every question must be handed in to the appropriate official at least two days before an answer is expected. It is, of course, necessary that the Minister concerned should have sufficient time to prepare his reply, which often involves

a great deal of enquiry' and research. Actually the answer is prepared not by the Minister himself, but by some of the chief officials of his department; for it is essential that the answer shall be complete and accurate, though sometimes it is so drafted as to conceal facts which for one reason or another the department does not want to disclose.

SUPPLEMENTARIES

That is where the Supplementary Question comes in. When the question printed on the paper has been answered, not only the original questioner but any other Member in the House can rise in his place and put a supplementary question on the same subject. That constitutes a severe test for the Minister. His original answer has been carefully prepared for him, but he must deal at once, and immediately, with supplementary questions, of which by the nature of things no notice is given.

Take an actual question put, in the week in which I am writing, to the Colonial Secretary about the number of students at Makerere College, in Uganda, who are studying agriculture. The answer given was that there are 16. The questioner then asked whether that number was not unsatisfactorily small, in view of the importance of agriculture in Africa. The Colonial Secretary explained what steps were being taken to increase the number. Another Member asked whether the incentives offered were proving effective. The Colonial Secretary said it was too early to say. A third wanted to know whether more active steps could not be taken. In answer to that appropriate assurances were given.

That is a comparatively simple set of supplementaries. The same day a question

regarding the retention or abolition of National Service (Conscription) gave rise to a regular interrogatory argument in which the original questioner asked one supplementary and three other Members joined. If this goes on too long the Speaker can always end it, and often does, by calling the next question. The Speaker himself never disallows questions once they have been printed on the Order Paper, but many never get printed at all, and therefore are not put, because they have been disallowed in advance on some technical ground by the Clerks of the House, to whom they have to be submitted.

A question, for example, must not simply ask for information which is already available in some official document. It must not be so framed as to constitute an argument. It must not cover the same ground as some other question which has been answered recently. It must not concern the conduct of a Judge or other magistrate. A good many questions are stopped on these or similar grounds. But experienced Members show considerable ingenuity in so framing their questions as to evade the restrictions.

NO ABUSE

Without fairly strict supervision by the Speaker and his officials Question Time might easily be abused. As things are, it rarely is. If a Labour Member in the present Parliament asks the Minister of Labour what was the number of unemployed in 1948 as compared with 1938 (when the Conservatives were in power) everyone knows quite well that he is not genuinely seeking information but trying to score a party; but the question is perfectly in order.

Similarly, if a Conservative Member asks the Minister of Food why he bought Algerian wine, why he sold it again, whom

he sold it to and whether he made a profit on the transaction, he is not really interested in Algerian wine at all, but in exposing what he considers an error of judgment, on the Minister of Food's part. In the same way questions by one of the few pacifist Members on the cost of the British Army manoeuvres in Germany, or of the reinforcements sent to Hong Kong, are well understood to be put for merely propaganda purposes. But no one challenges such use of Question Time.

Very rarely Ministers refuse answers to questions. If troop or fleet movements are concerned the answer may well be (though not often in peace-time): "It would not be in the public interest to give the information asked for."

SALUTARY EFFECT

Question Time may be regarded as a searchlight turned on the activities of Ministers. On Ministers themselves it has a most salutary effect, in compelling them so to conduct themselves as to be able to meet successfully criticism that may be directed at them any day from any quarter in the form of a Parliamentary Question. To Members of the House, particularly those who do not often take an active part in actual debates, it gives an opportunity of raising questions of public importance, especially questions of concern to their own constituents and incidentally of getting their names into the Office Report.

Temperance lecturer: "Here is an argument drawn from nature. If I led donkey up to a pail of water and a pail beer, which will he drink?"

Listener: "Of course, water."

Lecturer: "Right! Why?"

Listener: "Because he's ass."

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

YARROW UNVISITED

Wordsworth wrote a number of poems the scene of which is laid upon the banks of Yarrow. The poet in him was thrilled as much by the thought of Yarrow as by the sight of his "Winsome Marrow." Many a time he had gone very near the scene but would not "turn into the dale of Yarrow." Why? Not because "there were thousand such elsewhere as worthy of your wonder." But because he had a vision of his own. "Ah! Why should we undo it?" Such was the delicacy of his feeling for Yarrow.

The swan on still St. Mary's lake
Float double, swan and shadow!
We will not see them; will not go.
To-day, nor yet to-morrow;
Enough if in our hearts we know
There such a place as Yarrow.

Be Yarrow's stream unseen, unknown!
It must, or we shall rue it;
We have a vision of our own;
Ah, why should we undo it?
The treasured dreams of time's long past,
We'll keep them, winsome Marrow!
For when we're there altho' 'tis fair,
T'will be another Yarrow!

If care with fleeting years should come
And wandering seem but folly,—
Should we be loth to stir from home,
And yet be melancholy;
'E'will sooth us in our sorrow
That earth has something yet to show,
The bonny Holms of Yarrow.

YARROW VISITED

At last in Sept. 1814 he did visit the stream. And what a sight! His vision of Yarrow was more than justified. He saw the blue sky bending over the Yarrow vale and rich groves of lofty stature "with Yarrow winding through the pomp of cultivated nature"; and he was thrilled to find that what appeared so fair to his imagination.

*Dost rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation.*

Such was the poet's rapture when he found himself on the bonny banks of Yarrow. It is difficult to choose between "Yarrow Unvisited" and "Yarrow Visited."

And is this—Yarrow—? *this* the stream
Of which my fancy cherished,
So faithfully, a waking dream?
An image that has perished?
O that some minstrel's harp were near,
To utter notes of gladness,
And chase this silence from the air,
That fills my heart with sadness!

Yet why?—a silvery current flows
With uncontrolled meanderings;
Nor have these eyes by greener hills
Been soothed, in all my wanderings.
And thro' her depths, St Mary's lake
Is visibly delighted;
For not a feature of those hills
Is in the mirror slighted.

* * * *

But thou that didst appear so fair
To fond imagination,
Dost rival in the light of day
Her delicate creation!

* * * *

YARROW REVISITED

Again during a tour in Scotland and on the English border in the autumn of 1831 he revisited his loved stream in company with Samuel Rogers and the great Minstrel of the Border—Walter Scott. In the memorial verses written to celebrate the occasion the poet said:

*We made a day of happy hours.
Our happy days recalling.*

A CHILD

A child, more than all other gifts,
That earth can offer to declining man,
Brings hope with it, and forward-looking thoughts.
—Wordsworth: Michael.

THE GREAT LOVER

What do poets sing about? Sunsets and roses and moonlit glades and little children and partings and death are all subjects of poetry. All that is beautiful in life and nature and the coming of young love and romance in the shade are fit themes for verse. But beauty and loveliness are not in the objects alone, and modern poetry seeks beauty in the mud worm as in the Milky Way. Rupert Brooke sang of saucers and cups and his muse gave thrilling significance to such commonplace things as breadcrust and blankets. Listen to this poem of praise—the way he glorifies all the things he loved.

I have been so great a lover. . .
Shall I not crown them with immortal praise
Whom I have loved, who have given me
... dared with me.

High Secrets.

So, for their sakes I loved, ere I go hence,
And to keep loyalties young, I'll write
those names,

Golden for Ever.

These I have loved;

White plates and cups, clean-gleaming,
Ringed with blue lines; and feathery

faery dust,
Wet roofs, beneath the lamplight, the
strong crust

Of friendly bread; and many tasting food. . .
Then, the cool kindliness of sheets, that soon
Smooth away trouble; and the rough

male kiss
Of blankets. . . the keen,
Unpassioned beauty of a great machine;
The benison of hot water; furs to touch;
The good smell of old clothes, and
other such. . .

. . . . Dear Names,
And thousand other throngs to me!
—Through Literature to Life: Cassell.

THIS IS WAR

May I tell you in a simple parable what I think this war is doing for us? I know a valley in the north of Wales between the Mountains and the Sea—a beautiful Valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered from the mountains from all the bitter blasts. It was very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hill above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance, and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which came from the hill tops, and by the great spectacle of that Valley. We have been living in a sheltered Valley for generations, we have been too comfortable, too indulgent, many, perhaps, too selfish, and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation when we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation—the great peaks of honour we have forgotten—Duty, Patriotism, and—clad in glittering white—the great pinnacle of Sacrifice, pointing like a rugged finger to heaven. We shall descend into the Valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation lest they will carry in their hearts the image of their great mountain peaks, whose foundations are not shaken through Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war.

Lloyd George.

Aug. 6, 1914.

EPITAPH

ON AN ARMY OF MERCENARIES

These on a day when Heaven was falling,
In an hour when Earth's foundations fled
Pursued their mercenary calling
And took their wages and are dead.

Their shoulders held the sky suspended,
They stayed and earth's foundations stay.
What God abandoned these defended
And saved the scheme of things for pay.

—Houseman.

CHURCHILL—A MAN OF DESTINY*

By MR. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE British Parliamentary Election Propaganda is in full swing and the 23rd of February will decide the issue. All the three major parties—the Socialists, Conservatives and the Liberals have entered the contest with the maximum number of candidates. It might be remembered that as recently reconstituted the total parliamentary strength is 625 and each party is practically contesting every seat, even the Liberals having put forth 450 candidates.



Mr. Winston Churchill

The election manifestoes offer very interesting psychological studies. Labour offers full employment, social security for every one, completion of full-nationalisation, consolidation of industries already nationalised, extension of industrial democracy, completion of steel nationalisation and cement, Sugar refining, cold storage industries. The conservatives are no less emphatic. Their programme is: no more nationalisation, denationalisation where possible, maximum relaxation of present control, reduced taxation by curbing Government spending, abolition of directed labour, more private building, strengthening of commonwealth links and Imperial priorities in trade. The evidence of conflict in the programme is evident and there will be much undoing, if the

* This article was received on February 20, three days before the General Elections in England. Whether the Tories win or lose the historic position of Churchill as war time leader is secure in the story of nations.—Ep. I. R.

Conservatives succeed. The Conservatives under Churchill hold that Labour has gone far on the wrong road and if the further step is not resisted, the future is one of disaster. And Churchill has begun a raging campaign. His latest stunt is a peace-poser. If he is called to power again, he says, he will meet Stalin for a peace-talk. The Britisher, as much of the rest of the world, is war-weary, and the bait is tempting. But is not the sentiment strange on the part of one who took the Labour Government to task for not having taken up the atom bomb and considered the failure as one of its extraordinary lapses?

Churchill is not a wizard like Lloyd George but is none the less, a man of infinite resources and his eloquence is still captivating and may achieve much. He has proved to be a man of destiny and his life has been full of adventures.

Winston Churchill is a scion of the house of Marlborough. His father Randolph, was the third son of the 7th Duke of Marlborough. He married an American beauty, Miss Jennie Jerome of New York in April 1874 and Winston was born on 30th November 1874. (Note the hurry with which he came into the world!)

In his father's eyes, the youth was not promising and was therefore meant for the army. At seven, he was sent to a school at Ascot, where he was remembered as a naughty child. H. G. Wells recording his impressions of Churchill's youth notes, "There are times when the evil spirit comes upon him and then I can only think of him an intractable little boy, a mischievous dangerous little boy,

a knee-worthy little boy." At school, he is said to have extracted sugar from the pantry for which he was chastised. He is also alleged to have kicked his Headmaster's straw hat to ribbons.

He was taken seriously ill when he was 8 years of age and was sent to a private school at Brighton where he stayed for 3 years. Even then he indulged in juvenile journalism, criticism and mock fights. He was irrepressible and clamoured for a holiday on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee urging that a jubilee comes only once in a school boy's life. He went to Harrow in 1888 where also his mischievous tendency was in evidence. He is alleged to have ducked L.S. Amery into the bath, because of his diminutive size. As a boy he had a remarkable memory and could repeat 1200 lines of Macaulay's Lays. He was good at essay and history. His self-consciousness and memory have been marked. "My father is the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I mean to be the same one day. I shall be a soldier, of course when there is any fighting to be done. After that I shall have a shot at politics."

He left Harrow towards the end of 1892 and entered Sandhurst in June 1893. While he was thus securing a career for himself, his father Randolph died at Cairo in 1894. Churchill joined a regiment at Aldershot in 1895 and desired active service. At that time, there was a revolt at Cuba and he sought to participate in the suppression. At the same time, he also secured a commission from a Newspaper office as a correspondent at £5 a letter.

He returned to England in 1896 when the 4th Hussars wherein he was appointed a subaltern, was ordered to the East. Churchill accompanied it to India and

spent a good time of it at Bangalore and Ooty where the salubrious climate inspired him into literary activity and he began a novel "Savrola" which was completed when he returned home on leave.

At about this time Lord Kitchener led an expeditionary force to the Nile and Churchill sought a commission therein. He had an added capacity as a representative of the *Morning Post*. His experiences at Cairo, and his romances among the dervishes and his part in the famous battle of Omdurman in 1898 are separately recorded in a book of his. He returned home and attempted to enter politics in the House of Commons. His services on the different theatres of war and his reports of the incidents as a war correspondent had drawn sufficient publicity about him. The *Daily Mail* of the day had a notice of him: "At the rate Churchill is going, there will hardly be room for him in Parliament at thirty or in England at forty".

Churchill came again to India, played polo, won the cup and hit a literary success in the publication of his Sudan Campaign named "The River War", where Lord Kitchener was subjected to some harsh criticism—a way to publicity. The book was dedicated to Lord Salisbury "under whose wise direction, the Conservative party have long enjoyed power and the nation prosperity"—a way of seeking patronage for entry into politics.

In 1899, he contested a Conservative bye-election at Oldham where you have evidence of his vituperative eloquence in his reference to the Radical party as composed of "fools, prudes and faddists". He got defeated but before he could mourn it, war broke out in South Africa. A new enthusiasm got into him. His

established reputation as a war correspondent easily got him also a commission from the *Morning Post* and he set out to the scene along with the commander of the South African Field force.

Churchill had the most savoury experience of his life in South Africa. The armoured car which he accompanied dashed down a gradient against a rock. The ambushed Boers rained shells and bullets. A shell burst near Churchill but it hit the driver and spared Churchill—destiny? Churchill's splendid heroism helped the escape of the soldiers but he was taken prisoner and led to Pretoria. After 3 weeks of stay when he diverted himself with Carlyle's *FREDERICK THE GREAT*, and *Mill on LIBERTY*, he escaped from the prison under the hat of a Dutch clergyman fellow prisoner. He evaded the sentry, dashed to the wall of the prison, slipped into a garden, skulked to a railway station, climbed into a civilian train and hid himself under the sacks. What hair breath escapes and how many men under such circumstances have been snuffed out of existence by a fatal accident! To what do Caesar and Alexander owe the infinite greatness of their renown, if not to Fortune, asked Montaigne. "In the course of the many and extreme dangers to which he was exposed I do not remember that Caesar was ever wounded. A thousand have fallen in lesser dangers than the least of those he passed through."

The story of his escape read like a romance and he was acclaimed a hero in England. The Oldham working men who defeated him at the polls, sought him now as their candidate, offered him their votes and chose him their representative at the next election. Churchill was hardly 26 and he took his seat in Parliament.

Before Parliament began its sittings Churchill sailed for New York on a short lecture tour. There he was sponsored by that great American humorist—Mark Twain. Here is his characteristic introduction of Churchill to an audience. "The lecturer tonight is Mr. Winston Churchill. By his father he is an Englishman. By his mother he is an American. Behold a perfect gentleman."

Churchill was back in London in time to take his seat in Parliament on the 23rd January 1901. His maiden speech was made in the course of the debate on the South African war and was appreciated by Chamberlain and Asquith.

Differences rose between him and his party in the matter of free trade and Churchill turned towards Liberalism. Personal ambitions over-ride party principles. Was it not Palmerston who said of Englishmen that they had no eternal principles but only eternal interests!

The general election of 1906 witnessed large land-slides and the Tory Party finally got defeated. The newly turned Liberal, Churchill got into Parliament representing Manchester. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1907.

The then Premier Campbell-Bannerman 'who governed Ireland with Scottish jokes' died and was succeeded by Mr. Asquith who made Churchill, President of the Board of Trade and Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Miners Eight-hour Bill, the Small Holdings Bill, Old Age Persons Bill, the Licensing Bill, and the Education Bill, were some of the legislative enactments which were effectively sponsored by Churchill. He had by now secured for himself an abiding place in the governance of the country. He was

now 34 years of age. September 1908 witnessed the marriage of Churchill with Miss Clementine Horier, daughter of Col. H. M. Horier, K. C. B. They met in a friend's house and fell in love at first sight. They were married at St. Margarets' Church, Westminster.

Churchill's change of party, led to a continued and increasing association with Lloyd George. Each of them was dynamic and each could call out thunder by himself. They now combined for sensational issues and carried out a series of Budget successes by a well conceived attack on the unreformed House of Lords.

Churchill was offered the Viceroyalty of India in succession to Lord Minto but he declined the office. He declined it again 11 years later, when Lloyd George renewed the offer. He felt the office too small for him.

Mr. Asquith made him the Home Secretary. It was during this period that the German menace began to take shape. Germany was building her fleet. It was a challenge to the British supremacy of the seas. The pacifists did not suspect German designs and were perhaps for a friendship with her. But the uncanny instinct of Churchill detected danger ahead and began to sound his warnings. The nation must be awakened. The enemy also should be scared. "The British Navy" he proclaimed "is to us a necessity and from some points of view the German Navy is to them more in the nature of a luxury. But naval power involves British existence. It is existence to us; it is expansion to them." This speech must have raised fury in Germany. He made meticulous calculations on the relative strength of Germany and France and their possible

movements and chances of success or failure, every day and every week, in the event of a clash and drew up a detailed programme which eventually proved prophetic. Asquith was very much struck by it and invited Churchill to leave the Home Office and take over the Admiralty and organise the war-staff. Churchill accepted the offer and brought tremendous enthusiasm to the task. The inefficients were eliminated, the experienced were recalled to duty, the seamen's pay was increased, naval aviations encouraged and speeded up. The fleet was shifted from coal to oil fuel and to provide for all contingencies, a controlling share of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was purchased. Long range 15 inch guns were manufactured and fast-division battle ships created—a regular armament race. In the years between 1911 and 1913 the vigilance and foresight of Churchill, completely organised the Admiralty to meet the Challenge of 1914. Competent critics are of opinion that but for Churchill the British navy might well have had a Pearl Harbour of its own in 1914. The war came. Churchill's expeditions to Antwerp and Dardanells were ill-fated and miscarried. There was a reshuffling of the Cabinet and Churchill was thrown out. Churchill, on that account, did not withhold his services to the nation. He accepted an appointment as a major of the Grenadier Guards and served in the trenches of France. When Lloyd George became the Prime Minister, he was recalled to London as Minister of Munitions. One day, while in the trenches his General sent for Churchill, he answered the call but the General was not found. While Churchill returned in great chagrin, he found his dug-out completely demolished

by a German shell. Was it chance or destiny that saved him?

The interregnum between the two wars is a long spell and a period of wilderness for Churchill. How he occupied the period is summed up by a writer. During the 1930's he wrote trifles for newspapers and magazines, gambled furiously at Monte Carlo, played the stock-market. The paintings he made at this time are the record of an aimless wandering—Landscapes of the Riviera, Dutch canals. Norwegian fjords. He completed the four-volume "Life of Marlborough," his ancestor. . . . No other writer in England except Shaw, surpassed his earnings of 100,000 dollars a year.

The injustices of the Treaty of Versailles worked out a reaction. Hitler rose to power and was consolidating his nation for a final trial of strength with the victors of the 1st war. England was war-weary. Her statesmen were short-sighted. The Oxford graduates resolved not to fight for king or country. The Official trend was one of appeasement. True to his instinct, Churchill scented danger and gave his warnings. "All these bands of sturdy Teutonic youth, marching through the streets and roads of Germany with the light of desire in their eyes, are not looking for status. They are looking for weapons." War came when England was napping. Chamberlain could only wave his umbrella of peace. True to pattern, Germany ran through Belgium and Holland. France was collapsing. The Chamberlain sands ran out. Churchill came to the rescue at the head of a Coalition. How he whipped up the nation into hectic activity, sustained their enthusiasm by his inspired harangues and

secured his allies, are matters of recent history. The co-operation offered by his critics and political opponents, throughout the period, is a tribute to his capacity and genius. If riding the whirlwind and directing the storm was true of any one man, it was true of Churchill. America was none too enthusiastic for participation in the war at the earlier stages. Perhaps, Pearl Harbour gave her the decision. The first German assault gave Russia a faint. Russia must be assisted, if she is to hold on. France had to be kept under good humour to prevent her further betrayal. Japan had to be restrained in the East. India was resentful and had to be guarded. The creation of a third front was imperative to divert German concentration in Russia. Roosevelt, though sympathetic, was calculating. Any other statesman, less colossal, would have quailed before the situation. Churchill was God's gift to Britain. He won the war for her and saved her face. But the sequel has been disconcerting. He had triumphantly declared: "The day will come when the joy bells will ring again throughout Europe, and when victorious nations will plan and build in justice and freedom a house of many mansions where there will be room for all." His plan has miscarried and cold war has set in. There is fear in the heart of every nation and devastation everywhere. Erstwhile allies are staring at each other as furies. All the pious resolves from Yalta to Teheran have dissolved into thin air. Churchill's brave attempts at a balance of power in Europe have proved futile. The United Nations Organization does not seem to be quite clear in its mind and it will have to grow more disinterested if it is to play an effective roll in organising the peace of the world. Meanwhile the nations are strangely disturbed. Both the East and West are in ferment. But there seems to be hope and courage in the heart of Churchill. Where will he lead his nation?

INDO-PAKISTAN TRADE DEADLOCK

THE JUTE, COTTON AND THE COAL TANGLE

BY MR. KAMAL KUMAR GHOSH, M.A., F. R. ECON.S. (LOND.)

WITH the Standstill Agreement of 1947, allowing free movement of goods across the border, both the Governments of India and Pakistan began hopefully soon after the Partition. But since the very beginning, the Indo-Pakistani trade relations have been attended with anxiety. Even during the brief period of the Agreement, ending on February 29, 1948, the Sind Government imposed restrictions on the movement of a large number of commodities, and the protests of the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan did not result in their repeal.

Not finding satisfaction in India's reply to demand for a share of the revenue earned from the export duty on raw jute at the port of Calcutta, Pakistan imposed an export duty on raw jute. India, on the other hand, pressed for a comprehensive and reasonable long-term settlement in respect of matters relating to the freedom of trade and commerce.

Despite these efforts licensing and tariff restrictions on trade between the two countries came into force on March 1, 1948.

Then came in succession, Calcutta Agreement of April 1948 and the Karachi Agreement of May, 1948, which were reviewed in another inter-Dominion Conference in Delhi during December the same year.

These short-term agreements were welcomed by the Government of India which continued its efforts to secure a long-term understanding covering trade tariffs in general, and raw jute and raw cotton and their products in particular. These efforts appeared to be bearing fruit in the middle of 1949 when following a meeting of the Finance Ministers of the

two Dominions, an agreement was reached in favour of lowering export duty on important consumer goods.

When however, agreement reached in these formal discussions were attempted to be embodied in formal agreements between the two Governments, for reasons best known to itself, the Pakistan Government found itself unable to agree to retain a clause relating to the long-term and comprehensive agreement in regard to production, manufacture and sale of jute and cotton.

In an Inter-Dominion conference in June 1949, India sought to correct her adverse balance of trade which had developed. Under the new agreement Pakistan agreed to give India 4 m. bales of raw jute and 450,000 bales of raw cotton. India, on her part demanded a large provision of cotton textiles for export to Pakistan which agreed to take 150,000 bales.

But in the purchase of raw jute, India has had to face too many difficulties. Not only has the fresh purchase of raw jute been made impossible, but the 500,000 bales purchased before devaluation have been withheld by Pakistan. Moreover, Assam jute in transit through Pakistan to India has also not been received.* This hold-up is part of a deliberate policy to make the position of Indian jute mills difficult and to compel them to buy jute at the rates fixed by the Jute Board.

In addition to Pakistan's falling below the agreed quota as per Inter-Dominion Conference of June 1949, the matter

* Piecemeal and partial release of these goods has since been reported after prolonged and persistent complaint at Government level.—Ed. I.R.

came to a head on November, 12, 1949, when India was put on the list of countries from which no import of cotton textiles was to be obtained by Pakistan. Further, the Indo-Pakistani trade statistics for November, the third month since devaluation, showed unusually heavy imports of essential goods such as coal, asbestos, cement sheets and sea salt from India by Pakistan under the Exchange of Commodities Agreement between the countries. This is an indication of Pakistan's intention, at the time when jute deliveries to India were held up, of obtaining as much essential commodities from India as possible. During this period, Pakistan did not lift cloth, yarn, oils, fats and so on which are also covered by the agreement.

The increased imports of coal and other similar essential goods by Pakistan, however, turned the trade balance in favour of India to the extent of Rs. 125.41 lakhs for the month at the old rate of parity between the two currencies. The total value of exports to and imports from Pakistan was Rs. 158.91 lakhs and Rs. 33.50 lakhs respectively.

Detailed figures indicate that in November, Pakistan lifted from India 222,000 tons of coal, 52,000 tons more than the monthly average; 431,317 maunds of sea salt against the monthly quota of 264,651 maunds; 1,040 tons of asbestos cement sheets, five times the monthly average; and Rs. 37,497 worth of fire bricks compared to the monthly quota of Rs. 8,333.

Exports of Pakistani jute, cotton and hides and skins to India, however, showed a sharp decline. Exports of raw jute recorded a drop of about 325,000 bales from the monthly quota and of

raw cotton was short of the monthly average by 34,519 bales.

Even so, the Indo-Pakistan Commodities Exchange Agreement first suffered a set back at the end of September, when Pakistan decided not to devalue her currency, resulting in a disparity between the two rupees. It however broke down completely in the last week of December 1949, when India suspended coal supplies to Pakistan in protest against the latter's detention of Indian goods in transit through its territory, and of Pakistani jute paid for by Indian parties before devaluation.

But even in the first week of February the congenial talks which Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Pakistan's Finance Minister is reported to have had with Pandit Nehru in New Delhi are stated to have disposed of the initial difficulty in arranging a meeting between the representatives of the two Governments. A report by a Special Representative of a Calcutta daily from New Delhi made on February 2, 1950 said that an Indo-Pakistani Conference to discuss the restoration of trade between the two countries was likely sometime this month. The difference between the two Governments over the agenda, which had so far acted as a delaying factor, was stated to have been resolved. Both Governments, it was learnt, had agreed that the proposed conference should concern itself only with the revival of the Commodities Exchange Agreement reached in July last year. This suggested that the question of the exchange ratio between the Indian and Pakistani rupees, arising out of Pakistan's decision not to devalue her currency, would remain in abeyance for the present.

Agreement to defer consideration to a later date tended to indicate a desire on the part of both Governments to restore whatever restricted trade was possible between the two countries in the absence of a settlement of the dispute about the exchange rate.

But all hopes have since been shattered. A white Paper issued by the Government of India on February 7, 1950 related the sad story of Indo-Pakistani trade relations. Relations have been stated to have ended in a deadlock which bars even the exchange of ordinary articles of Consumption needed by the common man in both countries.

As a matter of fact, the Government of India does not accept the view that Pakistan's recent trade restrictions were entirely occasioned by the impasse on the exchange ratio, because Pakistan continued to import a number of commodities including coal, while banning the import of cotton textiles and the export of jute, except on the basis of the new ratio. The ban is therefore described as "selective," and details have been already discussed.

Thus the net effect of these measures, as has been pointed out by the White Paper, was to prevent all trade between the two countries except for the supply of coal from India to Pakistan for which Pakistan continued to make payment from the State Bank Balances held in India.

This story of the present Indo-Pakistan trade deadlock, if we may echo an editorial, is a sordid record of broken pledges. It is a record which is quite inconsistent with Pakistan's declared policy of settling her differences with India through friendly negotiations. The

so-called Standstill Agreement at the time of partition provided that during the period from August 15, 1947 to February 29, 1948, there would be no restrictions on the free flow of goods between India and Pakistan and no trade or customs barriers would be set up. But within two months of the conclusion of the Standstill Agreement, the Sind Government violated it by imposing certain restrictions on the movement of a large number of commodities.

In violation of the agreement, Pakistan also made a decision to treat India as foreign territory so far as the movement of raw jute from Pakistan to India was concerned. Naturally, being in an upsetting condition, the new agreement at Karachi in May 1948 provided two special features and India agreed to limit the volume of her export of Indian-grown jute which competed with Pakistan's exports to other countries and she also agreed to supply steel to Pakistan. But the efforts also failed as Pakistan detained soon after Indian goods in transit from Calcutta to Assam and Tripura across East Bengal. Then followed another new agreement on June 24, 1949. Pakistan agreed to take 1,50,000 bales of textiles against a much larger provision in the previous year. But even after the conclusion of the Agreement, all sorts of restrictions on her trade in textiles with India were put by Pakistan which formally banned the import of cotton textiles from India.

Has this to do anything with the exchange ratio difficulties? Certainly not, as Pakistan continued to buy coal, jute, tobacco etc. It was a "selective ban" as has rightly been said in the White paper—a trade war. The currency was regulated in such a fashion that all trade was cut off except for the supply of Indian coal, thus increasing the movement of coal and at the same time blockading Indian jute in Pakistan.

Thus it is a war, as a contemporary points out, which hits the common man on both sides of the artificial frontier.

NEW PROBLEMS OF ADULT EDUCATION

BY DR. K. N. KINI, M.A., (HONS.) A.M., Ph.D.

Director of Public Instruction, Jodhpur

IN a country like India where over eighty five per cent of the people are illiterate, it is natural that Adult Education should in the first instance be mostly confined to the task of enabling the vast illiterate masses to read and write, including of course the imparting of an elementary knowledge of hygiene and sanitation, local geography and history and the very rudiments of arithmetic. Add to this, the adults once rendered literate should be enabled to retain their literacy by reading simple books on topics of interest to them and also journals dealing with our daily political and social and economic problems.

VOCATIONALIZE ADULT EDUCATION:

But our country has to progress industrially and in agriculture and in producing first rate materials required for defence purposes. We should be, as far as possible, a self-sufficient nation. To produce these requirements our workers should be more skilled, evince greater intelligence and possess an elementary knowledge of science and practical mathematics and machine drawing. For example an ordinary labourer can hardly perform efficiently the tasks involved in the manufacture of electrical machinery and radio equipment, battle ships, destroyers and so on. Therefore after the ordinary literacy of the adult is achieved, we should organize courses for them in elements of science and mathematics, geometrical and machine drawing and relate these to the vocations they are following with the object of enhancing their vocational competency. An analysis of each of the jobs in which the adults

of the locality are engaged should be done and the particular aspects of the above named subjects that are applicable therein should be taught to them. If the adults find that what is taught to them has relation to their vocations and will enhance their efficiency and therefore their earning power, they will surely be interested in the instruction imparted. In short we should vocationalise adult education even from the lowest level. Specially qualified persons should be employed to do the job analysis and to produce suitable books for the use of the adults. Adult Education Teachers should also be specially trained to perform their tasks with zeal and efficiency and knowledge. They should keep themselves in intimate touch with industry and know their requirements.

In order to increase production in our country, which is the most important question of the day, we should organize as part of adult education programme "trade preparatory courses" for those already engaged in industry. An adult has chosen, say, metal-turning as his occupation. He finds that there is no future for it in the locality and that he would take to a new vocation, say plumbing. Opportunities should be provided for such new trade preparatory courses at the artisan and journeyman level in the evening or night classes.

Courses of "trade-extension" type should also be organized. An adult may not be very proficient say in "electric welding" and he wishes to up-grade himself in the same vocation so as to enable him to earn more or occupy higher

positions in the industrial employment ladder. Courses should be devised for him to reach the highest proficiency. He should be taught the science, the mathematics, the drawing and the commerce connected with the trade, which knowledge will add to his cultural equipment also. Culture should and could also be sought through the vocation.

UP-GRADING IN GENERAL EDUCATION

Another type of adult education greatly merits our consideration. A number of persons who have passed their examinations at various levels wish to enhance their qualifications. For example, an adult who has passed the sixth class examination wishes to study the subjects of higher classes and obtain higher certificates to enable him to upgrade himself in his profession. He is employed and cannot attend day school. He and other people like him should be afforded facilities to progress. Classes either in the morning or in the nights should be organized for such persons and their qualifications enhanced. Indirectly, professions and vocations will get higher qualified persons.

RURAL UNIVERSITIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

In all our programmes, especially of *higher adult* education, we should not lose sight of the rural population. Evening courses both literary and vocational are being gradually organized in the urban areas, but not in rural parts. This is partly so because we have not got higher institutions of learning in villages. We talk of food production but do not impart suitable instruction to the village folk in the art of modern agriculture and allied occupations, principally because there

are no educational institutions there which can undertake the task. It is quite likely that, more and more middle and high schools will be established there. But it is highly improbable that the nation will think of higher institutions at the college and university level in rural areas.

I plead that we should establish new types of colleges and universities in rural parts to suit the social and economic life of the rural population. Rural colleges and universities should be pre-eminently institutions for teaching people to produce food, clothing, and building materials required by the nation on modern scientific and technological lines. Agriculture, animal husbandry, textiles, forestry, pottery, fishery, rural electrification, rural building trades, soil conservation, small scale industries etc., should be the subjects of study *at college level in their natural setting* and the rural population should have opportunities of going up to the higher stages including research in these branches.

Laboratories for study of forest products and of problems on fisheries, agriculture and animal husbandry are being set up in cities, where there is no proper environment for these occupations. When an alien people, who were not earnest about these matters, were occupying the highest posts, these laboratories were constructed in cities so that they may all reside in the urban areas and enjoy club life with their compeers in other departments. They had nothing in common with our rural population. They did not really mean to solve their problems either. But when we Indians are at the helm of affairs, we should take correct view of the whole situation and

see that what is due to the rural people is vouchsafed to them. I therefore strongly urge that colleges and universities be established in the rural areas and all rural subjects be studied in their natural environment much to the advantage and benefit of the rural population, who have after all to produce the food that we need and who can produce many other articles for us provided we afford them suitable opportunities to do so. If we do not effect this reform, the more intelligent rural people will flock to the towns to add to the numbers of the un-employed or under-employed people and cause economic waste and dissatisfaction in the line.

If rural colleges and universities are established with the above objectives, adequate and suitable arrangements can be made for up-grading the cultural as well as vocational levels of the rural population in their own environment and at times suited to their hours of work. During slack seasons, the farmers could have day courses and in the agricultural seasons, they could have night classes. "Trade preparatory" and "Trade extension" courses can be easily organized in these institutions of higher learning at any desired level. Of course, these institutions for rural folk should not be run on the cast-iron principles of urban colleges and universities with their interminable rules and regulations, ordinances and schedules which confuse even intelligent urban population. In rural universities, examinations should be all internal, more or less on the type of the old Gurukulas where the pupils were not allowed to leave until they attained cent per cent competency. The relations between the adults and the teachers

would be more intimate and there will be no attempts by the candidates for examinations to steal question papers and for examiners to tamper with the marks. The performance of the pupils will be continued until they satisfy the teachers that they are adequately competent.

NEED FOR A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

In order to resolve the poverty, illiteracy, and ignorance in the land, we should develop a new philosophy of life and propagate it in the classes for adults. The old slogan "Simple living and High thinking" has led to poverty and ignorance. We should adopt a new slogan "*High living and high thinking*" which are not incompatible with each other. On the other hand high living goes well with high thinking in this materialistic world.

Production should be speeded up and the co-operation of adults is most needed in this matter. "Slow and Steady" does not win the race. Instead "Quick and Sure" wins the race of life, and our people should adopt this principle in their occupations.

The colossal illiteracy in the land cannot be removed by the older method of "hasten slowly." A big programme should be adopted and worked most briskly. "Hasten Hastily" alone will serve the nation in this matter. At our present rate, it will take, decades, if not centuries, to make India fully literate.

DEFENCE

Defence should be a great concern of our nation. "Home guards" should be organized on a tremendous scale in towns as well as in villages. Adult Education movement and Home Guards movement should be co-ordinated. Adults should be interested in the matter of protecting themselves and their goods. *Every adult should be a soldier.*

IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

BY MR. JAGATJYOTI PAL

○ F the four factors of Industry, (1) Land, (2) Labour (3) Money and (4) Organisation—the fourth is absent and the third is shy in agriculture—that is the reason why agriculture has come to such a pass. No piecemeal reform, no palliative remedy, will be able to raise it from its present degradation unless it is tackled at its root and source. India's yield from agriculture has been notably poor. This poor yield of Indian soil has been talked of for years together and so long we had been under foreign masters and it was not their business to raise the people from their degradation. They had started Agricultural departments, Experimental farms, and appointed a commission presided over by a man who became the Viceroy afterwards—to improve agriculture—and the improvement that has been done is now being realized by the people in their very hearts. To be plain our foreign masters were not rice eating people. It was not their business to see whether India produced sufficient quantity of rice or not. They were wheat eating people. So they improved wheat production in the Punjab. They paid greater attention to irrigation in the Punjab than in any other province. Bengal and Madras are rice eating provinces, and rice being unlooked for, these two provinces have been in the grip of famine and are deficit provinces.

I am aware of conditions of agriculture in Bengal. I can say from my study of things here,—agriculture here is greatly dependant on weather conditions—drought or flood will play havoc, besides natural enemies such as flies and insects. To my mind dearth of a system of canals has been an important cause of

famine in Bengal. If there be a planned system of irrigation, people will neither be frightened by drought nor by flood. By a system of irrigation not only the soil can be improved but internal trade will be greatly facilitated and in rainy seasons, journeys will be greatly resorted to, by waterways. River traffic is cheaper, consequently consumers will get water-borne goods at cheaper rates. Not only this, canal will breed fish which is also an important food.

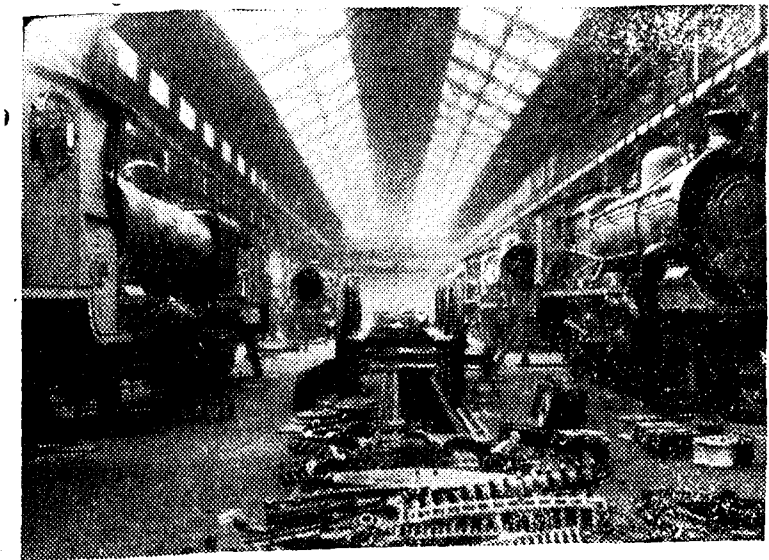
In India agriculture has been lagging behind so long, because the intelligentsia has lagged behind so long, from this field of activity. Indian agricultural products can compete in the world market as can be seen from its tea and coffee trade. Tea not only competes but its production was so much that its production had to be artificially restricted to fetch its price. Why tea flourishes and rice diminishes? The reason to my mind is—there is capital, there is organisation behind tea, whereas in rice—organisation is absent and capital is shy. Foreign capitalists brought their capital and brain in tea industry and have made it what it is now. Tea plants are not immune from exigencies of natural agencies. But there everything is not left to nature; all is done that is humanly possible. Rice production has been left to impoverished, uneducated peasants who have neither developed brain, nor money, nor sufficient health to cope with the task. Our outlook on life has also been greatly responsible for the decline in agriculture. So long, we being a subject nation, took a leaf from our foreign masters. Had the foreign masters taken to rice production, the intelligentsia

would have taken to it as was the case in tea, coffee, sugar and mining industries—the only exception being the late Mr. J. N. Tata, who chalked out a course for himself.

Example is better than precept. The farms so far started by the government have been "Experimental." They have been anything but economic. They have been cloaked with 'Experimental' to hide the uneconomic aspect of their undertaking. What is wanted in the National Government, is not the test tube or theoretical expert but field experts. (No body should mistake that I am decrying theoretical research.) Advice of men who have taken agriculture as a profession and have been successful in it, is to be sought. If such men be not found here, they are to be sought for, in foreign lands.

Fragmentation of holdings, has been in the way of any large scale agriculture. So nationalization of land is required as a first step in the improvement of agriculture. Till nationalization of land is accomplished, co-operative method is to be introduced in agriculture.

In Bengal villages, some crop is lost even through suicidal policies of the villagers themselves. People let loose their cows to feed on crops when they are growing in fields—some milkmen do this mischief in the dead of night—some people do it through negligence, malice, or enmity. The National Government have to enact strong legislation to prevent such crimes. Government have to engage watchmen to watch over fields, so that crops may be saved.



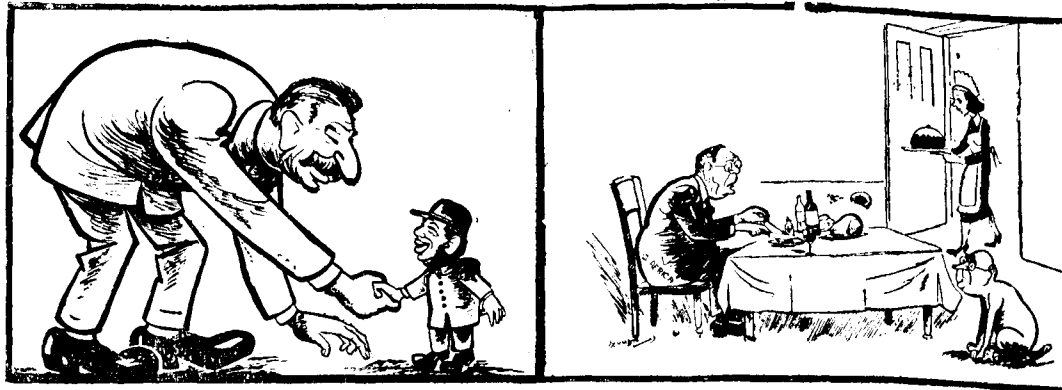
MORE LOCOMOTIVES FOR INDIA

An order for 84 "HPS" Class locomotives for India is now being completed at the Locomotive Works in Lancashire of the Vulcan Foundry. The "HPS" Locomotive is a two-cylinder 4-6-0 Broad Gauge Express Passenger Locomotive which the Vulcan Foundry has been building for the Indian railways since 1924.

TOPICAL CARTOONS

THE GIANT AND THE DWARF

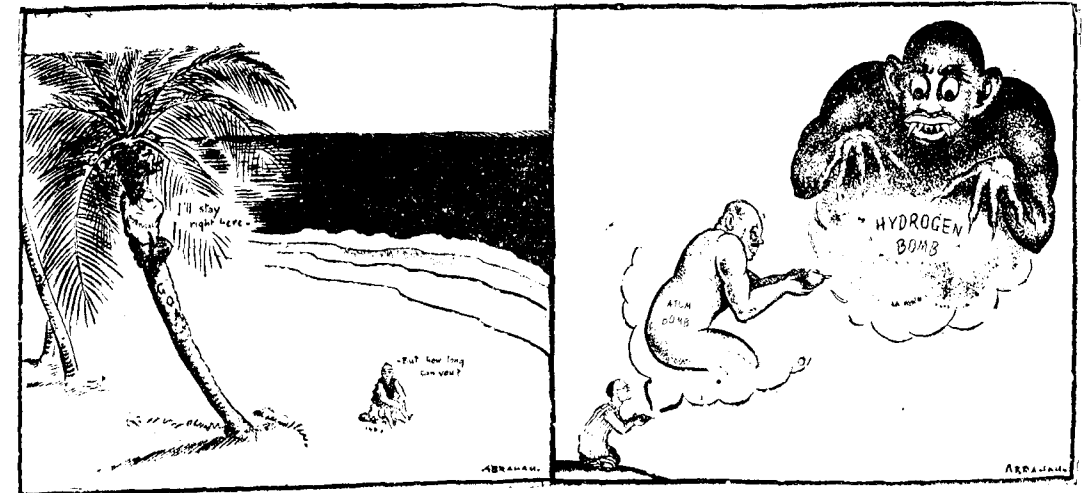
IN ANTICIPATION OF CRUMBS



A treaty of friendship has been signed between Russia and Communist China.

Pakistan hopes to gain as a result of the removal of the embargo on trade with S. Africa.

Courtesy: The Leader.



COACRAHA

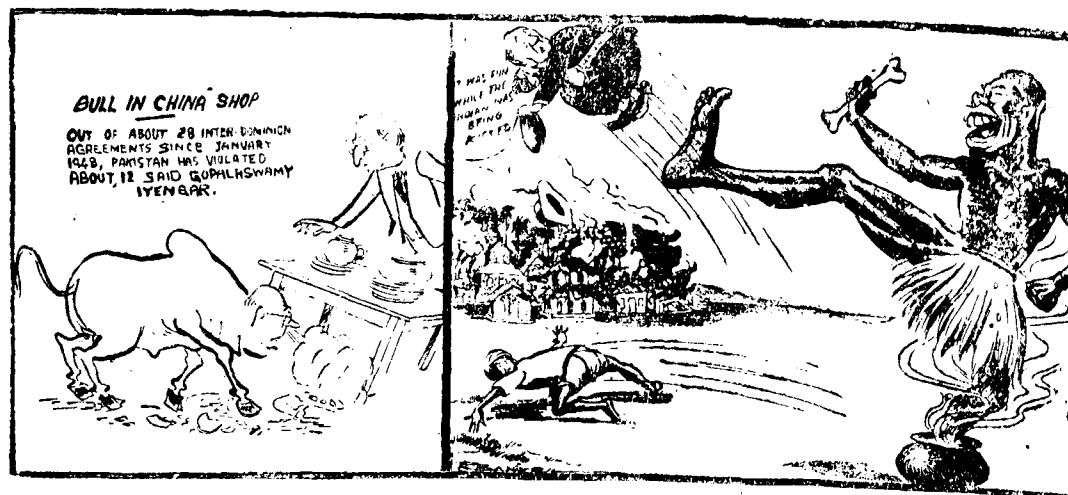
HYDRO-CENIE

Courtesy: Bharat.



TIMELY ADVICE
A 'Time and Tide' Cartoon.

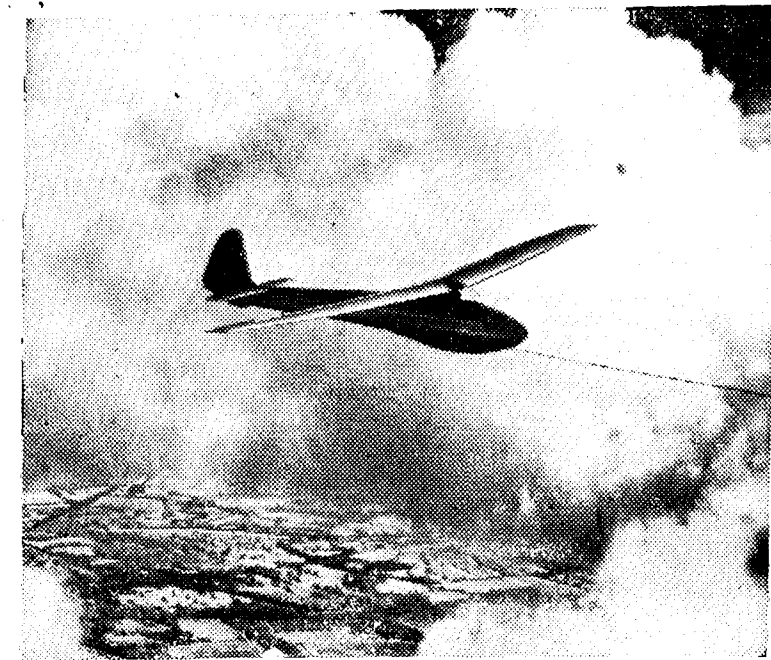
Courtesy: Free India.



Courtesy: The Leader.

MALAN'S MUSINGS

Courtesy: The Pioneer.



BRITISH GLIDERS FOR INDIA

Gliding, the cheapest form of flying, is becoming increasingly popular in India. Early this year the Indian Gliding Association sent its Chief Instructor to the United Kingdom to study recent developments in gliding methods, and on his recommendation the Association placed an order with a British firm for six sample gliders which have now arrived in India by sea. One of the six, the single-seater "Olympia EON."

JANA GANA MANA:

THE NEW NATIONAL ANTHEM

BY PROF. HARICHARAN MUKERJI *

THE FIVE TESTS

BY MR. V. R. LAKSHMI RATAN

(1) Glory be to thee, the arbiter of India's destiny the Lord who sways the minds of people.

The Punjab, Sind, Gujrat, the province of the Mahrattas, the Deccan, Orissa, Bengal, the Vindhya, the Himalayas, the Ganges and the Jumna and the restless waters of the sea awake from sleep hearing thy blessed name, ask for thy blessings and sing thy praise. Glory be to thee, the arbiter etc.

(2) Hearing thy oft-repeated invitation Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Moslems, Parsees and Christians Come from the East and the West, stand beside thy throne and the bond of affection is forged binding them together. Glory be to thee the arbiter etc. Thou bringest about unity amongst people.

(3) The way, difficult and uneven, leading nations to their rise and fall, which has been trodden by the people through the ages, resounds night and day with the sound of thy chariot wheels. Even in

the midst of the din and bustle of revolutions, the reassuring sound of thy conch shell is heard, Thou who protectest us from dangers and sorrows.

Glory be to Thee, the arbiter etc. Thou who leadest people on to the right path.

(4) In the dark night of sorrow when the country ailing, lay stunned and senseless Thou kept vigil over it with thy benignant wide-open eyes. Thou like a loving mother took us up in thy lap and protected us from nightmares and fears. Thou the preserver of people from sorrows.

(5) The night is over, the glorious sun is on the eastern horizon, the birds are singing, the blessed breeze is pouring forth new life, India shakes off her sleep feeling the genial warmth of thy brightness and lays her head at thy feet, thou arbiter of India's destiny Glory be to thee.

** This is a literal translation of our newly adopted National Anthem. There is no other translation except one by the poet Rabindranath himself which is rather free than literal. Here is the Poet's own version :*

Thou art the ruler of the minds of all people.

Thou dispenser of India's destiny,

Thy name rouses the hearts of the Punjab, Sind, Gujrat and Maratha, of Dravid, Orissa and Bengal.

It echoes in the hills of the Vindhya and Himalayas, mingles in the music of Jumna and Ganges, and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea.

They pray for thy blessing and sing thy praise. Thou dispenser of India's destiny, Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

The night dawns, the sun rises in the East, the birds sing, the morning breeze brings a stir of new life.

Touched by the golden rays of thy love India wakes up and bends her head at thy feet.

Thou King of all kings, Thou Dispenser of India's destiny.

Victory, Victory, Victory to thee.

FOR the second consecutive season, Indian cricket fans were served up with some glorious cricket. The Commonwealth Cricket Team, as it came to be called, flew to India to play a series of matches including five games against the Indian Team at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Karpur and Madras.

The first 'Test' match played on the Ferozeshah Cotla Grounds ended in a victory for the tourists. They were given a splendid start by Oldfield (151) and Livingston (123) and put up 226 runs for the 1st wicket. The rest of the batting was even and the Commonwealth declared at 608 for 8. India's work in the field left much to be desired. Merchant could not bat in India's innings as he was hurt in his hand and his brother Udhay also was on the injured list. Phadkar played a gallant innings (110 runs) and he received fine support from Adhikari who made 74 but they could not prevent India being asked to follow on. Following on they were given a fine start by Umrigar and Mantri who each made 55 and 54 respectively. But again they lost four wickets quickly until Hazare and Adhikari coming together carried the score from 169 for 4 to 299. Once Adhikari was out, India suffered a collapse and were all out for 327 runs leaving the Commonwealth to make 12 runs for victory which they did for the loss of Freer's wicket. Tribe bowled brilliantly to bag 4 wickets for 65 runs and he was ably supported by Pepper who took three for 134 runs. Pepper also was in fine form in India's second innings and he took 4 wickets for 67 runs.

Second 'Test', at Bombay, December 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20: This match ended in a draw. Merchant, though not completely fit, led the Indian Team to field after losing the toss. Modi, not a regular bowler, was called upon to bowl and he caused a sensation by taking the wickets of Place and Holt. But Oldfield and Worrell defied the Indian attack and put

their team in a comfortable position by some good batting. Oldfield scored his second successive hundred in 'Tests'. Phadkar and Mankad looked like going through the rest of the team when the score stood at 242 for 7. But Pettiford and Freer in a fine retrieving stand added 166 runs. Merchant and Modi gave India an excellent start by scoring 138 runs after losing the first wicket at 2. Phadkar and Hazare improved the position. But Lambert, coming on with the second new ball struck a deadly spell and India were unable to save the follow-on. Following on, the Home Team fared better. Merchant cut and drove well for his 94 and after him Hazare, Modi and Adhikari and Umrigar played useful knocks. The last two put on over a 100 runs for the 5th wicket and were largely responsible for preventing the Commonwealth from winning this 'Test' as well.

Tribe, the Australian spin bowler, commanded most respect. In the Commonwealth second innings, Alley, another Australian, made a bright 51.

Third 'Test' at Calcutta, December 30, 31 of 1949 and January 1, 2 and 3 of 1950: India won this 'Test' by seven wickets. In the absence of V. M. Merchant, who stood down, Hazare took over the captaincy. He did the first good thing for his side by winning the toss. Mushtaq Ali who opened with Mankad, made a quick 40 before he was out to a brilliant catch. Mankad played solidly and was unlucky to miss his hundred. However, it was the magnificent batting of Hazare that happened to be the highlight of India's innings. When wickets were falling quickly, he showed great defensive skill and remained unbeaten with 175 which included 23 fours. Kishenchand gave him valuable support. Tribe bowled an impeccable length throughout and took 5 wickets for 144 runs. The Commonwealth Team were all out for 190 runs largely due to the excellent bowling of Phadkar and Chowdhury. Naturally they were made

to follow on. Oldfield and Freer gave them a very good start of 121 runs and then the Commonwealth Captain Livingston helped Oldfield to add 132 runs for the second wicket. But of a sudden, the tide changed. C. S. Nayudu dropping into a splendid length got amongst the wickets and the visitors were dismissed quickly. Oldfield scored his third hundred in successive 'Tests' after giving four chances. Pettiford and Smith could not bat owing to injuries. The required number of runs was scored by the Indian side for the loss of three wickets. Mushtaq Ali again played a nice knock.

Fourth 'Test' at Kanpur, January 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18: This match ended in a draw. India could have repeated their performance at Calcutta but for some very bad fielding at crucial moments. A magnificent double century by Worrell distinguished the first day's play at the end of which Commonwealth, who batted first, made 230 for 3. The start was sensational, Oldfield and Place being out for 19. Then Livingston and Worrell were not separated until 151 runs had been added, both the players batting in their best form. Gaekwad and Ghulam Ahmed who bowled finely began taking quick wickets on the second morning but Worrell receiving valuable support from Tribe, carried the total to 448, their eighth wicket stand yielding 106 runs. The Indian side were denied of a good start by their opening batsmen but Mushtaq Ali and Phadkar retrieved the position. Mushtaq played excellent cricket and finished up with 129 scoring mostly on the leg side. Later Adhikari and Kishenchand batting resolutely carried India's total beyond the spectre of defeat. Once again Tribe did the bulk of the bowling. Livingston and Worrell again showed good form in their second knock. On the final day the Indian side had to make 300 runs in about three hours for a victory. The Home team suffered shocks when four wickets fell for 18 runs but Hazare and Adhikari batting dourly played out time and saved India.

Fifth 'Test' at Chepauk, Madras, Feb. 17th, 18, 19, 20 and 21: With each

side having chalked up a win in the series, naturally everyone looked forward to this 'Test' which would decide 'The Rubber'. Hazare who continued to lead the Indian side lost the toss. The Commonwealth team after losing Livingston and Oldfield before the first decade went up recovered magnificently thanks to Worrell. He gave a display of superb batting that has ever been seen at Chepauk. He remained unbeaten on the first day and went on to score 161 runs. He received very good support from his compatriot Holt as also from Alley and Fitzmaurice. Phadkar was again the main wicket-taker for the Indian side and Choudhury also bowled some very good overs. The Indian team in their turn after a very shaky start managed to finish up only 11 runs behind the Commonwealth score. Hazare played a captain's innings. Only Phadkar and Kishenchand lived up to their reputation as batsmen. Fitzmaurice and Tribe bowled long spells and captured most of the wickets. The visitors in their second knock were surprisingly enough dismissed for 247 runs. Mankad and Nayudu bowled very well and none of the Commonwealth batsmen were comfortable while facing these two Spin bowlers. Only Holt, batting stubbornly remained unbeaten with 84 runs. The Indian side needed 259 runs for a win and they had six hours to get it. Mankad was out early and Mushtaq had to retire due to an injury. But Hazare and Umrigar played the right type of game and slowly pushed the score along and were unseparated till lunch time on the final day. After lunch both these batsmen were out. Hazare repeated his first innings performance but Umrigar's innings was the better of the two. This young player played all the strokes and never hesitated to hit the bad ones.

In trying to force the pace, India lost Phadkar, C. S. Nayudu and Kishenchand. However Mushtaq who resumed his batting after the fall of the seventh wicket hit the required number of runs ten minutes before close of play and helped India to gain a creditable victory and the Rubber.

Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

British General Elections

INDIA is not directly concerned with the fortunes of the Parties in the General Elections in England. Time was when we looked to favours from this party and that—and on the whole, in view of their avowed policies and their general attitude to Indian demands—the Liberals and later Labour commanded in a great measure the sympathy and moral support of nationalist India. One or two Indians, in the hope of influencing British policy in however meagre a measure, sought membership of the House of Commons. But since August 15, 1947 our fortunes are in our own hands and neither Tory nor Labour success in England count for anything in our internal affairs. Parliamentary majority in England cannot affect us in any way—and it is none of our business to be critical of the way the Britisher chooses his Government.

All the same we cannot pretend to be altogether indifferent to the results of the Elections which mean so much to Britain and the World. For in the first place, England still holds a key position in world affairs and it will not do to ignore her influence for good or evil in the counsels of the nations. Secondly, India has just parted company with England after two centuries of close association and our interests are also in a way linked with those of other members of the Commonwealth. And thirdly, Labour as a party and many leading intellectuals and statesmen with Labour leanings have supported our cause with sympathy and understanding, and the general belief in India that Labour as a whole stands for peace and progress and the brotherhood of the nations is too well rooted to be forgotten in this hour of her trial.

Finally, after all we got our independence only when Labour was in power and the feeling is irresistible that but for the vision and imagination of the leading statesmen in the last Labour Government we would still be fighting for our rights. We cannot forget that it was the Tory Churchill who boasted that he was not appointed King's Minister to liquidate the Empire—meaning that England must continue to

hold India in bondage forever. With such a background we cannot but sympathise with Labour in her efforts to retain her hold on the Government of England.

As we go to press only 2 results are outstanding and Labour has returned to power with 315 seats in a House of 625.

The position of the Parties at the time of writing is:

Labour	.. 315
Conservatives	.. 296
Liberals	.. 9
Irish Nationalists	.. 2
Independent Liberal	.. 1

The main parties have received the following votes in the Elections including the latest results:

LABOUR:	13,248,957
CONSERVATIVE:	12,450,403
LIBERAL:	2,634,482

Labour's narrow victory, we are told, came after a gruelling daylong struggle, in which the Conservatives and Liberals combined four times drew level.

The Conservatives can justifiably claim, indeed all the Tory Press is claiming it most vociferously, that they have won a moral victory, by reducing the previous over-all majority of the Government of over 150 to something less than 20. They are also blaming the intervention of the Liberals for their narrow defeat at the polls.

The Labour Party, on the other hand, definitely feels disappointed, if not hurt, that the polls had not endorsed their social policy more convincingly.

The narrow majority on which the Government will be working will naturally mean that all the Members and Ministers will have to be on the alert, to avoid a snap defeat on any major issue. Perhaps Mr. Attlee's Government will have to face another election ere long.

One significant feature is the rout of the Liberals and the extreme left. The close result makes it imperative, says the *News Chronicle*, that the three Parties should get together and agree on what common action is necessary in the nation's interest.

Atrocities in East Bengal

Reports of riots and arson in different areas of Dacca, Chittagong, Noakhali, Comilla, Mymensingh and Barisal districts of East Pakistan, resulting in deaths and damage to property belonging to the minority community, have been pouring in at Delhi and Calcutta for weeks past. The tragic happenings in East Pakistan surpass anything we have yet known. As early as the first week of February, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy, stated that

over 13,000 people had crossed the border into India in the past three weeks following disturbances in Bagerhat Sub-Division of the Khulna District, and in Barisal, East Bengal.

A fresh batch of 300 to 500 refugees is pouring into West Bengal daily at Bungaon, a border station near Khulna, alone."

On the 23rd the Prime Minister of India pulled down the iron curtain over East Bengal and told a stunned Parliament that between 600 to 1,000 innocents had been brutally butchered in Dacca city alone during the recent communal frenzy.

Pandit Nehru stated that what had happened in Kashmir and what was happening in East Bengal were all inter-linked and warned: "If the methods we have suggested are not agreed to, it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods." That is to say, methods short of war which, with us, is out of the question.

Muslims Urge Drastic Steps

Pak atrocities have moved Muslim citizens of India, no less than the Hindus. Fifty leading Muslims of Calcutta, in a joint statement condemned the "hideous and gruesome atrocities" of a section of their co-religionists in East Bengal and appealed to the Government of India to take immediately "drastic and effective steps" to make recurrence of such incidents impossible.

The situation in East Bengal is grave. The news that is pouring in here from different districts of East Bengal in spite of the iron-screened censorship of Pakistan Government is sufficient to rouse extreme horror and indignation in the mind of any civilised person.

The Government of East Pakistan had lamentably failed to give protection to minorities under its care. In the name of humanity, we appeal to the Government of India to take immediately such drastic and effective steps which will make

recurrence of these revolting atrocities permanently impossible. Mussalmans of India will support any such steps that our National Government may think fit to take in this matter.

Meanwhile our Prime Minister's recent appeal for joint investigation has fallen on deaf ears across the border. Pakistan evidently dreads an enquiry into its own misdeeds. It is therefore trying to magnify the pitiful little repercussions on this side of the border into enormous crimes. What is one to think of that wicked propaganda, that latest and wildest of imaginary tales said to have been spread by the Pakistan radio about some ten thousand people having been killed and over 50 crores of rupees worth of Muslim property having been destroyed in Calcutta!

The Kashmir Issue

The Security Council of the U. N. at Lake Success has resumed discussion on the Kashmir issue. It will be recalled that at the last sitting of the Council Sir B. Narsing Rau, Indian delegate, rejected Gen. McNaughton's proposals because they would "eliminate or neutralise every one of the assurances relied upon by India," and because they ignored the moral and legal aspects of the question.

Beginning with her initially denied military intervention in Kashmir, Pakistan had placed a series of obstacles in the path of a plebiscite. Sir Narsing Rau asked the Council to study who created each succeeding obstacle, and added: "And yet in this topsy turvy world it is India that is constantly accused of 'stalling' or delaying the plebiscite."

At the resumed session on Feb. 24, a resolution terminating the U. N. Commission for India and Pakistan and appointing a U. N. representative to take over its powers and responsibilities in Kashmir was introduced. The resolution was introduced by Dr. Carlos Blanco, Cuban President of the Council for February. The other sponsoring countries were the United Kingdom and Norway.

This does not take us anywhere and only leaves the situation worse than we found it. The members have evidently decided to

shut their eyes to the legal and moral aspects of the question and deal with it on the basis of pure expediency. The proceedings of the Security Council leave no room for doubt as to how far Pakistan's propaganda abroad and her Foreign Minister's stunt are succeeding. There does not appear any doubt, observes Mr. K. Balaraman, special correspondent of the *Hindu* that "the dish which was served at the Council's meeting was cooked in the British Kitchen."

Consultations among various delegations had been going on all last week and the joint resolution which is understood to have been given final shape to last morning was practically as the United Kingdom wanted it and pleasing. Pakistan seems to have been the one strong spice in Sir Alexander Cadogan's recipe. A legal observer who has studied the Kashmir question, remarked that if the resolution was bad, the speeches which accompanied it were worse. As for example he referred to the threat implied in Sir Alexander's statement: "If the Council is to function effectively now and in the days to come, we must insist on its authority being respected and that its recommendations are not made to be ignored." This meant a warning that India dare reject the resolution only at her own peril. Again, Sir Alexander not only shut his eyes to Pakistan's proven aggression but declared that any attempt to fix initial responsibility for the impasse would involve an investigation into Pakistan's claim and though he hastened to add that he was not expressing any view on the claim, it was obvious which way his fancy lay.

According to present indications, the resolution is likely to get the seven votes necessary for acceptance but it is difficult to see what moral force it can have when adopted by the Council in its present position.

Out of five permanent members the Soviet delegate was absent. Both parties to the dispute do not recognise the Chinese member and the third, Britain, is herself in the position of an accused as a result of the disclosure of Gracy's complicity in the Kashmir invasion.

There is yet another aspect for consideration. India originally complained in the Council that Pakistan was helping the raiders. Pakistan denied it.

Now, it has been conclusively proved that Pakistan is guilty of aggression and therefore, also guilty of perjury a term very familiar to Americans today. The Security Council now seemed disposed to reward Pakistan for her double crime. The special correspondent has put the case for India with force and trenchancy and we make no apology for quoting him at some length.

The Central Budget

Republican India's first Budget was presented to Parliament by the Finance Minister Dr. John Matthai on the 28th February. We cannot in this short note attempt a review of the Budget or an appreciation of the proposals in the light of the present economic trends in the country. We must reserve it for a future occasion after careful study of the Finance Minister's statement and its reaction on the country. Estimates for the next financial year with the revenue at Rs. 347.5 crores and expenditure at Rs. 337.68 crores revealed a surplus of Rs. 9.62 crores which was reduced to a net surplus of Rs. 1.31 crores by a series of proposals calculated to give reliefs mainly in direct taxation.

Perhaps the outstanding features of the Budget are withdrawal of protection to the sugar industry, the total absence of any proposal for fresh taxation and substantial relief to the business community with a view to increasing protection and stimulating investment. Businessmen will also welcome the assurance that the Dividend Limitation Act will not be renewed after March 31 when it expires. They will have no more reason to talk of capital being "shy" because of Government attitude. Government in fact, are doing their best, after repeated experiments and failures, to encourage business investments in every way even at the risk of being charged with coquetting with capitalists and financiers to the prejudice of the middle and lower classes.

"There is a definite turn for the better", declared the Finance Minister surveying the economic situation.

With no fresh taxation, the last vestige of the controversial "Liaquat Ali Budget" in the form of Business Profit Tax abolished, with relief in Income-tax provided and the prospects of a surplus, the consensus of opinion at the moment is to congratulate the Finance Minister and his colleagues.

The Finance Minister also set a new precedent. There was no prepared speech and he delivered it extempore.



The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

TO THE STUDENTS: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 3-8.

Gandhiji's interest in education had begun very early in his life. His constantly experimenting mind had turned itself effectively to educational questions as he went on with his own studies, and he formed opinions and definite ideas by careful observation and thought. Then came the difficult days of struggle and leadership in Africa. He established his famous Tolstoy Farm in 1910, and his educational ideas immediately presented themselves in practical shapes. There was never a period after that when Gandhiji did not get into contact with students and express forcefully his wise and helpful ideas.

If the distinction of Gandhiji as an educationist is to be put in a brief form it may be said to be his combining the practical and altruistic ideas. Some educationists emphasize the theoretical and idealistic aspects of education. The defects of the existing forms of education may be said to proceed from this attitude. The new ideas have gone too far to the practical and technical side. Undoubtedly the right kind of education is what combines both these effectively. Any careful study of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of basic education will show how wonderfully he had grasped the ways of combining the ideal and the practical.

It is the wisdom that results from the blending of the spiritual and the practical in Gandhiji that gives very special value to his utterances on education. He spoke and wrote often on students and education. These valuable expressions full of advice and suggestions and inspiration are gathered together in this volume; and even a cursory glance will show how very important this book must be to all students and to all who are interested in education.

SOCIAL THOUGHT IN BENGAL, 1757-1947- A Bibliography of Bengali Men and Women of Letters: By Miss Indira Sarkar, M.A., with a foreword by Dr. N. Law, M.A., Central Book Agency, Calcutta: Price Rs. 4.

Miss Indira Sarkar who has done research work in Social Science has made a Bibliographical Study of Authors and Writers in Bengali Literature and Culture and Social Philosophy from the time of the establishment of the British Power in Bengal, down to the attainment of Indian Independence (1947). International Cultural Associations like the UNESCO should, as noted by Dr. N. N. Law in his Foreword, encourage such bibliographical compilations. This book sets in chronological order the titles of the chief works in the Social Thought of Bengal in the age of Classicism and Rationalism, 1757-1857, and then in the epoch of Romanticism and Nationalism in the period, 1858-1919, and finally in the period of Realism and Socialism, 1920-1947. There is also given a sketch of the evolution of Bengali Thought to explain the bibliographical periods and sub-periods. The entire century 1757-1857 was dominated by prose and the mentality of the Bengali Intelligentsia is utilitarian and pragmatic. Creative literature in poetry has not evolved. Social philosophy and interpretation in the entire period have been marked by lack of political freedom and its consequence. We see that Asianism has been a social force in Bengal since the days of Hem Banerjee and Swami Vivekananda. We unhesitatingly stress the following words of the author: "It is this tradition of consciousness about Hindu superiority which enabled Bengalis as well as other Indians to combat and counteract to a certain extent the rising tide of Western chauvinism, colonialism, domination and imperialism in Asia and Africa."

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE. Vol. XXIX-1948-Parts I-IV. edited by R. D. Karmarkar and R. N. Dandekar, Poona.

This volume provides a rich fare of learned articles on linguistics, and several aspects of ancient Indian culture. Mr. H. A. Shah writes on Rudra Kali; and Professor P. S. Sastri on the Imagery of the Rig Veda; while Dr A. M. Ghatage details traces of short E and O in Rig. Veda. Prof. V. B. Athvale details the movements of the Pandavas and concludes, among other things, that Yudhisthira was declared yuvaraja when he was 21 years old and Krishna was two years younger. Professor P. K. Gode traces the history of the use of almonds and of fried grains in the Indian diet. Regional divisions of Ancient India, and the gradual Aryanisation of the image of Narayana are among other interesting papers. Dr. Dandekar gives a very instructive note on the Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Orientalists at Paris held in July 1948, wherein the Indology section was presided over by Professor Jules Bloch.

PAKISTAN, THE FATHERLAND OF THE PAK NATION. PAKISTAN LITERATURE SERIES NO. 1 BY Choudhary Rahmat Ali (3rd edition)-The Pakistan National Liberation Movement. (Cambridge) Rs. 5

The preface to the third edition of this book was penned in November 1946 and prayed for the speedy liberation of the Millat's heritage in Pak-Asia from the British-Bania alliance and for its recognition by the comity of nations. Part I describing the features and resources of areas claimed for Pakistan, would claim six enclaves for the Muslim minorities in the six regions of the Deccan, Bundel Khand and Malwa, Bihar, the U. P., Rajasthan and Malabar. Urdu or Pak is held to be the national language of the Pak Millat; and the paramount consideration of the national laws should be not the state, but the individual & his well-being. Chapter XIV gives the outline of the historical evolution of the Pak regions through the ages; and much of it is the expansion of the

Muslim power in India. The next chapter traces the effect of Pak ideology on "the myth of Indian unity" as "created and canonised by the caste Hindus"; and details the schemes put forward by Hazrat Mohani, Iqbal and others, as well as the basic aims of the Pakistan National Movement.

Part IV, Pakistan and the World embodies the author's message to the Muslim minorities in the Hindu-majority regions of India & Ceylon. The final British Plan for India of 3rd June 1947, is naturally regarded as a grievous crisis for the Millat and a betrayal of it. The entire tone is anti-Indian & Hindu-phobian.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. LABOUR INSPECTION. 2. AGRICULTURAL WAGES AND INCOMES OF PRIMARY PRODUCERS. 3. REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL. International Labour Office, Indian Branch, New Delhi.

THE TWAIN SHALL MEET. By K. Sridhar Rao Arrow Enterprises, 87 Laxmi Bldg., Sir P. M. Road, Fort, Bombay.

GANDHI GRANTH (HINDI). By Hon. Prem Narain Mathur, Published by Ram Narain Lal, Katra Road, Allahabad.

INDIA BOUND AND FREE. By P. K. Anantanarayan, M.A., Published by S. Visvanathan, Central Art Press, Madras.

PRACTICE AND PHILOSOPHY OF CO-OPERATION. By V. Veerasingham, Manipal Hindu College, Manipal.

SELECTED LETTERS: M. K. GANDHI. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

FOR PACIFISTS. By M. K. Gandhi, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

GLEANINGS GATHERED AT BAPU'S FEET. By Mira. Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

GITA: THE GOSPEL OF HARMONY IN LIFE. By S. C. S. Chand & Co., Fountain, Delhi.

THE ATOM BOMB AND OTHER POEMS. By K. S. Rama, Hindu College, Guantur.

FATE OF INDIA IN 1950. By Jupiter, The Scientific Astrological Bureau, Madras 1.

DHARAMVIR BHOPATKAR. By Indra Prakesh Hindu Mission Pustak Bhandar, New Delhi.

INSPIRING THOUGHTS OF EMERSON. By S. C. Dass, 3206, Dassara Street, Delhi.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Feb. 1. Debate in Parliament on the President's Address.
—U. S. Atomic experts predict manufacture of hydrogen super bomb inside the year.
- Feb. 2. Sardar Patel defends Government's Labour Policy in Parliament.
—Soviet demands trial of Emperor Hirohito as war criminal.
- Feb. 3. King George dissolves Parliament.
—Atomic secret leakage—British scientist on trial.
- Feb. 4. Justice Bagge's Tribunal's award on Indo-Pakistan border disputes announced.
- Feb. 5. Russia's new type H. bomb made known by Berlin physicist.
- Feb. 6. Karachi lifts ban on trade with South Africa.
—South African talks begin at Capetown.
- Feb. 7. Soviet group walks out of U. N. Economic Council at Lake Success.
- Feb. 8. Gen. Cariappa, Commander-in-Chief, in Madras.
—Bombay High Court orders release of 28 Communists in detention under Public Security Measures Act.
- Feb. 9. Australia lifts petrol control: Britain deeply concerned.
—Dusk-to-dawn curfew in Calcutta.
- Feb. 10. India Government protests against misuse of Hindu shrines in Pakistan.
—Debate in U. N. Council on McNaughton proposals.
- Feb. 11. Capetown talks conclude.
—Shaik Abdullah inaugurates Tamil Nad Conference in Madras.
- Feb. 12. Einstein warns the world of the perils of hydrogen bomb.
—Kashmir debate in Security Council at Lake Success adjourned.
- Feb. 13. U. S. envoys discuss with Asia Mission Chiefs at Bangkok plans for economic help to S. E. Asia.
- Feb. 14. Churchill in his election speech hints end of cold war with Russia, if his party is returned to power.
- Racial riot in Johannesburg.
- Feb. 15. Pakistan becomes member of world Monetary Fund International Bank for Reconstruction.
—Sir C. Deshmukh to enquire into working of Damodar Valley Corporation.
- Feb. 16. Soviet—Red China treaty signed in Moscow.
- Feb. 17. Nepalese Prime Minister in Delhi.
—It is revealed that World Bank is not financing bold schemes in India.
- Feb. 18. A. I. C. C. meets at Delhi to take steps to revitalise Congress.
- Feb. 19. The three man Sub-Committee of Congress consisting of Prasad, Nehru and Patel recommends dropping of charges against Madras Ministers.
—A. I. C. C. discusses position of minorities in E. Bengal.
- Feb. 20. Death of Sarat Chandra Bose at Calcutta.
- Feb. 21. Mr. Gopalaswami Iyengar presents Railway Budget in Parliament.
- Feb. 22. India XI win the Fifth Test Match with the Commonwealth team on Chepauk ground, Madras.
—Egypt offers to mediate on Kashmir dispute.
- Feb. 23. Britain goes to the polls.
—Nehru makes statement in Parliament on East Bengal situation.
- Feb. 24. U. N. Council resumes discussion of Kashmir issue.
- Feb. 25. Labour wins in the British Elections with a small majority.
—Parliament passes Preventive Detention Bill.
- Feb. 26. Death of Sir Albion Banerji, former Dewan of Mysore at Bangalore.
- Feb. 27. Madras Budget presented.
—Tense situation in East Pakistan.
- Feb. 28. Dr. Matthai, Finance Member presents Central Budget in Parliament.
—Prof. Saxena fasting at Rajghat is removed to Lucknow.



READERS' DIGEST



PLACE OF MILITARY IN INDIAN NATIONAL LIFE

As the ideological conflict between Capitalism as manifested in the United States of America and Communism as practised in the Soviet Union grows more tense and serious, the psychological wave of militarism also grows stronger and stronger in every country, observes Principal S. N. Agarwal in the course of a press article. India is also not immune from this psychological fever and fear and the demand for compulsory military training in schools and colleges is gathering momentum. But we should be aware, he says, that many other countries have tried the experiment of militarism already and have reaped very undesirable results in regard to the evolution of their national life. "The world, therefore, expects India, the great land of Mahatma Gandhi to give a new lead in the field of Military training and defence. In this connection, the writer recently received a very instructive letter from Mr. Richard Gregg of America, who was one of the delegates to the World Pacifist Conference. Mr. Gregg was an experienced engineer in the United States and came in very close contact with Gandhiji. His books, entitled THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE and THE ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR, are quite well-known in India. In the course of his letter, Mr. Gregg writes:

"I think that there should be strong opposition to military training in schools and colleges. This issue has been a hot one in America, and it is very important to keep the plastic mind of the youth free from the glamour and poison of militarism. In America, we have seen the army and the navy grow into vast vested interests of overwhelming power. It now compels and subjugates all college administrations in the country. Please persuade India to reject this."

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Mr. Richard Gregg has also some very concrete suggestions to make regarding the place of the Military in national life during the period of transition. He observes:

"If the army is going to be retained, it should not be allowed to be completely parasitic. For at least two months out of every year of every soldier's training, he should work at constructive service of society. He should do sanitary work in the villages, drainage of marshy places, repair of tanks, antimalaria work such as spraying pools every ten days with kerosine oil, learning to make compost pits and heaps and demonstrating it to peasants and helping them to create stores of compost for the following year, road repairs, control of soil-erosion, re-afforestation, irrigation canal work, building dams, building bridges for villages, building and repairing houses, refugee camp work, etc. Marked emphasis should be placed on the Indian army doing this in Muslim villages and areas to show Pakistan that the Indian Army is not primarily a threat against the safety of Muslims.

"There might well be provision that every two years, the proportion of constructive service of the Indian army training per year should be increased by one month. That is, the first two years the soldier should spend two months of his time each year in constructive work; the second two years he should spend three months of his time each year in constructive work; the third two years, he should spend four months in constructive work. Or you might propose some other rate of increase of the army's time on constructive work. This would all reduce the cost of the army, make the soldiers better citizens after return to civilian life, turn professional soldiers increasingly from destruction and parasitism into constructive servants, enhance the moral prestige of the army and the government, reduce the suspicion and have enough courage and conviction to develop and rely upon Satyagraha, it should at least try to reduce as much as possible the poison of militarism."

This, says Principal Agarwal, is sound and timely advice worthy of our most serious consideration.

YOUNG AMERICA

Young Shirley was racing around the porch with a neighbour's son close at her heels.

"Why are you chasing her?" Shirley's dad asked.

"She pinched me," replied the lad.

He then turned to his daughter and demanded

"Why did you pinch him?"

Blushing prettily, Shirley whispered to her father, "So he would chase me."

EINSTEIN'S NEW THEORY

Dr. Einstein's latest achievement, the Generalised Theory of Relativity, runs to 20 type-written pages, at least a third of which are intricate mathematical equations. The symbols are those of relativity and cannot be explained in terms of everyday mathematics. At one point in the paper, Dr. Einstein states that his "solution" of the problem of tying the universe together in one hypothesis is faced with mathematical difficulties. "I have not yet found a practicable way to confront the results of the theory with experimental evidence," he writes.

"Dr. Einstein," says *The Scientific American*, in its last issue "has set forth what some of his friends say is the long sought Unified Field theory. The scientist himself has given no public hint of any such extraordinary development but he is said to have told close associates at the Institute for Advanced Study that he regards the new theory as his greatest achievement.

DIET AND DISEASES

The popular "common sense" notion that well-fed people are most likely to keep healthy is not necessarily true, writes the *American Time*. Recent research shows, it adds, that the common diseases of childhood are no more prevalent among poorly fed children than among children stuffed with fruit and fish-oil vitamins. Research also shows that well-fed adults suffer as much as any one else from the common cold and influenza.

In a recent issue of the *Bacteriological Review*, Dr. Paul F. Clark of the University of Wisconsin's Medical School and five fellow bacteriologists summarize all that is known to-day, mostly based on experiments with animals, about the effect of diet on

infectious diseases. Their summation: sometimes diet helps; sometimes not.

The researches noted that certain infections (e.g., the minute protozoa which cause sleeping sickness) thrive in a wellfed patient, but languish where some supposedly vital food factor is missing. Rats whose diet was lacking in the vitamin B complex survived sleeping sickness better than better-fed rodents. Ill-fed rats infested with an intestinal parasite were not helped by a pantothenic acid (vitamin) preparation in their diet; instead, the parasites flourished on it. So did the parasites in chickens infected with bird malaria.

Among the viruses (which cause such familiar diseases as measles, chickenpox, colds, influenza and mumps) are many which prove more damaging to a healthy body. Sick chickens are more resistant to cancer than healthy ones. Undernourished guinea pigs are better able to ward off foot and mouth disease.

In humans, the most baffling virus is that of poliomyelitis. It has been noted for years that the disease seems to attack better-nourished children. In mice experiments, if the animals' diet was deficient in thiamin (vitamin B), the incubation period was prolonged, and the paralysis and mortality rates were cut down. It was also found that if thiamin was added to the diet infected animals, the polio often developed quickly into paralysis.

But the picture was not all dark. In many cases, vitamins proved to be a shield against disease. One dramatic example; pigeons deprived of vitamin B got sleeping sickness—to which they are normally immune. The doctors, cautious as usual, wanted to give the whole subject further study. Meanwhile, they were in favour of eating—and a well-balanced diet at that.

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ENGLISH IN CEYLON

Discussing the place of English in the schools and in the lives of the common people of Ceylon Mr. H. A. Passe observes in the *University of Ceylon Review* for July:

"In Ceylon at present English is the medium of instruction in the post-primary classes of the English schools, in the Ceylon Technical College, the School of Agriculture, the Law College, the Government Training College, and the University of Ceylon. It is, and seems likely to continue to be, the *lingua franca* of educated people throughout the island.

It is the language of society, of commerce, of the professions, and of the government; it is the medium of pleasure and of business. In our intercourse with the world outside Ceylon, English already performs the function of an International Auxiliary Language. There is an almost universal desire to learn a language which so greatly enlarges one's opportunities."

The opposition to English comes from a certain class of nationalists and from those who fear that in insisting on "English, more English, and better English," Ceylon may continue to neglect her own native languages.

"It is ironical that the greatest hostility to 'English education' comes from those who enjoy its benefits; it may be that those who have neglected the 'great heritage' of their native languages now have a guilty conscience about it.

But when the heat and dust of controversy have subsided, it will be realised that more than a hundred years of English education have left their ineradicable impress on our ways of thinking

and feeling. In Ceylon learning to speak and write English has implications which go far beyond the conception of English as a common language or means of inter-communication locally and with the world outside. The English language has kept Ceylon in contact not merely with England, but with modern civilization."

THE EFFECT OF SMOKING

Magazine Digest which is always crammed with useful hints and suggestions culled from authoritative sources gives impressive figures to prove the deleterious effects of smoking—a habit which has become well nigh universal. The most impressive figures about the effect of smoking, it says, are those of Raymond Pearl.

He found, in studying 6,813 men, that "the smoking of tobacco was statistically associated with an impairment of life duration, and the amount or degree of this impairment increased as the habitual amount of smoking increased."

Consider the following:

Classification	Average Age at Death
Non-smokers	67.7 years
Moderate smokers	65.5 years
Heavy smokers	57.7 years

Notice in the table that while moderate smokers paid with "only" 2.2 years of life, heavy smokers had *ten years less* of life than non-smokers.

Some computations also show:

The moderate smoker pays with 12.7 minutes of life for each cigarette he smokes. The heavy smoker pays with 34.5 minutes of life for each cigarette he smokes.

The pack a day smoker pays with 11½ hours of life for each pack of cigarettes he smokes.

CHILD'S APTITUDE TO LEARN LANGUAGES

Writing about children's aptitude to learn languages, Sri A. S. Venkataraman says in *Adventure of Education*:

We, in South India, are aware how easily, how quickly Tamil, Canarese, Marathi and Telugu children take to other Indian languages as ducks to water.

Modern psychology has established that in a child there is an auditory apparatus which is sensitive and susceptible only to human sounds and not to other sounds and noises. And here again, the mechanism is adapted mainly for the mother-tongue, and that is why the adult cannot hear all the sounds of a foreign tongue so easily as the child. During the first year, even before a child physically develops and moves or runs, his mind is active. He listens selectively to human sounds because of the peculiar equipment—or otherwise he should be braying like a donkey or whistling like an engine, not to speak of copying a thousand other sounds or noises that come his way!

Before the second year or its end, the child acquires a vocabulary capacity of about two hundred words, and, in the course of his experience till the sixth year, his vocabulary runs into thousands. From this point of view, it is strange that we attempt to teach the alphabet at that stage when the child is already in possession of a rich stock. The child at that stage can burst into full fledged linguistic expression or even explosion some times!

It is worthwhile to note that during this period, particularly before the end of the second or the third year, most children acquire a marvellous capacity for linguistic development.

In this development, comprehension precedes expression, i.e., the passive command before the active. That is why there is a differentiation between passive and active vocabularies.

Any interference with the child's desire for freedom of expression as for freedom of movement would lead to a permanent set back, the consequences of which cannot be easily obliterated. Violence in speech or action, mother's "don'ts" nurses "mustn'ts"—are restraints or restrictions usually inspired by ignorance or superstition imposed on the rapid growth of children. They may do incalculable harm to children and impair their capacity for self-expression and initiative.

All unwillingly such nurses and parents or others may become enemies of their children in the best period of their freedom and their mental and moral growth. This is yet another illustration of the truth contained in the old adage, "Save me from my friends"—well-meaning, no doubt, but without adequate psychological insight!

H-BOMB 'A PHYSICAL MONSTROSITY'

Some radio-active substances from the Hydrogen bomb will last "hundreds or thousands of years," making bombed cities uninhabitable, Mr. William I. Laurence, 'New York Times' Science Writer, said in a lecture at Baltimore.

He said the bomb, "a physical monstrosity," was several million times more powerful than an atom bomb.

The U. S. A. and Russia could annihilate each other in H-bomb warfare, he warned his audience.

"The sun is actually an enormous Hydrogen bomb in space," he said, "and we will create on earth a miniature replica of the sun."

FACTS ABOUT JAPAN

General Mac Arthur's Public Information Office has issued the following "facts" on Occupied Japan.

Japan has 180 universities—92 private, 69 national and 19 professional or municipal universities.

The overall volume of trade for Occupied Japan has risen from over 100 million dollars during 1948 to 460 million dollars during the fiscal year 1949.

Of the 91 million acres making up Japan, 17 million or only 19 per cent is agricultural land.

Prior to the Occupation, 70 per cent of Japanese farmers rented all or part of the land they cultivated.

Only two of 460 seats were won by Communists in the recent land commission voting in Japan.

From January to July 1949 total employment in Occupied Japan rose from 25 million to 28 million.

Efforts are being made to increase the trade volume of Occupied Japan to 890 million dollars during fiscal year 1950. Consumer goods in short supply are made available to farmers as an incentive to stimulate crop deliveries.

In July 1949 the industrial production attained was 75.9 of 1932-36.

The death rate was 12 per 1,000 of population in 1948, the lowest ever recorded.

Approximately 205,000 Japanese have been purged from public life since the beginning of the Occupation.

About 4,200 Japanese have been convicted of war crimes since the Japanese surrender.

PLEA FOR PEACE IN BENGAL

In a signed article headed "Appeal to India and Pakistan," written a few minutes before his death and published in his paper *Nation*, the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose proposed that the only solution in the interests of the future well-being of the two communities living in the two Bengals was the creation of "East Bengal as a distinct and separate State" under the aegis of the Indian Union.

In an appeal to brother-Bengalis in East and West Bengal for peace and honour, Mr. Bose asked the people of both Bengals "not to look either the Delhi-way or Karachi. I ask them to be guided by the light that is within them."

Mr. Bose dismissed the suggestion of mass-exchange of population as no solution.

The solution that I offer for the acceptance of the people of India and Pakistan is that Bengal as a distinct and separate State should join the India Union and that the people of India and Pakistan should bring pressure to bear upon their respective Governments to bring this about as soon as possible. I have been saying repeatedly during the last three years that to my mind division of Provinces on a religious basis was and is no solution to the communal problem, that, even if Provinces were so divided, Hindus and Muslims would still have to live side by side and that communal segregation or religious quarantine was neither desirable nor feasible. That being my political opinion I have never made any distinction at any time of my life between Hindu and Muslim in undivided Bengal or in divided Bengal. The population in both Bengals remains as composite in character as before. I do not wish to disturb the partition of Bengal which has already taken place.

"I am well aware that there was in the recent past a sense of frustration among the people of East Bengal which was one of the reasons which gave rise to the demand for partition. The solution which I am offering will mean the least possible interference in the present state of things. Let East Bengal live and flourish as a distinct and separate State, but in the interests of future well-being of the two communities living in the two Bengals, which, as I have said before, are integral, the East Bengal live and flourish under the fostering care of the Indian Union.

PAKISTAN AND BHARAT

Despite the best efforts of our Government to foster friendship and co-operation with Pakistan, we are in the thick of an all-out total economic war with that country, writes *Organiser* the organ of the R. S. S. It has been the inevitable culmination of Pakistan's evidently incurable hatred of Bharat, it says:

Its financial wizard, Mr. Ghulam Muhammed recently visited Delhi and held talks with the Government. While hoping for the best we must prepare for the worst, and refuse to yield to black-mail. Till Pakistan sees reason and settles outstanding disputes concerning Kashmir, Evacuee Property and Canal Water, we must fight the politico-economic war launched by Pakistan to the finish, till victory is ours. There is no scope for compromise with aggression, injury and libel.

Pakistan's furious ill-will towards Bharat, we are told, is rooted in its very being. The birthday of Pakistan heard the vociferous cries. "We laughed our way to Pakistan; we'll fight our way to Hindustan". As Pandit Nehru recently said at Patiala, the Pakistan cry today is: "First to Srinagar, then to Patiala, and thence onward to Delhi". Such is the basic and dominant attitude of Pakistan towards Bharat. Small wonder it has lost no opportunity, and created many, to embarrass, insult and injure our people, our country, and our Government,—indeed everything that is Bharatiya.

After invading Kas mir and annexing one-third of it by organised violence and mass killing it denied its presence in Kashmir only to turn round to accuse us of 'fraud and dishonesty.' And now it is busy convincing the world that a Reign of Terror under the aegis of a 'Gestapo' prevails in the State. Recently the 'Dawn' published 'news' of Kashmir collapsing economically, and falsely suggested that the State administration was bearing the cost of the national army defending Kashmir. Predicting Kashmir's political collapse it invented the story that the State territory was packed with concentration camps" that the Muslims had been "crippled" and that they were "leading a life of cries and sighs" because of the "barbarous dog's rule." Only this quasi-official organ of the Pakistan Government

could have concentrated so many falsehoods in so few words.

Recently its quisling in occupied territory, Sardar Ibrahim, remarked that UNO would not succeed in resolving the Kashmir dispute to Pakistan's satisfaction.

In the light of their threats of war, their active preparations for war and their disinclination to sign a "no-war" declaration with Bharat, their overt and overt acts against us cannot be condoned or connived at as unfortunate but pardonable indiscretions.

ATOM CROPS

Atomic scientists in the United States are trying to speed up nature's way of producing new types of plants according to U. S. I. S. They are baking seeds of familiar plants in the atomic ovens at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, in the same way, and even in the same trays in which metals are made radio-active.

In this way the scientists hope to increase the number of mutations. In nature, a mutation occurs when the offspring of a plant has characteristics different from its parents. The offspring transmits the new qualities to succeeding generations.

David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, says that if the experiment is successful, mankind may have a whole variety of bigger and better crops, and plants that are disease-resistant and adaptable to many soils and climates.

A Young man who had received his degree from a university had been looking around successively for a position, for employment, and for a job. Entering an office, he asked to see the manager, and while waiting he said to the office-boy:

"Do you suppose there is any opening here for a college graduate?"

"Well, there will be," was the reply, "if the boss don't raise my salary to thirty rupees a month tomorrow."

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

CAPE TOWN TALKS

The Governments of India, Pakistan and South Africa are in agreement as to the existence of an "Indian question in South Africa", South African Minister of the Interior, Mr. Donges told the Union House of Assembly on February 20.

Dr. Donges led the Union's delegation at the recent preliminary conference in Capetown between the three countries.

The official joint communique of the preliminary conference said the three nations had agreed to call a Round Table Conference "to explore all possible ways and means of settling the Indian question in South Africa". The communique added:

It was agreed that neither the discussions under this formula, nor the holding of the Round Table Conference itself, would involve any departure from, or prejudice to, the standpoints of the respective Governments on the question of domestic jurisdiction".

Dr. Donges told Parliament that at the very outset it was made clear to the preliminary conference that as far as South Africa was concerned the talks had their genesis in informal talks between the Prime Ministers of South Africa and India in London last April.

It was necessary to clarify South Africa's approach to the talks in view of the attitude which the Union had consistently taken up at the United Nations in regard to the interpretation and over-riding effect of Article two (seven) of the United Nations Charter—the "domestic jurisdiction clause".

South Africa had further to safeguard herself from any implication that by agreeing to the talks, she was admitting

or countenancing interference in what was clearly and purely a domestic matter.

The house will appreciate how necessary it was to be insistent and persistent, on this point in view of South Africa's experience in the past at the United Nations.

In regard to the holding of a round table conference, between the three countries, to which the South African Government and the other two Governments have now agreed, it will be observed that the three Governments are in agreement as to the existence of an "Indian question in South Africa".

In the exploration of ways and means for settling this question, the Government has invited the co-operation of the other two Governments subject to the safeguards already mentioned.

The formula eventually adopted is wide enough to enable South Africa to canvass co-operation for what she considers the only full and permanent solution of the problem consistent with the maintenance of western civilisation and our way of life and the European way of life.

On the other hand, the formula is also wide enough to cover discussion of other solutions put forward by South Africa or by the other members of the Round Table Conference.

Assessing what had been achieved at the preliminary conference and what the further prospects were, Dr. Donges said: "We have succeeded in finding a basis, even though admittedly wide, for further discussions."

I consider it a distinct achievement in agreeing to hold a preliminary conference, and now having agreed also to a further conference, we have succeeded to some extent in bridging the widening gulf between the three countries.

KUNZRU'S ADVICE TO INDIANS

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation to the tripartite talks just concluded at Capetown, speaking at a reception accorded to the delegation at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress observed:

"The world is moving fast and South Africa will have to adjust itself to changing conditions. Although your problems are difficult ones, you will in course of time feel that forces in operation now will compel all the races to draw closer together so as to pull their weight for the peace and progress of humanity."

Pakistan

INCIDENTS IN EAST BENGAL

While no report on the situation in East Bengal is available from Press correspondents in Pakistan, stories of alleged atrocities on minorities are pouring into Calcutta with the arrival daily of refugees from Chittagong. Noakhali, Brahmanbaria and other places in Eastern Pakistan.

The airport at Dum Dum and the railway station at Sealdah are being mobbed by anxious people as planes or trains arrive at Calcutta from East Bengal. While the planes carry the full load of passengers, trains are arriving almost empty. The West Bengal Government were intimidated by the Government of East Bengal that there was no official ban on anybody leaving Pakistan. The refugees, however, attribute the cause of the trains coming empty to alleged atrocities by miscreants on India-bound passengers at various wayside stations in East Bengal during the past few days.

DETENTION OF INDIAN GOODS

Incoming and outgoing consignments of goods worth about Rs. 50,00,000 belonging to tea concerns and trading firms are reported to have been withheld by Pakistan while in transit through that territory since the Indo-Pakistan transport deadlock.

The detained consignments include various categories of tea garden stores, coal, machineries and parts, food stuffs tea, jute, kerosene oil, petrol, etc. It is further learnt that one entire special goods train of the Indian Tea Planters' Association which had started from Calcutta towards Siliguri immediately before the deadlock was detained in Pakistan. This goods special was also carrying new oil engines imported by some tea companies for urgent replacement of their worn out power plants.

PRESSMEN IN EAST PAKISTAN

A number of correspondents of the Press Trust of India in districts and sub-divisional headquarters of East Pakistan have been served with notice by the authorities of their respective areas directing them not to function as Press representatives until they have been duly authorised by the Pakistan Government to do so.

The authorities were not satisfied with the existing accreditation of the correspondents concerned who have been connected with the Associated Press of India for many years past and since February last, been representing the Press Trust of India which took over the business of the Associated Press of India. Their authorisation from the Press Trust of India was not considered sufficient by the district and sub-divisional authorities in Pakistan who are now demanding their formal accreditation with the Government of Pakistan.

Immediately after the Press Trust of India started functioning, intimations were sent to the authorities of certain areas in East Pakistan supplying them with the names of correspondents of the news agency and requesting all facilities to be given to them to act as Press correspondents. But the Pakistan authorities have not, so far, replied to such communications of the Press Trust of India.

Burma

DEMANDS OF INDIANS IN BURMA

The All-Burma Indian Congress concluded its third annual session last month after passing several resolutions, one of which urged the Indian Government to establish six Consular offices in important Burmese towns where Indians were in large numbers.

Another resolution urged the Burmese Government to extend the time for acquisition of Burmese citizenship by at least three months in Rangoon and six months in districts and to reduce the fee charged for citizenship certificates.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

JUSTICE BAGGE'S AWARD ON BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The award of Mr. Justice Algot Bagge, former member of the Supreme Court of Sweden, Chairman of the Indo-Pakistan Boundary Tribunal, was announced on February 4, with regard to four boundary disputes between India and Pakistan, two concerning East and West Bengal, and the others relating to East Bengal and Assam borders.

The Chairman upheld the views of the Indian Judge, Mr. N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, in respect of two disputes, endorsed the unanimous conclusions of both Indian and Pakistan members of the Tribunal in the third, and disagreed with both of them, and gave his own in respect of the last.

Of the two disputes concerning Bengal, the Tribunal upheld the opinion of the Indian Judge in respect of the Murshidabad-Rajshahi Sector, and conceded Pakistan's claim that the line should be flexible along with the course of the Mathabhangra rivulet for about 10 miles.

The Tribunal ruled that the *status quo* should be maintained in regard to the East Bengal-Assam border, thus rejecting a territorial claim of Pakistan of the town of Karimganj and surrounding areas.

Set up in pursuance of the Delhi Inter-Dominion Agreement of Dec. 14, 1948, the Tribunal includes besides the Chairman, Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, India, and Mr. Justice Shahabuddin, Pakistan who have also given independent judgments covering over 100 pages.

According to the terms of the agreement, the findings of the Chairman are final and binding in the event of disagreement between the two Judges. Apart from the unanimous conclusion in regard to Patharia Hills reserve forest, where oil-bearing tracts on the Indian side are being prospected by the Burma Oil Company, Indian and Pakistan Judges disagreed on the other three disputes.

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MINORITIES IN EAST BENGAL

The situation arising out of communal disturbances in East Pakistan was discussed for about two hours by the All-India Congress Committee at its secret session in Delhi on Feb. 19.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in a forty-five-minute survey of the situation, appealed to the delegates and through the delegates to the people in general "to keep the peace" inside the country. If they maintained peace in India, the hands of the Government of India would be strengthened in taking "suitable" action to protect the minorities in Pakistan.

During a two and half hour session, three members from West Bengal placed before the delegates a "grim" picture of the conditions of the minorities in East Bengal. They apprised the A. I. C. C. with details of the murders, arson and and loot in East Bengal and are understood to have urged the Government to take "immediate and drastic steps" to avert a major crisis. Bengal members including Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President, B.P.C.C., Dr. Pratap Guha Roy and Mr. Lal Mohan Sen, plainly said it was impossible for Hindus to continue to live in East Pakistan.

Mr. Rohini Kumar Chowdhury dwelt at length on the situation created by the influx of Muslims from East Bengal into Assam, and asked for immediate action to expel the undesirable immigrants from the province so as to frustrate the political designs of the Muslim League which had encouraged the migration of Muslims to Assam.

Pandit Nehru opposed any retaliation by individuals in India. He said it was wrong to think that the Government were "sleeping" over the East Bengal situation. Government were seized of the problem and he asked the people to leave things to the Government because such things could be decided only by the Government.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADVICE TO JOURNALISTS

The President Rajendra Prasad was entertained to lunch by the Press Association and Foreign Correspondents' Association in the Capital on Feb. 18. He said that the new constitution gave adult franchise at one jump to millions of men and women in the country and it was for the Press to tell the 160 million voters, who would participate in the elections which would be coming in another year or so, what their duties were and how to discharge them.

"In this audience," the President went on, "there are three classes of journalists; those who are conducting journals in English in this country, those who are conducting journals in the Indian languages and those who represent the foreign Press. I think each class has certain distinct functions to perform. Those who conduct journals in the English language have to cater not only to the needs of the people of this country but, to a certain extent, they also represent this country before other countries. Those who conduct journals in the Indian languages have the biggest audience that any newspaper can have among the masses of this vast land. Their duties and responsibilities are even greater than the responsibilities of those who conduct journals in the English language, because their audience consists of people who have not had the same amount of instruction in public affairs as those who read the English journals. Their duties, therefore, are all the more onerous.

"The other class of journalists are those who represent the foreign journals. They have to interpret us to their own constituents in the way they think best. My appeal to these three classes of journalists is that whatever their views may be—I think it is foolish to expect that all journals will think alike—so far as news is concerned, they should be perfectly honest and careful and not mitigate or exaggerate, but say the truth and nothing but the truth (Cheers). We cannot expect more than that and we do not want them to do anything more than that (More Cheers). So far as our country is concerned, I feel certain that if all the journals do that part of their work, whether they serve in India or serve readers elsewhere, they will have done the best that you can expect of them.

"The responsibility of those who represent foreign journals in that respect is even greater, because they have to send news to distant places where, if any wrong thing is said, there is nobody to contradict them or correct them. Therefore they owe it all the more to themselves, to their clientele and to us to be as careful as possible in collecting their news, in verifying it and in putting it in words which are most suitable from their point of view. I hope you will respond to my appeal."

PANDIT NEHRU ON PAKISTAN'S CAMPAIGN OF CALUMNY

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at a recent Press Conference in Delhi condemned as "monstrous and scandalous in the extreme" propaganda in Pakistan about Kashmir. "My patience is getting a bit exhausted with this campaign of calumny, often supported by the foreign Press", he added. Pandit Nehru declared in a voice quivering with emotion:

I am convinced after two years of thought that every step I have taken in regard to Kashmir was dead right and I stake my reputation on it, all that I have lived for and all my ideals.

There is far too much propaganda going on in the foreign Press and elsewhere of the most blatant lying kind, Pandit Nehru said, "and attempts have been made to bring pressure upon us, more especially in regard to Kashmir. I have never seen anything like it. It was as if a kind of pressure is being sought to be brought on this country. That pressure has the effect of making it perfectly clear that these questions are not being considered on their merits but because of entirely different reasons. We shall consider every question, national or international, on merits.

This method of international politics, of bringing pressure to bear for other reasons, is something which the Government of India has not learnt to understand yet. The people who run the Government of India have a record in the past of standing for what they consider to be right, regardless of the consequences, for that last 30 years and they propose to do in regard to Kashmir or any other matter.

JUSTICE KANIA ON LANGUAGE PROVINCES

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Harilal J. Kania, inaugurating the second All-India Penological Conference at Lucknow on February 18 referred to what he described as two conflicting ideals since August, 1947 namely, creation of an all-India language and linguistic provinces. He said:

If India has to be one unit it is necessary that there should be one common medium of communication between its residents. This, however, cannot be achieved at once. But to claim that a province should be a separate unit, because it has a particular language, is directly in conflict with the ideal of having one language throughout India. The creation of small provinces necessarily lowers the standard of administration and is bound to be coupled with inefficiency, because every small unit requires its own Governor, Ministers, top-ranking executive, judicial and legislative officers.

CHARGES AGAINST MADRAS MINISTRY

The three-man sub-committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee to go into the charges against some Madras Ministers, has recommended that "the matter should be dropped and the complaints filed."

The sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, had been asked by the Working Committee to go into the note prepared by the Madras Premier after investigating the charges levelled against some of the Ministers by Mr. T. Prakasam and also the counter-charges, and give its opinion on it.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, recommending the dropping of the matter, has stated in his report:

All the charges have been carefully looked into. The statements of the Premier, Shri Prakasam, the Ministers concerned and the final report of the Premier have been considered in detail. The impression left on one's mind after considering all the charges is this: They appear to be serious and formidable charges in the form in which they are made. A close scrutiny of the facts and circumstances relating to them does not make out circumstances relating to them does not make out a case for further investigation. In some cases, there is no *prima facie* evidence in support of any charge and a mere statement of suspicion cannot be considered sufficient for holding a formal enquiry.

There is, however, one thing which should be noted. The action of Ministers should not only be in strict accordance with rules and procedure laid down for dealing with particular matters which come up before them, but they should do nothing which might leave room for any reasonable person to entertain any reasonable suspicion. The matter should be dropped and the complaints filed.

Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, agreeing with Dr. Rajendra Prasad's report and endorsing the conclusions, have drawn "particular attention" to the above paragraph and add:

Some of the instances mentioned in the report relate to loans being made or permits given to relatives of Ministers. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has shown that the normal procedure was followed. It is also clear that we cannot rule out completely all such cases deserve special scrutiny and etc. All such cases concerned would have been better advised to refrain from dealing with these cases themselves. They should have referred the papers to the orders of the Premier or the Cabinet, as for the case may be, at as early a stage as possible. We trust that this convention will be adhered to in future."

THE LATE SARAT BOSE

To the regret of all Bengal and the whole country Sarat Chandra Bose has followed his more famous brother Subhas to the other world. It was just like him to have passed away while finishing an article for his paper 'The Nation' appealing to the people of East and West Bengal for peace and amity. The Bose brothers were valiant fighters for the cause of the nation but their temperament was such that they could not work in a team. The United Socialist Organisation of which Sarat Bose was President-founder is the poorer for the loss. Our deep sympathies go to the bereaved family.

Second son of the late Janakinath Bose, renowned advocate of Cuttack, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was born on Sept. 7, 1889. He had his education in Cuttack, Calcutta and England where he qualified for the Bar and on return to India joined the Calcutta High Court in 1913.

Mr. Bose started his political career under the leadership of the late Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das and was one of his chief lieutenants during the Swaraj movement.

He was placed under detention under the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 twice—once during the civil disobedience movement and again during the last world war. He was for some time President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and member of the Congress Working Committee. He was leader of the Opposition in the Bengal Assembly from 1937 to 1945.

Mr. Bose was elected to the Central Assembly in 1946 and became leader of the Congress Party there. He was later appointed a member of the Interim National Government of India from September to November 1946 when he resigned both from the Government and the Congress Working Committee and formed his own party.

IMMIGRANTS BILL

On Feb. 13 Parliament passed the immigrants (expulsion from Assam) Bill with the aid of which India hopes to expel undesirable immigrants who have illegally entered Assam from East Bengal. The number of Muslim immigrants is estimated at five lakhs. The Bill replaces the recent Ordinance.

PLAN TO AID ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDENTS

With the object of fostering cultural relations and cordiality with Asian and African countries and for providing such educational facilities as are available in India to students in whose countries such facilities are not so developed, the Government of India, despite the commanding need for economy, have decided to grant in 1950 another 70 scholarships at an annual recurring cost of Rs. 3 lakhs.

It may be recalled that last year the Government of India inaugurated the scheme of scholarships for the benefit of Indian and indigenous students from certain Asian and African countries for studies in India. Seventy scholarships were sanctioned last year.

The scheme has been welcomed not only by the countries to which it extends, but also by others interested in international cultural understanding. The Government of India regret that, much as they would, like, it has not been possible owing to financial reasons to increase the number of scholarships and to extend the scheme to all the countries which have shown interest in it or to which the Government of India would themselves like it to be extended. However, by adjustments in the existing number, two more countries, Nigeria and Surinam (Dutch Guiana), have been brought into the scheme.

BIHAR GOVT. TO SPEND 20 P. C. ON EDUCATION

The Bihar Government propose to spend 20 p. c. of its estimated revenue, that is, Rs. 4 crores on education in 1950-51. Last year the Government spent only 9 p. c., of its total revenue on education.

A Press Note made this announcement recently in reply to a statement made by the President of the Secondary Teachers' Association in which it had been alleged that the provincial Government was spending only one-fiftieth of its total revenue, that is only 2 p. c., on education.

The Provincial Government's decision to spend 20 p. c. of its estimated revenue on education means that they have accepted the recommendations of the Sargeant Committee's report in this regard.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

The Government of India had so far received no complaint from students or from their guardians regarding the infringement of Article 28 of the Constitution banning religious education in schools.

Disclosing this in Parliament Mr. Khurshed Lal, Deputy Minister, (replying on behalf of the Education Minister) said the Government would, however, bring this Article specifically to the notice of all State and State-aided schools in the Centrally Administered areas.

Mr. Khurshed Lal said that the Government was considering the question of recognition of the qualifications obtained from the Vidyapiths like Kashi Vidyapith, Banares, for the purpose of Government employment.

The University Commission, however, recommended that the Visva Bharati, Santiniketan and the Jamia Millia at Delhi would be given provisional charters as Universities and be given suitable capital and recurring grants.

ADMISSION TO COLLEGES IN WEST BENGAL

In pursuance of the recommendation of the Indian University Commission, Principals of West Bengal colleges, at a meeting held at the Secretariat last month decided to restrict the number of admission of students to their respective institutions.

The meeting discussed a suggestion that only exceptionally brilliant students from district schools and colleges should be admitted to Calcutta colleges.

EARN WHILE YOU LEARN

The Rajasthan Government have decided to launch an "earn while you learn" scheme to enable poor students to carry on their studies. The Divisional and District Officers have been asked to provide part time jobs to college students in their areas, in either establishments connected with adult education or in some small industries.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Harilal Kania, holds that the two important factors which give rise to criminal tendencies are poverty and want of education.

Mr. Kania, who was inaugurating the Second All-India Penological Conference at Lucknow on February 18 said that if the poverty-stricken and the uneducated were aided in a substantial degree freedom and the ownership of property could be more easily safeguarded.

Referring to the rules governing the treatment of prisoners in jail after conviction, Mr. Kania said: "It appears quite necessary that the rules should be thoroughly overhauled". The Chief Justice observed: "While discipline has to be maintained in prisons, I see no justification for humiliating a prisoner in his own estimate because he has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment".

On punishment for crime, Mr. Kania remarked: "A misdeed done cannot be undone by punishing the offender". The object of punishment, he said, should be to prevent the offender from repeating his offence. Mr. Kania observed that Indian methods of criminal detection and investigation were "very slow" as compared to those employed in western countries. It was high time, he said, to develop this important aspect of police work without having recourse to measures that would cause inconvenience to citizens.

The object of the Penological Conference being to prevent crime, to ameliorate the condition of the prisoner and to turn discharged prisoners into useful citizens. Mr. Kania hoped, that the Governments of the Republic and the States would give serious consideration to the Conference's recommendations.

FORMAL ENDING OF INDIAN APPEALS

Indian judicial appeals to the Privy Council in London formally ended on February 7 with a brief ceremony at the House of Lords attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, the Minister for Commonwealth Relations Philip Noel-Baker, and the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

RELEASE OF DETENUS

A Full Bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of the Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Mr. Justice Gajendra-gadkar and Mr. Justice Dixit, ordered on February 8 the release of 28 persons alleged to be Communists who were in detention under the Public Security Measures Act.

These persons were arrested and detained on May 8 last when they attempted to take out an unlawful procession at Delisle Road, Bombay. After investigation, the police filed a charge-sheet against them in November last. Subsequently, *habeas corpus* applications were made on behalf of the 28 persons challenging the detention order on the plea that since they were being prosecuted on the same grounds on which the detention orders were based, their detention was illegal.

In setting aside the order of the Commissioner of Police, Their Lordships observed that the Commissioner must have had a collateral purpose in passing the order of detention and that was to deprive the detenues of the rights which they had as persons arrested under the Criminal Procedure Code.

After reviewing the history of the case Their Lordships said:

In our opinion, it is not permissible for the authorities, under the cloak and disguise of the Public Security Measures Act, to override the ordinary law and to deprive the subject of the safeguards provided under the law. If this was permissible, indeed a very serious situation will arise in this Province because it would mean that it would be open to the police to investigate every cognisable case without the safeguards provided by the law, merely detaining the accused and then carrying on investigations secretly without providing the accused the protection which the law gives.

Every safeguard provided by the Criminal Procedure Code to arrest a person was violated in the case of the detenues. The detenues were never put up before a magistrate, nor were they given an opportunity to defend themselves. It was not left to the police to delay the framing of the charge-sheet and to detain a person as long as they liked.

Referring to the detention order, Their Lordships said it could not be made with an ulterior motive and the only consideration which should be borne in mind in this issue was whether the public peace and safety would be disturbed in its absence.

INDO PAKISTAN TRADE PACTS

The Government of India have published a White Paper on Indo-Pakistan trade relations giving the history of various agreements between the two Dominions since August 15, 1947, and breaches of those agreements by Pakistan culminating in the present stalemate.

The White Paper gives a detailed account of the attempts made by the Government of India through a series of conferences to arrive at long-term and comprehensive arrangements to facilitate trade and movement between the two countries. Apart from not agreeing to arrive at any long-term understanding, the White Paper says the Pakistan Government actually took measures to restrict the trade. By increasing the import duty on Indian piecegoods and later putting India on the list of countries from which imports of cotton textiles were not to be licensed, Pakistan in effect banned the import of cotton textiles from India in spite of the trade agreement. Devaluation and Pakistan's decision to maintain parity with the dollar and subsequent measures taken by the Government of Pakistan, had the net effect of preventing all trade between the two countries except for the supply of coal from India to Pakistan. Then came the hold-up of Indian jute by Pakistan as part of a deliberate policy to make the position of the Indian jute mills difficult and to compel them to buy jute at the rates fixed by the Pakistan Jute Board. This, says the White Paper, ultimately led to stoppage of coal by India.

PAKISTAN AND S. AFRICA TRADE

Trade restrictions between Pakistan and South Africa were lifted by the Pakistan Government from February 6.

Pakistan's decision to withdraw the trade ban against South Africa and India's intention not to remove it as long as the disabilities of Indians in South Africa remained, were also disclosed in the correspondence released early last month between the Governments of India and Pakistan.

The trade ban against South Africa was imposed about four years ago by undivided India's protest against the discrimination and disabilities suffered by Indians in South Africa.

ALLOCATION OF INCOME-TAX

Sir Chintaman Deshmukh who was asked by the Central Government last December to inquire into and determine the allocation of the Provincial share of income-tax and of the export duty on jute, has completed his task, and the Government will implement his award as from the 1st April. The Provincial share of income-tax has been allocated as follows:—

	per cent.
Madras	17.5
Bombay	21
West Bengal	13.5
Uttar Pradesh	18
Bihar	12.5
Madhya Pradesh	6
Punjab	5.5
Assam	3
Orissa	3

Sir Chintaman is also reported to have decided that the grants payable under Article 273 of the Constitution to the Provinces now sharing the jute export duty, in lieu of their shares, should be:—

	((In lakhs of Rs.))
West Bengal	105
Assam	40
Bihar	35
Orissa	5

The allocation of income-tax does not take into account the former Indian States merged in the former Provinces. The problem of financial adjustments between the Centre and the Provinces in which these States have been merged is under separate examination by the Government of India.

NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

The Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai, told Parliament in answer to Mr. Rohinkumar Chaudhri that the system of authorised agents for National Savings Certificates would be resumed.

The resumption of this system, abolished 13 months ago, was part of the additional steps proposed to be taken by the Government to make the movement more successful.

The Centre was also trying to get the State Governments to take a more direct and active interest in the matter. So far, the proceeds had come almost entirely from urban areas, Government wanted to extend the movement to the rural areas.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN BRITAIN

Addressing a meeting of the 'Study Circle' of the Madras Branch of the All-India Women's Conference, Miss Vera Brittain referred to the women's struggle for their rights in Britain and the various stages at which their rights, were recognised.

Miss Vera Brittain traced the rise of women's movement in Britain from the time of the French Revolution and referred to the book "Vindication of the rights of women." In 1839, she said, the parental rights of women were upheld by law. Educational facilities for women were fought for and obtained in gradual stages. During the first World War women proved their capacity and were given franchise on certain conditions. In 1928, they got votes on the same terms as men. The women interested themselves in the spheres of social welfare work and also pressed for security for them both at home and in the professions. They contributed a lot to Labour's success in 1933 elections. In the present Labour Party, there were many socialists. It was a matter for gratification, she said, that the Labour Government gave effect to the Beveridge Plan. In conclusion, Miss Vera Brittain said that the position of women in labour, industry, education, etc., were now far more hopeful than it ever had been.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN

To protect guardianless and up-rooted women from social vice and to help them with adequate means of sustenance a society to be called "association for protection of women," has been formed with Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru and Mrs. Humayun Kabir as its president and secretary respectively.

As an immediate measure to rescue and rehabilitate such women the society decided to open a "women's home."

At a recent meeting of leading Delhi citizens when the society was formed, great concern was expressed at the "growing scourge of social vice, rampant in Delhi in the form of immoral traffic in helpless minor girls and women."

NEED FOR MORE NURSES

Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Bombay's Health Minister, inaugurating the 38th Annual Conference of the Trained Nurses' Association of India at the G. S. Medical College in Bombay said that India needed 7,40,000 nurses in twenty years for the various hospitals in the country.

He stated that although the number of beds in the hospitals were increasing, the number of nurses attending to patients was not sufficient enough. It was not possible to increase the nursing staff because of the difficulties of housing accommodation. Another problem that faced the nursing profession was that of language which presented complications of great magnitude.

Women in India could not understand English which was the language in which the training was given and they had to be taught in their own languages. But as no arrangements had been made for teaching them in their own languages, there was a dearth of nurses in the country, he said.

Dr. Gilder said that there was a great demand for nurses in rural areas but there was no heartening response from the nurses as they were unwilling to leave the cities. More women should be recruited and sent to work among villagers after a course of training in nursing, he stated.

DR. IDA SCUDDER'S WORK

Dr. Ida Scudder began her work at Vellore in the Madras Province on January 1st 1900. Out of her work has grown the Christain Medical College at Vellore of which she is now Principal Emeritus. She is also the founder of the large Hospital at Vellore to which the College is attached. The college prepares men and women students for the M.B.B.S. and B.Sc. nursing courses besides training other hospital workers. The students also do social service carrying on medical relief work in the surrounding villages.

It was but fitting that the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Doctor's work should have evoked warm and enthusiastic support from all quarters in recognition of her long and meritorious work among the people.

GENERAL

A. I. C. C. DECISION

The All-India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi on February 18 decided by 104 votes to 28 to suspend the right of effective members to vote in Congress elections until the next session of the Congress. That right will now be exercised only by the Congress primary Panchayats.

The decision to suspend the right of effective members was accepted by the House as a compromise between outright abolition as suggested in the original resolution and a demand by Mr. T. Prakasam and Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon and others that the matter should be left to be decided by the plenary session of the Congress.

The need for the change in the Congress constitution was explained by the mover, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, who said that the provision authorising effective members to vote had given rise to rivalries and a struggle for power within the Congress.

EFFECTS OF HYDROGEN BOMB

Some radio active substances from the hydrogen bomb will last "hundreds or thousands of years" making bombed cities uninhabitable, Mr. William Laurence, *New York Times* science writer, said in a lecture at Baltimore.

He said the bomb, "a physical monstrosity", was several million times more powerful than the atom bomb. The United States and Russia could annihilate each other in h-bomb warfare, he warned his audience. "The sun is actually an enormous hydrogen bomb in space", he added, "and we will create on earth a miniature replica of the sun."

OUR PRESIDENT'S FIVE

Dr. Rajendra Prasad passed his M.A. with a strange brilliancy for a backward Beharee, says Mr. D. B. Dhanapala. There is a fine story of the audacious scholar as an examinee. The learned examiner of the Calcutta University had asked candidates to answer any five out of the seven questions given. Prasad answered all the seven and requested the Examiner to mark any five he pleased!

THE SPEAKER'S EYE AND NOT EAR

A member cannot catch the chair's attention by the ear but must catch the eye. This ruling was given by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, who was in the chair in Parliament on Feb. 13 when two members, Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri from Assam and Mr. Krishnaswami Bharati from Madras, rose simultaneously to speak on the Emblems and Names (prevention of improper use) Bill.

When the chair asked Mr. Bharati to speak, Mr. Chaudhuri rose on a point of order to press his claim contending that while Mr. Bharati had undoubtedly caught the chairman's eye first, he himself had caught the chairman's ear by uttering the word "Sir" before Mr. Bharati even thought of it.

Pandit Bhargava ruled: "A member cannot catch the chair by the ear (Laughter). Here, the practice has been to catch the eye."

SRI J. S. KARANDIKAR

The seventy-sixth birthday of Shri Janardan Sakharan Karandikar, a trustee of the *Kesari-Mahratta* Trust and the Ex-Editor of the *Kesari* was celebrated at Poona on Feb. 15 and his admirers and students gave an endowment of Rs. 10,500 to the University of Poona for the award of Janardhan Sakharan Karandikar Commerce Scholarship, and his Oil Portrait to the *Kesari-Mahratta* Trust.

ADAMS PRIZE FOR INDIAN SCIENTIST

Dr. Subrahmanya Chandrasekhar F.R.S., the distinguished Professor of Astro-Physics of the Chicago University, has been awarded one of the four Adams prizes in Mathematics by Cambridge University.

Adams prizes are awarded for the best thesis on any topic in mathematical analysis.

HOLIDAY ACCIDENTS IN U.S.A.

Nearly 500 persons were killed in accidents over the Labour Day week-end resulting in the worst holiday toll in U.S. history. Latest reports showed that 474 persons died violently—362 in traffic crashes, 46 by drowning, 19 in air crashes and 47 in miscellaneous types of accidents!

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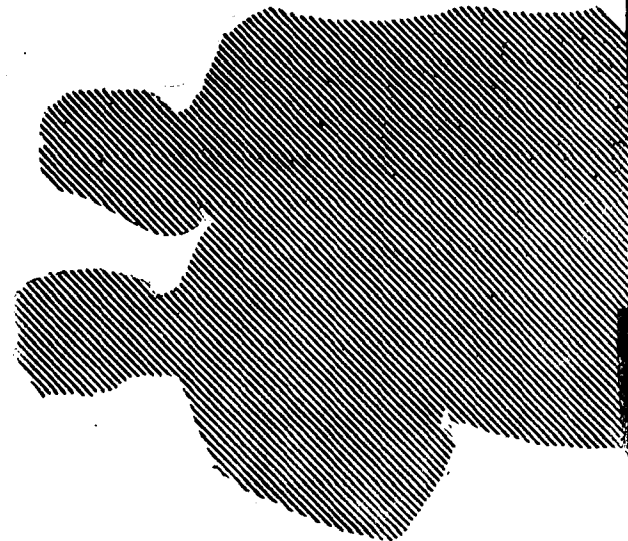
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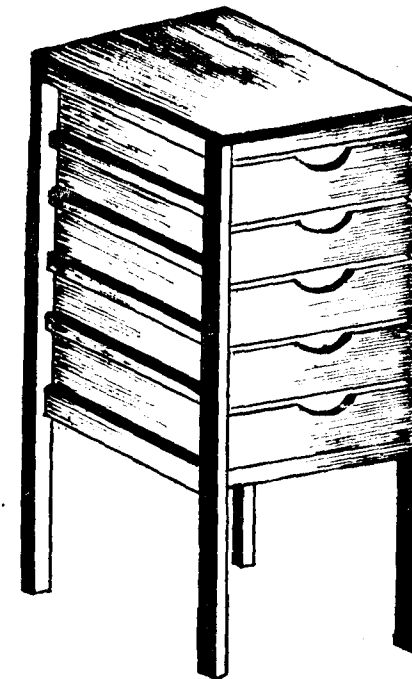
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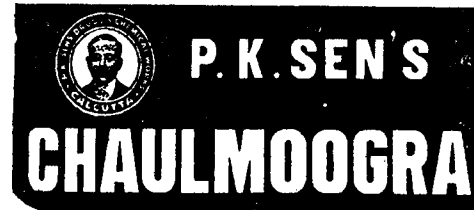
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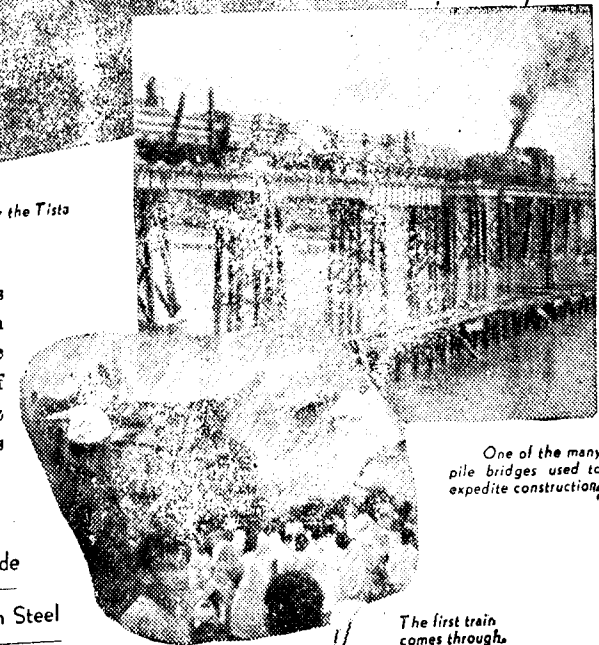
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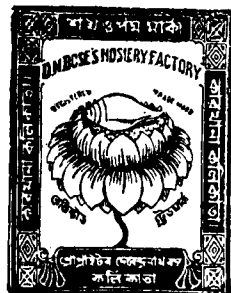
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