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The INDIAN REVIEW

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The Democratic Sovereign Republic of India
By Principal Sri Ram Sharma

The President in the Indian Constitution
By Mr. Sarathinath Set, M.A.

Fundamentals of the Indian Constitution
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Constitution and Character
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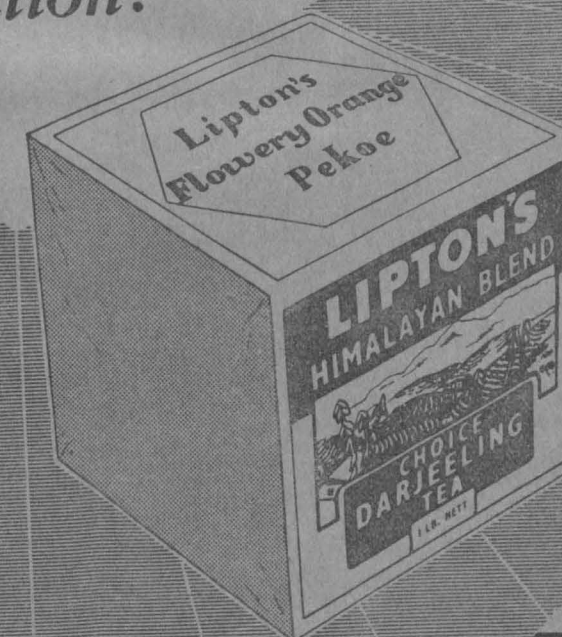
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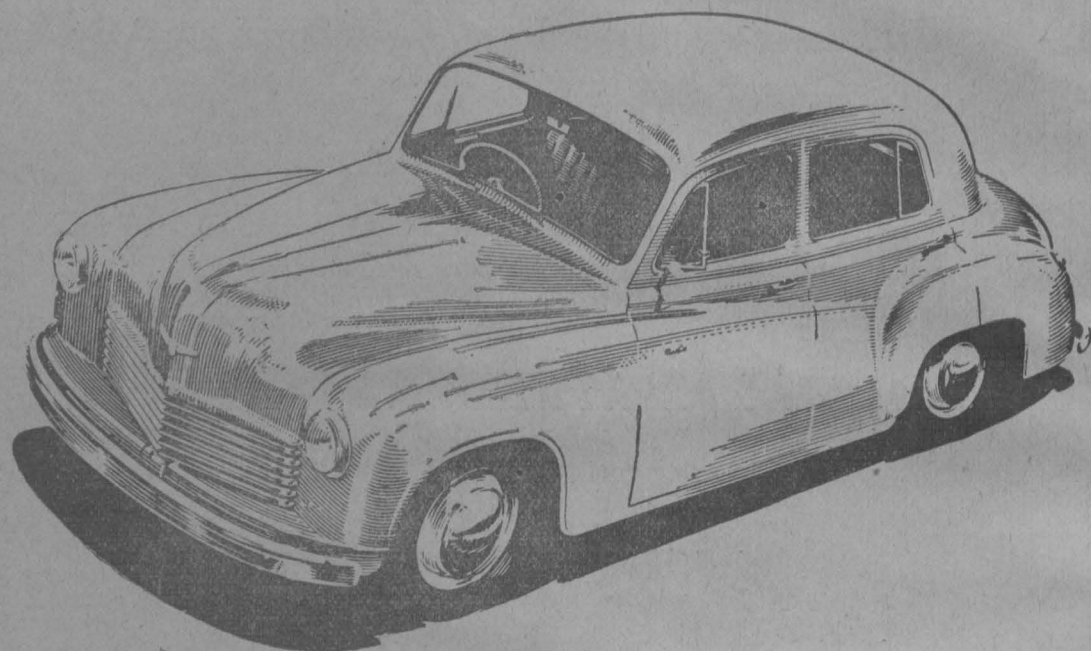
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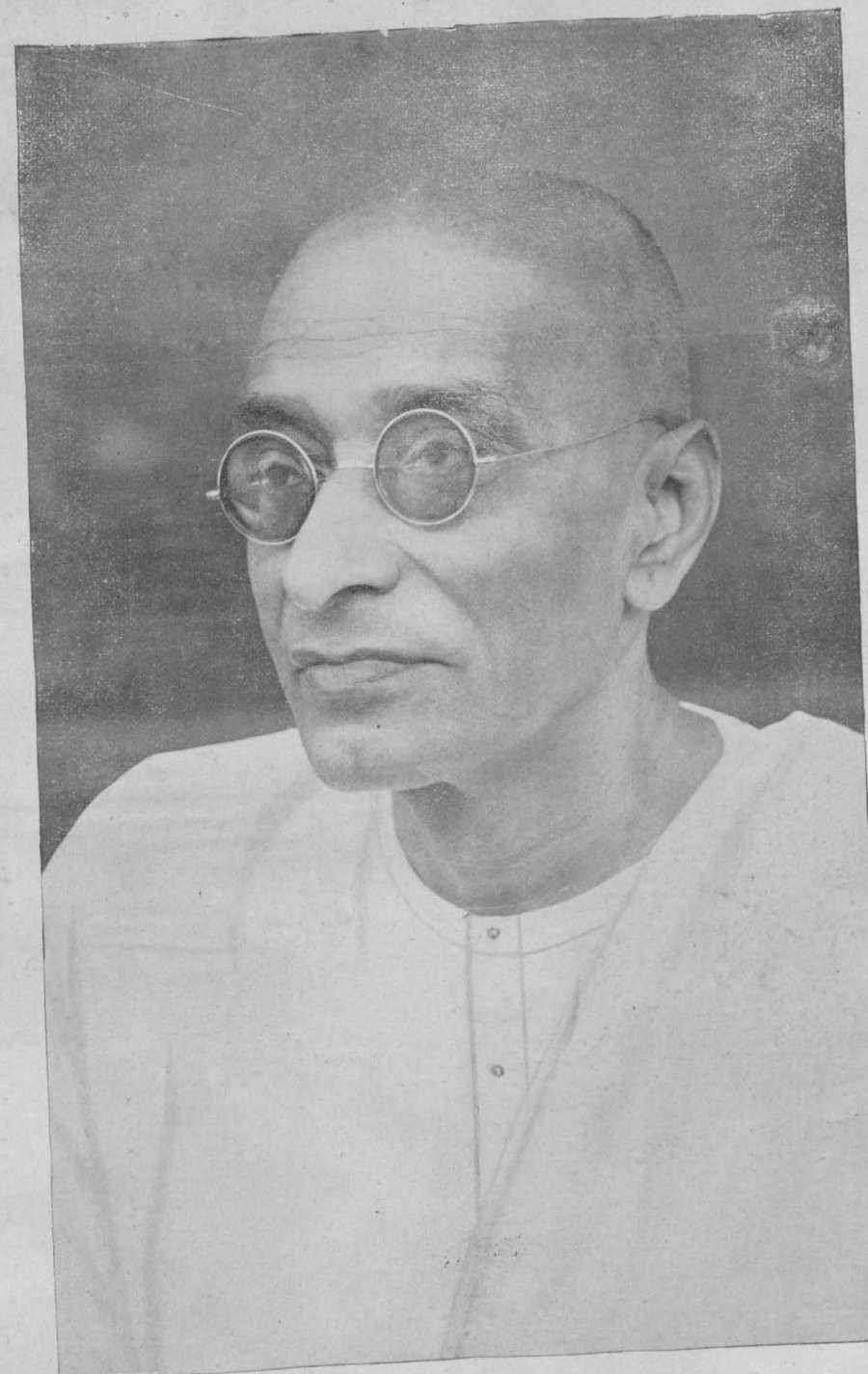
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The Democratic Sovereign Republic of India

BY PRINCIPAL SRI RAM SHARMA

ON January 26, 1950, India joined the liberal forces of the world as a sovereign democratic republic. She did not come empty handed. She brought an hoary heritage rich with varied experience of the most valuable type. But for the moment her immediate contribution was her new constitution enacted two months earlier after a hard toil of more than two years.

She is a republic today. Not only does she not owe allegiance to any ruling house as a state, she has wiped her slate clean of that miscellaneous collections of ruling princes, chieftains, estate-holders and what nots that cluttered her house till 1947. The difference is remarkable in the number of units that make up the Union now. Had she become a federation under the Government of India Act 1935, there would have been in the area now in the Indian Union 568 units, 559 of them states under princes and princelings. Today there are only 16 units of the federations and not one of them is under the rule of a hereditary prince. Though a republic she is a welcome and valuable member of the British Commonwealth of Nations—so valuable indeed that the British Parliament has just passed an Act allowing her nationals in England full rights of British citizenship. She is a sovereign state espousing international causes in her own right and fighting battles for humanity and peace after her own fashion. She is not a client state bound hand and foot to Russia like Russia's western satellites, nor does she wait for her economic recovery on the sweet will and pleasure of the Congress of the United States as so many of European and Asiatic Nations do today.

She is not only a republic but a democratic republic at that. All her adult citizens possess the vote, she has outlawed inequality of sexes, her constitution recognizes no class barriers, her polity guarantees freedom of opinion, assembly and association, a rational distribution of national income is an avowed object of her endless endeavour. Her railways, telephones, telegraphs and broadcasting services stand nationalized. During the last three years she has, over a large area, made the tillers of the soil proprietors of the land they cultivate. If she is going slow in the nationalization of her means of production just now, that is because she does not believe in swallowing more than she can chew.

Though a republic under a President, her form of government is parliamentary. But the president and Governors and Rajpramukhs of states would be constitutional heads rather than effective chiefs of the state. Her governments would depend upon parliamentary majorities in the lower houses under the leadership of the Prime Minister in the Union and Chief Ministers in the state. The President will be elected by the members of the Parliament of the Union and the legislatures of the states. The Governors will be nominated by the President. The Rajpramukhs hold hereditary office as decided by the covenants forming the new states. The constitution toys with the idea of making the executive strong by investing the constitutional heads of governments in the union as well as the states with independent powers. The provisions embodying this have been copied from the constitution of presidential governments elsewhere. It is likely, however,



BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
The first President of the Indian Republic.

that as in republican France, the president and governors would seek safety in ignoring such provisions. The virtual dictatorship of the cabinet in parliamentary governments has been clothed here in legal form by allowing the cabinet, when the legislature is not in session, to make laws and permit spending of money not otherwise authorized by law. Her federal Parliament consists of two chambers, a house of the people and a council of states. The large membership of the house—500 members—will make it possible for national constituencies to be much smaller than they are today. The wide disparity in the value of the vote today is avoided by providing that a member would represent approximately an equal number of voters.

A leaf has been borrowed from the American constitution by creating the office of a Vice-President of the Union entitled to succeed the President in case of a vacancy but normally presiding over the second house of Parliament. A welcome variation from American constitution limits such tenure of office to six months within which the new President must be elected.

The Union is a federation, that is to say, it 'embodies predominantly a division of powers between general and regional authorities each of which in its own sphere is independent of the other'. This has been done by dividing political power between the union and the states. Advantage has been taken of the experience of other federal Governments in order to make this division as much conclusive as possible. To provide for co-ordination and to avoid hair-splitting in the division of Governmental functions, a fairly exhaustive list of concurrent subjects is drawn up. That the federal Government is a successor-state to a unitary Government is underlined by declaring that residuary government power—administrative, legislative and financial, vests in the Union. The recent working of federal Governments in its varying forms in the United States, Canada, Australia and Switzerland had been largely drawn upon in order to enable the Union Government to discharge, from the very beginning, functions which,

though discharged in all these states by the federal authorities now, are still a matter of implied construction, voluntary concession, or the result of the momentary pressure of events. Thus planning, social insurance, labour welfare, implementation of treaty obligations are all matters for federal concern either as concurrent or union subjects for legislation or administration. As in Canada, the head of the federal Government appoints the heads of the Governments of the units. A midway course between American and Canadian practices has been steered by allowing the Governor of a unit, otherwise competent to give assent to provincial legislation, to reserve some provincial bills, for President's assent. The cumbersome American method of creating a double set of courts throughout the country has been avoided by making the organization and composition of the High Courts in the states a federal subject and allowing the President to appoint the judges of these courts. Difficulties such as were experienced by Canada or the United States in undertaking, executing and administering multipower projects intended to serve more than one unit have been got over by allowing two or more than two units to request Parliament legislate for them in matters primarily for their concern, as also by empowering the Council of States to transfer by a resolution a states' subject to the control of the Union Government. Almost all the methods of financial subvention to the units by the centre which experience in Canada or the United States has proved possible have been bodily incorporated in the constitution to make the long-drawn out, and in some cases still inconclusive, negotiations between the centre and the units unnecessary. Where uniformity of taxation has been proved essential in national interest, the Union levies taxes but allows the units to collect them in their own territories. In certain other cases (e.g., succession duties) the Union Government both levies the taxes and collects them but distributes the entire proceeds (except the duties collected in centrally administered areas) among the units. A third category

of taxes (e.g., taxes on income) is levied and collected by the Union but the proceeds are shared between the Governments of the Union and the units.

The Indian constitution repeats the Canadian precedent of arming the federal Government with immense powers. There does not seem to be any danger here that these powers will be, as they were for a long time in the case of Canada, whittled by an interpretation of the constitution imposed on her from outside. Certain powers, however, are likely to contribute to serious friction between the Union and the units, unless, as is very likely, the Government of the Union wisely refrains from using these powers.

The states have been endowed with uniform functions and equal authority. Despite large areas reserved for the federal Government and a still larger area to be occupied both by the federal Government and the Governments of the units, the functions to be discharged by the states take note of all the recent developments in Governmental activities and make the states vital instruments of national policy. Public order, administration of justice, local self-Government, education, medical relief, preventive and curative, agriculture, forests, fisheries, industry, trade and commerce within the state, roads and water-ways not of national magnitude, relief of the disabled and unemployable are all subjects of concern for the states. Social insurance, labour welfare and trade unions would certainly be better cared for by being in the concurrent field. It may be argued that divided authority in some of these subjects may lead to divided councils and an attempt at evasion by some states of their obligations in these matters under the plea that the Union Government had better finance and therefore, better regulate them.

The reproduction of the provisions of the much-maligned section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 may, by some be held as dangerous encroachment on the authority of the units though it may equally be defended by others as necessary in view of the unpleasant

experience of the working of certain states in recent years. It is likely however that it may become obsolete by non-use, except in the 'states' emerging out of old 'Indian India'. These provisions enable the federal Government to administer a state as a centrally administered area, if it is satisfied that it is impossible to carry on the administration in accordance with the normal provisions for the organization of the Government of a state. As things stand at present, it could have been easily held that in Eastern Punjab, P.E.P.S.U., West Bengal and Madhya Bharat it is not possible to carry on the Government successfully under the present constitution. But to argue from that that the only alternative is centrally inspired gubernatorial rule in these areas is only an escapism. If similar things happen again under the new constitution, the Union government would allow the states the latitude it has allowed them today. If it does not, it would play into the hands of its opponents. It would be easy for a political party to gain a sweeping electoral victory in a state by representing that its opponents deprived the states of its right to rule itself. The political backwardness of the 'states' may, however, necessitate assumption of government in these new units by the centre.

Besides the territories of the units forming the federation, the Government of the Union governs fourteen 'territories' as centrally administered areas. They cover between them a considerable part of the total area of the Union and are inhabited by a numerous population. Many of these are odd corners thrown up by the process of integration of the states. Some of them may ultimately be merged in the neighbouring states with some of which they have close affinities. These territories are governed by Chief Commissioners. Some may have local legislatures of their own, others may even be given a council of ministers or a group of advisers in addition. The presence of these centrally administered territories adds immensely to the task of the Government of the Union and is responsible for the existence of certain ministers which might other-

wise have been superfluous as independent units of Government.

An attempt has been made to check the creation of a double set of officials—federal and local—for several purposes. The government of the Union can vest the government of a state or its officials with power to exercise federal functions as its agents. To make the assumption of agency functions attractive for the government of a state, the Union Government undertakes to pay it for its share of the work.

The Republic would have in the Supreme Court its highest appellate tribunal and would not depend upon the Privy Council to perform that function. The Supreme Court would also serve as the guardian of the constitution interpreting it and enforcing its provisions against all guilty of encroaching on them. It has been granted the right to grant special leave to appeal in all types of cases. This would throw down all barriers to approach it and make access to its doors easy. Every state would have a High Court or make use of one situated in another state. The jurisdiction of the High Court has been enlarged so as to bring revenue cases as well under its purview. The independence of subordinate judiciary has been secured by bringing it entirely under the control of the High Court which itself would be free from the control of the government of the unit. All its judges would be appointed by the government of the union. It is likely that the present practice of drawing upon the judges of one High Court to serve as Chief Justice or an associate judge in another High Court may continue unabated.

The introduction of a 'spoils system' in the new republic has been rendered impossible by entrusting the work of recruitment, promotion and demotion of public servants to Public Services Commissions. The retention of an Indian Administrative Service and of an Indian Police Service would further safeguard the citizens against the intrusion of a 'bossism' in the Government of the states. The secretariat and the chief administrative officers may continue to be filled by these officers. It would be difficult for the governments of

the states to get rid of them easily for 'political' reasons. As a natural corollary members of public services have been excluded from active participation in politics.

Certain provisions of the constitution can be amended by the government of the Union. These include the creation of new administrative units carved out of the territories of one or more units or centrally administered areas. The second houses in the legislatures of the units can be similarly abolished where they exist or set up in states where they do not. The council of states can, by a resolution, transfer a states' subject to the Union list in national interest. The provisions regarding the organization of the government in the states, their relations with the government of the Union and division of functions between the two can only be amended by a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament followed by the approval of the amendment by the legislatures of a majority of the units by a similar majority. Other provisions can be amended by Parliament by a two-third majority.

Provision is made in the constitution for carrying on crisis government during emergencies caused by the threat of invasion or of internal disturbance or by financial breakdown. The President, presumably, representing the federal government, has been clothed with power to carry on crisis government for two months subject to extension by the vote of the legislature. Emergency legislation will remain valid for six months—and in certain cases for a year—after the emergency has been proclaimed to be at an end.

India would thus be the most popular democracy in the world. The organization and constitution of her government and the guarantee of fundamental rights to her citizens make her a political democracy. The constitution defines the objectives of state policy in such a manner as to make it possible for her citizens to enjoy ultimately freedom from want and an assurance of social security. If and when she succeeds in combining the two, she may make a vital contribution to the civilization of mankind.

The President in the Indian Constitution

BY MR. SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

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THE Indian Republic was proclaimed with the election of the President as the head of the State. The Indian Constitution declares that the executive power of the Indian Union shall be vested in the President and may be exercised by him in accordance with the constitution and the law. Moreover, the supreme command of the Defence Forces shall be vested in the President and the exercise thereof shall be regulated by law. With the election of the President by the members of an electoral college consisting of the members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the Legislatures of the States, the constitution says that the President shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office. The constitution provides that the President may by resignation under his hand addressed to the Chairman of the Council of States and the Speaker of the House of the People, resign his office and also he may for violation of the Constitution, be removed from office by impeachment in the manner provided in the constitution. The President shall, notwithstanding the expiration of his term, continue to hold office until his successor enters upon his office. The constitution leaves choice that a person who holds or who has held, office as President shall be eligible for re-election to that office once, but only once.

The constitution lays down the qualifications for election as President and conditions of President's office very clearly. It says that no person shall be eligible for election as President unless he (a) is a citizen of India, (b) has completed the age of thirty-five years, and (c) is qualified for election as a member of the House of the People. It also says that no person shall be eligible for election as President if he holds any office or position of emolument under the Government of India or the Government of any State or under any local or other authority subject to the

control of any of the said Governments. The constitution lays down that the President shall not be a member either of Parliament or of the Legislature of any State, and if a member of Parliament or of the Legislature of any state be elected President, he shall be deemed to have vacated his seat in Parliament or such Legislature, as the case may be, on the date on which he enters upon his office as President. Furthermore, the constitution emphasises that every President and every person acting as President or discharging the functions of the President shall before entering upon his office make and subscribe in the presence of the Chief Justice of India an affirmation or oath in the following form, that is to say:

"I, A. B. do solemnly affirm (or Swear) that I will faithfully execute the office of President (or discharge the functions of the President) of India and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law and that I will devote myself to the service and well-being of the people of India."

The constitution says that when a President is to be impeached for violation of the Constitution, the charge shall be preferred by either House of Parliament. It also says that no such charge shall be preferred unless the proposal to prefer such charge is contained in a resolution which has been moved after a notice in writing signed by not less than thirty members of the House has been given of their intention to move the resolution and such resolution has been supported by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the House. It strictly lays down that when a charge has been so preferred by either House of Parliament, the other House shall investigate the charge or cause the charge to be investigated and the President shall have the right to appear

and to be represented at such investigation. It states further that if as a result of the investigation a resolution is passed, supported by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the House by which the charge to be investigated declaring that the charge preferred against the President has been sustained, such resolution shall have the effect of removing the President from his office as from the date on which the resolution is so passed.

The Indian President as the supreme head of the Republic will be the elected representative of the people and as such he is vested with wide power, even authority to suspend the provisions of Fundamental Rights during an emergency. The constitution says that the Indian President shall have the power to grant pardons, reprieves, respites or remissions of punishment or to suspend, remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence (a) in all cases where the punishment or sentence is by a Court Martial (b) in all cases where the punishment or sentence is for an offence under any law relating to a matter with respect to which Parliament has and the Legislature of the State in which the offence is committed has not, power to make laws, (c) in all cases where the sentence is a sentence of death.

The constitution says that the President may from time to time summon the Houses or either House of Parliament to meet at such time and place as he thinks fit and prorogue the Houses and dissolve the House of the People. The constitution also says that the President shall address both Houses of Parliament assembled together and inform Parliament of the causes of its summons at the commencement of every session. Normally, the President may send messages to either House of Parliament whether with respect to a Bill then pending in the Parliament or otherwise, and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient despatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration. The constitution also mentions that the President shall in respect of every

financial year cause to be laid before both the Houses of Parliament a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for that year, (in the relevant Part of this Constitution) referred to as the "annual financial statement". The constitution rightly holds that no demand for a grant shall be made except on the recommendation of the President. The constitution is also clear that a Bill which, if enacted and brought into operation, would involve expenditure from the revenues of India shall not be passed by either House of Parliament unless the President has recommended to that House the consideration of the Bill.

The constitution says that if at any time, except when both Houses of Parliament are in session, the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary for him to take immediate action, he may, promulgate such Ordinances as the circumstances appear to him to require. It is in the fitness of things that an Ordinance promulgated under this article shall have the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament assented to by the President, but every such ordinance shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the reassembly of Parliament, or if before the expiration of that period resolutions disapproving it are passed by both Houses upon the passing of the second of those resolutions. The constitution says that it may be withdrawn at any time by the President.

It must be stated briefly that the President issuing an Ordinance may very likely act in his discretion with or without the advice of his Council of Ministers. This point was raised recently in the Dominion Parliament but it was emphasised without ambiguity that the President could never be able to act independently of the Council of Ministers in view of the provisions in the Instrument of Instructions. The Presidential powers dealing with the Ordinance can be compared well with the provisions contained in the British Emergency Act under which the King was entitled to issue a proclamation when Parliament was not in session. The

constitution says that the Indian President with no independent power of legislation did not possess more power than that possessed by the Central Legislature itself. In an emergency the President is authorised to promulgate an ordinance when the legislature was in recess.

The constitution says that the President shall appoint every judge of the Supreme Court by warrant under his hand and seal after constituting with such of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts in the States as may be necessary for the purpose. The constitution says that in the case of proved misbehaviour or incapacity, a judge of the Supreme Court shall be removed from his office by an order of the President passed after an address supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting has been presented to the President by both Houses of Parliament in the same session for such removal.

EMERGENCY PROVISIONS

The constitution mentions that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the Security of India is threatened whether by war or domestic violence, he may, by proclamation, make a declaration to that effect, referred to as "Proclamation of Emergency." The constitution says that it may be revoked by a subsequent proclamation, shall be laid before each House of Parliament and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six months unless before the expiration of that period it has been approved by resolutions of Both Houses of Parliament. It is also mentioned in the constitution that a proclamation of emergency declaring that the Security of India is threatened by war or by domestic violence may be made before the actual occurrence of war or of any such violence if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof. The constitution goes further to say that the President may, while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, by order, direct that all or any of the provisions of articles 249 to 259 of this constitution (financial arrangements between provinces and the Centre) shall for such period not extending in any case beyond the expiration of the financial year

in which such proclamation ceases to operate, as may be specified in the order, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit. The constitution also lays down that the President may by proclamation assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or any body or authority in the state other than the Legislature of the State if and when the situation forces him to do so and the government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provision of this Constitution. The constitution however does not authorise the President to assume to himself any of the powers vested in or exercisable by a High Court or suspend either in whole or in part, the operation of any provision of this Constitution relating to High Courts. Be that as it may, the constitution says that when a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation, the President may by order declare that the rights guaranteed by article 25 of this Constitution (Rights to Constitutional Remedies) shall remain suspended for such period not extending beyond a period of six months after the proclamation has ceased to be in operation as may be specified in such order. Relating to the suspension of the right to move courts for the enforcement of fundamental rights during emergencies, a new Article later included in the Constitution, says that where a proclamation of emergency is in operation, the President may, by order, declare that the right to move any court for the enforcement of such of the rights conferred by Part III of this constitution (Fundamental Rights), as may be mentioned in the order, and all proceedings pending in any court for the enforcement of rights so mentioned shall remain suspended for the period during which the proclamation is in force or for such shorter period as may be specified in the order. The constitution says that an order made as aforesaid may extend to the whole or any part of the territory of India and every order made so shall, as soon as may be after it is made, be laid before each House of Parliament which would be free to take such action as it thinks fit. The point

at issue lies in the fact that the emergency provisions of the constitution are likely to be abused. In no constitutions of the world has there been so great scope of the Presidential authority limiting the provisions of the constitution itself. The British Emergency Act provided that the proclamation should be laid before Parliament within five days of issue and would cease to operate after the expiration of seven days from the time it was laid before Parliament unless Parliament provided for its continuance. Even the Weimer Republican Constitution, whose emergency provisions came nearest to those laid down in the Indian Constitution provided that the proclamation must be laid before the German Parliament immediately and should be revoked at the demand of the German Republic. Under the U. S. Constitution the suspension of fundamental rights could be authorized only by Congress and even then the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. could set it aside, if it felt that conditions under which such suspension would be justified did not exist. Under the French Republican Constitution, a state of siege in France can only be declared by the French legislature by passing a law. If the legislature is not in session, it meets automatically within two days of the proclamation by the President who can only do so on the advice of the Council of Ministers. The Indian Constitution, provides that we intend that the President should proclaim the emergency on the advice of his ministers. It is however to be understood that the Indian President remains an active member of the Government, using his personal discretion against the the political judgment of his ministers, sending messages to the legislature obviously over their head and suggesting amendments to bills passed by the legislature under the direction of the Cabinet. In England, France and the United States, the legislature is sought to be actively associated with the executive during the emergency whereas the Indian Constitution does not do so. It visualizes personal dictatorship of the president or

on his behalf, of the Governor by associating an emergency with the impossibility of carrying on the government under the provisions of the constitution. The President possesses certain other powers which coupled with emergency powers can be used by an unscrupulous person for establishing a personal dictatorship. He summons the legislature, he need not do so during the emergency. The Ministers hold office during his pleasure he can dismiss them and appoint a Prime Minister dependent on him alone and having no majority in the legislature. The Hitlerian coup-de-etat is made easily possible.

We must admit that the President cannot be impeached easily in the manner laid down in the constitution. The two-thirds majority of the Houses of Parliament may not be easily made possible if there be multiple parties of the Centre or at the Provinces. The constitution also says that the emergency powers conferred on him and exercised by him in his discretion will not constitute a violation of the constitution. His power to summon and dissolve the legislature is not dependent on the ministers nor is his pleasure to continue them in power or to deprive them of it. The power to impeach a President cannot be exercised during the emergency. By the time the emergency is over, a coup-de-etat may have made mincemeat of the constitution. Directors when once they assume power seldom leave chances of being impeached intact in the constitution.

THE VERDICT

"Gentlemen of the jury, you have heard the facts of both sides. Mr. Jones had a public fight with Mr. Smith. Mr. Jones had in his possession at the time one butcher knife, two razors, one set of brass knuckles, and a blackjack. Mr. Smith had on his person one sickle, one hatchet, two meat saws, a cleaver, and an icepick. Both men plead 'Not Guilty', each asserting a plea of self-defence. I judge you have reached a verdict."

"We have, your honour."

"And that verdict—"

"We the jury, would have cheerfully paid ten rupees per man to have seen the fight."

Fundamentals of the Indian Constitution

BY MR. C. J. S. BINDRA

THE Preamble to the Constitution sets forth that India will be a "Sovereign Democratic Republic". The words "Sovereign" and "Republic" emphasise severance of the British connection and also that final authority has come to rest in the people of India, in contradistinction to the erstwhile overriding control exercised by the mother of Parliaments in London.

The Sovereignty vests in the people of India as a whole, for otherwise the State would not be democratic. The will of the people is to be expressed and exercised through their democratically chosen representatives. This makes two conditions precedent to any person being entitled to act on behalf of the people as a member of Parliament. He must have been chosen by the method of election, as opposed to nomination by an individual, institution or group; and secondly, the election must be by secret ballot, so that it may not be vitiated by extraneous influences. In exercise of sovereign authority an exception has been made in respect of the interim period. Members of the Constituent Assembly will act as the Parliament till both the Houses have been duly constituted and summoned to meet for the first time under the Constitution. Till that day therefore India will not be a true democracy. Thereafter any act of State, which is neither on direct authority of the Parliament, nor in pursuance of the emergency powers conferred by this Constitution, will be *ultra vires* the Constitution.

The use of the word "Republic" in conjunction with "Democratic" indicates that the constituents will enjoy equality, be they groups or individuals. This also seeks to establish a balance between the States' and local and individual liberty on the one side, and centralisation of power on the other, just as it is reflected in the ideologies of the two main parties in the United States of America.

The basic purpose for creating the Indian Republic is "to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and

political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unit of the nation." Thus justice, liberty in the intellectual and religious spheres, and equality are the three corner stones of the Indian Constitution, the object being to build an edifice of a united nation of self-respecting individuals devoted to one another.

Social, political and economic justice entails essentially the abolition of caste system, a broad-based franchise, scraping of privileged classes, and securing to every worker the enjoyment of his earnings. It would be a question of interpretation as to what part of the income of an enterprise belongs to the worker, and what is the part played by management and by the investing element. Political justice should also ensure a citizen immunity against detention of person except under the ordinary penal law of the land. The provisions for enactment of special offences militate against this ideology, as also the existing provision to imprison for non-payment of a debt.

In the field of liberty we have the freedom to run one's own channel of ideas, to express such of them as one deems fit, believe in what one prefers and worship according to one's choice. No one may be penalised or put to a disadvantage for worshipping or not worshipping in a particular manner, or for observing the tenets of any religion so far as faith and worship go.

Equality of status and opportunity mean that no citizen is to be debarred from any position because of sex, social standing or any other factor, and all the citizens are to have equal opportunities in life. While no distinction may be made between any two citizens because of their status; at the same time every one is to be provided an equal opportunity for development. Thus there is to be no restraint on anybody following

any profession or trade. Provisions favouring those already in a particular trade or business would therefore be against the spirit of the Constitution.

Equality of opportunity would take us much nearer the socialistic ideology than may appear at the outset. No opportunity would be of any consequence to an individual unless he has the capacity to utilise it to his benefit. Creation of this capacity is accordingly a pre-requisite for equality of opportunity to have any practical significance. Thus by subscribing to this clause the Constituent Assembly has impliedly committed the Republic to provide almost free education to all the children of the land. In other words, ultimately the entire education of the youth is to become the responsibility of the Government.

The Preamble places a still greater and nobler responsibility on the Republic, that is of creating a fraternity of self-respecting individuals, and of evolving a unified nation. Men are not to be treated as chattel or as slaves. Every individual is to be presumed to be a gentleman, and a member of a united nation. This emphasis on the unity of the Nation appears to be there primarily because of the two nation theory which led to the partition of India in 1947.

Thus whereas the Constitution of India is sought to be founded on the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which inspired the French Revolution, it also draws upon the later developments of the ideal of Social Justice that established the Revolution in Russia, and goes on to the more modern interpretation of Justice in the economic and political spheres. Above all the most important declaration made in the Preamble is that of the republican status of India. Though a Union of States, in the style of the United States of America, India is to be a Republic, shedding the status of a Dominion. That would seem to imply breaking away from the British Commonwealth of Nations, but the latter has enlarged itself into a Commonwealth of Nations

and the mother of Parliaments has officially recognised the equal partnership of India in that Commonwealth. As a Republic, unlike the other Commonwealth countries, India is expected to owe no allegiance to the King, but to recognise him as the symbolic head of the free association of Commonwealth countries. Only time will show how the people of India react to this obligation. And that will determine not only the future history of India, but the entire course of modern civilization.

Within the territories of India fundamental rights are guaranteed in respect of equality, freedom, religion, culture, education, property, and constitutional remedies. All persons shall have equal protection of the laws, and discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth is prohibited in matters of worship, social privileges, and public employment. The Parliament, not the State concerned, may however prescribe conditions requiring previous residence in that State for employment, and provision has also been made for reservation of appointments in favour of any backward class of citizens, which reservation can be made by the Parliament or by the State concerned. There are also specific provisions for the abolition of untouchability and titles, except military and academic distinctions. No foreigner even in the employ of the Government of India may accept a title from any country without the consent of the President.

The freedoms guaranteed are those of speech and expression, of peaceful assembly, of association, of movement, of residence, of ownership of property and of occupation, but adequate power has been given to the Government to make orders in public interest though these be in limitation of the above freedoms. No person is to be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act, nor any person may be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once. This application of the Principles of *autre fois convict* and *autre fois acquit* is likely to raise more hares than the few simple words

indicate. Another provision that has been the subject matter of much controversy in the Constituent Assembly and may lead to several references to the Supreme Court is equally simple and brief, saying that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. An important change that will greatly affect investigations into offences and police methods is that a person arrested on a charge must be produce before a magistrate within twentyfour hours. The old laws and Regulations providing for preventive detention of individuals for unlimited periods have also been abrogated. No body may now be subjected to preventive detention for more than three months unless such detention is authorised by an Advisory Board or by any law made by Parliament.

Prohibitions against exploitation include traffic in human beings, *beggar* or forced labour, and employment of persons below the age of fourteen in hazardous work, though compulsory service may be imposed by the State.

Right to freedom of religion includes propagation thereof, but the State may step in where economic, financial, political or other secular activity is associated with religious practice, as also in respect of the right of entry into temples. The Sikhs retain their right to carry the *Kirpan* as part of religion. No religious instruction is to be provided in any educational institution wholly financed by Government, but there appears to be no prohibition to denominational institutions making arrangement for imparting of such instruction within their daily programme. Again, no student attending an aided school can be required to attend any lecture on religion or any religious worship, but the consent clause would keep the door for missionary institutions open. Article 27 introduces a new prohibition against raising of taxes to be utilized in promotion of a religion. However, there would be no prohibition to any group or minority, though based on religion, conserving its language, scripts or culture, and to its establishing educational institutions, nor is there to be any discrimination against such institutions.

Nobody is to be deprived of his property save by authority of law, which must prescribe for the determination of compensation, and must be assented to by the President of India. Exception is made however in respect of laws relating to evacuee property and to the abolition of Zamindari in view of special consideration applicable and difficulties inherent in making them justifiable.

To enforce all these fundamental rights the Supreme Court is empowered to issue directions, or orders and writs. The jurisdiction to act in this behalf may be conferred by Parliament on other Courts as well but within their local limits. The fundamental rights will, however, remain suspended in areas under martial law, and will be modified in their application to members of the Armed Forces and the forces charged with the maintenance of public order. These may also be suspended while a Proclamation of Emergency lasts on orders to that effect by the President.

Certain directive Principles of State policy, not enforceable by any Court, have been incorporated in the Constitution in the hope that these will remain a source of inspiration and guidance to the future legislators. Every citizen is to be secured adequate means in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement. Concentration of wealth is to be avoided, and the State is to provide within a period of ten years free and compulsory education up to the age of fourteen. Establishment of village Panchayats has been included in fulfilment of the National Congress programme, and article 51 lays down that the State shall promote "international peace and security," "just and honourable relations between" nations, and "respect for international law and treaty obligations". The last clause says that the settlement of international disputes by arbitration will be encouraged. These directive principles are bound to create new confidence in the leadership of the National Congress if translated into actual practice.

CONSTITUTION AND CHARACTER

BY MR. K. L. SHARMA

Director, Information Bureau, East Punjab

JANUARY 26, is a red letter day in the history of our country. Besides symbolising the past struggles for the emancipation of Mother India it will synchronise with the ushering in of a new era. For the first time in its long and chequered career Bharat Varsha as an Independent and Sovereign Republic has adopted its New Constitution. Its formulation taxed for a long time the best brains of our country and after prolonged deliberations they spared no effort to arrive at decisions which were acceptable to their overwhelming majority, and calculated to bring happiness to the teeming millions. It is, therefore, but natural that our countrymen should hail this Magna Charta of liberty on this auspicious day with all the jubilation it deserves. But is that all that is required of us? Are we not to see that the principles underlying it are adhered to and observed in the same spirit in which they have been framed?

First of all we have to examine the factors which go to make any constitution a success. A Constitution is not just a sum total of its preamble, clauses, sub-clauses and some schedules. It is certainly more than that it is almost an unwritten law which should have the backing of the whole country and its determined will to see that it is enforced with all its implications. Otherwise it will only be a scrap of paper. To take only one example we find that in our new Constitution untouchability has been tabooed and declared as an offence. Will we ever be able to eradicate this evil root and branch if we do not have the will to do so? Reformers can only preach and leaders can only guide. But if we fail to listen to them and do not tread the path they show us can we ever succeed? Certainly not. A thousand constitutions will not make any difference unless we mould ourselves to the right pattern. What we need is character. The history of the past should serve as a severe warning. It we do not effect revolutionary changes in our moral

code, sitting as we are on a volcano, we might blow off our hard won freedom any moment.

Take the case of British character during the Second World War. There was a time when everything seemed lost. Hitlerite Germany was causing havoc. It was the indomitable will and doggedness of the British alone which survived the Nazi onslaught. The whole nation irrespective of caste, creed or religion stood up as one man and all of us know the result. The same story was more or less repeated at Stalingrad on the Russian Front.

But why talk of wars and battles? In peace times too we are required to show our guts. It is the strength of character which counts here also. Ours is mainly an agricultural country. Nearly eighty per cent of our people live in villages. Hence so long as the lot of the villagers is not improved we cannot expect any progress. This is the job for the government and can be done by providing irrigation facilities, reclamation of land and supply of pure seed. "Grow more food" is the need of the hour. But can it be met if the person behind the plough, the tiller or the farmer sticks to his age old traditions of depending solely on the bounties of Mother Nature? He has to change his character if the country is required to be made self-sufficient. He has to give up his deadly fatalism and start realising that God helps only those who help themselves. Similarly in the domain of Industry we have got to make our big financiers and industrialists feel that they have to build up their character. Undoubtedly they hold all the power and as the saying goes money makes the mare go, they can make or mar the country. If they continue indulging in black marketing and other questionable tactics, the country will surely go to the dogs. "Produce or Perish" will remain a slogan only unless and until these magnates ensure equitable distribution of wealth. At the same time a word to those who are in a position

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CONSTITUTION AND CHARACTER

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to distribute power. The hydra-headed monster of corruption, jobbery and nepotism that stalks the land today if not checked in time is bound to imperil not only our peace, progress and prosperity but freedom also.

Our constitution gives us equality in politics but if we are going to have inequality in social and economic life then in the words of Doctor Ambedkar, those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy. In view of this we must have social equality too. Now what is social equality? In plain language it means equality of opportunity to every citizen irrespective of caste, creed or sex. The talk of separate culture or community is to take a very narrow view of things. We have got to realise in the words of Pandit Nehru that all of us are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligations. Hence no one should be allowed to claim more on account of either birth, wealth or religion. Everything ought to be for all nothing only for a few. No doubt this principle has been incorporated in our preamble but if we are not going to act up to this, it will remain on paper only. In this connection I have already referred to the curse of untouchability. I will give only one more example. We have declared that ours will be a secular state. That is why we have introduced joint electorates. Now there are 35 million Muslims in India representing about 8 per cent of the population. Is it possible for them to obtain a single seat through this system without the help of others? Great responsibility lies on us in asking them to agree to joint electorates. We will, therefore, have to see that the spirit behind this principle is honoured in letter too. Thus and thus alone we will be able to abolish communalism, the greatest bane of our country and which caused so much havoc that we were perforce compelled to bring about the division of our motherland. By doing away with this alone we can secure to all citizens the liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship-one of the cardinal principles laid down in our fundamental rights. Another right which has been

conferred by the New Constitution is the freedom of speech and expression but we should not forget that this right also devolves a good deal of responsibility on us. Blind faith and fear are undoubtedly condemnable. At the same time we should develop an outlook of appreciation of the practical problems like realists. Healthy and constructive criticism is the salt of life and without it no government or administration can run properly. But criticism for criticism sake or destructive criticism lead us no where. Similarly ill informed in season and out of season criticism with a biased mind would complicate the situation further and tend to spread chaos and anarchy. It will place unnecessary impediments in the working of the administrative machinery and afford opportunity to hostile elements inside and outside the country to propagate their evil designs. It is needless to say that to overcome all these defects one has to nurture the spirit of tolerance and high sense of discipline which in turn are nothing but parts of the right type of character which alone can give strength to the individual as well as to the nation as a whole. This is the only way in which we can safeguard and protect our hard earned freedom and secure an honourable place for our country in the comity of Nations.

We should not forget that we are now a sovereign democratic Republic. If we go wrong we have to blame no one but ourselves. The New Constitution as Doctor Rajendra Prasad said was after all like a machine, a lifeless thing. It requires life and the people and their chosen representatives can give it provided they are honest and have the interests of the country before them.

A blushing young woman handed the post office clerk a telegram containing only a name, address, and one word — "Yes".

Wishing to be helpful, the clerk said: You know, you can send five more words for the same price."

"I know I can," replied the girl "but don't you think I'd look too eager if I said it six times?"

A REPUBLIC IS BORN*

RAJEN BABU ELECTED PRESIDENT

ON the 24th of January the Indian Constituent Assembly which has adopted the new Indian constitution, unanimously elected its President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as the first President of the Indian Republic to be inaugurated on January 26. The election of the President of the Republic also marked the retirement of the first and last of the Indian Governors General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who for eighteen months presided over the Government of India, during a period of unparalleled difficulties, with great distinction. Mr. Rajagopalachari who has always adorned any office he held carries with him, in his retirement the gratitude and hearty goodwishes of millions of his countrymen who have learnt to respect him for his single-minded devotion to the task he undertook. Perhaps no other Indian of our time could have left a more powerful impression, by virtue of his personality, on the minds of the statesmen and leaders of other nations who have come into contact with him.

When the Constituent Assembly met that morning, Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, Secretary, made the announcement in his capacity as the Returning Officer. The announcement was received with resounding cheers.

Later, the Prime Minister, rising to offer his "respectful congratulations" to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the high honour conferred on him, recalled in choice words the glorious part he had played in the nation's fight for freedom. Speaking with some emotion, the Prime Minister pledged his loyalty and fealty to the Indian Republic of which Dr. Rajendra Prasad would be the "honoured head".

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, endorsed Pandit Nehru's observations and emphasised that the choice of Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President was unanimous. The Sardar made a moving call for unity. "May all of us," the Sardar prayed "swim together in the stormy seas that we have to cross in the future."

* A chronicle and record of historic events culled from Press news and reports of special correspondents.—[Ed. I. R.]

Replying to the congratulations, Dr. Prasad said, "We have after a long struggle reached one stage. Now another stage is beginning." Pointing out how greatly he treasured the confidence reposed in him, Dr. Rajendra Prasad hoped he might be enabled to discharge his responsibilities with the co-operation, not only of members of Parliament, but of the people of the country as well.

Thereafter, led by the Prime Minister, the members signed both the English and Hindi versions of the new Constitution.

Earlier, Dr. Rajendra Prasad made a carefully-worded statement on the National Anthem. "Jana Gana Mana," he said, would be used for official purposes as the National Anthem and "Vande Matharam" would be equally honoured.

DAY OF DEDICATION

In the course of a special message to his countrymen on the occasion of the inauguration of the Republic of India, India's first President said:

We must re-dedicate ourselves on this day to the peaceful but sure realisation of the dream that had inspired the Father of our Nation and the other captains and soldiers of our freedom struggle, the dream of establishing a classless, co-operative, free and happy society in this country. We must remember that this is more a day of dedication than of rejoicing—dedication to the glorious task of making the peasants and workers, the toilers and the thinkers fully free, happy and cultured.

The Prime Minister in his message to the people of India spoke of the peculiar appropriateness of this 26th of January for the inauguration of the Republic;

for this day links up the past with the present, and this present is soon to grow out of that past. Twenty years ago, we took the first pledge of independence. During these 20 years, we have known struggle and conflict and failure and achievement. The man who led us through apparent failure to achievement is no more with us, but the fruit of his labours is ours. What we do with this fruit depends upon ourselves.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel exhorted the people in these words:

The day on which India attains Republican status will be written in letters of gold in his history. With the disappearance of all traces of foreign rule, we become in law and in fact our own masters and it will be now for us to make or mar our future. It will, however, take time for us to recover from centuries of exploitation and

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A REPUBLIC IS BORN

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bondage, considerable sacrifice will yet be necessary before a sufficient quantity of fresh blood can flow in India's veins. We worked hard to achieve our freedom. We shall have to strive harder to justify it.

Messages of greeting and good wishes poured in from all over the world such as those exchanged between His Majesty King George and our President, between the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the Indian Union, and between the Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of the respective countries and of India.

"It is a matter of profound satisfaction to me" said the President in his reply to the King's message that

this landmark in India's history has been reached peacefully and in a spirit of co-operation. It will be the unflinching endeavour of my Government and our people that, in friendly association with the Commonwealth of Nations, India may continue to work for the good of mankind.

President Truman of the U. S. A. said in his message:

The establishment of the Sovereign independent Republic of India within the Commonwealth represents a final step in India's political transition which closely parallels the political evolution of our own country. Because of our traditional sympathy with India, the people of the United States are particularly happy to send expressions of goodwill on this occasion.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reply was apt to the occasion and gave expression to the traditional sympathy and understanding of the two great peoples in their struggle for freedom and progress:

As first President of the Republic of India, it shall be my constant endeavour to uphold the traditions of democratic Government and to foster, together with other like-minded nations, the ideals of peace and moral law that we have inherited from the Father of Our Nation—Mahatma Gandhi. In this task, I am sure we can count on the co-operation of the Government and people of the United States whose principles of individual liberty and the rule of law are reflected in the provisions of our own Constitution.

Pandit Nehru in his reply to Mr. Dean Acheson's message pointed to the special features attendant on the conquest of freedom by non-violence and stressed the continuance of Indo-American co-operation:

We fought for our freedom without arms and without rancour and those against whom we struggled bear witness to this by the depth and spontaneity of their friendship for us in our new association.

We shall always endeavour to strengthen the relations that now happily exist between India and your great Republic from whose history and

Constitution we have derived both inspiration and wisdom.

C. R.'S. SERVICES TO THE COUNTRY

The Central Cabinet at its meeting on January 24, adopted a resolution placing on record the services rendered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General and expressing the hope that the country would benefit by his wisdom and experience for many years to come. The letter from the Prime Minister ran:

"My dear Governor-General,

The Cabinet at a meeting held this morning, passed the following resolution which they have requested me to convey to you: 'On the relinquishment of the high office of the Governor-General of India by Shri Rajagopalachari, the Cabinet desire to record their deep and grateful appreciation of his labours and his service to the country. His mature wisdom and simple dignity, during a difficult period of India's history, have been of inestimable help to the members of the Cabinet and to the country. He has not only enhanced the prestige of India, but has further endeared himself to his own people. In conveying their affection and good wishes to him the Cabinet hope and trust that the country will benefit by his wisdom and experience for many years to come.'

"May I say that this resolution is not merely a formal record of the Cabinet's high appreciation, but is an expression, in rather feeble words, of their affection and gratitude to you.

"Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Jawaharlal Nehru.

In a Farewell Banquet to the retiring Governor-General the Prime Minister referred to his thirty years' association with Mr. Rajagopalachari and said that there were not many of them left in this country, who could be called the Old Guard of the National movement.

"I am quite sure" the Prime Minister said, "that when necessity demands it,—and necessity demands it all the time, if I may say so—not only our affection but the need of the country will call you to other services for the country you have lived in and served for so long. So with this feeling and with the conviction that you are there and that you will come back whenever you are needed, my mind is softened a little and I do not feel what otherwise I might have, felt at your going away".

The Governor-General spoke with great feeling of the great co-operation he had received from the Cabinet.

Let me testify publicly" Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "on this occasion that he (the Prime Minister) has grown and is growing every day, even now, and he is more competent to take

the message of Gandhiji to the world and keep it going to-day than he ever was: and I have no doubt in mind that if that lamp is kept by our people, they can get all the magic out of that lamp. I hope they would not fall a prey to the temptation of selling the old lamp away and buying new ones".

THE CEREMONY AND THE PROCLAMATION

Punctually at 10-15 a. m., the Governor-General accompanied by Dr. Rajendra Prasad entered the Durbar Hall and while the former took his seat on the throne, the latter sat in another chair by his side. After reading out the proclamation declaring India a Republic and another communication from the Constituent Assembly announcing the election of the President, the Governor-General vacated his chair and invited Dr. Rajendra Prasad to occupy it. The Proclamation read as follows:

Whereas the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic adopted, enacted and gave to themselves on the twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, in their Constituent Assembly the constitution of India;

And whereas it has been declared by the said constitution that India, that is, Bharat, shall be a Union of States comprising within the Union the territories which were hitherto the Governor's provinces, the Indian States and the Chief Commissioners' provinces;

And whereas this, the twentysixth day of January, 1950, has been fixed for the commencement of the said Constitution;

Now, therefore, it is hereby proclaimed that on and from this, the twentysixth day of January, 1950, India that is, Bharat, shall be a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and the Union and its component units, the States, shall exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration in accordance with the provisions of the said constitution.

Behind the throne where previously a huge crown representing British authority, adorned the top of the flowing velvet canopy in red, the national emblem represented by the Asokan pillar, with the three lions on top, was installed making the termination of the link with the British Crown and the emergence of India as an independent country. Also for the first time, a statue of Buddha was brought to the Durbar Hall and placed just behind the President's throne giving a religious touch to the whole ceremony.

The Chief Justice of India administered the oath of office to the President and simultaneously the President's flag replaced the Governor-General's flag on the top of Government House and a 31-gun salute was fired to mark the assumption of office by the President.

President Rajendra Prasad took the oath in the name of God pledging that he would faithfully execute the office of President of India and "will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and the law and that I will devote myself to the service and well-being of the people of India." He took the oath in Hindi. The President was sworn-in at 10-26 a.m.

The conclusion of the historic ceremony was marked by the booming of a 31-gun salute by field artillery. Simultaneously, the Governor-General's blue standard was brought down and the President's flag of red and gold went up as the National Anthem, "Jana Gana Mana" was played.

The President then made a short speech first in Hindi and then in English. He said:

This is a memorable day in our annals. Let us begin with offering our thanks to the Almighty Power that has enabled us to see this day, to the Father of the Nation who showed us and to the world at large his infallible method of Satyagraha and led us on along it to freedom, and to the numberless men and women who, by suffering and sacrifice, have rendered the attainment of independence and the establishment of this sovereign democratic Republic of India possible.

Thus Amidst the fanfare of trumpets, the booming of guns and scenes of rejoicing, India became a Republic on Thursday the 26th January. The goal of an Independent Republic set before the country by the Indian National Congress exactly 20 years ago has now been fully realised.

Throughout the country—in towns and cities, and villages—celebrating crowds thronged festooned streets, watching the illuminations and firework displays. The celebrations, elaborately planned and carried out with utmost enthusiasm, were generally adjudged as excelling those on the achievement of Dominion Status two and a half years ago.

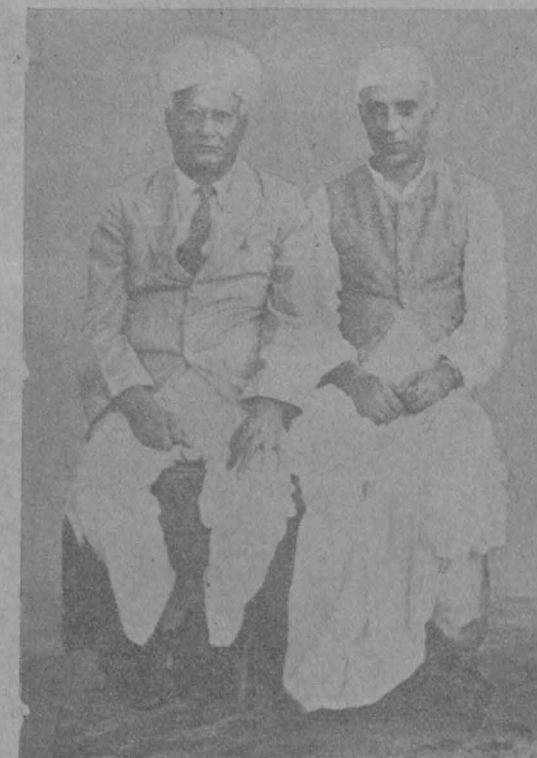
LOOKING BACK

BY SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA

I feel I must congratulate Mr. Manian Natesan on the fine Golden Jubilee number of the *Indian Review* that he has produced. The highest praise I can give it is, that whether in production, or format or literary contents it fully sustains the credit of the firm which the late Mr. G. A. Natesan founded. I have only two regrets. The first is that G. A. Natesan did not live to celebrate the Golden Jubilee. The second is the more minor and personal one that the accident which laid me low happened on the very day I was to write my contribution to the Jubilee Number. It would have been a matter to me of personal gratification if my name had been in the fine list of contributors whom the firm has secured. I am probably amongst the oldest survivors of the founder. He was with me in the Presidency College where he made his mark by raising the very modest College Literary Society to the front rank of College Societies in Madras. His talent for organisation was discovered then. I still recall the occasion on which Dr. William Miller, the foremost educationist of Madras came to preside over one of the weekly meetings of our Literary Society. His presence naturally attracted an enormous crowd, such as a College Society had never known before. In his speech Dr. Miller made a complaint that Mr. Natesan had not kept the assurance he had given to him that it was purely a private meeting. Mr. Natesan's reply was prompt and effective. He said "Sir, it is not my fault. Publicity is the penalty that greatness has to pay."

After both of us left College we used to meet on two public bodies, the Madras Municipal Corporation and the Senate of the Madras University. He was an enthusiastic working member of both. I still remember the sensation he produced when he moved a vote of censure against the Vice-Chancellor who happened to be the Chief Justice of Madras and the Syndicate for supporting legal proceedings which should never have been instituted. In those ancient days no Fellow was willing to support the motion. I had to undertake the unpopular task and I also managed to get the powerful support of Dr. T. M. Nair.

Mr. G. A. Natesan combined with brilliant journalistic ability an unrivalled talent for organisation and what was unique, an uncanny knack for discovering abilities in men who did not themselves know that they had them. I may mention as two conspicuous examples the late Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the late Mr. V. Krishna-swami Aiyar. G. A. Natesan died just when the great era opened in which his talents would have been of great value to the country. As an electioneering agent in good causes I know of no cleverer man. The Indian Republic marks the beginning of the electoral age and if he were alive he would have assured to an untried democracy with adult franchise the choice of great and good men to lead the country.



G. A. NATESAN WITH PANDIT NEHRU

Photo taken in 1936.

Select Opinions on The Golden Jubilee Number

Prabuddha Bharata : . . "The *Indian Review*, founded by the late Sri G. A. Natesan, has successfully completed fifty years of useful service to the public, and this bumper number amply commemorates this glorious event. . . . The learned editor gives in *Fifty Years* a survey of political and social progress which the review has tried to cover, month by month.

The Hindu : . . "The Number offers an impressive budget of articles of topical and general interest."

Free Press Journal : . . "This is an achievement of which the *Indian Review* can be justly proud. A de luxe Golden Jubilee Number."

Hitavada : . . "A look into the contents of this issue is itself peering into a cross section of Indian public life."

Bharat : . . "A galaxy of talent and eminence are the contributors."

Free India : . . "Packed with thought-provoking articles by distinguished writers."

Swadeshmitran : . . "The Number contains very interesting contributions."

Sunday Times : . . "A host of distinguished writers have enriched the Number with articles on subjects of varied interest."

Business Week : . . Packed with articles by well-known and distinguished writers."

Editor, Prabuddha Bharata in a letter to Mr. Manian Natesan : . . "Our hearty congratulations on your signal achievement in bringing out an excellent Special Number."

The Archbishop of Madras in a letter to Mr. Manian Natesan : . . "Let me congratulate you for the very nice Jubilee Number which is certainly most interesting."

Naradar : . . "Those who are responsible for bringing out this excellent number must be proud of a big achievement."

The Indian Express : . . "Profusely illustrated, the Golden Jubilee Number is a sumptuous volume."

The South Indian Journalist : . . "The brightly produced special Golden Jubilee number is fully worthy of the happy occasion."

Sunday Observer : . . "The Golden Jubilee Number is a concrete example of unique success."

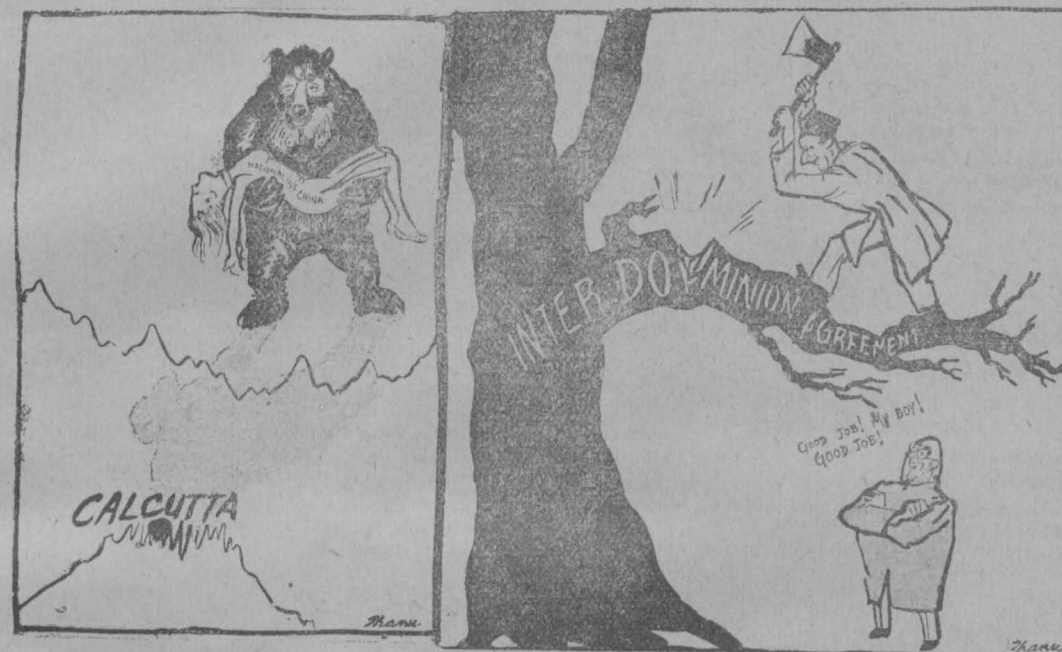
People's Health : . . "It is marvellous how the journal has grown to its present state—one of ripe respectability. . . . A precious addition to their book-shelf."



MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER IN DELHI

Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who, on his way back to London after the Colombo Conference, spent a couple of days in Delhi, is seen here addressing a Press Conference held in New Delhi. The others in the photograph are Mr. Roland Owen, Senior U. K. Trade Commissioner in India; Sir Archibald Nye, United Kingdom High Commissioner in India; and Mr. W. F. King, Director, British Information Services,

TOPICAL CARTOONS



Courtesy: Bharat.



Courtesy: Free India.



Courtesy : Free India.



U. K. HIGH COMMISSIONER'S X'MAS PARTY FOR REFUGEE CHILDREN

A party of over a hundred children from the Faridabad Refugee Camp, between the ages of 5 and 10, were entertained on December 30 at a children's X'mas party given by Sir Archibald Nye, U. K. High Commissioner in Delhi, Lady Nye and the staff of the High Commission. Prime Minister Pandit Nehru was also present. Behind Pandit Nehru (on his right) is Lady Nye,

Shakespeare and the Indian Ideal of Life

By MR. PRABAS JIBAN CHOUDHURY, M.A., M.Sc.

SHAKESPEARE was a Renaissance dramatist, who, above all, had to please the Elizabethan audience that loved life with its rich burden of passion and pain, hopes and fears, a life which is essentially tragic. He saw and delineated (in his best plays, the tragedies) the sensuous aspect of life—the quick consuming love of Romeo, the blind and jealous passion of Othello, the devastating ambition of Macbeth, the pure purposeless malignity of Iago, the maddening selfishness of Lear's two daughters and the sadism of Richard III. He is a poet of the instinctive or the passionate animal nature of man, the poet of the psycho-physical human plane, not even of the intellectual, and certainly not of the moral and spiritual planes. He shows man desiring and suffering, not thinking or spiritually contemplating. The thinking of Hamlet is but the passionate outbursts of a perplexed and suffering soul, and the only intelligent being in Shakespeare's plays seems to be Iago; yet he does not know his own destructive nature and its nemesis, and so is a fool too.

Yet Shakespeare did not exalt like Marlow the passionate nature of man. The world he presents us is a moral world though peopled by either immoral or amoral characters. For this world, we find, trembles and threatens to break into pieces while the tragic characters display their dominating passion or vice, but it regains its order in the end: the vice is proved vicious, the good proved good. Shakespeare did not confuse the moral values, we can clearly see him discriminating between the good and the bad and doing apt poetic justice. Though the virtue that is in the general atmosphere of the play seems to be momentarily eclipsed by the thick fury of passions displayed by the chief characters, it reappears brilliant from pain, washed by blood and tears. We see this effect and experience an exquisite calm when the curtain falls finally in a Shakespeare tragedy. We return home with much knowledge of the animal nature of man, no doubt, but also with an assured faith in a moral order that censors the animal in man.

And so we come to ask what exactly does Shakespeare teach us through his plays that are obviously full of pain and confusions of passions. (We refer especially to his tragedies for in them he has studied man deeply and most seriously). Shakespeare teaches us that desire is the source of all our suffering, the root of all unrest. Tragedy springs, in life, and, so, in drama, from the desiring self of man, the instinctive drives of the ego. And Shakespeare, besides demonstrating this truth in his tragedies, (without stating it like a moral philosopher), has let fall remarks here and there in the mouths of some characters which hint the same truth. Hamlet, himself suffering from the perplexity of contending passions, praises Horatio for his mastering of passions. He speaks of Horatio:—

"As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast taken with equal thanks: and blessed
are those
Whose blood and judgment are so well
commingled
That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
To sound what stop she pleases. Give me
that man
That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
In my heart's core, in my heart of heart,
As I do thee.

(Act III, Sc. 3)

Horatio is not moral in the ordinary sense of the term but he is amoral in the sense that he is beyond good and evil. He does not choose between passions but is above all passions, a self-poised soul. Shakespeare does not present Horatio as a typical moral character; Horatio seldom advises Hamlet to do this or that; rather, he, through his silence and, sometimes, very short remarks, discourages Hamlet's passionate moods. Once he remarks critically to Hamlet's effusions, "You might have rhymed" (Act III, Sc. 2). Once he said, "Be ruled" (Act, I, Sc. 4); on another occasion, "Good my lord, be quiet." (Act V, Sc. 1). For Horatio every passion is bad, goodness consists in transcending one's affective nature and living a composed life of the rational spirit. Feelings should be ruled by good sense (judgment) and actions should issue not from irrational gusts of passion ('blood') but from a

detached spirit that regards everything in the light of universal good, not personal. That is, of course, the highest morality, yet it implies something beyond morality as it is ordinarily conceived. Horatio may be called moral from an absolute moral point of view which is adopted in Hindu ethics. For he is one who follows the advice which Lord Krishna gives to Arjuna, to live and act considering victory and defeat, joy and sorrow, as one.

Shakespeare views in his tragedies the clash of passions and shows the pitiable plight to which passions lead man, how they bring discord in his world and disintegrate it. Though the moral order asserts itself in the end, the world-order (e. g., the world of Othello, Hamlet and Lear) crumbles. In one of his last romantic plays, *Tempest*, Shakespeare seems to give a more direct expression to his philosophy of life. Prospero has forsaken the world and his position in it because he finds them not worth his while; there is too much of scramble and narrowness in men. He views life as a veil of *maya* and says,

"We are such stuff as dreams are made of
And our little life is rounded off with a sleep."

Yet his world-weariness is not lasting for it is not a true and ultimate attitude to life. He finds the island 'bare,' and breaking his magic-wand, returns to his world to live among his own people. So that, he is now neither infatuated nor dejected by life, which he accepts with inward detachment. He will now live in the world, like king Janaka of Mithila, enjoying as a witness everything and never getting entangled in anything. In this lies ultimate wisdom and true happiness. Says Gita, (II, 64): "He is happy who, having been free alike from infatuation and dejection and having controlled his senses, enjoys through these senses the worldly goods." The Western critics of Shakespeare point out that Prospero, by deciding to return to his people, revokes his stoical outlook, and, so, there is a contradiction in his character. They point out that Shakespeare himself had a weakness for worldly life: he returned to Stratford after leaving his profession and bought property

there to live as a "gentleman". So Shakespeare (the critics say) could not conceive of the quiet stoical satisfaction that Prospero might get from his resigned life in the bare island. But these critics have not a deeper and larger view of life, which, we have seen, teaches us to live amongst our people without either infatuation or disgust for the world, in a spirit of detachment. The secret of self-less action as taught by Gita is the root of a correct philosophy of life and we believe Shakespeare, the great human poet, knew this secret through his insight. Neither stoicism nor hedonism but a higher and more comprehensive philosophy of life is taught by Hindu ethics. Tagore has taught this philosophy; and Shakespeare too teaches this, though very indirectly, quite unobtrusively like a true poet that he was.



50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH

(From Editorial Notes)

THE LAST SOCIAL CONFERENCE
MR. JUSTICE RANADE'S ADDRESS

Not the least important of the different conferences held recently is the Indian Social Conference held in Lucknow under the auspices of the party of reform in that historic city. Its sittings seem to have been characterised by an enthusiasm and an earnestness that the organisers of the gathering do not always succeed in enlisting on behalf of the conference. As usual, the guiding spirit of the Conference, Justice Ranade, prefaced the proceedings with an address which was an earnest plea for organized and united action on the part of Muhammadans and Hindus alike to remove the many social abuses that stand in the way of the progress of the Indian. Mr. Ranade recognizes as no friend of India recognizes that the salvation of India lies not in emphasising the sectional differences that divide the Indians and keep them apart, but in making us all understand that these superficial differences of Jew and Gentile, Hindu and Muhammadan weigh as nothing against the common humanity of all.

LAW AND DEMOCRACY

BY MR. RAM KESHAV RANADE, LL.M.

District Judge, Sangli.

"ALL the evils of the world would cease," says Plato, "if lawyers would become philosophers and philosophers lawyers." Relying upon this assertion Scholars assert that law and philosophy should go hand in hand and that the fundamental problems must be decided not by lawyers or by philosophers; but by legal philosophers. The question of democracy has engaged for many years past and is engaging at present the attention of legal philosophers all the world over and the implementation and harmonisation of their thoughts has been and continues to be the main problem of modern democracy. India has now gained freedom and we are on the threshold of a long period of constructive readjustment and restatement of our views regarding the democratic form of Government. It may be of some use at this juncture to have a glimpse into the fundamental principles of democracy as unfolded by legal philosophers, like Dr. Friedmann, Dean Pound, Prof. Hall, Mr. Jones and others.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

The evolution of the individual as the ultimate measure of things is a universally accepted standard of democratic society. The development of the individual to its complete potentialities is an old idea appearing in various philosophical systems. But the conception of a society based on well defined rights of the individual is a special idea of democracy. In philosophical systems the emphasis is on duty and not on right, but in a democratic society special stress is laid on right and not on duty. Democracy has not accepted the "right to do one's duty" as the only right. The trend of the modern democracy is extending the sphere of individual rights beyond the original trinity of life, liberty and property. It is increasingly tampering individual rights by social rights. The French convention stipulates common happiness as the end of society, whereas Bentham postulates the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the end of law. For getting a clear idea regarding the trend of modern democracy the specific individual rights which are

said to constitute the legal pillars of democracy, may, in short, be adverted to.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT AND FREEDOM OF LABOUR

The freedom of contract and freedom of labour are supposed to be the essential aspects of democracy. It may be remarked that freedom of contract calculated to emancipate labour from various fetters but afterwards owing to the inequality of bargaining business, freedom of contract came into conflict with freedom of labour. Taking into account the position of the rich like mill-owners and the poor like labourers, freedom of contract and freedom of labour which are essential requirements of democracy, have been subjected to various benevolent restrictions. Legal philosophers have no objection to such restrictions which are calculated to favour the poor; but they say that a real threat to freedom of labour comes from the increasing practice of Governments to direct and tie people to their jobs. All democratic States have introduced compulsion of labour as a war measure. But it is said that that measure should not be retained for a long time. The freedom to choose one's job and to change it at one's desire is one of the most essential aspects of democracy. The Soviet Constitution of 1936 has been the first to include the right to work that is the right to guaranteed employment and payment among individual rights. A consideration of the fundamental rights regarding freedom of contract and freedom of labour, shows that modern democracy has now blended individual rights with socialistic rights.

FREEDOM OF PROPERTY AND PERSON

In the opinion of Locke, Bentham, Spencer and the makers of French and American Constitutions, freedom of property constituted a cardinal principle of democracy. In modern conditions, however, property often becomes a means of control over other peoples' life and labour. Taking into account these conditions modern democracy has everywhere had to circumscribe freedom of property by social responsibility.

Personal freedom involves more rights than physical integrity of life and body.

It includes the protection of personal reputation, of family relations and of domestic life. The most important aspect of personal liberty is spiritual and intellectual freedom whose principal expressions are liberty of religion and thought, liberty of speech, writing and printing and liberty of peaceable association and discussion. Freedom of speech and press is no doubt subject to the restraining laws of defamation and to the sound requirements of public safety, but all the authors of modern democracy unanimously agree on the point that a system of State licensing the press or the control of opinion by the Ministry of propaganda, are not at all compatible with democracy. Regarding liberty it may be noted that the fundamental aspects of liberty are those which express and ensure "the highest and the most harmonious development of man's powers to a complete and consistent whole."

EQUALITY

The doctrine of legal equality dates from the era of the French and American Revolutions. Legal equality means equal treatment of those equal before the law. It includes in principle the extension of individual rights to all citizens as distinct from a privileged minority. Neither the limitation of franchise or other civic rights nor legal inequality as between men and women, or between white and black races is in tune and harmony with the basic legal ideas of democracy. It may be noted that the ideas of individual freedom and equality are to be understood in a dynamic and not in a static sense. Freedom means opening the road to the fullest development of personality and equality suggests equality of opportunity for all to participate in such development. It signifies the removal not of natural differences but of the man-made differences. So far the U.S.S.R. has gone the farthest in carrying out the legislative implications of this democratic ideal to the greatest extent by giving full equality of status and opportunities to men and women by opening educational facilities to all citizens regardless of means and by removing many man-made differences.

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE

Individual rights and equality may exist even under a benevolent despotism. They

do not sufficiently characterize democracy unless they find fulfilment in the right of the people to participate in Government. Democracy tries to reconcile popular will with individual rights and in particular the rights of the majority with those of the minority. It is said in this connection that if the will of the majority is the supreme law, individual rights cannot be inalienable. The difficulty of reconciling both has involved many lawyers in contradictions. The three main suggestions which indicate a way out of the dilemma are (i) the idea of proportionate representation championed by Mill and other liberal lawyers, (ii) the idea of a protection of minority rights which is accepted by the American Constitution and (iii) the idea of the individual participation in Government from the national sphere. The British constitution does not recognise any formal protection of individual or minority rights. Nothing prevents the majority from passing any law, it being supposed that the parliamentary recognition of an organised opposite party with a salaried leader would try to protect the rights of the minorities. As regards the Constitution of the Soviet Union, it may be noted that it is clearly undemocratic in as much as it allows only one privileged party as the expression of organized political opinion.

RULE OF LAW

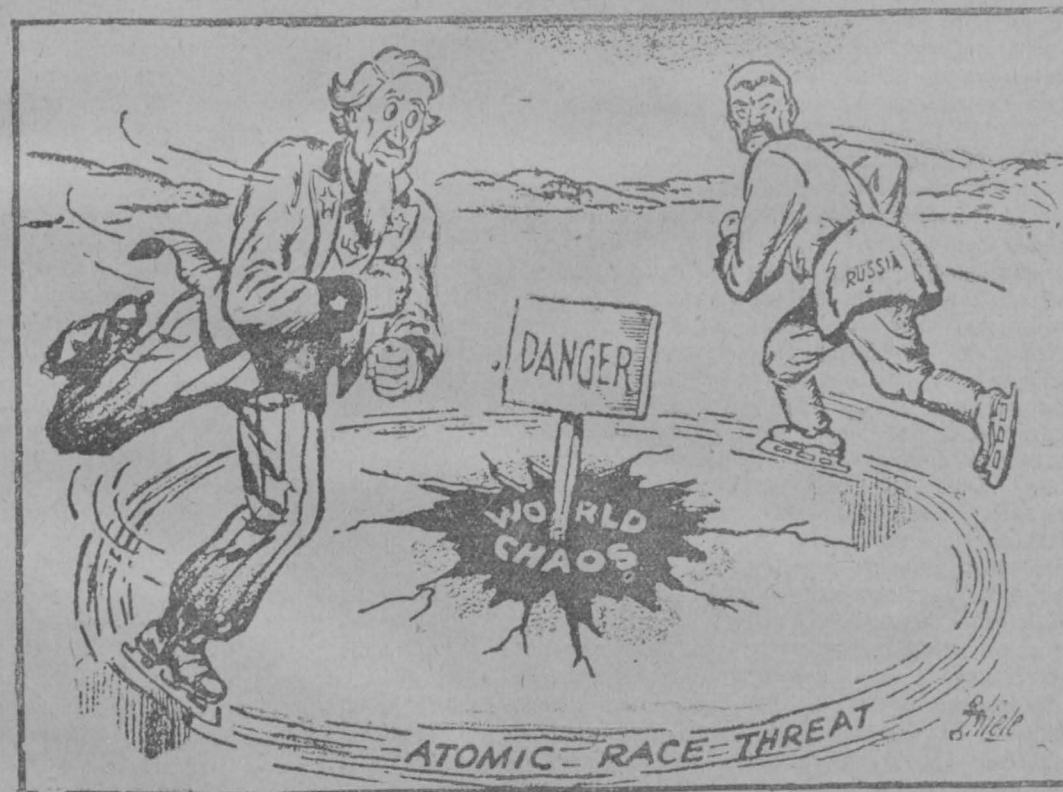
The rule of law implies the principle of equality before the law and excludes the aristocratic principle which in the name of divine rights or inspired leadership exempts individuals and groups from the law of the land. The recognition of a privileged class like the members of the Nazi organizations, subject only to party tribunals, is repugnant to democracy. The inevitable corollary of a rule of law is the separation of the Judiciary from the executive and unless this is accomplished the form of Government cannot be compatible with democracy.

CONCLUSION

Having regard to the aforesaid fundamental rights, it will appear that modern democracy is trying to blend individual rights with socialistic principles. At such a juncture, all legal philosophers attach highest importance to the separation

of the judiciary from the executive. Democracy without a fearless and independent judiciary is well-nigh impossible. The democratic form of Government is not to be determined so much from the influence and popularity which the executive enjoys as the strength and independence of the judges and the respect and regard in which they are held. Democracy does not simply mean the rule of the majority, but it also means the respect of the majority for the rule of law and its willingness to

honour the decisions of the judiciary even if they go against their wishes and expectations. The rule of law can prevail only and only when the judiciary is put in such a fearless position that it can compel the executive to function within the law. There is a dangerous tendency abroad to have a tall talk about democracy without understanding its fundamental principles. So far only the stream is fouled, but any attempt at minimising the importance of the rule of law will surely tend to corrupt the very fountain.



THIN ICE FOLLIES

Courtesy : The Pioneer.

INDIANS FORGE AHEAD IN MAURITIUS

BY PROF. B. BISSOONDOYAL, B.A. (HONS.) (PUNJ), M.A. (CAL.)

THE various European powers that went out to India, came to Mauritius too. The Portuguese and the Dutch occupied the tiny island off the east coast of Africa only to abandon it later like the Romans who left Britain to take care of itself. It is the French that came here to stay. Mill's "History of British India" contains pages that are reproduced in the manuals of "History of Mauritius" read by school children. Those pages are interesting in that they tell us of French governors whose names are associated both with India and Mauritius. Mill relates how Mauritius and other neighbouring islands looked like during the French occupation when he writes:—

"So little had been done for the improvement of these islands that the people, few in number, were living nearly in the state of nature. They were poor, without industry, and without the knowledge of almost any of the useful arts. They had neither magazine, nor hospital, neither fortification, nor defensive force, military or naval. They had no roads; they had no beasts of burden, and no vehicles."

There was a change for the better owing to the labours of Bertrand Francois Mahe de la Bourdonnais. The same British historian says that La Bourdonnais "could construct a ship from the keel: he performed the functions of engineer, of architect and of agriculturist: he broke bulls to the yoke, constructed vehicles, and made roads . . . To introduce any degree of vigilance and order in the management even of a hospital which he constructed for the sick, it was necessary for him to perform the office of superintendent himself, and for a whole twelve months he visited it regularly every morning . . . During eleven years that La Bourdonnais was Governor, there was but one law suit in the Isle of France, he himself having terminated all differences by arbitration."

To succeed in performing the functions of engineer, he had recourse to Indians. When twenty carpenters worked under the French Governor who shifted the capital of Mauritius (Isle de France) from Grand Port (the South) to Port Louis (named after Louis Napoleon) of the North West Harbour, carpenters from India were in the propor-

tion of 16 to 4 to the blacks. He had 58 Indian masons as against 14 black ones.*

We are still in 1740. In 1810, the British would not allow the French to stay, at any rate to stay as rulers. An important naval fight ensued and Mauritius was captured.

It is on the fifteenth of August, 1947 that it was revealed, in a book with the Asoka chakra on its unattractive cover,† that Indian sepoys numbering three thousand accompanied the conquering British soldiers and succeeded in giving the finishing touch at the Battle of Montagne Longue (the North).

Indian soldiers, then, preceded Indian immigrants. Working under unfavourable conditions as they did, the Indians developed the island further. They continued the work begun by Governor La Bourdonnais. Gratitude was not a virtue that could be sought in the rulers of Mauritius in those dark days. Writing as far back as 1856, an Englishman sprang an unpleasant surprise on the readers of "The Friend of India."‡ He said amongst other things:—

"We recently warned all Indian readers, in search of health or anxious for leisure, to avoid a visit to Mauritius. Port Louis, it is true is easy of access. It is within the Indian limits, the great attraction of all those who adhere to the rules of military leave. The island itself is beautiful enough to allure even those who have seen Sicily, and the planters are said to be hospitable in the extreme, but the curse of ignorance is over all. . . If a Coolie (Hindu) or Lascar (Mohamedan) on board has an attack of diarrhoea, if a man of the crew becomes delirious with drink, it is all over with the voyager. The island goes mad. Port Louis is in an uproar. The Municipality (A Municipality had been established in 1850) passes treasonable resolutions. . . They (the coolies) are sent thither on a barren rock under official protection, under an implied guarantee that their lives shall not be sacrificed to the ignorant selfishness of a creole mob. We are assured in the most positive manner, that under existing regulations they are sacrificed—we had almost written murdered in scores at a time. In January of this year, the *Hyderce* and *Futteh Mobarruck* arrived in Port Louis with a cargo of coolies. There were a few cases of diarrhoea on board, such as will occur among all large assemblages of natives. They were not, however, cases of cholera. . . . The Coolies, 656 in number, worn out with sea-sickness want of

* Memoire a Orry Page 126.

† Indians and the capture of Mauritius.

‡ A Calcutta paper.

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exercise, and all the *deagremens* incidental to a sea voyage, were turned out upon the islets. Nothing was given them for shelter, no wood, no grass, not even mud for building huts. The food was insufficient, the water was fetid, the exposure was such that even natives are unable to endure . . . two hundred men perished on the rock . . .

The matter deserves, and will, we hope, receive the most serious attention of the Government of India. The follies of the Mauritians are nothing to any of us. They may believe they are hospitable, or that the sun goes round the earth or that Port Louis is an enlightened city, or any other absurdity they please. But even ignorance and credulity are not excuses for the wholesale sacrifice of our fellow subjects.

The Coolies are attracted to Mauritius by an official pledge that their engagements shall be kept; that they shall be fairly treated and protected in the enjoyment of their rights. That pledge has been broken in a manner as silly as inhuman . . . Without these Coolies, whom they thus leave to die, the Mauritians would be the happy possessors of a barren rock. We cannot appeal to their humanity, but we may to their thirst for dollars."

During the decade 1851-1861 the Indian population rose from 77,996 to 192,634. In no other decade has there been such a phenomenal rise, that Mauritius should have been hostile just at the time Indians gave the greatest help, is indeed a sad comment on the mentality of the people inhabiting the island then.

The dawn of the twentieth century saw the arrival of a great saviour. The late lamented Gokhale had founded his "Servants of India Society". A barrister young in years got inspired by the selflessness of its members and determined to play his part. The torch-bearer reached Mauritius on 11th October 1907. In the *Mauritius Almanach* there is an entry to the effect that he was the "first Indian lawyer practising in the colony." Shri Manilal Doctor, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, wrongly named Doctor Manilal by the 91-year-old weekly *Le Monde Illustré* of Paris, in its issue of March 27, 1948, succeeded in starting a paper christened *Hindustani* in English and Hindi. The Arya Samaj sprang up. The Abmadiya movement, another religious movement wielding no mean influence in the Punjab, came upon the heels of the Arya Samaj.

Material prosperity went hand in hand with intellectual advancements. The French who stayed in Mauritius ceased to be

the moneyed class. Part of the wealth that the country possessed had changed hands. The children of whites born of non-white mothers had most of the riches. As nobody could claim that all those who go by the appellation of Franco-Mauritians now are really whites, the well-to-do section began to be gradually assimilated to the white population. Rev. Patric Beaton, M.A., (Lond) institutes an instructive comparison:

"In Europe, we often hear of noble blood; but in Mauritius, all blood that circulates in white men's veins is noble".

The Indians were not lagging behind. From labourers they became land owners. Their children began to admire Shri Manilal. It was then that Indo-Mauritians went out for the first time to Europe and India in search of knowledge.

It is interesting to compare the Indian renaissance with the Mauritian one. Every movement that has a great beginning slackens with the passing of time. Many *Mandals* and *Maha Sabhas* were formed. Coming under the inspiration of scholars and reformers sent out to Mauritius by well-known Indian organisations, numerous youths served the community and earned the praise of all and sundry. But the period of enthusiasm was not to last for ever. Discouragement set in. Gloom descended upon the country.

When the writer left Mauritius in April 1933, to set sail for India for higher studies he was a dejected young man whose only hope was that he would gather strength in the land of his forefathers for the great struggle that was in store for him in his fatherland.

He came back in 1939. World war II was on. Restrictions were the order of the day. Little by little the people learnt to congregate. Mauritius is India in little. Here too provincial prejudices were a poison. Punjabis, Biharis, Bengalis, Madrasis and Gujaratis were taught to come together so often that they began to shed the century-old prejudice. They were all educated out of their aloofness. When the *Mahayajna* was performed all of them contributed to its success. Educated Mauritians did not disdain to take part in it.

191665

The members of the *Sevika Dal* and the *Sewa Samiti* showed so good a performance that the imagination of the whole population was stirred. A day after the *Mahayajna*, i.e. on 13th December-48., Municipal elections were held and Indo-Mauritians scored an unprecedented success. The Indian community came out, so to say, of the shadow of death.

Three weeks before the hartal, the whole world rejoiced on the 15th. of August, a red letter day in the history of Modern India. The new movement in Mauritius had reached its apex in 1943, for it is not a passing interest that the *Mahayajna* had aroused. The countrywide influence it exerted made the Indian Independence Day Celebrations a success. December 12, 1943 set the pattern for August 15, 1947.

On the 15th there were universal rejoicings. Thousands of flags were hoisted. Prayers were offered in all the temples. Huge processions were held in important towns and villages of the island. The masses were, however, disappointed when they reached Port Louis, the capital. Every speech delivered there was calculated to please those who have always ill-treated the Indian population. The villagers who stayed at Port Louis were left to spend a very sad night. Many Indians had to sleep in the open. They had been shocked during the day to see that when people flocked at the Champ-de-Mars, the place where the meeting was held, the police failed to maintain order although only some 15 to 20 thousand people assembled. The ladies had not the chivalrous treatment that they are accorded in great cities. The whole night they kept brooding over the insults offered gratuitously.

But their disappointment did not last long. On the 17th., the date on which British soldiers began to leave India for good, another meeting was organised. Some twenty thousand Indians and non-Indians attended it. Once again the *Swayam Sewaks* gave a good account of themselves and the momentary gloom became a thing of the past. The whole situation was saved. The Indians of Mauritius are in good spirits. The celebrations have heightened

their prestige in the eyes of their non-Indian countrymen. They who were sometimes ashamed of their Indian origin as the direct result of their inferiority complex only a few years ago, are among the first to hoist the flag of the Indian Union.

The appointment of Mr. Dharam Yash Dev as Commissioner coupled with the general elections held under a new Constitution may bring about a change. But in this billowy world of change, will the change in Mauritius be for the better? Are we going to pass from darkness into light? The new Constitution has been secured at the cost of great sacrifice. "Franco-Mauritians" now have to sit side by side with an equal, if not superior, number of members of the coloured population and Indo-Mauritians in the new Council. It has become next to impossible for a disproportionate majority of whites to sit in the Legislative Council at a time when the Indian element is forging ahead and thinking highly of the coloured population that have, in recent years, produced a leader of the calibre of Dr Cure, the founder of the Mauritius Labour Party. A Government having no roots in the life of the people cannot be backed enthusiastically. We who are doing what little we can, remain dissatisfied with the results achieved so far. We are prepared to meet reverses with renewed accessions of strength. My co-workers and I are destined to suffer again;

"Not for us are content and quiet, and peace
of mind
For we go seeking a city that we shall never find."

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.

LEAGUE COVENANT AND U. N. CHARTER

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

(University of Allahabad)

WAR-weary Worlds have in them the atmosphere for evolving schemes of perpetual peace. Linyutang, that versatile Chinese writer, dubbed Europe as the breeding-ground of War-microbes. Attempts at reconstruction of the world could be made in Europe also. The fall of Napoleon, the abdication of the Kaiser and the collapse of Hitler had each in turn given birth to the Holy Alliance, the League Covenant and the United Nations' Charter. The League Covenant since 1931 when Japan crossed the Yalu was, being given a smothering by Big Powers as Japan, Italy and Germany. One power never co-operated with the League from the very beginning. On its Economic and Social side, the League proved a success. Its auxiliary organizations, the International Labour Organization and the Permanent Court of International Justice have left behind conventions and judgments of profound value to students of International Organization.

THE PROBLEM IN 1945

Three possible solutions were open to the allies, U. S. A., U.S.S.R., and G.B. who had co-operated in war against the common enemy. One was to fill up the gaps in the League Covenant and perfect it in the light of events from 1931-1945. Another was to plunge into a scheme leading to a world-federation. A third view was to pursue pragmatically and evolve an institution where Collective Security could be achieved consistent with the acknowledged primacy of the Big Three.

The mechanism that has been evolved at San Francisco in 1945 had been foreshadowed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals of 1944. The third track has been followed keeping intact the I.L.O. and the International Court of Justice. One tremendous change has happened. The centre of gravity has been shifted to the new world and U. S. A.'s determined stand-away from her century-old isolationism—to take full responsibility to

preserve global peace is an epoch-making change in international affairs.

THE CHARTER STARTS

Critics have not been wanting who find in the increased documentation of one hundred and eleven articles—an improvement over the more elegantly drafted Covenant by eighty-five articles—much verbiage, avoidable looseness, and platitudes galore. Unlike the League Covenant which was not given a fair trial, by Big Powers, the United Nations' Charter starts with the determination "of the peoples of the United Nations". It is not an accident that the Drafting Committee of our Constituent Assembly has elected to incorporate the preamble of the League Covenant in Article 40. Any comparison of the two documents has to suffer from the fact that sufficient time has not yet run to understand the implications of the U. N. Charter. Fifty-eight nations are now members of the U. N. O.

THE PIVOTS OF U.N.O.

One of the causes of the failure of the League experiment was the "absence of an executive authority able to take binding decisions and possessing adequate means to ensure these decisions being carried out." President Roosevelt stated that "the hope of a peaceful and advancing world will rest upon the willingness and ability of the peace-loving nations, large and small, bearing responsibilities commensurate with their individual capacities, to work together for the maintenance of peace and security."

In the new set up not one of the terms in the Covenant would pass muster—"The League Council" "The P. C. I. J." The Mandates system"—all these are substituted by the "Security Council" "the International Court of Justice" and "the International TRUSTEESHIP system."

The pivot of the U. N. O. is the Security Council where the permanent members have an effective veto power (Vide. Art. 27 and also Art. 108 dealing with amendment).

There was the right of withdrawal in the League Covenant; the U. N. Charter deals with only contingencies of "Suspension" and "expulsion" (Art. 5 and 6). The Security Council is entrusted with "international peace and security." There was a possibility of addition to the number of the permanent members in the League mechanism (Art. 4 of the Covenant). No such provision is found in the Charter.

The crux of the United Nations' Organization is that world peace and security are only consistent with agreement between the Big three Super-powers, U. S. A. U. S. S. R. and G. B. Of course two others owing to historical reasons, have been added to the list of permanent members. Professor Schuman has graphically depicted this international situation:—"the three Super-powers, decently clothed in the garments of respectability and legality, are enabled to rule large areas of the world outside their frontiers. This is precisely as it should be, because either the Big Three will rule the world or it will not be ruled at all."

THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ACTION:

It is too soon to assess the work of the world's most powerful Council in charge of "peace and security." Its existence has been taken up with "seemingly interminable wrangles on points of procedure." The apprehension of the small powers as Australia on the "Veto" power was set at rest by the commentaries of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. It is significant of the realistic shrewdness that has been characterizing India that she has supported the 'veto power' as it is the corner stone of Big Power-concerted action.

Fears have been expressed as early as 1945 which are by no means imaginary:—"In our Charter there are marvellous words and marvellous sentiments. If advantage will be taken of any rule to stultify what has been done—if all of us will not live up to the pledges we take in accepting the Charter, and the whole of the Charter in all its ramifications, then these beautiful words will become just empty sounds, sounding brass and tinkling cymbals." (MR. FRASER.)

PROGRESSIVE FEATURES

The International Court of Justice with its statutes has become stronger for the entry of U.S.A. All members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice (Art. 93). Besides the General Assembly and the Security Council, other organs of the United Nations when authorised by the General Assembly may also request advisory opinions of the Court (Art. 96).

It is yet too soon to pass judgment over the working of the International Trusteeship system. If Art. 22 of the League Covenant looked like an University Extension Lecture, higher praise can hardly be bestowed upon the looser draftsmanship that characterizes Chapter XII of the Charter. The Security Council has the Special responsibility regarding trusteeship over "strategic areas." As in all cases of trusts, the success of the supervision rests upon the strict *bonafides* of the Trustee who is given powers for progressively developing the beneficiaries "towards self-government" (Art 76.)

PROSPECT AHEAD

In many provisions of the Charter though the terms have been changed there is a repetition of the covenant under the provisions of the U. N. Charter, a revolution in International Law has been effected. Neutrality is no longer a legitimate Status. If an instructed international public opinion will vigilantly guard the basic principles of *freedom, peace, and Security*, the United Nations Organization will be given a fair trial.

A PHANTOM OF DESIRE

BY LT. R. L. COOK

She comes in cloud and sunshine,
A phantom of desire;
In cloud her flesh is water,
In light it is a fire.

Water and fire surround me
And I shall never learn,
Poised on a blade of longing,
Whether to drown or burn

FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

AN AGNOSTIC'S APOLOGY

Leslie Stephen wound up his "Agnostic's Apology" with these words:

We shall be content to admit openly what you whisper under your breath or hide in technical jargon, that the ancient secret is a secret still; that man knows nothing of the infinite and absolute; and that knowing nothing he had better not be dogmatic about his ignorance. And meanwhile we will endeavour to be as charitable as possible, and while you trumpet forth officially your contempt for our scepticism, we will at least try to believe that you are imposed upon by your own bluster.

Still more impatient was he of the "refined Epicureanism" or "rapid optimism" which he thought one of the worst and commonest tendencies of the age. He said:

The so-called believer of this type is a cynic in a thin disguise. He is partly aware that his belief is a sham, but he is not the less resolved to stick to so pleasant a sham. He answers his opponents with a shriek or a sneer. The sentiment which he most thoroughly hates and misunderstands is the love of truth for its own sake.

DOVER BEACH

Ah, love, let us be true
To one another for the world, which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here, as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle
and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.
—M. Arnold.

MAKE HASTE TO BE KIND

Life is short, and we have not too much time for gladdening the lives of those who are travelling the dark road with us. Oh, be swift to love, make haste to be kind.

—Amiel.

SAY NOT, THE STRUGGLE NOUGHT AVAILETH

Arthur Clough's verses are familiar enough to students of English poetry. But the apt use of them by Winston Churchill when England was facing the darkest hour of trial and tribulation lifted them at once from the obscurity of the student's chamber to the light of world publicity. For once listeners and readers alike felt the flash of sunlight and cheer breaking through the curtain of despair and gloom.

Say not, the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been, they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in you smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

HOW ODD MEN ARE

How odd men are—if they die young
they rail against the harshness of fate;
if they attain old age, they say they
have lived too long, that life is no longer
worth living, and that they wish they
were dead; and yet if they feel ill, they
send off post-haste for a doctor and beg
him to spare neither time nor trouble to
keep them alive! What do they want?
—Epicurus.

THE GLAMOUR OF LOVE

We know not life's reason
The length of its season,
Know not if they know, the great
ones above.
We none of us sought it,
And few could support it,
Were it not gift with the glamour of love.
—The Garden of Kama.

THE TWINS

American humour is at its best in Mark Twain. In an encounter with an interviewer we have the following questions and answers.

Q. Who is this a picture of on the wall? Isn't that a brother of yours?

A. Oh! Yes, yes, yes! Now you remind me of it; that was a brother of mine. That's William—BILL we called him. Poor old Bill!

Q. Why? Is he dead then?

A. Ah! well, I suppose so. We never could tell. There was a great mystery about it.

Q. That is sad, very sad. He disappeared then?

A. Well, yes, in a sort of general way. We buried him.

Q. Buried him! Buried him, without knowing whether he was dead or not!

A. Oh, no! Not that. He was dead enough.

Q. Well, I confess that I can't understand this. If you buried him, and you knew he was dead—

A. No! no! We only thought he was.

Q. Oh, I see! He came to life again?

A. I bet he didn't.

Q. Well, I never heard anything like this. Somebody was dead. Somebody was buried. Now, where was the mystery?

A. Ah, that's just it! That's it exactly. You see we were twins—defunct and I—and we got mixed in the bathtub when we were only two weeks old, and one of us was drowned. But we didn't know which. Some think it was Bill. Some think it was me.

Q. Well, that is remarkable. What do you think?

A. Goodness knows! I would give whole worlds to know. This solemn, this awful mystery has cast a gloom over my whole life. But I will tell you a secret now, which I have never revealed to any creature before. One of us had a peculiar mark—a large mole on the back of his left hand; that was me. THAT CHILD WAS THE ONE THAT WAS DROWNED.

THE DO-NOTHINGS

Between the great things that we can not do, and the small things that we will not do, the danger is that we shall do nothing.

—Adolphe Manob.

Browning in A Grammarian's Funeral gives poetic expression to this idea.

That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it;
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit;
This high man, aiming at a million,
Misses a unit.

In the Inn Album (ie) however, Browning makes his heroine say:

Better have failed in the high aim, as I,
Than vulgarly in the low aim succeed
As, God be thanked, I do not!

FAREWELL

I have got my leave. Bid me farewell my brothers. I bow to you all and take my departure.

Hère I give back the keys of my door—and I give up all claims to my house. I only ask for the last kind words from you.

We were neighbours for long, but I received more than I could give. Now the day has dawned, and the lamp that lit my dark corner is out. A summons has come and I am ready for my journey.

—Tagore.

THE TOMB IS A THOROUGHFARE

For half a century I have been writing my thoughts in prose and in verse, history, philosophy, drama, romance, tradition, satire, ode and song; I have tried all. But I feel I have not said the thousandth part of what is in me. When I go down to the grave I can say like many others, "I have finished my day's work" but I cannot say "I have finished my life." My day's work will begin again the next morning. The tomb is not a blind alley, it is a thoroughfare. It closes on the twilight, it opens on the dawn.

—Hugo.

SUFFERING AND SONG

They learn in suffering what they teach in Song.

—Shelley.

BREAKING IT GENTLY

A wealthy planter returned to the South after some time and rang for his Negro servant Rastus.

"Well, you old rascal, anything happen at the estate while I was gone?"

"Nothing worth mentioning, boss, except of course the two boys who died from eating too much burnt horse-flesh."

"Where on earth did they get hold of burnt horse-flesh?"

"They were when the stables caught fire, boss."

"The stables?"

"Yes, sir! Sparks from the big house, they figured."

"How did the fire start?"

"From the candles round the coffin, boss."

"Good heavens, Rastus! Whose coffin?"

"Your ma, boss. I expect she died from shock."

"What shock?"

Your wife, boss. She done run away with the butler."

THE WORST LINES

We are all familiar with patches of dreary wastes in long poems. No poet indeed could maintain his top form all through. Not unfrequently one comes across a line or two unworthy of Burns and Shelley even in their short lyrical pieces. Wordsworth's "Excursion" abounds in them. But the palm for perpetrating the worst couplet in English should go to a distinguished poet who flourished in the jolly days of King Edward VII of whose illness he wrote.

Along the line the electric message came;

He is not worse, but much the same.

PIOUS SELINDA

Pious Selinda goes to prayers,

If I but ask the favour,
And yet the tender fol's in tears
When she believes I'll leave her.

Would I were free from this restraint.

Or else had hopes to win her
Would she could make of me a Saint,
or I of her a Sinner.

—W. M. Congreve.

THE WORLD—A BIG QUARRY

A passage in Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* runs:—

The entire world lies before us like a big quarry before the builder, who only deserves the name if he shapes these accidental masses of nature according to an image in his mind with the greatest economy, usefulness and firmness. Everything outside us is only an element. Yes, and I may add, everything in us too, but deep down in us there lies this creative force, which is able to create what ought to be and does not allow us any rest until we have shaped it outside or inside ourselves in the one or other manner.

Though Goethe was on the whole averse to dogmatic axioms, he believed to the end that only constant endeavour makes this short life worth living. As Faust says at the end of Part II:—

This is the last word of wisdom;
Only he deserves his freedom and his life
Who daily has to fight for them anew.

OLD AGE

Old age is a subject on which some people are a little touchy but Viscount Samuel, nearing eighty, has these heartening words in his "Creative Man and other Essays." On the last page of his book he says:

"If you expect me to end by telling you about the sad experiences of old age, that I cannot do, for I have not yet had any. Although I find myself, according to the calendar, not very far from eighty, this Polonius is not qualified by personal knowledge to add to his moralising any disquisition on the infirmities and disabilities of old age. . . . People ask me sometimes whether I am an optimist or a pessimist. I answer—neither. In the present state of the world, optimism is fatuous; and pessimism always is ignoble. George Eliot, when she was asked that question used to answer that she was a 'meliorist' meaning one who held that on the whole things were better now than they had been in the past, and might be better still in the future, but that we needed effort to make them so. Meliorism is a good word, expressing a sound view of life, and it is a pity it has not come into common use."

18th Century Indian Diplomatic Missions

MYSORE ENVOYS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

BY LIBRA

—:o:—

It is not very often that one hears of pre-nineteenth century Indians going out of India to countries beyond the seas. It has always been the other way round and since the time of Buddha there have been any number of foreign visitors to this country who have come, travelled, returned and wrote about their experiences.

Hence it would refresh one to know that in the eighteenth century a small number of diplomatic missions, consisting of Indian diplomats, were sent out of India by Tippu Sultan, the ruler of the Mysore kingdom. The missions were mostly anti-British because the Sultan's lifelong desire and sole occupation was to drive the British away from India.

The first mission was to Constantinople and its leader was a Mysore Muslim, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan. Ghulam Ali must have been a most remarkable man. He was Tippu Sultan's Mir-Suddur or Inspector-General of Forts and Garrisons and Mir-e-Yem or Lord of the Admiralty and all these duties he discharged with 'great ability and competence' without having control of either of his legs!

Rheumatism robbed Ghulam Ali of the use of his legs early in life and he became a complete cripple. He never could move his legs and always had to be carried in a silver chair by twelve bearers. Tippu Sultan and the people of Seringapatam called him 'Langda Ghulam Ali Khan' while the English, to whom also he was very well known, styled him as 'Ghulam Ali of the Silver Chair'.

Tippu Sultan's embassy to Turkey consisted of four persons Ghulam Ali Khan, Lutfi Ali Beg, Sha Nur Ullan and Muhammad Huneef. The Sultan had instructed Ghulam Ali, its leader, to proceed to France after finishing his business in Turkey and negotiate directly with that power for help against the English.

The mission, with an armed escort of five hundred Mysore soldiers and six

hundred other followers started from the Sultan's port of Mangalore in 1785 on four ships manned by Indian seamen. In accordance with the custom of all Indian courts, Ghulam Ali carried with him rich presents for the Grand Seigneur (Title of the Sultan of Constantinople) and the ladies of his harem and we learn that he also took with him four big tuskers from the Mysore forest, all of which, unfortunately for the embassy, died before they reached their destination.

After two months at sea, the four Mysore ships arrived at the port of Basra, but with the arrival started Ghulam Ali's first mishap. One of his four ships caught fire while sailing up the Shat-ul-Arab (confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris). Flames completely enveloped it before anything could be done to bring them under control and fortunately all aboard were rescued just in time. Not a bit of the costly silks and shawls nor the provisions that were stocked in the vessel could be saved.

At Basra, Suleman Pasha, its Governor, was all politeness to the mission and treated Ghulam Ali Khan with great respect. But whenever the Mysore ambassador asked leave of him to proceed to Constantinople, he would not give it, saying that orders from the Grand Seigneur had not yet arrived. It seemed as if the Mysore embassy was destined to live in Basra for ever waiting for that order, when one morning, Suleman Pasha sent word that his master 'had permitted his slave Suleman Pasha to allow the most worthy ambassador from the Kingdom of Mysore to proceed to Constantinople'.

The Sultan of Constantinople apparently did not think much of Tippu's ambassadors. He refused to see them for six months and when he consented to receive them into his presence this was all that happened. The interview is extracted from Wilk's *History of Mysore*:

"The Grand Seigneur was seated in a balcony and they made their obeisance from below. To the question 'Are you well?' addressed in a low tone to an officer near him and repeated through the medium of three others before it reached the ambassador, the customary answer was returned 'Praying for your prosperity'.

'You have sustained much fatigue?' 'It is transformed into delight' The sequel of taking leave instantly succeeded and they departed after performing the Indian *tusleemat* (three low salaams, the hand each time touching the ground). After nine months, they had their audience of leave, at which not one word was uttered and *tusleemat* began and concluded the ceremony".

And what was the great business the embassy had to transact with the Grand Seigneur? To get the port of Basrah in exchange for that of Mangalore, to build a factory at Basra for stocking goods from Mysore and lastly the Grand Seigneur's permission to dig a channel from the river Euphrates to the Shiah Shrine of Nejed. Anyhow, this was the business Ghulam Ali had to transact for all unworthy ears to hear. The real purpose was an alliance against the British.

During a subsequent interview with the Vizier of the Grand Seigneur, a rather awkward moment arrived for the envoy from Mysore. Tippu Sultan, it must be remembered, came from a very low stock to claim equality with the Sultan of Constantinople and the Vizier hinted it to Ghulam Ali Khan. Whether Ghulam Ali was prepared for such a question is uncertain but he recited with promptitude and fluency a very plausible genealogy, utterly destitute of truth, which Tippu Sultan, on the return of the embassy actually ordered to be inserted in his history!"

Though 'politically' a failure, 'socially' the embassy must have been a great success. We learn that during its stay at Constantinople, the envoys were entertained with a great variety of public spectacle and were treated with much courtesy and distinction. In one such public display, the five hundred sepoys

from Mysore won Turkish admiration by showing their skill in all kinds of Indian military sports.

In the midst of such gaiety, misfortunes began to rain on the Mysore embassy. The dreadful pestilence of plague commenced and one by one the Mysorean escorts and servants began to die. On the first day two men were dead; on the second twenty and on the third nearly a hundred. This naturally alarmed Ghulam Ali and he immediately ordered his mission to leave Constantinople. But even then the plague had its toll and before the Mysoreans got out of that Turkish city, five hundred and sixty-five of them were lying in its cemeteries.

From Constantinople the mission embarked for Alexandria for it still had to visit France and carry on negotiations with its government for help. The plague followed them into Egypt also and even during the voyage killed an average of fifty persons per day. The bodies, we learn, were kept in the ships and after arrival at Alexandria buried with all Muslim rites.

At Alexandria, Ghulam Ali was relieved of the greatest anxiety of his life. He feared going into France in his present condition with his escort and funds reduced to such a great extent. A French traveller from India proceeding to France met him in that city and told him that Tippu Sultan was proposing to send a separate embassy to France and that Ghulam Ali may return to India.

On the news of this new mission, Ghulam Ali prepared to return to India. The plague was still active in his camp and most of his personal servants fell victims to it. However, the embassy started from Alexandria and hiring Egyptian boats, travelled up the Nile as far as Cairo. At Cairo, it disembarked and proceeded towards the Isthmus of Suez on a camel caravan. During this journey, Ghulam Ali had to be without his silver chair for the first time in his life. Of the twelve faithful bearers he had, eleven had died of the plague. So the chair had to be packed on the back of a camel and Ghulam Ali Khan crossed the isthmus in a cradle on a camel's back. After

nearly a week of travel, they arrived at Suez but not before having a petty skirmish with some desert robbers, at whom Ghulam Ali swore that he would "let lose all the soldiers of Tippu Sultan."

At Suez, the mission again took ship to Jedda. From Jedda, the religious centres of Mecca and Medina were visited.

At Mecca, the tactfulness of Ghulam Ali Khan was put to test. The chief of Mecca, "a venerable old man with a white beard, but a rascal" suggested to Ghulam Ali that the money from Mysore which was still in the hands of the mission would be gratefully accepted as a loan "repayable an year hence at the very residence of the worthy Mysoreans with interest regularly calculated and added". The embassy, of course, was to remain in Mecca until it complied with his "little request".

Ghulam Ali was not taken aback by this. He repaired to his quarters and taking some of Tippu's notepaper, wrote on it in all verbosity how the Mysore army, after beating down to dust all opposition in India, was on its way to Arabia in five hundred ships and how the Sultan himself was preparing to lead it to victory. The letter was sent with a Mysore soldier who was instructed to go out of Mecca disguised and come back with the letter and fall into the hands of the guards of the city-gates. On the morrow, the Chief of Mecca, having seen this letter, sent words to Ghulam Ali that his 'little request' might be overlooked as it was not after all very urgent and also asked him if he wanted an Arabian guard to accompany him and his retinue as far as the sea.

From Arabia, the embassy got aboard a ship bound for Mangalore, exactly five years after starting from Seringapatam. And only a portion of a ship was sufficient for it, for out of the 1100 persons who made the team only 68 were alive, the rest lying scattered in the graveyards of the various cities of Turkey, Syria, Egypt and Arabia. "The Secretary of the embassy estimated the total expense of the embassy including the pay of the escort and the value of the ship lost at

20 lakhs of rupees and sily observed that the only value received in return was a *firman* from the Sultan of Room (another title of the Sultan of Constantinople) and sixty-five half quires of journal worth at the highest estimation of the two articles, in rarity and waste paper, about five rupees."

Of course, Tippu Sultan was mad with rage when Ghulam Ali reported to him on his arrival at Seringapatam. He immediately dismissed him from his service and placed him under house-arrest and began to call him and his three fellow-envoys as 'maneaters' because they had returned from Constantinople after eating up their companions.



Mr. Ernest Bevin, Britain's Foreign Secretary, leader of the UK delegation to the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers.

TASK BEFORE DEMOCRACY

BY DR. SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER, K.C.S.I.

[Inaugurating the Twelfth Indian Political Science Conference at Madras on December 29, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer pleaded for a "reorientation of values and a regrouping of our ideas so as to fit democracy for the newer and more comprehensive tasks of to-day."—ED. I. R.]

WE have witnessed a rapid and phenomenal modification of world thought. The political ideal of the immediate past was liberty, but its general outlook was mechanical and to no small extent, depended on the "laissez faire" doctrine and its results. Even the French Revolution did not basically transform the underlying scheme of society and England and France, after their political revolutions, did not create economic equality. The present insistence of human thinking is as much on justice as on liberty, such justice being founded on an integrated and purposive outlook, on the insistence of economic minima and on the need for leisure and freedom from apprehension of all kinds. In this synthetic age, Governments have to enter into every phase of life not only national health, insurance and medical benefits being within their ambit but even the departments of education, sport, radio and entertainment. It is now realised that what was formerly called 'liberty of work' was really an illusion. The bargaining power of capital was strengthened by all the forces of organised society and the dice was loaded against the worker. In the modern industrial environment the danger is ever present of man becoming a cog-wheel in the mechanism and the present-day mass production methods accentuate the already existing tendency to minimise individuality of thought and action. So much is this, the case that the prevalent belief is that there is no choice between Capitalism and Communism and human freedom is, alas, at a discount in either case.

The formulation of Fundamental Rights and even the inculcation of obedience and discipline are not enough, but what is essential is a sense of social solidarity and responsibility. In other words, there should be developed a moral strength to regulate individual freedom so as to allow equality of rights to others. Democratic institutions are as liable to abuse as

monarchical and the obedience to party and class interests is specially deleterious, and what a recent philosopher described as the distinctive flux of crowd psychology is a special risk. A well-known writer has adverted to the tendency to create a mass standardised man increasingly deprived of initiative and divested of personal responsibility by an omnipotent central power. The present conditions of over-production in the industrialised countries mean that man lives in a crowd but has no social integration. He insists on rights, but is losing his independent and responsible character. The larger the population which a Representative Government succeeds in covering, the less is the power of each person and the smaller the value of his vote. Democracy will succeed only in proportion to the character of the people who have evolved it. Democracy, no doubt, eliminates caprice and tyranny on the part of a single individual, but the danger of unregulated democracy not backed by character is that people are apt to judge rashly, impulsively or sentimentally, whereas leaders are all on the other hand to consider only practical expediency, deception being often used to avoid facing unpleasant issues. Moreover, representatives elected for short periods have neither the time nor the equipment to consider or insist on long-term policies and stability and continuity are, thus, jeopardised. The democratic system works best when people are agreed upon main lines of policy appropriate to the country and the best conditions for the evolution of truly democratic institutions arise when men's differences can be canalised into two broad streams, namely, conservative and progressive opinion as distinguished from reactionary and revolutionary opinion. If genuine differences do not get adequate opportunities of expression, the party system may ultimately lead to bribery of the public and to partial and unjust taxation.

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME-TAX

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

Annamalai University

THE Government of India have recently announced that an impartial and expert enquiry would be made by Sir Chintaman Deshmukh former Governor of the Reserve Bank and India's adviser on external finance and commerce into the question of reallocation of income-tax in Provinces. The possible methods of dividing the incometax have been the subject of controversy since the Reforms. The problem was examined very exhaustively by the Indian Taxation Committee in paragraphs 528 to 538 of their Report. The main reason for the division of incometax between the Centre and the Provinces is that the taxation systems of the Provinces will be theoretically unsound so long as they do not embrace some method of levying progressive taxation based upon ability to pay as is the case with the incometax. A division of the proceeds of the incometax was first introduced under Devolution Rule 15 under the Reforms Act of 1919. It provided that the Provincial Governments shall receive 3 pies in each rupee on that portion of the assessed income of the year 1920-21. This rule failed to give the commercial and industrial provinces a share in the incometax. The Indian Taxation Committee condemned the system of distribution laid down in Devolution Rule 15 as fundamentally unsound.

Other possible methods of dividing the incometax were discussed by the Taxation Committee. They are (1) the Provinces might be empowered to levy and administer an incometax separate and distinct from that levied by the Government of India. (2) The incometax might continue to be levied by the Government of India which might at the same time levy a surcharge for the benefit of the Provinces.

(3) The incometax might continue to be levied by the Government of India but a definite share of the yield might be allotted to various provinces on principles to be determined. The third method was recommended as the most suitable for India and the Taxation Committee therefore recommended that (a) the Provinces should

be given the proceeds of a basic rate on personal incomes graduated proportionately to the general rule; (b) in partial recognition of the principles of origin, each province should be given a small portion of the receipts of the corporation profits tax. In fact the Taxation Committee's scheme of distribution is theoretically sound but a graduated basic rate would be inconvenient in practice especially if the Government of India decided to adopt some other system of graduation. It is not also worth while either from the Imperial or provincial point of view, to graduate the rate with reference to taxable capacity so long as the Provinces were not given the power to alter the rates. A flat rate on total assessable personal incomes would be simpler and more convenient.

Sir Walter Layton, the financial expert to the Simon Commission recommended that nearly half of the personal incometax should be handed over to Provincial Governments. The Government of India in their despatch on the report of the Simon Commission gave certain figures to show that the Provinces will benefit in widely varying amounts as a result of the transfer of even half the personal incometax. The Peel Committee i.e. the 2nd Round Table Conference Finance Committee recommended the entire provincialization of the incometax while the Percy Committee in connection with the Government of India Act of 1935 suggested a division of the income-tax and in the pursuance of the Act of 1935, the question of the actual allocation was referred to Sir Otto Niemeyer. The Niemeyer award which came into force with the inauguration of Provincial autonomy attached weight to the various factors as population venue of industry, and place and collection of incometax and the Niemeyer award was accepted by the Government of India. The Government of India, however, have recently announced the basis of the revised allocation of the Provincial pool of the incometax and the whole position may be tabulated thus:

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	Under Niemeyer award per cent.	Under recent revision per cent.	
Bombay	20	21	
Bengal (undivided)	20	12	
Madras	15	18	
U. P.	15	19	
Bihar	10	13	
Punjab (undivided)	8	5	
C. P.	5	6	
Assam	2	3	
Orissa	2	3	(Punjab East)

This is only a provisional reallocation necessitated by the situation created by the partition of India. As regards the income-tax, while the share of the centre is not disputed, it is the allocation among the Provinces that is being criticised as arbitrary without reference to the due claims of the Provinces. Already the reduction of Bengal's share of incometax from 20 to 12 per cent. has come in for a good deal of criticism. In the case of Bombay, it is now pointed out that according to 1948-49 budget Bombay's contribution was shown at Rs. 61 crores against that of Madras and U. P. which amounted to nearly Rs. 11 crores and Rs. 7½ crores respectively. The Sarkar Committee which was appointed by the Government of India in connection with

the new constitution of the Indian Union soon after partition to examine the financial allocation recommended that in respect of incometax 35 per cent. should be made available to the Provinces on the basis of collection, 20 per cent. on the basis of population and 5 per cent. on the basis of special needs, the balance of 40 per cent. going to the centre. The Sarkar report is fairer to the Provinces than the Niemeyer award that the Sarkar report was not accepted. It is now urged that there should be a re-examination of the whole question giving proper weight to all the factors, namely population, area, venue of industry and place of collection. Whatever be the findings of Sir Deshmukh regarding the reallocation of the income-tax between the centre and the federating units under the Union constitution, it is well to point out that a proper balance is necessary and the old idea of pitting Provincial against Central interests is now out of date so that however much the incometax is used as a balancing factor, the Union government and the Provinces must hereafter look to their developmental schemes for additional revenues in order to meet their increasing expenditures.



U. K. STUDENTS ARRIVE IN INDIA

School children made up 14 of the 35 passengers who arrived in Delhi recently by a B.O.A.C. airliner from London. This is the largest proportion of juvenile passengers to land at Delhi airport from a single aircraft since the introduction by B.O.A.C. of school vacation return tickets which entitle students up to the age of 21 to travel to and from school at half fare. On arrival, the first to greet the children was Mr. C. Reynolds-Payne, B.O.A.C.'s Station Manager, who garlanded each child as he or she alighted from the aircraft.

INDIA AND AUSTRALIA

BY MR. ARNOLD D. HUNT

THE Australian Government recently offered three scholarships to Indian students for studies in Australia from the beginning of 1949. These are for graduates and the aim is to help scientific development in India. The offer of these scholarships is a new venture and will probably be followed by more of the same kind. It shows that Australia is becoming interested in India.

These two countries are neighbours, and in the future they must get much closer together than they have been in the past. We can best see the whole subject of their dealings with each other by asking and answering three questions.

What do the people of Australia and India know of each other? What have the two countries had to do with each other in the past? What should be their future relationship?

Take the first. Everybody in Australia goes to school between the ages of five and fourteen and in these years they learn a lot about their own country, not so much about the countries of Europe and even less about the lands nearest to Australia—the countries of Asia. But there are things which every school boy knows about India. He knows that India is hot, that it grows rice and tea. He knows that most of the people are either Hindus or Muslims. He knows a little about British rule but for most Australians, Indian History means Plassey 1757, and the Mutiny 100 years later. The Australian has read in his daily paper about Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Nehru. He vaguely thinks that precious articles can be bought 'for a song,' that snake charmers are a daily sight, that tigers are dangerously prevalent and so on. He may encourage his fussy child to eat by talking about 'the starving millions' of India. He knows that Indians can play hockey. And so we could go on—the knowledge consists of bits and pieces.

What do Indians know of Australia? The generality knows nothing. The educated Indian is acquainted with certain facts about the country—its size, its small population, the existence of that strange animal the Kangaroo, the advanced state

of Australian farming, the love Australians have for cricket, Don Bradman—but, on the whole, the knowledge is lamentably limited. Most Indians are not aware of the nature of the Australian climate—and the consequence—nearly half of Australia is arid desert in which few people can live.

The second question concerns the past relationship between the two countries. In the very distant past there was a land link between the two. The Geological evidence for this is strong. In the not so distant, but still very remote past there was a movement of people from India through South-East Asia into Australia. These were aboriginal people and anthropologists give the name 'Proto-Australoid' to a group of ancient Indians in South India. There is a kinship between these and the aborigines of Australia. Australia remained isolated and, as far as we know, for centuries there was no contact with outside until the voyages of the Dutch, French and English explorers in the seventeenth centuries and after. This led to the settlement of the country by the British in 1788. Since then there has been little association between the people of the two countries. In 1882 Indian Coolies were brought to help with Railway building in northern Australia, but most did not stay long.

There have been occasional Indians in Australian schools, some professional people, a few business representatives and a few have come with trading or educational missions.

The same can be said of Australians in India. Their number in Government service, business and mission work has been small.

The relationship has been primarily a trading one. Australian farmers use wheat bags made of Indian Jute and drink tea grown in Assam, Bengal and elsewhere. Australian wheat has in recent years been a great help during food shortages in India and Australian jams are sold in every decent sized bazaar in the country. The list is a long one.

What of the future relationship between India and Australia? There are two new factors in the situation.

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One is that India now has its own foreign policy. Up till a year ago this was not so, but self governing India can make an independent approach to foreign countries. This foreign policy will be increasingly concerned with Asia and as was apparent at the Asian Relations Conference early last year India aspires today for the position of leadership in Asia.

The other factor is Australia's discovery that the 'Far East' is really a very near East. There have always been hundreds of thousands of Asian people living near Australia but only in recent years has this fact come home to Australia. Australia must have an Asian policy. Her leaders know that Australia is really in the Asian Zone. Australians will be interested in Indian's foreign policy.

In any discussion of Indo-Australian relationship the subject of Australia's immigration policy is bound to be raised. To call this, "White Australia" is to confuse the issue and justifiable resentment on the part of Indians is the natural result. The policy is immediately regarded as another example of colour prejudice. When the history of the legislation is stated and Indians see that the two chief

reasons for the strict control of incoming population are, firstly, to protect Australian living standards and, secondly, to safeguard the continent's defence, then a great step towards understanding will be made. Even so, liberal groups in Australia see that some modification of the policy must take place. On the other hand it is unlikely that immigration from India or any other Asian country to Australia will solve living problems in Asia. The solution of Asia's poverty does not lie in migration but in a changed economy.

Finally, India and Australia must get to know each other. Greater publicity, teaching exchanges, student conferences, lectureships for Indians in Australian Universities and similar posts for Australians in India—these are some of the ways of increasing understanding. And last but not least, more sporting tours.

Who knows what the future holds for Asia? Perhaps even our generation may see India and Australia united in the defence of democratic ideals, allied together against those who would destroy the fundamental liberties without which a truly human life is not possible.



MISS QUERTIER IN CALCUTTA

A striking action picture of Miss J. Quertier, the British tennis star, who took part in the Asian Championship Tournament in Calcutta on 18th December.

LIFE IN URBAN SETTING

BY MR. HARISH CHANDRA, M.A.

IN India the transition from the rural to urban economy has been too scrappy to permit a slow and gradual adoption of the habits and attitudes of the people. The process of urbanisation has profoundly altered the old scheme of social values and attitudes and the system of human relationships. 'The adjustment between different institutions, the home-spun, thickly woven fabric of custom and tradition, the system of morality, which were adapted to a different set of conditions, have undergone severe strain and are breaking down'. Along with these, have accompanied a severe economic pressure, the disruption of the joint-family, and caste control and the unsettlement of status and custom. Such factors have adversely reacted upon the social health of the individual and he 'has been thrown out of doors to the fury of economic forces.' It is the scarcity of suitable housing accommodation that has failed to bridge the gulf in the transition from rural to urban schemes of life. In the workers' new mode of living have sprung up numerous wasting diseases such as tuberculosis, cancer, cholera, malaria etc. New problems of moral and social deterioration unprecedented in the history of society have crept in, as a natural corollary of the congested life the worker has to lead.

In the villages the people are able to put up with a considerable amount of parasitic infections but in the cities and towns 'the established equilibrium between the peasant's body and the parasites it comes across in the rural areas is upset; and the labourers become peculiarly liable to various kinds of new infections which account for physical breakdown and heavy mortality.' The disruption of the family life due to the acute housing problem in industrial centres can be indicated by the fact that the number of females per 1,000 males goes on declining in this country as one passes from the agricultural regions to the industrial zones. The striking excess of males over females in Indian cities is brought out by the fact that the number of females to every 1,000 males is 897 in Madras, 885 in Sholapur, 696 in Cawnpore, 554 in Bombay and 489 in

Calcutta while in the less over-crowded city of Benares it is 802. This disparity of sex ratio is still more marked in all these areas where labour is highly concentrated. When privacy becomes a myth and segregation between the sexes is no longer a possibility, intemperance and prostitution become a common occurrence. Three-fifths of the entire women-labour in Cawnpore belong to the depressed classes and they do not maintain high standards of morality. As the present labour corps in our cities is largely immigrant and recruited from the lower strata of society whose standards of conduct are not at all very rigid, the temptations for improvidence, reckless living and sexual vices are great. Where the problem of housing is so very acute, it is no wonder that the workers as a class find it more convenient not to marry, and to compensate for it by paying regular visits to houses of vice. In our cities, nothing is cheaper than human life, nothing dearer than good living and sanitary conditions.

The indirect influence of bad housing conditions is reflected in the statistics of labour turnover. It is estimated that the extent of absenteeism in Bombay is 11.4 per cent, in Sholapur 15.4 per cent, in Madras 13.4 per cent, in Calcutta 7.4 per cent and in Cawnpore not less than 10 per cent while the labour turnover in these cities is also not small. One very important reason of this absenteeism is that in view of the housing famine in the city, the labourer is seldom able to keep his family with him. The result is that off and on, he suddenly takes it into his head to proceed home, in the neighbouring villages. This intermittent shuttling has the double adverse effect of reducing his wages and of injuring his efficiency. Bad housing tells upon efficiency in other ways also, so that the social cost of inferior housing far outweighs the petty considerations of paltry gains by a few private individuals here and there.

The low level of health in this country is reflected in the average expectation of life which happens to be as low as 23 years in contrast to an expectation of 67 years in Australia 63 years in

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Germany, 55 years in England and 47 years in Japan. And what is even more alarming is that with the rapid industrialisation of the country the longevity in India has been steadily going down. The average expectancy of life in 1881 happened to be about 30 years; to-day, we have just seen, it is so low as 23 years. With this low level of health and the persistent deterioration in the nation's vitality, we can hardly afford to go on with all sorts of random schemes of disjointed industrialisation, without having first planned our distributional and our living conditions. For what is a nation's wealth worth, if the nation itself be dying out? Following is a vivid picture of the workers' mode of life, as quoted from Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. Says she, "You enter timidly the little door of the chawl and grope along. A faint light flickers casting a lurid shadow over the family. A child is gazing in troubled wonder at a world that knows not how to feed his hunger. Its rickety limbs stand out like the widowed limbs of a tree in winter. The father, bent with grief and thwarted hopes has found his regeneration in a mug of toddy and now hovers over them like a monster.

The mother's shadow flits silently across hither and thither ministering to a hundred thousand wants, her hands endowed only with the wealth of an empty purse. Prowling all over the floor are little mites in whom the future is shadowed like a grim spectre, a life without hope and ambition, nothing but an endless vista of dreamless existence. That is more a death than life." Without being sentimental, it might well be asserted that a large part of the social and moral ills of society to-day, are due exclusively to bad housing conditions. How often do not the workmen's tenements and the appalling living conditions engendered by them, and curiously enough, the acute shortage of even such housing facilities, prove an open gate-way to prostitution? How often do not we find the wide-spread prevalence of numerous wasting diseases, fostered wholly and solely by insanitary living conditions? No wonder, that infant mortality should be high and the death-rate even higher than the high birth-rate. The following are detailed mortality figures, per thousand, in some of the world's busiest industrial centres:—

COMPARATIVE VITAL STATISTICS

	CALCUTTA	MADRAS	BOMBAY	NEW YORK	LONDON	CAWNPORE
Population	2,110,051	768,798	1,421,498	7,521,000	4,095,000	487,324
Death-rate per thousand	27.6	33.9	25.0	9.9	11.4	32.69
Infant mortality rate per 1000 of live births	212.0	205.8	201.4	30.8	48.0	433.43
Birth-rate per 1000	26.1	43.2	33.4	13.6	15.0	27.5

The above vital statistics show that Indian cities compare very unfavourably with other industrial centres. While the population is comparatively lower the mortality figures are very high. And what is more alarming is that the death rate exceeds the birth rate.

The above figures do not have an extraordinary story to tell. Cholera, T.B., and similar wasting diseases, are highly contagious; how is it, then, that they affect the lower classes to a far greater extent than they affect the upper strata of society? Poverty, and consequently, lack of treatment may be one minor cause; but it may well be asked how is it that the lower classes are more liable to these attacks. Clearly, insanitary living explains

a good part of this mystery. And insanitary living is only the natural corollary of wretched housing conditions.

From the foregoing analysis, we can reasonably infer the poor health among the working classes. It is they who in fact swell the mortality figures. Malaria takes toll of thousands of workers yearly. Cholera sweeps the city from time to time and accounts for an ever greater number. Tuberculosis and other diseases arising from deficiency of diet and unhealthy living conditions form a part of the heritage of the child who is unfortunate enough to be born in the workmen's chawls. Their dumb silence is fraught with dull life of pain that no pen can describe.

Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee once observed: 'There is no clearer index of bad environmental conditions in an industrial city than a heavy infant mortality' and 'there can be no surer criterion of social efficiency and sanitary administration than the lowering of this mortality'. Among our industrial cities, Cawnpore has been especially notorious for its high infant mortality rate. Of every 1000 children born in Cawnpore on an average 433.43 die before they reach the age of one year.

The Royal Commission on Labour had attributed decades back this high infantile mortality to the extremely insanitary conditions of living, exposing infants from their birth to infection of almost every description. The same is true even to-day. Along with the serious evil of high infant mortality there is a large number of still births in our industrial cities. In the year 1942 the still births for the city of Cawnpore were recovered at 320 and in 1943 at 348. Abortion is also quite common. The economic loss to the community, in the birth and the rearing of offspring who do not live, and in the sickness and disease that devitalise the working class, is incalculable.

Epidemics work havoc among the industrial workers, thus bringing down their

average expectation of life and production capacity. These diseases, again, are largely due to the wretched sanitary conditions and even the total absence of latrines in many of housing areas. In many cases, the water supply is not pure and no bathing and washing facilities are provided. The use of the ordinary surface tank, pond, or stream causes frequent outbreaks of dysentery and other ailments. Sanitation must, therefore, receive special attention at the hands of the municipal authorities. The insanitary conditions of streets and lanes are the mainstay of the cholera germ. Thus, there are innumerable specific diseases which could easily be prevented but which make serious inroads on the workers' health and efficiency. Cholera, malaria, dysentery and small pox are all controllable diseases and have been proved to be so in New York, London and the Japanese industrial towns. And ought we know that good houses create a possibility of home life, happiness and health. Contrariwise, bad houses lead to squalor, drink, disease, immorality, crime and in the end, hospitals, prisons and asylums in which we seek to hide away the human derelicts of society that are largely the products of state's negligence, Society's indifference and industrialists' carelessness.



EUROPE'S LARGEST OIL REFINERY IN THE MAKING

The first phase of the construction of the oil refinery at Fawley, near Southampton, which when completed will be the largest in Europe. Houses being erected for workers.

Asoka's Dharmachakra & Our National Flag

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

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SINCE August 15, 1947 the day when the Indian struggle for freedom came to its successful termination, the new state of India adopted her own national flag the Tri-colour, which includes a big circle at the centre. This circle is called Asoka's dharmachakra the significance of which is generally not understood. It symbolises the Indian Ideal for the realisation of which her sons and daughters have struggled in different ages in so many different ways. Some two thousand and five years ago Lord Buddha gave to this world a new ideal and his followers including the illustrious Maurya Emperor, Asoka who is regarded as the greatest ruler ever produced on earth, adopted several symbols for the new dharma. The wheel is one of them. This wheel is seen so prominently in the Sarnath Capital which has a history of its own.

Asoka is believed to have erected some eight thousand monolithic stone pillars at different places to commemorate the important events connected with Buddhism. Some thirty of them still exist in more or less good condition. In the Deer park at Sarnath some six miles from Benares where the massive Dhamek stupa stands, Asoka got one such pillar erected some time between 243 B.C. to 232 B.C. to mark the spot where the Master first "turned the Wheel of Law" or in plain English, publicly preached his doctrine. From the standpoint of art and sculpture the Asoka pillars are unique. The spiritual meaning underlying them is also equally sublime. A pillar is a single stone cut from the rock. One such pillar is some fifty tons in weight, with 32 ft. 9½ inches in height, diminishing from a base diameter of 35½ inches to a diameter only 22 inches at the top—proportions which render such a thing extremely graceful. To cut such a single stone out of the rock, to polish it so as to look like metal, to transport it hundreds of miles away and then to erect it in such a way that it remains standing for thousands of years—is a real wonder and shows the extent of

perfection to which artistic as well as engineering skill reached in ancient India.

The stone cutting and polishing was done so brilliantly that for hundreds of years people were misled. They believed them to be metals and experts regret that it was an art which is practically lost to the world. Authorities on the subject hold the view that they are "proofs that the engineers and stone cutters of Asoka's age were not inferior in skill and resource to those of any time and country". At the top of such a pillar stand the capital which is most often one or other of the four animals—namely the elephant, the horse, the bull and the lion. The magnificent Sarnath capital discovered in 1902 and now kept in the Sarnath museum is one of the finest specimens of Indian sculpture still existing. The capital consists of four lions standing back to back on a circular slab stone called the abacus. This abacus was formerly believed to be a Persepolitan bell; now experts think that it is an Indian lotus with turned down petals. It once supported a stone wheel 2 ft. 9 inches in diameter, of which only fragments remain. The space between the capital and the abacus contained various decorations. Sometimes it is a row of sacred geese in quite low relief; sometimes it is an elegant design of the lotus and palmette or honey suckle. "Whatever the design selected it is invariably well executed and chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy which characterise the workmanship of the Maurya age and have never been surpassed in Athens or elsewhere." (Smith: History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.)

If the Sarnath Capital is unique as an artistic production it is also unique as symbolising the Indian ideal of dharma. The English rendering of Asoka's dharmachakra is the Wheel of Law. It is difficult to translate the word dharma into English as no single term expresses all that is conveyed by the Sanskrit word dharma. Today dharma means religion in English. But seldom was the

word used in this sense in ancient Indian literature. For a creed or doctrine the word *mata vada* is used. Thus we have *dwaitavada*, *adwaitavada*, *sunyavada*, *charvakavada*, etc. For rites and ceremonies the word *acharya* is used. Thus we have *Mlechhachara*, *Aryachara* etc. Most often *dharma* is used in the sense of virtue or piety. Yudhisthira of the Mahabharata is called the son of *dharma* or *dharma* incarnate and the great Bharata War was fought for establishing a reign of *dharma*. Here *dharma* means justice or righteousness. When Mahatma Gandhi said that the ideal of the Indian State will be Rama Rajya he meant the reign of justice or righteousness. *Dharma* also means the right rules of conduct in society and civil as well as criminal laws are included in the *dharma shastras*. As Buddha preached and Asoka propagated the word *dharma* conveys the sense of both law and righteousness combined. In a sense it is law and in another sense it is justice and there is no contradiction because justice or righteousness is the law that ultimately prevails on earth. *Dharma* is law in the sense that it acts in one uniform way. To burn is the *dharma* of fire and if it is true in one case, it is also true in other cases; in fact it is true in all countries. Certain truths hold good uniformly and admit of no exception. If fire burns in the house of a Brahmin it will also burn in the house of a Chandala. These, of course, are rules which obtain in the physical world. In the spiritual world also, there are rules which are universal in their application. If offering of food to a starving man is piety in one case it cannot be impiety in another case. One cannot say that a particular action is justice when it suits one and the same action is injustice when it does not suit him. If I see a small boy falling into the water and if I run to his rescue my action will be considered right and just. If I don't, my action will be considered wrong and unjust. The consideration that the particular boy is a Hindu or a Muslim has nothing to do with the justice or injustice of the case. It cannot turn my

praiseworthy action into something abominable. So simple and obvious a truth is often blurred by our individual or national prejudices.

Dharma or righteousness as understood by Asoka is above all these things. It is really universal. In this sense there is only one *dharma* for the whole of mankind; that *dharma* has one set of rules for all. *Dharma* which is truth is like the wheel. It moves evenly. It metes out even justice to all. Not only that. Ultimately it triumphs over all *adharma*. A particular rite or ceremony may cease to be practised. A particular doctrine may not influence the lives of men in all ages and in all countries but *dharma* in the sense of universal justice can never be stopped. Once set in motion it moves on and on. No power on earth can stop it. "A King I am", said Lord Buddha, "the King supreme of righteousness. The royal chariot wheel in righteousness do I sit rolling on—that wheel that no one can turn back." This was the *dharma*—preached by the Sage of Kapilavastu and Asoka set up the celebrated stone pillar with the Lion capital at the top at Sarnath to commemorate the event of the introduction of such *dharma*.

This ideal of *dharma* as universal justice or righteousness was not altogether new in India, nor was it introduced for the first time. Lord Krishna of the Mahabharata had a weapon called *Sudarshanachakra*. It was used to protect the good and to chastise the wicked. The ideal of punishing the wrong doer and helping the virtuous irrespective of any other consideration was always there though in practice the ideal was seldom fully realised. We can take pride to-day that free India of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru has adopted the ideal which Asoka's *dharma* symbolises.

HEALTHIER

As two elderly ladies were walking along the street they passed a couple of military policemen. One of the ladies drew the other's attention to the armlets bearing the letters M.P.

"That's what I call sensible," she said: "It's much better for them to patrol the streets than to waste their breath in the House of Commons."

THE SUICIDE PACT

A SHORT STORY

BY MR. L. D. CLANFIELD

MARCUS Anthony staggered out of the bar door hastened by a well directed kick and followed by a roar of derisive laughter. Lurching along the mean and dirty street he turned into a vacant plot and sat down on a heap of rubbish. Soon the effects of the liquor overcame him and slumping to the ground he relapsed into a drunken sleep broken by muttered curses and snatches of ribald song. It was nine at night and comparative quiet reigned in the Bombay slum area which had been Anthony's camping ground for the past week or so.

Along the street came a woman; young but heavily painted and flashily dressed. No second glance was needed to tell what she was. Attracted by the heavy snores of the drunken sot she walked up to the sleeping man. Bending down she shook him roughly by the shoulder. There was no response. She kicked sharply at his ankles with her shoe. The pain aroused Anthony and with some difficulty he managed to sit up and peered at his tormentor. He spoke unsteadily:

"Hey, what the Hell do you think you are doing?"

"Get up at once, you drunken loafer," retorted the woman fiercely. "Do you want to be picked up? The police are in the next street. Get up, I say."

She grabbed his arm and got him to his feet. Swaying he stumbled along by her side and in a little while found himself in the one room that was her home. Sitting in the one broken down chair that the room boasted Anthony watched the girl light a small stove and put on a kettle of water to boil. Anthony grinned at the girl rather sheepishly and wondered if she had a drink. He said:

"You're the girl they call Olga around here, aren't you?"

"Yes," she answered shortly.

"What was the hurry in waking me from my beauty sleep? You said something about the police, didn't you?"

"You're new to Bombay, I can see," replied the woman, "don't you know that the police are making a special drive to round up drunks and vagrants. If they had caught you you'd have been charged and got a good sentence. Now drink this cup of coffee. It's all you'll get. And tell me about yourself."

"Nothing much to tell, old girl," said Anthony as he sipped the hot coffee, "my home is in Madras but things went wrong there and I had to slip away. Been in Bombay about a fortnight now trying to get a job. I'm an engineer, you know."

"And haven't you found any work?" enquired Olga.

"Why yes. I got quite a good post after I had been here two days. But I got chucked out for being drunk. Can't keep off the booze, my dear. A little failing of mine."

"Olga looked at him curiously. "Why can't you go back to Madras? Surely you have friends there, at least? Or have you got to keep—"

"Anthony broke in with a chuckle. "Oh, no. Nothing criminal. My wife, she—she got rather fed up and we decided to break it up. So after the papers were through I wandered about India a bit and then eventually got to Bombay."

"Were you very fond of her?" asked Olga softly.

"Yes, I was. But time is a great healer. Can't blame her really though. I always was a bit too fond of the bottle but, previous to this affair, managed to keep the drink Demon under control. Now, I don't care."

"Don't be silly, Mr.—Mr. Why, I don't even know your name."

"Marcus Anthony, my dear. Call me Marcus and let's hear something of yourself."

"Of myself. You know what I am and how I live. What else do you want to know? How I got like this, I suppose. Men are always curious about how

women fall. As though they don't know. My name is Saxena and my home is in South India though I haven't been there for years and years. I was trained as a pianist and worked in this city until a few years ago. Then something went wrong and here I am."

"And your people?"

"All dead."

"Hell," said Anthony sympathetically, "we are a pair. Well, thanks, Olga. But I had better be getting along now."

"Whereto, Marcus?" enquired Olga.

"Oh, the family mansion, you know."

"Listen, Marcus," said the woman, "I know more about you than you think. You have no money, no lodgings and nowhere to go. Right?"

"Correct, but what concern is it of—"

"Shut up, Marcus," cut in the girl. "You can stay here for a few days. Get the liquor out of your blood and then start looking for a job."

"Do you propose to feed me also?" asked Anthony with a grin.

"Don't be such a snob. I am offering you a refuge until you get on your feet. If you are not an obstinate prude and idiot you will accept. What will you do on the streets? Be run in as a vagrant?"

Anthony stood up and went over to her chair. He bent over and kissed her on the forehead. "Thank you, my dear, I accept," he said very quietly.

The next day Anthony managed to get a small job. Under Olga's care his previous intense desire for drink gradually lessened. He and Olga had much in common and he began to enjoy his life once more. Within a month he had improved his position and his prospects were quite bright. Being a really clever engineer his worth was soon appreciated. One evening he came home jubilant bearing in his arms a present for Olga; his Olga, as he had begun to call her to himself.

"My dear, my dear," he cried as he entered the room. "I've just landed a new job. Six hundred a month and a bonus thrown in. What do you think of that?"

To his amazement Olga burst into tears. Anthony looked at her and then rushed across the room and picked her up in his arms. He said anxiously, "Why, Olga darling. What is the matter?"

She put her arms around him. Sobbing she said: "I'm so glad, Marcus, but—but I hate the thought of your leaving me. It's mean to think like that, but I can't help it." She rocked to and fro in misery.

"Why, you silly girl," said Anthony slowly. "What ever made you think that I should want to leave you. Look at this and this." He pulled two pieces of paper from his pocket and showed them to her.

"Look, darling," he continued, "a special licence. You and I get tied up day after tomorrow. And this. A receipt for a month's rent in advance for a little three room flat near my new job in the suburbs."

A few days later Mr. and Mrs. Anthony moved into their new flat and life went on blissfully. Soon a stroke of luck came his way. His immediate superior left and Anthony was promoted in his place. With more money coming in Anthony began to spend a little more. Being a happy and convivial soul he made plenty of friends and began to drink again. Not too much at first but at a gradually increasing rate. Olga began to get alarmed: she could read the signs.

She remonstrated with him but seemed to have lost all her old power over him. Tranquillity and happiness was replaced by suspicion and dislike. After an evening of bickering Anthony would now retire to his own little den with a bottle of whisky and leave his wife to sob herself to sleep in the darkness. She debated leaving him and returning to her old life. But she could not do that. If Marcus was heading for the gutter again she must go there with him. So things went from bad to worse. The end came one morning when Anthony was carried home from his work suffering from an incipient attack of D.T's. He was given a month's pay and told to keep off the job. That evening and far into the night Anthony pulled himself to

pieces ruthlessly. At one in the morning he went in to his wife. She was awake and he knelt down at her bedside.

"Olga, dearest," he began, "I want you to leave me. With the little money we have left in the bank and the furniture and things you will have a few thousand rupees. Take all this and go for I am afraid I am finished. No, Olga, I am not mad. I just know that the drink has got me again and this time for good."

"Don't say such things, Marcus," gasped Olga. "If you go back to the gutter I am coming too. Do you hear, Marcus, I am coming anywhere you go."

"Listen, my dear, to something that I have not mentioned before. Drink runs in my family and all the males for generations were dipsomaniacs. My grandfather committed suicide and my father, in a drunken orgy, fell downstairs and broke his neck. I had resigned myself to 'the family curse' when I met you. Then I began to hope again but it is quite useless."

Olga sat up and switched on the light.

"Then, my husband," she cried in anguish, "rather than see you sink and sink I would prefer to put an end to myself. Even would I rather see you dead than—" she lapsed into silence. She murmured again. "Why prolong the agony? Let us both go out now while we still have love for each other." Anthony stirred uneasily. He whispered.

"I believe you are right, darling. Let us hunt together elsewhere. Maybe on some happier sphere. Wait."

He left the room and returned with a bottle of whisky and a full bottle of sleeping pills. Crushing all the pills he divided the quantity between the glasses and filled both with water and a generous quantity of whisky. Anthony rose and putting his arms around his wife kissed her adoringly. Then handing her one of the glasses he took the other. They both drank to the end. They lay together waiting.

The bright morning and streaming into the room awoke Anthony. He felt awful. Must be the effects of his very heavy drinking of yesterday; but he had never felt quite like this. Then with a shock

he remembered. Their suicide pact. It hadn't worked on him for some reason or other. But Olga, his Olga, galvanised into action he turned to his wife. Her body was cold and clammy but she was still breathing. My God, My God, he thought, she is going. By a gigantic effort he managed to reach the telephone and dial the doctor who lived a few blocks down the street. Doctor Pestonji, who luckily was an old friend of his, answered immediately.

"Doc. Anthony here. The wife, an overdose of drugs. Serious. Quick?"

But the Doctor had heard enough and a moment later raced into the house. He took one look at Olga and called for hot water bottles and strong black coffee. After a while he turned to the sweating Anthony.

"She will do now, Anthony. I've just given her an injection. Just in time. Another half an hour and—" He stopped and then said quietly.

"Now, Marcus, tell me all about it."

Anthony obeyed and the Doctor listened intently. Then he said:

"You have both had a most fortunate escape. The particular brand of pills that you both took has an affinity for alcohol. If there is any alcohol in the system it absorbs the drug and makes it less effective. If you both had taken the pills in plain water instead of mixed with a strong dose of whisky neither of you would have been here now. But enough of this subject. Now, the next thing. You say that you are a confirmed dipsomaniac."

"Yes, most of the Anthonys have suffered from—"

The Doctor stopped him. "Don't you realise, Anthony, that medical science has made great strides ever since your father's time. Good God, man, surely you know that any competent doctor could cure you of your craze for drink provided he had your co-operation. If you had come to me six months ago things would have been different now."

"I didn't know that, Pestonji. I wish I had," replied Anthony in excitement. "What do you suggest?"

"Candidly, Anthony, I think you ought to get out of here. You say your home is in Madras. Why not go back there and take your wife with you. It is your home town and psychologically it is good to be back home. Can you get anything to do there?"

"Yes, Doc. one of my old school mates is now head of his own engineering firm. He has always wanted me to join him."

"Good. That is very good. Before you go I will give you a case report to hand to any reliable doctor in Madras. With this information and your active

co-operation, mind you, it will take about six months to make a new man of you. Now I'm off. Look after the wife. She is out of danger now and should come round in a couple of hours."

With that the good Doctor left. Anthony sat by the bedside and watched his wife with thanksgiving in his heart. Leaning over he kissed her gently and murmured:

"A new start, sweetheart, with no back sliding. The sun poured into the room and a bird on a tree in the garden chirped happily to its mate.

THAILAND'S SATURDAY NIGHT COUPS

BY MR. WALTER BRIGGS

[Siam's frequent comic opera coups flare up suddenly and as suddenly fizzle out, as this little country experiences political growing-pains. Siam changed its name back to Thailand in May.—ED. I. R.]

AFTER the day's scorching tropical sun the evening was refreshingly cool. Much of Bangkok's Siamese elite and foreign community was gathered at Saranrom Garden for the annual show of the American University Alumni. Ambassadors, cabinet ministers, generals and admirals, princes and princesses were there.

In the pavilion, pretty Siamese mothers and their pretty daughters together displayed their pretty legs in a chorus line. Dancers in gilded crowns and capes performed in the slow, sensuous classical manner. Foreigners burlesqued a night at a night club, torch singer, bumpkin waiter and all.

When the curtain rang down a Siamese orchestra struck up "Stardust" outside. Parties of friends clustered together drinking mekong, the national whiskey. Couples danced under the stars.

It was a carefree night in this care-free kingdom.

Then came whispers: "Coup d'etat. Phibun out. Direk new premier...Free Thai...Shooting...Radio broadcast...Army and Navy..."

Army officers rushed into the garden to report to their chiefs. Navy officers came, too. Hurried conferences. Drawn faces. Smiles. And the dancing continued.

"A night at a party," a friend recalled. "The Siamese always pick a Saturday night, a party night, for their devilment."

Yes, the last big coup had been pulled on a similar night. That was in November, 1947. (Since then several attempted coups have failed.) Part of Siam's high society was attending an official ball. The aesthetes were watching a revival of Siam's ancient shadow plays at the National theatre. Meanwhile, soldiers marched and tanks rolled along the streets. The government changed hands. But it was a peaceful coup. The only shots fired were to break the lock on a gate.

In fact, the frequent coups in Siam (on May 13 the name was changed back to Thailand, but the world still knows it as Siam) had been spectacularly bloodless. Victory went to the faction which commanded the greater loyalty among the army and navy.

But on Feb. 26—the night of this latest coup—a rat-tat-tat reached party goers' ears. Flares lit the sky.

Going home in the early hours on Sunday, the partygoers, found themselves carefully inspected, in one district by soldiers, in another by marines, at barricades.

LITTLE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

DAYS passed before the full story was known. What became known immediately, however, was that this time there were casualties: about 20 dead and 50 wounded. For once a Siamese coup had lost its comic opera flavor.

The full story hinged on two men: the premier, Field Marshal Luang Phibun Songgram, and a former premier, Nai Pridi Phanomyong. To know Phibun (pronounced Pee'boon) and Pridi Pree'dee—these are their given names, the only ones normally used in this informal country—is also to know Siamese politics.

The two studied in France—Phibun soldiering and Pridi law—in the early 1920's. There they plotted to overthrow Siam's anachronistic absolute monarchy. In Siam they joined a junta of about 50 men dedicated to this cause. In 1932 they engineered a bloodless revolution. Constitutional government was established; royal powers were limited. The men of the junta became known as the "promoters." Since 1932 many of these "promoters"—notably Phibun and Pridi—have fought among themselves for control of the government.

Political ideology has meant little in these struggles. One sage politician summed it up: "In Siam there is no left, no right, no centre. Politically, we are children." The issues have been control of the political work barrel and the prestige which comes with authority.

In the February uprising the factors were the same. Communism or any other "ism" had nothing to do with it.

Back in 1938 Phibun forced Pridi out of the government and became premier. A bit of a martinet—he is said to have admired Hitler and Mussolini—Phibun irritated the Siamese with such inanities as requiring them to wear hats in public and to dance in government offices on Wednesday afternoon. When the Japanese attacked, Phibun quickly surrendered the

country. Soon he declared war on the Allies. Phibun gradually grew unpopular. The Siamese were pro-Allied. Under heavy pressure, he resigned in 1944.

Pridi regained leadership. Under the code name "Ruth," Pridi, working with Allied agents, ran the Siamese underground—the "Free Thai"—against the Japanese. By the end of the war he was a national hero. However, his governing, part of the time as premier, part from behind the scenes, was inept. Prices rose. Crime and corruption flourished. Public confidence waned. And in June, 1946, beloved 20-year-old King Ananda Mahidal was shot dead. Whether this was accident, suicide or murder is still a mystery, but Pridi was popularly blamed.

Meanwhile, Phibun was scheming. A formidable clique of high army officers was sworn to him. Finally they staged the November coup. Pridi escaped out the backdoor of his house and fled the country. The field marshal ruled behind a "front man" for a few months, then took over.

Western diplomats, regarding Phibun as a war criminal, were sorry to see him back. They figured he would try to establish a military dictatorship. But the dapper little soldier has fooled them. Parliament meets as usual. Phibun has balked at excesses of military extremists; he has catered to democratic elements. Commodity prices have fallen, exports increased, gangsterism and looting of the public till diminished.

Nevertheless, Phibun has ruled uneasily. The "Outs"—Pridi and his followers and other factions as well—went in. The Rose palace, where the premier lives, is closely guarded. Phibun's men search Bangkok and the countryside for hidden arms. Leading politicians and officers of the armed forces are questioned, even imprisoned.

COUP FIZZLED OUT

Pridi and the "Free Thai", his wartime-colleagues, undoubtedly sponsored the February uprising. Whether Pridi was in the country—some reports say he returned in disguise—or whether he

directed the "Free Thai" from China or elsewhere abroad still is not known.

The "Free Thai" apparently attempted to win some elements of the army and navy to their side, and to pit other elements against one another. In any event, shots were fired between the two services, which are natural rivals, and tension flared. In the chaos the "Free Thai" apparently hoped to take over the country.

Seizing a government radio station for a few minutes, the "Free Thai" broadcast that Phibun was finished. Nai Direk Jayanani, "Free Thai" adherent and war-time ambassador to Britain was the new premier, the radio said. "Free Thai" men also rushed into the royal palace, held it against government forces for several hours. There were other incidents in the city and nearby countryside.

But the coup fizzled out. Something, exactly what is not clear, went wrong with the rebels' plans. Perhaps the expected greater disaffection among servicemen.

Fortunately for most of the Siamese people, those political machinations occur at a level high above their heads. The coups and countercoups they watch nonchalantly from the sidelines. Life is good in Siam. Only completely idiotic leadership could spoil it.

The Siamese are beginning to enjoy politics. Democracy is immature, but growing. At election time radios blare from shops and houses. But interest centres on what the candidates say they'll do about the price of rice and the scale of taxes.

A recent survey showed that among Siam's farmers (and Siam is predominantly agricultural) the average annual income was only about \$110 for a family of five. An insignificant sum by western standards, this suffices here for comfortable living. Food is self grown and inexpensive. Only thin clothing is needed, and little of that.

A measure of Siam's well-being was the recent conclusion of Dr. Thomas

Parren former director-general of the U. S. public health service, that Siam's children are the healthiest in Asia.

One blot stains Siamese lives today. Their dead king's younger brother has not come home from Switzerland, where he is studying, to ascend the throne. The Siamese respect their king as Britons do, and worship him a bit, too. They yearn for him.

RUSSIANS ARE ACTIVE

Siam's prosperity is built on a solid foundation—of rice, tin, teak, rubber. Alone of the great rice-producing countries of South-east Asia, Siam by virtue of its internal peace, is quickly boosting exports back to prewar output. In 1948, for the first time since the war ended, Siam again achieved its normal favorable balance of trade. Its U. S. dollar balance—\$80,000,000 in, only \$20,000,000 out—should make Britain's Sir Stafford Cripps sigh with envy.

Among the nations interested in Siam, both for materials and as a market, is Russia. However, Siam, unlike British Malaya, has shown no disposition to give Russia any strategic tin and rubber. Britain and the U.S., tried and friendly customers get most.

Last year Russia slipped into Siam with the only permanent Soviet diplomatic mission in Southeast Asia. Siam agreed to exchange diplomatic missions, it is understood in return for Russia's "yes" vote for U. N. admittance.

Western diplomats have found nothing suspicious about Russian activities here. The Russians issue propaganda in Siamese and English, offer a few Prague and Moscow scholarships and delve into trade possibilities. These are all legitimate diplomatic functions.

"But we know from experience with Russians elsewhere how clever they can be politically," a western diplomat told me. "Probably we just haven't caught on to them yet in Siam." Behind his words was the fear, felt by many Siamese and foreigners alike, that Russia is using the legation as supreme combat command for its native terrorists in Burma, Malaya and Indonesia.

Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

India and Pakistan

TO the regret of all men of peace and goodwill India and Pakistan have missed an opportunity for setting an example to the rest of the world of a wise management of affairs of conflicting interest by methods of reason and common sense. Pandit Nehru's proposal to outlaw war, though confined to the limits of India and Pakistan, would have had a wholesome influence in international affairs. It is a pity that Pakistan could not see eye to eye with India on a matter of such momentous significance.

Pandit Nehru first made the "No War" proposal in his public speeches in East Punjab in August and later in Srinagar and elsewhere. He also referred to it at his Press conferences.

Mr. Liaquat Ali, however, complained that no formal approach for a "No War" declaration had been made by India to Pakistan. Upon this, the proposal was made by India to Pakistan through diplomatic channels about the middle of December. This was followed by a draft declaration which was handed to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi.

The draft was a simple formula to the effect that the two countries would in no case go to war to settle any existing or future disputes between them.

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples, who have many common ties, hereby declare that they condemn resort to war for the settlement of any existing or future disputes between them.

They further agree that the settlement of such disputes between them shall always be sought through recognized, peaceful methods, such as negotiation, or by resort to mediation or arbitration by special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognized by both of them.

It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that the implementation of this declaration in the spirit which lies behind it will serve to maintain good relations between the two countries and advance the cause of world peace.

Pakistan has taken five months to answer this simple plea for mutual under-

standing which would outlaw war between the two countries. And at the end of that time what does the Pakistan Prime Minister say? He puts the cart before horse by suggesting

that (1) before such a declaration is made it would be better to resolve the major disputes between the two countries because otherwise, in his opinion, the joint declaration would be of doubtful value, and (2) if this be not possible, the procedure for settling each dispute should be stated precisely in the declaration itself.

This is obviously evading the issue. Where there is the will to peace the details could be adjusted by mutual give and take. Can Pakistan give an exhaustive list of all points present and to come, that may crop up for settlement? That is obviously impossible and India that has known the way of the old Muslim League can hardly be caught again in that endless mess of ever increasing demands following appeasement. Concessions only lead to more demands. But if there is a general desire for peace and a determination to settle disputes by agreement there surely is vast scope for fruitful association. Pakistan will do well to give a little thought to this urgent plea for peace and progress.

Blockade

We need not go far for an evidence of Pakistan's unwillingness to come to an amicable understanding with India. She is creating incidents with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Hindus are still fleeing from Sind and East Bengal, sometimes in fear and often in disgust at the chaotic rule which differentiates between Hindus and Muslims. The latest move in East Pakistan affords the most conclusive evidence.

Designed ostensibly to "blockade" Assam, and indirectly force the Government of India to recognise the superficial value of its currency the Government of Pakistan have banned the transit of Indian goods through the East Bengal Railway with effect from midnight January 19-20, 1950.

In this Pakistan is clearly guilty of breaking the Inter-Dominion Agreement

reached in Calcutta after a five-day conference in April 1948. A clause in Section Three of the Agreement reads:

Each dominion should take effective measures for the smooth implementation of transit facilities to the other Dominion in accordance with the provisions of international agreements governing such transit.

In the light of this provision India is under no obligation to comply with Karachi's demand for a deposit of Rs. 10 lakhs with its State Bank, presumably, as a *quid pro quo* for the movement of Indian goods traffic through its eastern zone. Similarly, Pakistan's decision to levy an extra fare from Indian passengers on its eastern Railways is indefensible.

Pakistan's unilateral decision has been as sudden as it is reprehensible. But in all this she is not likely to succeed as India's foresight has, in a measure, upset her calculation. Thanks to the prudence and energy of our Government, we have established direct railway link with our Eastern province and her economy cannot be so easily paralysed. Pakistan's high-handed action will doubtless provoke Delhi to adopt suitable counter measures. But cannot this vicious circle of strokes and counter strokes be avoided with a little tact and goodwill?

Noon's Threat

One would despair of any such returning sense as one is confronted with such infantile puerilities as Sir Feroze Khan Noon's bluster in the Pakistan Assembly.

"I would go to the extent of saying that the people of Pakistan would much rather be a province of Russia than of India, despite what the Democracies say."

Fancy a diplomat talking this rot. One would ignore it as childish, but if that is the official view of Pakistan it would hardly pass muster. Any more of this nonsense will recoil and the bluff will be called. And as to Russia, Pakistan should have known by this time that Stalin would not hesitate to show Pakistan her proper place.

After placing flowers on a grave in the cemetery, a man noticed an old Chinaman placing a bowl of rice on a nearby grave and asked: "What time do you expect your friend to come up and eat the rice?"

Replied the old Chinaman: "Same time your friend come up to smell flowers."

The Colombo Conference

The fact that the Commonwealth Conference met in Colombo and not as usual in London is significant of the new orientation of things. In the first place, it emphasises, if such emphasis were needed, that the Commonwealth conception is taking root and the old notion of Empire has gone the way of all old things. Secondly, it is definite that the centre of gravity in world affairs is shifting to the East. The future of the world is with Asia, just as Europe has played a historic role during the last few centuries.

Now it would be folly to minimise the importance of the Colombo Conference because of the lack of positive decisions. The impression has been created that the main objective was the forging of an anti-communist front. That would be a mistake though no doubt it would have weighed with some minds.

If the intention was to rally anti-Communist forces under one banner, some of the nations most immediately concerned like Burma, India and Pakistan would not have accorded recognition to Red China even before the conference met to discuss the issue. Another pointer to the approach of the conference to the problems of the Far East was "the refusal of both Britain and India to contemplate anything in the nature of a Pacific Pact similar to the Atlantic Pact."

Now this is a fairly correct assessment of the session. But apart from anything else it is clear that a new school of economic thought has emerged practically all over the world which is unanimous in its conclusion that the most effective bulwark against Communism, threatening individualism, is the economic betterment of the people's condition.

Addressing a Press Conference at Colombo, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, said that in Asia a new upsurge of nationalism had resulted in new liberties, but liberty without proper economic conditions could lead to disappointment. In a message to the Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, also held in Ceylon, India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru also emphasised the same point: "The problem of political freedom having been largely solved, we are now to face more basic and intricate problems of economic advance".

The British General Election

Mr. Clement Attlee's election announcement on Jan. 11 signalled the start of probably the most bitter British election campaign in a century. The announcement set the date of election at February 23.

Nominations must be made by February 13. Polling will take place on February 23.

The new Parliament will meet on March 1 and will be formally opened by the King on March 6.

The election will be fought on the issue whether the British people wanted to continue the Socialist form of government.

Mr. Winston Churchill, Leader of the Opposition, launching the first thunderbolt in the Conservative campaign told Britons that the choice before them in the coming General Elections was whether to take another plunge into Socialist regimentation, State ownership, and State control, or to restore a greater measure of freedom of choice and action to the people.

In a broadcast to the nation he said that Socialism

is based on the idea of an all-powerful State, which owns everything, plans everything, distributes everything, and thus decides the daily life of the individual through its politicians and officials." It has been found in all European countries to have been the weakest defence against Communism.

Britain's Liberal Party, which put 400 candidates into the field, rebuffed the Conservatives, who have been wooing their support for a combined anti-Socialist front at the election. Viscount Samuel, Leader of the Liberals in the House of Lords, speaking in Cambridge, declared

that an alliance between the Liberals and the Conservatives would not ensure the defeat of the Socialists, but would mean the destruction of the Liberal Party.

He said millions of voters who were not convinced Socialists or Trade Unionists, voted in 1945 for the Labour Party.

Now, there is good ground for believing that a great number, perhaps the majority of those voters, are dissatisfied with present conditions.

They want the Socialists out—but they do not want the Conservatives. If a Liberal candidate is standing they will vote for him. If not, they will abstain or else vote Labour after all.

THE PARTY LEADERS IN BRITAIN



Mr. Winston Churchill



Mr. Clement Attlee



Mr. Rhys Davies

The Akhand Bharat Ideal

The Hindu Mahasabha is still at it. The other day the executive of the Sabha, meeting at Bombay, reiterated its stand for Akhand Bharat and declared that it "will strive for the re-union of the two separated parts." This is neither good sense nor practical politics. The division of the country was brought about anyway by agreement, to which our leaders had set their seal. As such, however irksome or undesirable the division may be, the agreement must be respected, if we have any sense of law or decency until such time, at any rate, that the two countries feel like joining. It may be said that such feeling could be generated only by propaganda. But propaganda against a pact even before the ink is dry is a kind of repudiation for which there can be no moral justification. By another resolution the committee regretted that "the Bharat Government have taken no step to bring the Pakistan Government to a proper frame of mind" and urged that the principles of the Reciprocity Act passed by the Indian legislature in the year, 1943 "should be made applicable to the Muslims residing in Bharat, deeming the Hindus in Pakistan as nationals of Bharat."

This is a dangerous plea that cannot be sufficiently condemned. The thought of such vicarious punishment is unworthy of an Indian. Are not loyal Muslims in India as much part and parcel of the country as the Hindus? India is as much their motherland as it is the motherland of the Hindus and the Sikhs. It would be monstrous to think otherwise in Republican India. Do these reactionaries realise the implications of their threat of reciprocity? By the same token Pakistan could continue to harass the Hindus—a thing which we abhor and which we should do all in our power to prevent.

But no responsible government, as indeed no sensible person, could act in the way that the Mahasabha suggests. Indeed this is precisely the way of Pakistan which we are denouncing, and whatever Pakistan may do, we shall not descend to such depths. We still hope there are other means to bring Pakistan to her sense of justice and humanity.

The Andhra Province

It is clear from the trend of things that the formation of the Andhra Province at the moment is "impracticable." Announcing this a Home Ministry *communique* says that "the Government of India consider it essential that before the question can be taken up again the outstanding differences and unresolved questions should be settled first."

And what are those "out-standing differences"? The *communique* lists a formidable number of issues, agreement on which is a prerequisite for the early formation of the new Province. The issues described as "essential" are the status of Madras City, the apportionment of the assets and liabilities, boundaries of the new Province, particularly regarding Bellary District, and the execution of the Tungabhadra Project.

There is a feeling that the Andhra leaders themselves are responsible for the failure to bring the new Province into existence at an early date—as they could neither agree among themselves nor put forward their final demands without prevarication. Even their enthusiasm for a separate province seems to have waned with the realisation of the practical difficulties and consequences, financial and administrative, following the immediate implementation of their demand for separation. But it must be made clear that what ails Andhra desa must injure the rest of India as well. The demand for an Andhra Province should not be mistaken for a demand for separation, in the sense in which Pakistan cut away from India. It is therefore the duty of all parties concerned to see that if the new province comes into being it must be made viable and must have the best wishes of her neighbours. There is need for goodwill and understanding all round. For that a little delay, if it could put the new Province on stable foundations, must be welcome.

REDEMPTION OR CONVERSION?

A lady telephoned her bank to arrange for the disposal of a thousand dollar bond, "Is the bond for redemption or conversion?" the banker asked her.

There was a long pause, then the lady asked in a small voice: "Am I talking to the First National Bank or the First Baptist Church?"

UNITED MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL

An Epic of the Sea

Feats of heroism and endurance are not rare in British naval history and the Epic of the seamen who raced for life or death in the ill fated H. M. S. *Truculence* must add to the lustre of a great and shining tradition. Of the 80 men aboard the submarine only 15 survived to tell the tale of the collision in the Thames Estuary with the Swedish spit *Divine*. A few, we are told, lie drowned in the flooded hull on Shivering Sand 54 feet below the surface.

They told of cheerful discipline, comic songs, and jokes about the general election cracked, as 45 men faced death in the after-part of the stricken submarine for more than an hour.

Sitting in a bare barrack room at Chatham, eight of them told baldly how the 45 calmly decided that since there were too few escape suits only non-swimmers should wear them.

When the Swedish steamer sheered into the submarine's bows many of the crew were at supper. Inside the submarine, says the *Daily Mail* Reporter the 45 held a Conference. Although distributed about the ship there were three Davis escape appliances for every two men, the flooding of so many forward compartments had left them short.

About 20 people would have to attempt to reach the surface without them.

"Who can swim?" asked Hine who took command, as the Captain and the leading seamen on duty in the conning tower were blown into the water by the up rush of air as the sea gushed into the hull.

About 20 men stepped grimly forward. They had agreed without flinching to allow the non-swimmers to use the apparatus.

After that it was strict Naval discipline.

One by one the men entered the twill trunk into the air pocket, turned the cock, and in a flurry of bubbles shot to the surface.

Then came one hour and 25 minutes of waiting. The water began to rise up to their ankles.

"You can't blame this on the Socialist Government," cracked one of the men. There was roar of laughter, somebody started to sing.

So they sang, laughed, and joked as the water rose inch by inch up to their chests. Pressure and the foul air were bursting their lungs and eardrums, but as they gasped for breath they still sang.

Mr. R. E. Stevens, 35-year-old Inspector of Electricians, was one of the civilian survivors. He said:

"The men were marvellous. They insisted that civilians must go first because that was a rule. They laughed and joked. There was never an instant of panic."

The courage of the men and their calmness in the face of certain death is marvellous. The British navy has a great tradition—of courage and heroism from which generations of sailors have drawn inspiration. Now we in India who are building up a naval tradition of our own cannot have a better example for emulation.

These hard bitten men singing courage from their flooded boats—they are the stuff of all ballads and Epics. How comely is affliction borne cheerfully! Think of Capt. Scott of the Antarctic or his comrade who went out into the blizzard so the expedition might prosper. No height too lofty for human nature, and thank God, the breed is never extinct.

Indo-Afghan Friendship

A Five-year treaty of "perpetual friendship" between India and Afghanistan was signed at New Delhi last month.

The treaty affirms ever lasting peace and friendship between the two countries and provides for the establishment of diplomatic and consular posts in each other's territory and for grant to their representatives of diplomatic and consular privileges.

Besides providing for the establishment of trade agencies in each other's territory, the treaty affirms their mutual desire to strengthen and develop cultural ties and to assist in each other's industrial and agricultural progress.

This is doubtless a feather in the cap of our Department of External Affairs. For Pakistan has been bidding the support from the Islamic nations on the ground of her being a Shariat State. It has spared no pains to enlist Islamic nations in support of her crusade against a *kafir* state like India. The attempt has so far failed and Indonesian spokesmen have made no secret of their frank espousal of India's stand.

But as Sardar Patel said in Bombay, Pakistan is continuously talking of war against India. She has also been carrying on a war of nerves against Afghanistan. What could be more natural than that India and Afghanistan should enter into a defence pact against a common danger?



The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)



SOCIAL BIOLOGY AND WELFARE. By Sybil Neville Rolfe. Allen & Unwin. London 21s.

That modern industrial society makes strenuous and exacting demands on the individual forcing the individual prematurely into adult life and into a state of economic self-dependence precariously maintained is becoming increasingly widely recognized. The social consequences of the strenuous conditions of modern life have however not been studied adequately or carefully enough as yet. Among the most important of these consequences is the effect on the emotional and sex life of the individual. Having regard to the serious consequences both to the individual and to society as a whole of the deleterious effects of adolescent promiscuity and juvenile delinquency, the problem of social hygiene is one of exceptional importance and urgency to-day. Mrs. Rolfe who has been a sincere and strenuous worker in many departments of social reform for a number of years is exceptionally well-qualified to write on the subject, and to propound some lines of further study and work. The wise use of biological knowledge in its bearings on social affairs is, according to Mrs. Rolfe, an indispensable condition of restoring health to our sick contemporary society. Ignorance is, here as elsewhere, the unblest mother of all those monstrous evils which are making for social decay to-day. The book is a stimulating appeal for more instructed and intelligent attention to the problem.

HINDU MUSLIM CULTURAL ACCORD by Dr. Syed Mohamed, P.H.D. Minister, Government of Bihar. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay 2.

The volume is a compilation of a series of articles which originally appeared in the "Statesman." They roughly fall into three sections.

The first few chapters relating to the pre-British cultural relations not only between Hindus and Muslims in India but also between India and her Muslim neighbours, are the result of patient and

extensive studies. Some of the facts revealing the debt which early Islam owed to Mother Ganges and the reverence which this country commanded in the eyes of the Prophet and the Muslim saints, as pointed out by the author may shock the protagonists of separation.

The part played by British officialdom and the successive Britishers who had charge of the Aligarh University in the creation of Hindu-Muslim discard forms the subject of a few chapters. The author having been a student of Aligarh and Secretary to Nawab Mohginnulmulk is able to enlighten this portion of the book with uncontrovertible facts.

The last section deals with probable solutions and is a forcible plea for a spiritual and cultural accord based on unbiassed understanding and lasting love.

The book is a very useful one and if circulated widely in India and Pakistan, may contribute to peace in great measure.

TENALI RAM. By A. S. P. Aiyar—Third revised and enlarged edition. Price Rs. 2.

Tenali Rama, the 'Royal' Jester, associated in tradition with the court life of the famous Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, was in reality a rare combination of the poet and jester; and the anecdotes about him that are presented here show that he is at once a "philosopher, a genius and a Brahmarakshasa, but nevertheless a clown all the same and a real Vikatakavi." The well known Royal Guru Tatacharya is satirised in several of the anecdotes into foolish and self-condemnatory actions. Tenali Rama's date is really some generations later.

MARRIAGE IN EAST AND WEST

"Marriage in China is like putting a kettle of cold water on the fire. Soon it is boiling and stays hot. "But in the West, marriage is like putting on a cold stove a kettle of water that is boiling tempestuously—but presently cools off."

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE.—Vol. I (Early and Middle period) By Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, (Allahabad University) Tirabhukti Publications, Allahabad.

Maithili has a script and literature of its own; and Vidyapati, its greatest poet, has been claimed both for Bengali and Hindi. The claim is made that every literary form and subject has been attempted in the language which differs both from Hindi and Bengali in vocabulary and grammar. The aim of the author is to prove that Maithili is the home—and mother-tongue of Tirhut. Maithili literature is traced from the 14th century when Mithila became the sole refuge of Hindu scholarship on the coming of the Muhammadans into Eastern India and the protector of Mimamsa, Dharmasastra and Nyaya studies. The lyric form of poetry flourished later: and the literary glory continued undimmed till the end of the 18th century.

Our author gives a good account of the people and religion of Mithila and of the Maithili scripts the different periods in its literary history and types of its literary compositions. Special attention is devoted to an account of Maithili drama which has affected Nepal and Assam. Maithili prose took form as early as the 14th century; and its development is said to be traceable down to the present day. In it what is called documentary prose calls for some notice, as being marked by brevity of statement, economy of words, simplicity and clarity. The development of Brajabbasa gave a set-back to Maithili literature. We come across a number of poets and writers who adorned the age of middle Maithili literature. The book is packed with details which may perhaps have been better grouped.

ALL INDIA EXPORTERS' ASSOCIATION Bombay. Classified Trade Directory of Members—1949. Published by the All India Exporters' Association, Churchgate House, Churchgate St., Bombay.

The book contains names and addresses of members with other particulars of trade in which they are actively interested. The list is also arranged commodity wise.

A COMMUNITY AT THE CROSS ROADS: By Sapur Faredun Desai. With a foreword by Sir H. P. Mody, Bombay. New Book Co., Ltd. 188/190, Hornby Road. Price Rs. 10.

The social and economic problems facing the Parsi community in India are discussed in this volume with commendable skill and insight by Mr. Sapur Faredun Desai. The major ills afflicting the community is diagnosed with scientific detachment and rare penetration and the author expresses great concern at the moral deterioration of the community. After a crisp and well-documented analysis of the diseases and infirmities such as diabetes, asthma, tuberculosis, insanity, feeble mindedness, blindness, unemployment, steadily increasing pauperisation and a rapidly falling birth-rate, the author suggests the need for comprehensive data and vital statistics for a thorough grasp of the issues which go to the very root of the community's canker.

Some of the remedies suggested by Mr. Desai are of a very radical character, such as selective mating and the sterilisation of the unfit and the eradication of the religious fanaticism which has seized large numbers. To those who are devoting themselves to the regeneration of the Parsi community, this book will be an indispensable guide.

BOOKS RECEIVED

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A YOGI. By Paramahansa Yogananda. The Philosophical Library, New York.

BEYOND REALISM AND IDEALISM. By Wilbur Marshall Urban, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS. International Labour Office, Indian Branch, New Delhi.

THE WARDHA SCHEME. By K. L. Shrimali, Ph.D., Vidya Bhawan Society, Udaipur.

FUTURE INDIA. By M. Bheemsana Rao, Eukanna St., Adoni, M. S. M. Ry. Bellary Dt.

Transactions of the Fifth Tuberculosis Worker's Conference, Madras January 1948.

Transactions of the Sixth Tuberculosis Worker's Conference, Calcutta December 1948.

Tuberculosis Association of India, 20 Talkatora Road, New Delhi.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

Jan. 1 *Indian Review* begins its 51st year.
—Science Congress meets in Poona.
Jan. 2 Agricultural Economic Conference meets at Madras.
Jan. 3 Pandit Nehru opens first National Laboratory in Poona.
Jan. 4 Government of India freeze cotton stock with Bombay dealers.
—Five-year treaty with Afghanistan signed at Delhi.
Jan. 5 President Truman announces that U. S. will not send aid to Formosa.
—United Kingdom recognises Red China.
Jan. 6 The Wafd wins in Egyptian elections.
Jan. 7 Fiscal Commission meets in Madras.
—L. L. O. Session in Mysore concludes.
Jan. 8 Pandit Nehru tells Pressmen in Madras that separation of Andhra is hardly possible by Jan. 26.
Jan. 9 Commonwealth Conference opens in Colombo.
—Cabinet of United State of Travancore and Cochin reconstituted.
Jan. 10 Britain's General Election on Feb. 23.
—Soviet delegate walks out of U. N. Security Council.
Jan. 11 India pleads for working relationship with Chinese Communists.
Jan. 12 Sardar Patel in Calcutta. Pandit Nehru addresses Ceylon University Convocation.
Jan. 13 Karen capital captured by Burma Government troops.
—Commonwealth Conference votes 7½ million aid to Burma.
Jan. 14 Commonwealth Conference concludes.
Jan. 15 Royalaseema deputation to Prime Minister disapproves separation of Andhra.
Jan. 16 Russia boycotts all U. N. meetings.
—Delhi protests against Border incidents in E. Bengal.
Jan. 17 Pakistan replies to India's no-war declaration.
Jan. 18 Pakistan bans transit of Indian goods over E. Bengal Railway.
Jan. 19 Nehru lays foundation stone for Stadium in New Delhi.
—Indo-Pakistan rail traffic suspended.
Jan. 20 Secret meeting of U. S. Committee in Washington discusses military aspects of hydrogen bomb.
Jan. 21 National Physical Laboratory opened in Delhi.

Jan. 22 Chinese Foreign Manistry in London claims Tibet as part of Chinese territory.
Jan. 23 Delhi advises postponement *Sine die* of Andhra province.
Jan. 24 Babu Rajendra Prasad unanimously elected first President of the Republic.
Jan. 25 Farewell banquet to Governor-general.
Jan. 26 Sovereign democratic Republic is born. Historic proclamation in Delhi and celebration and festivities all over the country.
Jan. 27 Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the retiring Governor-general, arrives in Madras.
Jan. 28 Supreme Court of India inaugurated in Delhi.
—Members take oath in first Parliament of the Republic.
Jan. 29 U. S. A. approves Bao Dai regime.
—Train collision at Sirhind and quake shock in Persian Gulf area.
Jan. 30 The President addresses the first Parliament of the Republic.
Jan. 31 Deshmukh award on allocation of States' share in incometax published.
—India discontinues licences to Pakistan vessels to ply in Indian waters.



SIR FRANK WHITTLE

The jet pioneer and adviser to B.O.A.C. on the development and operation of gas turbine engines, now on a visit to India and Pakistan.



READERS' DIGEST



AMERICA AND WORLD LEADERSHIP

America's rise to world leadership, and assumption of "global duties" heads the list of ten events that "most profoundly shaped and shook history" in the first half of the twentieth century according to American historian Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Probably no other event—including the two wars, an economic depression, the League of Nations and the United Nations—equals the importance of the end of American isolationism. Dr. Schlesinger said in the *Washington Post's* special "half century" edition.

However much science and technology have dominated our times," Dr. Schlesinger asserted, politics and economics have continued to provide the great turning points in man's fortunes."

The internationally-known historian lists in a more or less chronological order the following events which have most vitally affected "mankind's life, liberty and pursuit of happiness":

1. World War I.

2. Political emancipation of women in many parts of the world.

Climaxing the long struggle of one half of the human race for equal opportunities with the other half and for an equal say in government."

3. The upsurge of labour influence in law, industry, political life and the realm of foreign affairs.

Everywhere the traditional balance of power in politics and society was unsettled, with long-range consequences yet to be seen."

4. The great economic depression.—

The most terrible peacetime calamity that has ever befallen humanity, it spread ruin deep and wide through all peoples, classes and countries."

5. World War II, democracy's greatest challenge.

6. The harnessing of atomic energy, the crowning exploit in man's progressive mastery over nature... the creative achievement of countless scientists of various nationalities under American leadership."

7. Abandonment of colonial imperialism.

8. League of Nations and United Nations, "milestones in humanity's groping toward the goal of collective security."

9. Russia's emergence as a dominant world power.

The prospects of a stable world created by the smashing of the Axis and the forming of the peace-time United Nations have been endangered chiefly by the new international role of the Soviet Union. A ruthless Communist dictatorship she commands untold natural resources and vast manpower, combined with an advantageous geographical position in Europe and Asia and a passion to propagate Communism throughout the earth.... If she is, as Churchill once said, 'a riddle, wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma', it can only be hoped that the answer is not already, too plainly indicated."

10. America's rise to world leadership. After the second World War

isolationism died an instant death... Though hampered by inexperience, the nation quickly rose to the occasion. The results appeared in such daring breaks with American tradition as the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact and the Military Assistance Programme, as well as in massive expenditure for national defence. Only the Communist countries have attributed these actions to a lust for war. The free peoples see in them the best hope for lasting peace. Probably no other event in this list of ten is of equal importance."

END OF DEMOCRACY!

With the general elections now approaching in Britain and the main parties spoiling for a fight, it is interesting to see how the public react to changing connotations of democracy.

A writer in the *Nineteenth Century* sees the end of democracy near in Britain. The Socialists have already adopted the Conservative foreign policy and the latter have adopted the former's domestic policy. What is then left to quarrel about?

The writer calls Stalin the most outstanding Conservative Socialist of our times. And the end of Conservative Socialist democracy, he feels, can only be the end which Stalin has already brought about in Russia—the end of all democracy!

ECONOMICS, ETHICS AND POLITICS

Dr. L. Delgado, English Educationist, writing in the *Aryan Path* for January discusses the relations between Ethics and economics. He points out that economics is not the slave of sentiment. The laws of mutual dependence, even for material well-being cannot be flouted with impunity.

Many of the problems with which we are concerned in this world are not ethical, religious or material, but are frankly political, he says.

Problems which fall within this sphere are of a complex nature. In politics the possible ends are many and vague. Until these can be clearly set out and agreed upon, there is little hope that political action can be guided by economic principles. Economic principles cannot be used as a basis for aims which themselves are nebulous. No economist would advise that a war should be embarked upon. He would point to the destruction of capital and the wasteful diversion of resources. One may doubt whether he would be listened to in a time of patriotic fervour. Similarly, the advice of an economist to the effect that tariffs may be harmful to the community as a whole would be ignored in face of the obvious fact that tariffs do increase employment in particular industries. Yet it must be obvious to everyone that the advantages arising from the division of labour inherent in a given geographical area, such as, say the subcontinent of India, cannot be destroyed simply because a political boundary is fixed overnight through the area, such as that between India and Pakistan. There is no fundamental difference between domestic and foreign trade. This is an economic truth that no political argument will alter.

But, as in the case of ethical considerations, the economist can point out the implications of a given choice.

The economist cannot use his science to frame legislation, but he can scrutinize proposed legislation and point out the possible repercussions in the sphere of economic activity. He can point out that two policies are incompatible, or that two aims are inconsistent. Economics cannot tell us what is best to do, because that is a matter of opinion. Political problems are mainly matters of opinion.

And then follows a suggestive application of his thesis to the relations between a truncated India and Pakistan.

The leaders of the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan must therefore make a clear distinction between economic questions on the one hand and ethical or political questions on the other. An economic problem may exist—and indeed is bound to exist in this world of limited resources—independently of political considerations. A political arrangement to a purely economic problem is no solution: it serves merely to mask what is to be solved.

RED THREAT TO INDIA

An insight into probable Communist tactics is given by the "*Manchester Guardian*," which considers India as one of their next prey after China. The "*Guardian*," considers India as one looking for new prey. The Far Eastern Cominform has been making threats at all nationalist, non-Communist leaders in Asia at Dr. Hatta, at Thakin Nu and especially at the greatest of them Pandit Nehru, who is becoming the symbol of free world in Asia. The Far Eastern Cominform will not try to carry out its threats by armies. It will operate through the Communist Party. The condition of the party in non-Soviet lands of Asia is thus a matter of world interest.

"Even after Communist victory in China, the Indian party still seems to be the accepted leader of Communism in a part of South East Asia. The party in India has been passing through a crisis about which not very much is known. Some of the ablest leaders have been purged."

The *Guardian* continues, "Yet Communism remains a danger to India, partly because the Indian Socialist party is not exciting enough for those who want to be in opposition."

The paper describes the situation in Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo China and Indonesia and concludes: "after India became independent the Communists alleged that Lord Mountbatten, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru were hand in glove with one another to deceive the Indian public. The bewildering question is whether the Communists believe this nonsense themselves."

"THE SOUTH INDIAN JOURNALIST"

The *South Indian Journalist* Edited by Mr. K. P. Viswanatha Iyer and published by Mr. Khasa Subba Rao at Swatantra Press, is the official organ of the biggest association of Pressmen in South India.

The President of the Federation Mr. N. Raghunathan, has outlined in the opening issue the genesis and the ideals of the new journal. The journal has set before itself a difficult task. It will champion the rights of the working Journalist but it will also keep a watchful eye on the maintenance of high standard in the profession. We welcome this new monthly conducted by Journalists for Journalists.

THE NEW YEAR

The new year that has rung in promises to be full of momentous significance. There are so many international problems it must solve, says the *Asiatic Digest*, so many political and economic complications it must resolve.

However, the prospects for Asia are much brighter—decidedly far less gloomy than for any other region—because this year begins with three gigantic changes in her history:

1. The full-fledged establishment of a United Communist State in China;
2. The emergence of India as a Republic in the British Commonwealth of Nations; and
3. The coming into being of the United States of Indonesia.

Further these events are bound to have their repercussions on other parts of the world. They must upset the existing balance of power; create new international situations; and disturb the European-American monopoly of world-politics. Hence, for us, the people of Asia, despite all the anxiousness there is, this is a year of rejoicing, for in this year Asia has come of age. True, with it her problems would mount; her responsibilities increase. But it is wonderful to be on one's own legs and become the master of one's own destiny."

CRISIS IN JAPAN

It is expensive for Uncle Sam to subsidise Japan. But can he afford not to, asks Bernard G. Davis who has just returned from Japan where he made a survey of trade and economic conditions. President of the Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, he is a close observer of world affairs, has girdled the globe several times during the past few years, and reported his findings on economic and business matters for national magazines and newspapers.

Magazine Digest, summarising his reports and observations says in conclusion that it is useless to talk about a programme or pattern for Japan, or for the Far East alone. What is sorely needed is a world-wide blueprint that makes sense, and in which the Orient will necessarily be a major factor. Japan cannot settle anything by itself; it is too intimately a part of the economic life of China, Netherlands, East Indies, Philippines, Malaya, and India.

If Japan fails, we have failed. Should we abandon Japan, we do not release her into a political vacuum but into the hands of the Communists, be they Chinese, Russian or native. On the other hand, can we afford to subsidize Japan indefinitely on the present scale, much less on an ever increasing scale? Can we afford not to?

These are questions which America must decide. The decisions must be made in Washington, London, and perhaps Moscow. We cannot ignore the crisis rising in Japan, for when it comes it may be too late.

If Japan is to survive economically, drastic international reorganization—at least on our side of the Curtain—is of first priority. Somehow we must find a way for Japan to have ready access to the raw materials she needs, the markets she must reach. And the time is short, very short.

'THE DISAPPEARING MIDDLE CLASSES OF INDIA'

A writer in the Annual number of *Capital* provides a brilliant analysis into the miserable plight of the middle classes. Examining for his purpose the family budgets of representative families in the great cities of this country the article sounds a serious note of warning to the politicians who are handling the country's destinies. It says 'The record of history reveals that it has been the function of the middle classes to act as a buffer between the haves and the havenots. It is only when the position of the middle classes begin to be undermined and when they tend to disappear as a balancing factor between the very rich and the very poor that "Evolution" turns into "Revolution."

Mr. A. C. Sampath Iyengar's analysis of the incometax figures is the result of penetrating insight and is full of material for study to the practical tax gatherer as well as student.

The article justifying the claims of the Damodar Valley Corporation to priority contributed by its secretary Dr. Sen will remove a lot of prejudice in the popular mind about the scheme on account of its official character. Dr. Sen's article appears to be intended for the hardheaded businessman and his article certainly fulfils at least part of the intentions.

The Annual number is packed with very valuable material on various subjects of economic and general interest to this country. Every contribution bears the impress of an expert hand behind.

GANDHI AND BASIC EDUCATION

Prof. Humayun Kabir, now Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, writing in *United Asia* discusses Gandhi's reaction to the present day education and commends his Scheme of basic education. Gandhi felt that many of the problems of India could be solved by a more creative system of education.

Such a system must first and foremost re-integrate the child and find him a useful place in society. The present tendency of loosening the social ties must be checked. Education must prepare the child for a useful social life. Education must develop both body and mind and make the child conscious of the dignity of all labour—whether mental or manual. Finally, such a system must be within the reach of all and economically feasible in the present impoverished conditions of India.

It was out of Gandhi's awareness of these needs that the system of basic Education was evolved. It treats the child as a member of a community from the very beginning of his educational life.

As a unit of a co-operative group, all his activities have a social content. Not only are school activities organised in groups but they are such as have on immediate social utility. All educational psychologists today agree that the child can learn more quickly through activity than by passive reception of what he is taught. The child loves to do things. It is an imposition on him to be compelled to sit silently without movement for long periods. Except when his interest is engrossed in what he is told—for example, when he listens to a fairy story—he likes to talk or to do things himself. In Basic Education this aspect of the child's nature is fully recognized.

Gandhi's scheme of Basic Education, in fact, goes one step farther and gives the child activity which is socially significant. This is the essence of his emphasis on a craft.

Education centred round a craft not only helps the development of the child's faculties but also gives him a consciousness of performing a social function from the very beginning of his life. In addition, the child has immediate experience of the results of his labour. The product of the craft is to him a physical symbol of success and gives him a sense of achievement.

Apart from this there is another reason too why we should go in for Gandhi's scheme of basic education.

The system of Basic Education also aims at making education accessible to all.

COMINFORM OF THE FAR EAST

The London *Economist* is of opinion that the Far East now has its "Cominform."

Stating that the recent Peking Conference of Asian and Australian Trade Unions had already marked out the main lines on which Chinese Communist activity is to develop, the *Economist*, in an article entitled, "China looks south," says:

The conference declared its support for the 'national liberation' forces in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China and the Philippines.

It should be noticed that this Communist offensive is directed not only against the survivals of Western sovereignties in the East, such as British rule in Malaya, but also against all those Asian national leaders, from India eastward to the Philippines, who have been trying to base the policies of their respective countries on friendly relations with the West.

What is most striking in the new Chinese "Cominform" programme is that it is to be applied over a region in which the Chinese imperial monarchy formerly held a kind of paramount position, and in which large Chinese communities have been built up in modern times by emigration from China.

Stating that there were two main reasons why Communism is in a position to give an attractive lead to Chinese nationalist sentiment, the *Economist* adds:

"In the first place, by aligning China with the Soviet Union in defiance of the West, the Communists can pursue a forward policy in the south, whereas the Kuomintang was unable to take a strong line either in the south or in the north.

Secondly the Communist technique is the one which promises the best returns on a very small capital of national military power."

Of the prospects of "Titoism" in China, the *Economist* observes that there are signs that the Russians are willing to accept from China much looser form of attachment than is required from the European satellites.

There may be conflicts between Moscow and Peking and, if a serious heresy were to arise, Russian possession of Port Arthur would enable the Kremlin at least to set up a rival regime in Manchuria.

But for the present, there is no detectable heresy, and it looks as if the Moscow-Peking axis may work about as well as did the Berlin-Rome Axis."

A LONG WAIT

Artist: "Do you mind if I paint your cottage?"
Old woman: "Mind? It's been needing painting since I came into it thirty years ago."

"EASTERN ECONOMIST"

The annual number of the *Eastern Economist* for 1949 with its many charts and abundant statistical information provides very interesting and instructive reading. It opens with a chronology of economic and political events during the last 50 years followed by a story of India with emphasis on the Gandhian age. The last half a century has seen changes in ideas; liberty and democracy have pushed out all the others and occupied the throne, the relation between India and Britain has been put on a footing of equality and the long campaign of hate has ended with no bitterness on either side.

The Annual is divided into two parts, the first of which specially deals with India's land and its fruit, Indian Industry, Labour, Business Activity, Transport and Public Finance while Part II is devoted to the Nations' Economic Budget, Food, Cloth, Cost and standard of living, devaluation and its consequences, balance of payments, Government account etc. In fact no feature of the economic life of the nation has been neglected. Although the annual is packed with facts and figures, statistics and illustrated charts, yet it is written in such easy narrative style that it cannot fail to interest the ordinary reader, while as a work of reference for students of economics and statistics it is bound to prove useful. Each subject has been treated with such thoroughness and realism that it is difficult to single out any for special mention. One would have wished that co-operative Banking had come in for a detailed review. It was a foster-child during the British regime but with the advent of freedom, whether one likes it or not, the country is bound to develop co-operation, all round particularly in rural areas.

In order to stimulate banking enterprise, the Annual has chalked out an eight point programme which the authorities of the Reserve Bank of India would do well to consider. There is a large amount of idle money in the country and in the quest to ferret it out, success will depend, "on the vigour, initiative and independence displayed by the banking system and not the least by the Reserve Bank of India."

PAKISTAN'S MILITARY OBJECTIVE

An article in the *Army Quarterly*, London, by Major A. J. Wilson, Personal Assistant to the British Commander-in-Chief to the Pakistan army, throws light on Pakistan's military preparations and objective.

Major Wilson claims that Pakistan's frontier policy resulting in the elimination of Hindus and Sikhs has increased the striking power of the army. He says: "Another factor which has increased the striking power of the army has been the absence of the need to employ troops in support of civil power. The almost complete evacuation of the Hindu and the Sikh minority from the N. W. F. P. and West Punjab has meant that communal trouble has become a thing of the past. It has consequently been possible to organize and train the army in mobile formations ready for active operations."

Major Wilson continues: "From the point of view of the professional soldier, there is great scope, for though the army proudly retains its old traditions, it is still in the formative stage, and there is ample room for experiment and originality. Best of all, perhaps, there are formations and units ready and trained for war, a happy change from the present suspended animation". Situated at the cross-roads between the East and the West and neighbouring States whose stability is less certain than her own, Pakistan's main pre-occupation at present is to ensure her own security and integrity."

Three things emerge from this article. First, evacuation or squeezing out of the Hindus and Sikhs was according to plan, which is now in operation in Eastern Pakistan. The plan is designed to increase the striking power of the Pakistan army. Secondly, the stability of Pakistan's "neighbouring states," such as India, is less certain. And thirdly, "the formation and units are actually ready and trained for war." And while Pakistan is furiously and vigorously importing war materials from Europe and America, people in this country are playing with a "no war joint declaration."

NONE

Coroner: "Had the deceased any financial worries?" Witness: "None, he was bankrupt."

'TEN GREATEST OF OUR TIME'

Mahatma Gandhi heads a list of "the ten greatest of our time" in a review prepared for the mid-century edition of the Canadian monthly, *Maclean's Magazine*. Compiled by Prof. Robert T. Hutchins of Chicago University the review places in order of merit three famous Americans, and one person each from Britain, Russia, China, India, Germany, Austria and France.

Prof. Hutchins' criterion is that "true greatness must rest on the depth of a man's influence, and the effect of that influence in changing our thoughts and lives."

Mahatma Gandhi is given pre-eminence in this list of immortals because he is "the man who most resembles Christ in the last 2,000 years."

Mr. Churchill comes sixth in the list because "his greatness lies in his amazing personality, courage and inspiring oratory."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is three places above that of her husband, President Roosevelt, and wins her place "as the symbol of hope and encouragement to women all over the world."

Prof. Einstein comes second in Prof. Hutchins' opinion, as "in the age of poor thinkers Prof. Einstein is the greatest."

The name of Sigmund Freud, for his work in psycho-analysis, is coupled with that of Prof. Einstein as "the two forces which mentally and physically have most changed our lives in this half century."

Other famous names mentioned in the review are those of Albert Schweitzer (German philosopher), Lenin, Sun Yat-Sen first president of the Chinese Republic, and Henry Ford.

THE PASSING OF THE "STRAND"

Those of the older generations in India will learn with regret that one of the favourite old-time (and perhaps most popular) monthly magazines is about to be wound up. It is the *Strand*, which during the past 58 years has had many famous writers amongst its contributors.

"There was first and foremost Conan Doyle, whose Adventures of Sherlock Holmes used to find a valued place in the *Strand*; there were W. W. Jacobs' night watchmen

and Thames captains: H. G. Wells wrote "The First Men in the Moon" for the magazine; Kipling his "Puck of Pook's Hill"; P. G. Wodehouse and his Jeeves and more lately Agatha Christie with her famous detective, Hercule Poirot. Many now famous artists (one of them was Max Beerbohm) had their original works in the once lavishly illustrated *Strand*. When Sherlock Holmes first appeared in the magazine Conan Doyle was paid £35 a story. That was in 1891. When the last of the Holmes adventures appeared (in 1927) the *Strand* had to pay £800, and that was for the British rights only. But it was still a going concern up to the war, when it had to come down to pocket size. Now the *Strand* is a casualty of the post-war era for, with paper three times its pre-war price, and other heavy costs, it has been found impossible to revert to the "traditional character and size of the *Strand*" and "rather than mar the glorious record of nearly 60 years by continuing a policy of expedients, the directors, with great reluctance and regret, have decided to bring its long and distinguished career to a close."

"TIGER" VARADACHARI

"Tiger" Varadachari was in a sense the "musician's musician." He was a great link with the giants of an earlier era. Prof. P. Sambamurthy, Head of the Department of Indian Music, Madras University, writes that in the passing away of Vidwan Tiger Varadachari,

South India has lost a veteran in the realm of music. He was an outstanding singer of our times. His concerts were an aural feast. His dynamic *manodharma* gave one food for musical thought. He was justly famous for his *thana* style of raga exposition. It was a rare experience to listen to his singing in the *mandara sthayi*. Singing in the *mandara sthayi* is unfortunately now getting out of vogue. The deep and round notes that bubbled forth from his voice in the shape of *nabhi thana* left an indelible impression on the listeners. The phrases that emerged on such occasions were characterised by remarkable beauty and excellence. He was a past master in singing the different types of *thana*. His exposition of *chakra thana* was thrilling. The swara-group pattern that came with whirling rapidity on such occasions appeared as if they were gushing forth from a deep fountain. To the coming generation of musicians this style of *thana* as well as the *chakra bandam* style of Veena play must all sound as things of the past. His *tha* singing made us form pictures of the styles of such remarkable exponents of *ghanam* style of singing of the past, like Bobbili Kesavayya and Ghanam Krishnier.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

South Africa

ROUND TABLE TALKS IN S. AFRICA

Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Liberal leader has been appointed by the Government of India to represent India at the tripartite talks between India, Pakistan, and South Africa, scheduled to begin on Feb. 6 at Cape Town.

A Press Note issued by the Ministry of External Affairs stated that the talks would be for the purpose of discussing the possible summoning of a Round Table conference on the Indian question in South Africa and the subjects to be considered by such a conference.

The Indian delegation will also include as official advisers Mr. Y. D. Gundevia, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs and Mr. R. T. Chari, Secretary in the Office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa.

INDIANS' PLIGHT IN NATAL

Poverty, starvation and degradation have entered the homes of thousands of Indians in Natal. Owing to the country's economic position, they are being dismissed in hundreds every week from their narrow channels of employment. Nearly all the trades and some professions are closed to them.

Mr. C. M. Bassa, Secretary of the Natal Indian Organisation, told a *Globe* journalist, who interviewed him on the Indian position, that there were thousands of more Indians unemployed in Natal than were registered by the Labour Department. Many young Indians have never been registered as unemployed, as they had never succeeded in getting jobs since they left schools.

Mr. Bassa said a conservative estimate of the number of workless Indians in the province was 7,000.

Representations have been made to the Government to induce them to return to agriculture by granting them loans through the Land Bank and by providing land settlement schemes.

A request was also made that more Indians should be employed in post offices, railway services and on road maintenance.

Ceylon

CITIZENSHIP IN CEYLON

Mr. A. E. Goonasinghe, Minister without Portfolio, in an interview to a Press representative in Ceylon condemned the anomaly in the Indian and Pakistani Residents (citizenship) Act which denies citizenship to Indians born and bred up in Ceylon unless they proved to the satisfaction of the authorities that their parents were permanent residents in Ceylon or their grandfather and grand-mother were born in Ceylon.

When citizenship rights are granted for those who have been here for ten or twelve years there is no reason why the same rights should be denied to the people who were born here and have never seen India in all their life, the Minister declared. He had received a large number of representations from Indians who were born here and he proposed to take up the matter with the Cabinet so that justice might be meted out to these people.

While it has been made comparatively easy for new immigrants to acquire citizenship rights on production of proofs of the prescribed period of residence in Ceylon, those who were born here and have never seen India are refused registration unless they produce proofs that at the time of their applications their father and mother are permanent residents in Ceylon. As a result many thousands of Indian estate labourers who were born here and have lived in Ceylon continuously for over forty to fifty years could not acquire citizenship rights since their parents have either retired to India or are unwilling to declare themselves as permanent residents for one reason or another.

Ceylon Indian Congress leaders in their informal discussions with Pandit Nehru, during his visit to Colombo, have, it is learnt pointed out this anomaly to him.

CLEVER KID!

Teacher: What number is 'Trousers'; singular or plural?

A Clever Student: Sir, it is singular at the top and plural at the bottom.

Mauritius

POSITION OF INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

Mr. J. N. Roy, a leading Indian Member of the Legislative Council of Mauritius, is reported to have said that the "colour bar has reduced the Indian population in the colony to virtual slavery."

In an interview at Delhi Mr. Roy said that the three lakhs of Indians, who formed two-thirds of the total population of the colony, had representation in the legislature "only in name." "The Whites," he said,

dominated both the economy and the administration of Mauritius. Without any control over finance, the legislature has been turned into a mere debating society, so far as Indians are concerned.

The Commonwealth Ministers' Conferences, Mr. Roy said, would be of no avail unless the Commonwealth statesmen satisfactorily solved the problem of racial segregation. India under the leadership of Pandit Nehru was best suited for conducting a campaign for the emancipation of 1,600 million coloured people of the world.

He added:

The colonies more than ever before are faced with a choice between Democracy or Malanism. It is difficult for the Europeans there to bring themselves down to the level of the coloured people. Before they part with their privileges, the Whites will dig new trenches to assert themselves.

Mr. Roy pleaded for a more frequent contact between the Indians in Mauritius and those in the Motherland. He also urged the opening of direct shipping between India and Mauritius.

East Africa

"UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRANT"

Kenya has refused re-entry to an Indian whom it describes as "an undesirable immigrant." He is 39-year-old Charandass, a former insurance and postal worker, who has a wife and four children at Nairobi. He went to Kenya first in 1926 and had been in the colony for seventeen years.

He went to London last January to study law. He has been informed by the Principal Immigration Officer at Nairobi that his decision deeming Dass an undesirable immigrant to Kenya has been confirmed by the Governor-in-Council.

Pakistan

HARASSMENT OF SIND HINDUS

Tragic tales of atrocities perpetrated on Sind Hindus by the Pakistan Government with a view to driving them out from Pakistan were narrated by Prof. B.N. Nagrani, Secretary, Minorities Board, Karachi, at a Press conference in Bombay.

According to the U. P. I correspondent, Prof. Nagrani, who was externed very recently by the Pakistan Government for "encouraging exodus" arrived in Bombay a few days back.

Describing the present conditions of Hindus in Sind, he said: "We are given the choice of either to embrace Islam, or perish. All our lands, houses and business concerns are seized by the Pakistan Government as evacuee property.

"Our young girls are being abducted. Our sentiments and religious susceptibilities are subordinated to the whims and fancies of Pakistan Ministers. Our temples and places of worship are being desecrated, looted and idols broken. In some temples, they have opened butchers' shop.

"There is no law in Pakistan. Pakistan Government have let loose all Muslim refugees to get into the houses of Hindus and drive them out forcibly and thus get the possession of houses.

Stating that Pakistan Government do not care for protests from India Government, Prof. Nagrani added: "These protests are impotent. The Pakistan Government know too well that India Government dare not retaliate. On the contrary great preparations are going on for war against India. War slogans are written on walls everywhere."

Malaya

246 INDIANS DETAINED IN MALAYA

There were 5,815 persons in detention in Malaya on December 31, under the emergency law in force in connection with the Communist terrorist situation in the country. Of these 4,689 were Chinese, 246 Indians, 859 Malays and 71 Eurasians.

Two hundred and eighty-nine arrests were made in the Federation of Malaya during the week ending January 4 in connection with terrorism.

Government deported 6,100 persons from Malaya in 1949 under the emergency. Of these 5,994 were aliens and 106 were British subjects.

MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS * DEPARTMENTAL * NOTES

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Among the recommendations to be submitted to the Commonwealth Governments by the Foreign Ministers' Conference which concluded at Colombo on Jan. 14 is a proposal to establish a consultative committee to improve economic conditions in South East Asia. The final communique issued by the Foreign Ministers stated that "in the changed conditions in this area, progress depends mainly on improvement of economic conditions." The communique said:

The discussions which the Commonwealth Ministers have held at Colombo have once again demonstrated that among all members of the Commonwealth there is a continuing and substantial community of outlook in their approach to current problems of foreign affairs.

Eleven plenary meetings have been held since the conference opened on Jan. 9. The greater part of this time has been spent in a comprehensive review of the current problems of South-East Asia, both political and economic.

It was recognised that in the changing conditions brought about by recent developments in this area progress depends mainly on the improvement of economic conditions.

The conference was impressed by the magnitude of the contribution which the success of progressive policies in this area could make to the peace and prosperity of the people.

Executive decisions are not taken at Commonwealth meetings of this kind but as a result of the valuable exchange of views which has taken place, recommendations for the furtherance of economic development in South and South-East Asia will be submitted to the Commonwealth Governments for their consideration.

These recommendations include a proposal for the establishment of a consultative committee representing the Commonwealth Governments. The Australian delegation proposed that the first meeting of this committee when set up should be held in Australia.

In the course of their discussions the Commonwealth Ministers noted with satisfaction the political settlement recently reached in Indonesia. They also gave particular attention to the situations in Indo-China, Burma and Malaya.

The conference also reviewed the current position in the Far East. They discussed both the question of recognition of the new regime in China and also the future relations of Commonwealth countries with China.

They reconsidered, in the light of subsequent developments, the provisional conclusions reached at the Commonwealth conference held in Canberra in 1947 on the conditions for a peace settlement with Japan. On this subject, Ministers attending the conference will submit recommendations to their Governments.

Finally, the conference was informed of the current political situation in Europe and the Middle East and of steps which were being taken to promote closer co-operation, both political and economic, among the countries of Western Europe, and between them and the United States of America and Canada.

The conference agreed that there need be no inconsistency between the policy followed by the United Kingdom Government in relation to Western Europe and the maintenance of traditional links between the United Kingdom and the rest of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth officials concerned with economic affairs have held a separate series of meetings throughout the week. Their primary purpose has been to exchange information on developments since the Commonwealth Finance Ministers met in London in July.

Particular attention was given to the recent trend of, and future prospects for, dollar exports of the Sterling Area.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Addressing the Parliament on 31st January for the first time after India became Republic, the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad reiterated the firm policy of the Government of India

"to maintain peace and friendship with all the nations of the world and to help in every possible way in the maintenance of world peace."

"The Republic of India," he said, "inherits no enmities or traditional rivalries with other nations and my Government intend continuing a policy directed towards securing peace in the world and avoiding any alignment which leads to hostilities with any nation."

After surveying the entire situation in India as at present, the President called upon the people of India to face the heavy and difficult tasks before them with courage, co-operation and hard work.

The President regretted that India's relations with Pakistan and concluded saying that wisdom and tolerance and the spirit of concerted effort should guide the new Parliament in its deliberation.

THE SARDAR'S CALCUTTA SPEECH

Sardar Patel, addressing a mammoth meeting at Calcutta on Jan. 15 deplored the acts of lawlessness in Calcutta and appealed to the people to co-operate with the Police in the restoration of law and order. He said there were two ways of changing a Government, through the ballot-box or by a revolution, but throwing of bombs was no revolution, he said.

Today, the whole of India feels concerned to read every day something or other happening in some part of Calcutta. Bombs, crackers, burning of tram cars, attacks on police, arrests, fasts in jail, these are the incidents that are reported under prominent headlines.

It is natural that, in such circumstances, people outside the Province should feel that there is general lawlessness in Calcutta, and the machinery of Government has broken. It is only when you come here and see the normal life of the city going on unchecked that you realise that all this is the work of some young men who have gone astray. These handful of youths wish to upset the peace and tranquillity of the whole city. They wish to terrorise or overawe the whole population and the Government. I do not know what they wish to gain out of it. I can understand Communist ideology, but I cannot understand what they will achieve as a result of murderous assaults and other tactics.

I am, however, pained that while millions live in this city, they are unable to express themselves or act in opposition to the machinations of the wrongdoers. They are content to leave matters to the Police and the Government. That is all wrong. If there were a foreign Government, they would have dealt with this menace as they did before, but we cannot act in the same way. After all those, who are doing these acts are our own people. The Police is also our own. The Government is also our own.

PLEA FOR PROPER ATMOSPHERE

"If you feel dissatisfaction with your Government you can replace it. Some months ago, the Prime Minister came to Calcutta. He told you that, if you wanted to change the Government, you could do so by holding fresh elections, and he thought those elections should be held if you wanted. After all, whoever comes in our places will be our own men. We are not afraid or ashamed of facing an election, but when we examined this question at some length, we found various difficulties. There were no voters' lists: Fresh voters had to be registered, we had many refugees who had come from East Bengal and whose claims to record their votes had to be taken into account. We wanted to do away with communal representation. All these difficulties were there.

We had also to consider that the next election on adult franchise was not far off. We, therefore, consulted your Government and the leaders of public opinion in Bengal to find out if they wanted elections even under these conditions. All of them said that they did not want it, and we gave up the idea. When we announced our decision all papers welcomed it. They, however, said that the new elections should be held early.

We ourselves, want to hold these elections early, but this is the first time that we have given the right to vote to crores of people. It will entail an expenditure of millions and concentrated efforts to prepare electoral rolls and take other necessary measures for the holding of an election. Nevertheless, we have got to be ready for it, and the Government will do its best, but, in the meantime, it is up to you to see that the proper atmosphere is created, in which free and fair elections could be held.

"TERRORISM" CULT OF LUNATICS

At the same time, we cannot stand silent and inactive. The Government has to be carried on. If you are not satisfied with the Government you have, the only way to change it is through the ballot box or by revolution. Bombs, attacks on Police and crackers do not symtomise a revolution. All this is the cult of lunatics and the work of mad men.

I do understand when people tell me that the young men are suffering from a sense of frustration, that they do not know whither they are going, or what is in store for them. I sympathise with them, but the remedy for it does not lie in the tactics which are being followed. In fact, it will only postpone the day of their relief and amelioration. They will spoil whatever good is being done.

I fully realise the sorrows and sufferings which they have to bear, but in the past also you have suffered and braved it all. Thirty lakhs of people lost their lives from sheer starvation. No one dared to raise any voice then. Today your own Police 70 per cent. of which is Bengali, is attacked with stones and bullets, and not a single voice is raised.

A WARNING

Instead, accusations are levelled that they are terrorising out people and committing excesses. People say that there is no civil liberty. I ask you, where is civil liberty gone? Has it been taken to the United Kingdom? Was there more civil liberty when people dared not do anything even when millions suffered, or is it here now when people can do practically what they like? They can criticise whomsoever they want, and they can throw bombs at and attack the Police.

I warn you that, if these tactics are not stopped, the civil liberty which you enjoy will disappear. These few people will take it away. You have either to face that prospect or to stop these nefarious activities. No democratic Government can flourish on Police batons. We have got used to calling the Police bad names in the past. We have to change that mentality.

HINDU MAHA SABHA

The 28th annual session of All-India Hindu Mahasabha which concluded its three-day deliberations at Calcutta in the closing week of December last defined the organisation's aim as "the protection and promotion of all that contributes to the advancement, strength and glory of the Hindu Rashtra, Hindu Race, Hindu culture and Hindu polity and as a means to that end to achieve Hindu Raj and re-establish the integrity of Bharatiya State."

The session changed the present name of the organisation to "Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha" and authorised its President to appoint a Central Parliamentary Board in order to set up candidates in the elections to the different legislatures.

The constructive programme of work which the session adopted for the organisation included (1) placing before the masses in general and the youths in particular the ideal of Hindu Rashtra, (2) helping refugees from Pakistan in getting accommodation and means of livelihood, (3) popularising grow-more-food campaign, (4) creation of an atmosphere among labour and capital to impress the need of more production.

The session also passed a resolution defining its programme of work in the fields of labour, industries, land reform, defence, education and economics.

In another resolution, the Mahasabha stressed the indivisibility and homogeneity of Bharatbarsha, denounced the establishment of Pakistan which, according to it, has led to massacre of thousands of innocent men, women and children and has deprived millions of Hindus in East Bengal of their basic rights, and alleged that no other party except the Congress party ever agreed to the "suicidal vivisection" of the country.

The Mahasabha passed a resolution disapproving the Kashmir policy of Government of India.

Winding up the deliberations Dr. N. B. Khare, President of the session, said that he would like to make it clear that the Hindu Mahasabha wanted to carry on its work peacefully, constitutionally and democratically.

CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Addressing over 300 experts in social work who met in New Delhi in Christmas week Dr. Jivraj Mehta, Bombay's Minister for Public Works, called for a "supreme effort" by Governments, and the people to eradicate the "five monsters" of want, disease, ignorance squalor, and unemployment.

Referring to the problem of training social workers, he said that, according to one expert, India needed at least 60,00,000 trained and qualified social workers. "As against this, we have only about 15,000 social workers out of which hardly 200 are properly trained."

The difficulty in securing the necessary staff to open new schools of social work should be overcome, he said, by help from the United Nations or the India Government. The Education Ministry should reserve an adequate number of scholarships for students specialising in social work teaching. The Provincial Governments also should subsidise post-graduate institutions to train social workers.

The experts met in a six-day session under the auspices of the Conference primarily "to undertake, promote and develop" the study of social problem. They included a large number of foreign observers.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

The Indian Christian Conference of S. India held a two-day Conference at Guntur in Christmas week. The following is one of the many resolutions passed;

"This conference protests against the policy, pursued by the Government of Madras and the United State of Travancore and Cochin, of discrimination against Harijan Christians in the matter of distribution of monetary and other helps. This conference resolves that all the Christians originally from Scheduled Castes be included in the Scheduled Castes for all purposes as stated in article 341 of the Indian Constitution Act."

APT ANSWER

"Was the prisoner sober?"
 "No, sir. He was drunk as a judge."
 "You mean drunk as a lord."
 "Yes, my lord."

UTKAL UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

The Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, addressing the graduates of Utkal University at its sixth annual Convocation, suggested the conscription of the services of students for the eradication of illiteracy in the country.

Dr. Pattabhi said that Utkal University was largely modelled upon its senior institutions, which had originally taken their cues from London University. Since the first Universities of India were established soon after the "Great Indian Mutiny" the models of 1857, that made for imperialism, could hardly be the models for 1950 that made for freedom.

Today, education must be linked to the needs of the nation that was developing, not to the ends of imperialism that was in ruins. Dr. Pattabhi said:

It is for you and your University to catch up the broken ends of the threads of national culture which snapped a 1,000 years ago, and produce them so as to piece them in the loose ends of modern science and knowledge.

DEVELOPMENT OF ART

The Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education, Government of India last September to draw up the constitution of the Central Advisory Board of Art to Advise the Government on all art matters has submitted its recommendations.

The Committee, which was appointed in pursuance of the recommendations of the Conference on Art held in Calcutta in August 1949 had seven members Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary, Ministry of Education was its convener and the other members were Mr. N. C. Mehta, Dr. O. C. Ganguli, Mr. G. Venkatachalam, Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhary Mr. V. S. Amberkar and Mr. Asit Kumar Hakiar.

It has recommended that a Central Advisory Committee on Art Consisting of seven practising artists, five art critics and three representatives of the Government of India should be constituted. This Central Committee would be mainly a co-ordinating body which would not interfere in the day to day activities of provincial organisations.

HISTORY CONGRESS

Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi, Prof. of History of the Allahabad University, in his presidential address to the 12th session of the Indian History Congress held at Cuttack pleaded for "broader outlook, mastery of the technique of modern research and art of historical thinking and higher synthetic presentation which require a comprehensive understanding of human history and civilisation and a close contact with the progress of historiography in other countries, particularly of the western world."

Dr. Tripathi suggested that the gates of the Indian History Congress should be thrown open to all workers in the field of history as such.

He regretted that the study of history in this country had recently become confined to Indian history with the result that the study of history of other continents and countries had been neglected. He was of the view that this state of historical study would not be in the best interest of Indian history and would bring serious deterioration of historical education and would make Indian history narrow and cramped.

PANIKKAR'S PLEA FOR ENGLISH

Sardar K. M. Panikkar, till recently India's Ambassador at Nanking, addressing the Delhi University Convocation dwelt on the problems that India was facing and the new life that she would have to build. The new life, he said, presented a challenge to each individual and India's potential greatness becoming a reality depended on the way in which the challenge of the new life was faced by her youth.

Sardar Panikkar referred to the intergration of India and the new Republican Constitution and said it was a synthesis between the West and the East.

While stressing the need for a national language he pleaded for the continued cultivation of the English language as necessary for their intellectual growth and deprecated intellectual obscurantism and spirit of intolerance which wanted to extend the cry of Quit India to the English Language.

SUPREME COURT OF THE REPUBLIC

The Supreme Court of India, the highest Judicial Tribunal in the Republic met on Saturday the 28th January for the first time.

Speaking on the occasion, the Attorney-General, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, said that though the ties with the Privy Council had been snapped, the law laid down in its judgements would continue to mould and influence the decisions of India's Supreme Court.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Harilal Kania, said that although the decisions of the Privy Council were entitled to great respect, they had ceased to have compelling binding force. The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the jurisprudence of that country and the principles of law laid down by that court would be perhaps more relied upon for decision by India's Supreme Court than they had hitherto been done.

ADAPTATION OF LAWS

The first act of the President of the Republic was the promulgation of the Adaptation of Laws Order, 1950, under Clause (2) of Article 372 of the Constitution of India.

The Clause enables the President to make such adaptations and modifications of any law in force in the territory of India, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as may be necessary or expedient for the purpose of bringing the provisions of such law into accord with the provisions of the Constitution and to provide that the law shall, as from such date as may be specified in the Order, have effect subject to the adaptations and modifications so made.

The Order says that, as from the appointed day, (January 26), all existing Central, Provincial, State and supplementary laws shall, until repealed or altered or amended by a competent authority, be subject to the adaptations, directed in this Order.

THE LATE SIR B. L. MITTER

The death at Calcutta of Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, a former Law Member of the Government of India and for sometime acting Governor of West Bengal at the age of 75 removes a great jurist and statesman from our midst.

Sir B. L. Mitter, who practised as a Barrister-at-Law in the Calcutta High Court, became the Law Member of the Government in 1928 and continued in the post for seven years. Twice in 1931 and 1933, he led the Indian delegation to the League of Nations. He was at one time the Advocate-General of Bengal and later, the Advocate-General of India. He was also a member of the Bengal Executive Council during the period 1934 to 1937. One-time Dewan of Baroda, Sir B. L. Mitter acted as the Governor of West Bengal in 1948. Recently he was elected President of the Enquiry Committee to investigate into certain irregularities in the University of Calcutta.

Sir Brojendra was a valued contributor to this *Review* and he wrote a very appropriate Foreword to our publication—"Indian Judges."

CHANGE IN NAMES OF PROVINCES

The names of four constituent units of Indian union have been changed of late.

The United Provinces has been now named Uttar Pradesh, East Punjab is named as the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Berar as Madhya Pradesh, and Ajmer-Merwara as Ajmer.

The changes have been made under the Adaptation of Laws Order issued by the President.

SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURTS

The Government of India have promulgated an Ordinance which confers upon special criminal courts constituted under certain provincial laws jurisdiction to try offences against law with respect to any of the matters enumerated in the Federal Legislative list. The Ordinance which extends to all the Provinces of India, takes effect from January 21.

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

The question of attracting foreign capital in the country and the terms and conditions for such investments were the subject matter of a question and a series of supplementaries in the Dominion Parliament.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee told the House that so far 59 applications had been received from foreign capitalists for starting industries in India after the announcement by the Prime Minister on investment of foreign capital. Sanction had been accorded already to schemes involving Rs. 183 lakhs. The foreign participants mostly belonged to the United Kingdom and the industries included electrical (including radios), iron and steel products, vanaspathi, woollens, general engineering automobiles, paints and varnishes, printing and finishing, paper and strawboard, leather goods, raw films, non-ferrous metals, fine chemicals, footwear, ivory buttons, and sports goods.

Generally the conditions laid down were, the Minister added, (1) majority of Indian capital, (2) Indian management and (3) Indian technicians to be trained by foreign technicians so that the latter may be eventually replaced by the former. The schemes might take three to five years to materialise.

The Minister said that the Government received enquiries from individual firms from abroad and the negotiations were conducted with the firms who would be given all possible assistance.

INDIA AND EAST PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Government have banned the transit of Indian goods through the East Bengal Railway with effect from mid-night January 19-20, 1950.

In a communication to the Government of India, the Pakistan Government have requested that no goods, passengers or luggage should be booked to any station in East Pakistan or across East Pakistan.

It is also learnt that nearly 1,000 wagons destined for stations in India are now held up in East Pakistan.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD

The wisdom of the present policy of achieving self-sufficiency in food at the expense of other equally important things was questioned by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Executive Secretary, Economic Commission of East and the Far East, addressing the Rotary Club in Madras.

Dr. Lokanathan, who was speaking on the "Economic outlook for India," declared that taking a long view, the future of Indian economy rested upon the nature of her economic resources which he pointed out, having regard to India's population growth were strictly limited. The growth of population was a very serious factor in Asia, and all available resources should, therefore be utilised most judiciously.

On the policy of attempting to gain self-sufficiency in food, Dr. Lokanathan said it was a debatable proposition whether India could really become self-sufficient. Besides self-sufficiency was not desirable as it could be attempted only at the expense of other things equally important, India, he said, should try to take the place which Japan occupied in pre-war years in regard to industry. This, he said, was India's great chance to produce capital and consumer goods required by other Asian countries.

He added that Siam, Indo China and Burma, which had large exportable surpluses of food were perturbed at the emphasis being placed by India on self-sufficiency.

THE INDIAN TARIFF BOARD

The Indian Tariff Board will have only three members hereafter instead of five. Mr. M. E. Rahman, will become a Collector of Customs while Mr. B. N. Adarkar will rejoin the Ministry of Commerce as Deputy Economic Advisor to the Government of India. This will leave the Board with three members, Mr. G. L. Mehta (Chairman), Dr. H. L. Dey and Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu.

THE LATE MRS. SATHIANADHAN

The passing of Kamala Sathianadhan at the age of 70 removes one of the earliest of our contributors. Mrs. Sathianadhan's



article appeared in these pages as early as 1900, and in response to our request she was good enough to write to our Golden Jubilee number last month. It is a remarkable instance of vitality of mind and body that at her great age she should be able to write with such

vivid interest and grasp of things intellectual and spiritual. Who could have thought that the writer of such an article was nearing her end?

Mrs. Sathianadhan matriculated in her fifteenth year and was the first Lady M.A. in our University. A champion of the cause of Indian women and a determined fighter for their emancipation, she edited *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* from 1901 to 1918 and then again from 1927 to 1938. Besides contributing to most of the important newspapers in India, she found time to write books for children, students and grown-ups.

A woman of culture and learning and a true embodiment of modest Indian womanhood, she was always frank, straightforward, progressive and industrious.

RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

Miss Mridula Sarabhai, social worker engaged in the recovery of abducted women in Pakistan, met Shaikh Sadiq Hasan, adviser to the Governor of West Punjab, and discussed with him certain proposals for intensifying the campaign in both the Dominions.

There was complete agreement between them that the humanitarian work of recovery of these unfortunate persons should be vigorously pursued by both the Governments and that facilities should be granted to social workers on both sides to help their respective Governments in the achievement of this noble and important task.

WORLD'S TWELVE FAMOUS WOMEN

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Indian Ambassador to the United States, has been selected by the editors of the *Book of Knowledge* as one of a list of 12 women who are inspiring examples to American boys and girls.

The women were selected from various fields of endeavour on the basis of their being "inspiring examples of intelligence and accomplishment to the growing generation."

Heading the list was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, selected for her work with the United Nations, where she is a member of the U. S. delegation to the General Assembly, and for her participation in public affairs.

INDIA'S FIRST LADY

An interesting interlude was provided at the Durbar Hall ceremony on Republic Day by an eager search for India's First Lady, Shrimati Rajendra Prasad, who was conspicuous by her absence from any of the front rows provided for distinguished guests. Simple and unostentatious, she was sitting with other members of the President's family in one corner where she was spotted out by the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru. She was then persuaded to take her seat in the front row along with the Cabinet Ministers.

MALABAR WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The third annual meeting of the Palghat branch of the All-India Women's Conference and the second All-Malabar Constituents Conference were held at Palghat on Jan. 11. Srimathi T. C. Kochukutti Amma presided and a resolution supporting the Hindu Code Bill and urging the inclusion of Marumakkathayees within the scope, was adopted.

GENERAL

SCIENTISTS IN CONFERENCE

The Governor of Bombay, Sir Maharaj Singh, inaugurating the 37th Session of the Indian Science Congress at Poona on Jan. 2, expressed the hope that the negative side of science, that is as a potent engine of destruction would remain buried in the limbo of the second world war and that science and its votaries would contribute to peace and ever-increasing happiness and prosperity.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Industry and Supply Minister, addressing the session deplored the lack of scientific attitude among Indians and said:

The gap between our scientific knowledge and its application to some of our current problems is as much a consequence as it is a cause of this lack of scientific attitude. . . .

The Annual Session of the Indian Science Congress serves as a yearly reminder to our scientists of the need for continuous dedication of scientific knowledge to the service of our motherland and of humanity at large. Such self-introspection is particularly necessary at this juncture of world history when the menace of atomic warfare hangs like a darkening cloud on the minds of all thinking men and women.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay, welcoming the delegates expressed his conviction that unless there was a close and intelligent co-operation between the scientist and other creative thinkers and "those responsible for practical affairs of the country" no progress or improvement in society could be possible.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the Congress appealed to world scientists and technologists to aid India to raise her standard of living. He wanted them to give not "vague advices worthy of consideration" but practical help in the solution of this country's vital problems, social and economic.

THE PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S., presiding over the session stressed, the importance of statistics in the field of science.

"The growing importance of statistics in public estimation," he added, "is mainly due to its increasing practical applications in the affairs of everyday life."

Statistics is essentially an applied science, he continued. Its aim is to reach a decision on a probable basis, on

available evidence. Statistics supplies a valid method for drawing general conclusions from particular experience. Also, it helps the choice of a course of action by balancing the risks of gain and loss.

Prof. Mahalanobis dwelt exhaustively on the special needs of India in matters of food and general production and called for an increased reliance on figures to be able to successfully avert the crises facing the nation.

The Congress divided itself into different sections to deal with various aspects of scientific thought and activity.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES

Dr. C. V. Raman addressing the institute of Sciences observed that scientific activities in the country needed a drastic reorientation and must be correlated with the fundamental and basic needs of the people. Unless this was achieved there was a danger of "unloosening of tremendous human passions which may mean disaster to the country," he warned.

Speaking under the auspices of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics Dr. Raman said, to many science today meant big laboratories, cyclotrons and atom smashing machines.

The work of many of the scientists in the country was turning out to be 'mere copy' of the work done in Europe and America. They had to develop an independent approach to their problems and remember that many problems of scientific interest remained to be solved in the countryside, they could not solve those problems by establishing 'national laboratories' but had to go to the countryside and study and solve them.

INDIAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY

Dr. J. N. Ray, Deputy Director-General of Industries and Supplies, presiding over the annual session of the Indian Chemical Society, emphasised the need to develop India's technical manpower for her industrial advancement.

India, he said, could not ever depend on technical help from outside. So far about 37 German technicians had been brought here and 18 more were expected shortly.

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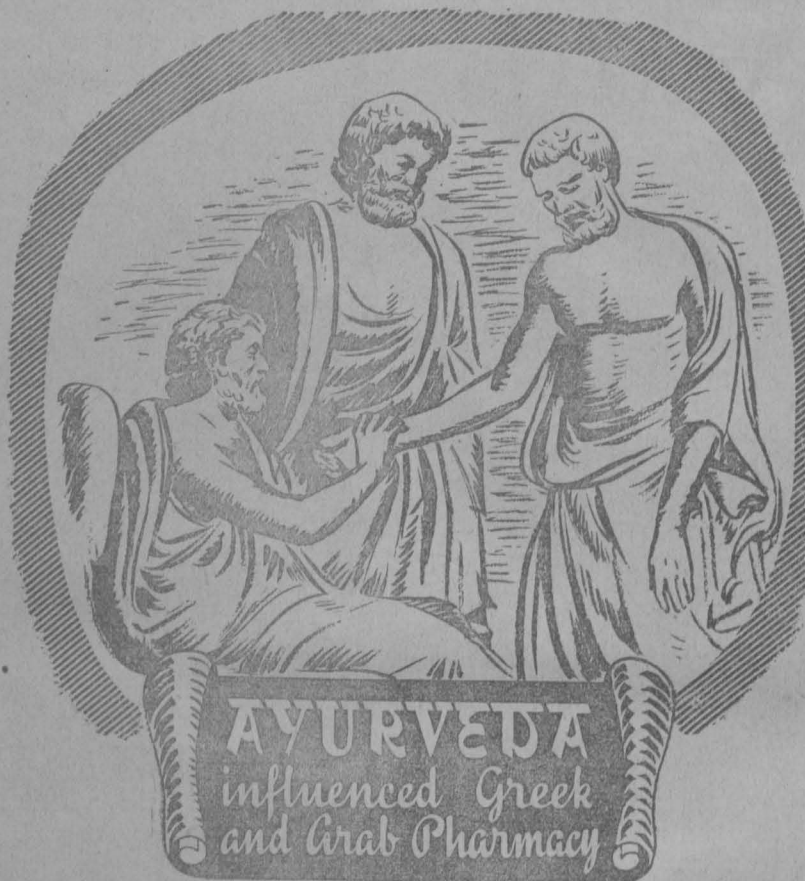
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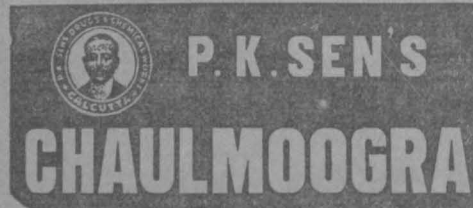
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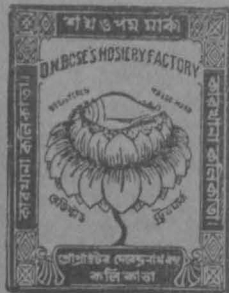


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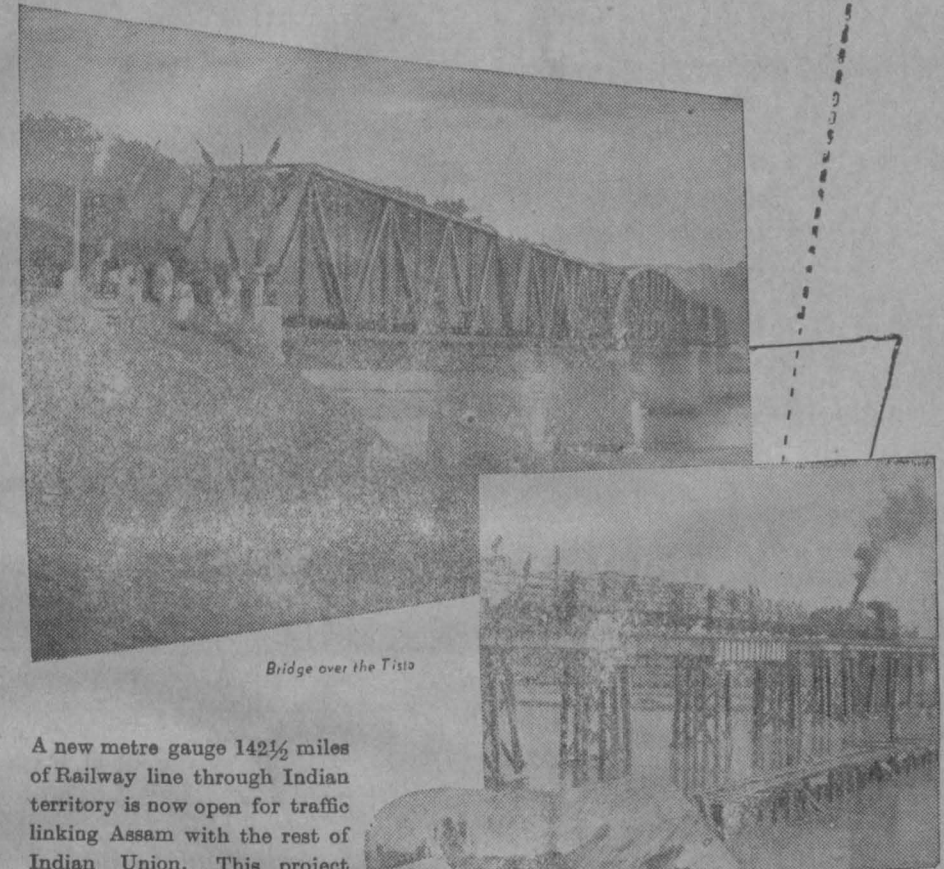
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